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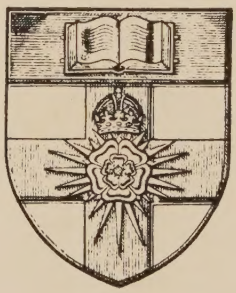

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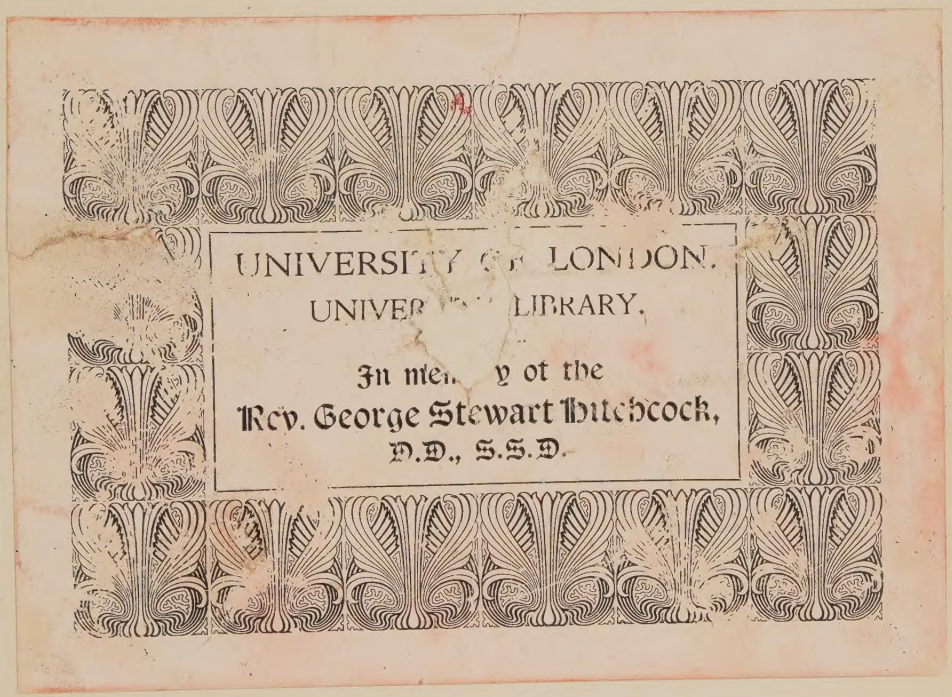
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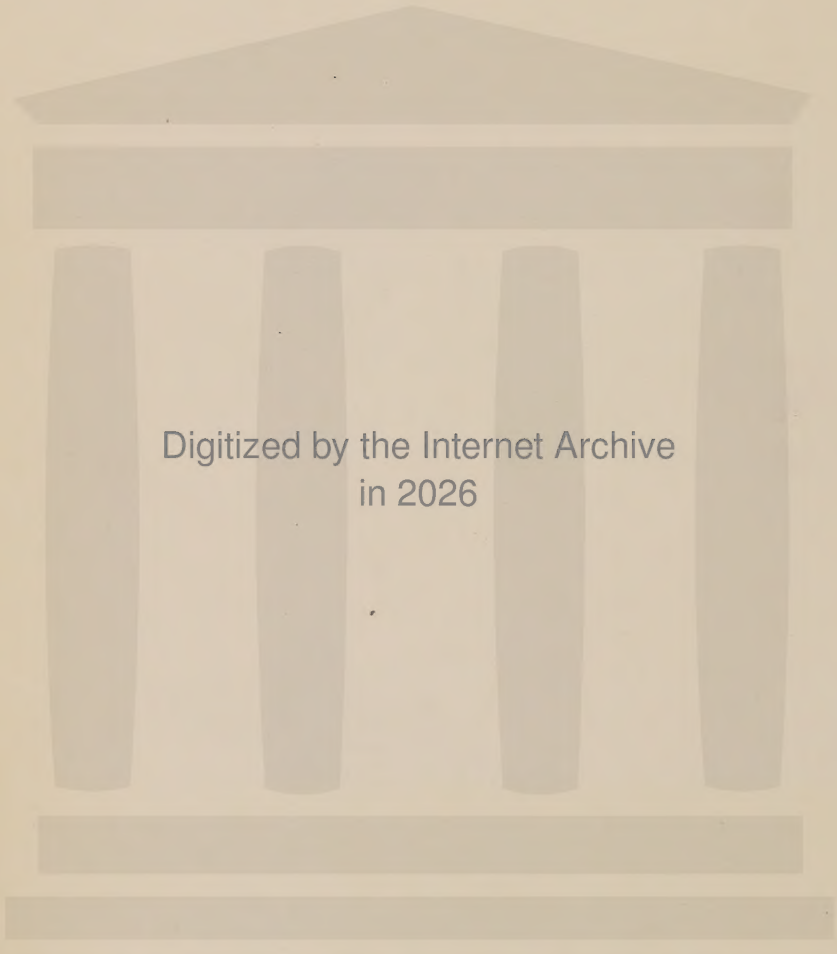
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A

Dictionary of the Bible

THE EDITOR OF THIS

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

DESIRES TO DEDICATE IT TO THE MEMORY OF

SIR THOMAS CLARK, BARONET

Sometime Publisher in Edinburgh

AND

REV. ANDREW BRUCE DAVIDSON,

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A

Dictionary of the Bible

DEALING WITH ITS

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND CONTENTS

INCLUDING THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

EDITED BY

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VOLUME I

A–FEASTS

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PREFACE

'GIVE heed to . . . teaching.' Perhaps the Church of Christ has never given sufficient heed to teaching since the earliest and happiest days. In our own day the importance of teaching, or, as we sometimes call it, expository preaching, has been pressed home through causes that are various yet never accidental; and it is probable that in the near future more heed will be given by the Church to teaching than has ever been given before.

As a contribution towards the furnishing of the Church for that great work, this DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE is published. It is a Dictionary of the Old and New Testaments, together with the Old Testament Apocrypha, according to the Authorized and Revised English Versions, and with constant reference to the original tongues. Every effort has been used to make the information it contains reasonably full, trustworthy, and accessible.

As to fulness. In a Dictionary of the Bible one expects that the words occurring in the Bible, and which do not explain themselves, will receive some explanation. The present Dictionary more nearly meets that expectation than any Dictionary that has hitherto been published. Articles have been written on the names of all Persons and Places, on the Antiquities and Archæology of the Bible, on its Ethnology, Geology, and Natural History, on Biblical Theology and Ethic, and even on the obsolete or archaic words occurring in the English Versions. The greater number of the articles are of small compass, for care has been exercised to exclude vague generalities as well as unaccepted idiosyncrasies; but there are many articles which deal with important and difficult subjects, and extend to considerable length. Such, for example, and to mention only one, is the article in the first volume on the Chronology of the New Testament.

As to trustworthiness. The names of the authors are appended to their articles, except where the article is very brief and of minor importance; and these names are the best guarantee that the work may be relied on. So far as could be ascertained, those authors were chosen for the various subjects who had made a special study of that subject, and might be able to speak with authority upon it. Then, in addition to the work of the Editor and his Assistant, every sheet has passed through the hands of the three distinguished scholars whose names are found on the title-page. These scholars are not responsible for errors of any kind, if such should be dis-

covered in the Dictionary, but the time and care they have spent upon it may be taken as a good assurance that the work as a whole is reliable and authoritative.

As to accessibility. While all the articles have been written expressly for this work, so they have been arranged under the headings one would most naturally turn to. In a very few cases it has been found necessary to group allied subjects together. But even then, the careful system of black-lettering and cross-reference adopted, should enable the reader to find the subject wanted without delay. And so important has it seemed to the Editor that each subject should be found under its own natural title, that he has allowed a little repetition here and there (though not in identical terms) rather than distress the reader by sending him from one article to another in search of the information he desires. The Proper Names will be found under the spelling adopted in the Revised Version, and in a few very familiar instances the spelling of the Authorized Version is also given, with a cross-reference to the other. On the Proper Names generally, and particularly on the very difficult and unsettled questions of their derivation, reference may be made to the article NAMES (PROPER), which will be found in the third volume. The Hebrew, and (where it seemed to be of consequence for the identification of the name) the Greek of the Septuagint, have been given for all proper and many common names. It was found impracticable to record all the variety of spelling discovered in different manuscripts of the Septuagint; and it was considered unnecessary, in view of the great Edition now in preparation in Cambridge, and the Concordance of Proper Names about to be published at the Clarendon Press. The Abbreviations, considering the size and scope of the work, will be seen to be few and easily mastered. A list of them, together with a simple and uniform scheme of transliterating Hebrew and Arabic words, will be found on the following pages. The Maps have been specially prepared for this work by Mr. J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S. The Illustrations (the drawings for which have been chiefly made in Syria by the Rev. G. M. Mackie, M.A.) are confined to subjects which cannot be easily understood without their aid.

The Editor has pleasure in recording his thanks to many friends and willing fellow-workers, including the authors of the various articles. In especial, after those whose names are given on the title-page, he desires to thank the Rev. W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, who has read many of the articles and given valuable assistance in other ways, and whose name might have appeared on the title-page, had not illness prevented him for some time from carrying out his intention of reading the proof-sheets as they were ready; next, his own early teacher, Dr. DONALD SHEARER, who voluntarily undertook, and has most conscientiously carried out, the verification of the passages of Scripture; also Professor MAHAFFY of Dublin, who kindly read some articles in proof; Professor RYLE of Cambridge; Professor SALMOND of Aberdeen; Principal STEWART of St. Andrews; and Principal FAIRBAIRN and Mr. J. VERNON BARTLET, M.A. of Mansfield College, Oxford.

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SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

ARABIC.		HEBREW.	
ʾ	أ	ʾ	א
b	ب	b	ב ו
t	ت	g	ג
th	ث	d	ד
j	ج	h	ה
ḥ	ح	u, w	ו
kh	خ	z	ז
d	د	ḥ	ח
dh	ذ	ṭ	ט
r	ر	i, y	י
z	ز	k	כ ך
s	س	l	ל
sh	ش	m	מ ם
ṣ	ص	n	נ ן
ḍ	ض	s	ס
ṭ	ط	ʿ	ע
ẓ	ظ	p	פ ף
ʿ	ع	ẓ	צ ץ
gh	غ	ḳ	ק
f	ف	r	ר
ḳ	ق	s, sh	שׁ
k	ك	t	ת
l	ل		
m	م		
n	ن		
h	ه		
u, w	و		
i, y	ى		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = Compare.
ct. = Contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = Editions or Editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
f. = and following verse or page; as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages; as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
S s = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. English Versions

Wyc. = Wyclif's Bible (NT *c.* 1380, OT *c.* 1382, Purvey's Revision *c.* 1388).
Tind. = Tindale's NT 1526 and 1534, Pent. 1530.
Cov. = Coverdale's Bible 1535.
Matt. or Rog. = Matthew's (*i.e.* prob. Rogers') Bible 1537.
Cran. or Great = Cranmer's 'Great' Bible 1539.
Tav. = Taverner's Bible 1539.
Gen. = Geneva NT 1557, Bible 1560.
Bish. = Bishops' Bible 1568.
Tom. = Tomson's NT 1576.
Rhem. = Rhemish NT 1582.
Dou. = Douay OT 1609.
AV = Authorized Version 1611.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
RV = Revised Version NT 1881, OT 1885.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
EV = Auth. and Rev. Versions.

IV. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AT = Altes Testament.
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BM = British Museum.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HGHL = Historical Geog. of Holy Land.
HI = History of Israel.
HPM = History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.
JDTh = Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Test.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.
ON = Otium Norvicense.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche.
QPB = Queen's Printers' Bible.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Test.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.
ThL or *ThLZ* = Theol. Literaturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
ZAW or *ZATW* = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZKW = Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT^2, LOT^6.

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Rev. JOHN WORTABET, M.A., M.D., Beyrout, Syria.

PALESTINE
ACCORDING TO PALESTINE EXPLORATION SURVEY.
Scale of English Miles
0 5 10 15 20
Bible and Ancient Names engraved in strong letters
Modern Names in hairline italics, thus
Railways
Low Lands under 500 feet coloured thus
Jordan Valley Depression below Sea Level
Ladder of Tyrus
Kedesh Naphtali
Waters of Merom
Achzib
Abdon, Hebron
Gischala
Misheal or Mishral
Beth Emek
Helkath
Ramah
Hamathon
ACCHO, PTOLEMAIS
Cana of Galilee
Bay of Acre
Beten
Neiel
Beth Dagon
Caphul
Thallok
Bethsaida
SEA OF GALILEE, L. OF GENNESARET, SEA OF CHINNERETH
Chorazin
Bethsaida Julias
Caperhaum
Magdala
Gergesenes
TIBERIAS, Rakkath
Hammath
Hippos
Gamala
Aphek
Arbela
Kitron
Cana of Galilee
Bethlehem of Zebulon
Adamah
Nahallal
Lasharon
Nazareth, Dabereth
Mt. Tabor
Jahncel
Jephthah-el
Japhia
Chesulloth
Beth Shemesh
Sarid
Hapharaim
Dor, Dora
Rishion
Megiddo
Kedesh Kishon
Afarca
Shunem
Endor
Adami
Nain
Jezreel
Ibleam
Beth Shittah
Beth-haggan, Bethabara
Beth-shean, Scythopolis
Taanach
Aphek
Armageddon
Mt. Gilboa
Palla
Dion
Capitolias
Kamon
Arbela
Jabesh Gilead
Mahanaim
Castle of Rabad
Mizpeh
Ramoth Gilead
Gerasa
Caesarea
Bileam
Plain of Dothan
Dothan
Jenin
Jezreel
Rabbith
Beth Shemesh
Beth Dagon
Jazer
Jaxmuth
Ramath
Chuba
Zeboim
Thebez
Abel Meholah
Ajlun
Jebel Ajlun
SAMARIA
Pirathon
Ebal
Mt. Gerizim
Shechem
Sychar
Shalim, Salim
Succoth
Amathus
Ragaba
Apollonia
Gilgal
Baal Shalisha
Tirzah
Gibeah of Phinehas
Tanath Shiloh
Janohah
Abuk
Jeb. Mastabah
Nebi. Hud
Ashtaroth
Alema
Ain Dakkar
Khusfin
Tell Abu Yusef
Tell Haras
Suciesh
Nawa
Sh. Saad
El Merkez
Tell Ashtaroth
Tell Asharah
Tell es Senak
Haifa
Mount Carmel
Tell el Kadi
Shefa Amr
Rimmon, Dimnah
Madon
Zedim
Kattah
Tell el Nahl
Athlit
el Hajeb
Jeba
Zerka
Mamas
Nahr el Mefjir
Dead River of Crusades
Abu Zabrah
Nahr Iskanderuneh
Salt River of Crusades
Aphek
Jett
Nahr el Falik
Rochetaille of Crusades
el Haram
Kefr Saba
Raddana
Beit Adis
Beit Ahil
el Husn
Izmal
Tell Abu Yusef
Kefr Naphtah
Tell Haras
el Eshshek
Suciesh
Ain Dakkar
Khusfin
Tell el Mezrieb
Ashtaroth
Tell Ashtarah
Alema
Abdin
Tabariyeh
el Ekseir
Tell Ashary
Tuffas
Sta
Tell es Sheihh
el Mezrarib
Tell el Zeloy
Arbila
Betonim
el Butein
Ramah Mizpeh
Ain Jamneh
Kefreny
Jeb Hakarr
Jeb Nejdeh
Dibbin
Tekoa
Burmeh
Jebel Ka'Rantel
Jebel Ka'Rantina
Jebel Ajlun
Wady Zerka
Jeb Mastabah
Abuk
Ramoth Gilead
Gerasa
Mizpeh
Ajlun
Ain Jamneh
Kefreny
Jeb Hakarr
Jeb Nejdeh
Dibbin
Tekoa
Nebi. Hud
Burmeh
Ragaba
Amathus
Succoth
Tell Deir Alla
Jeb Mastabah
Abuk
Wady Zerka
Jebel Ka'Rantina
Jebel Ka'Rantel
Jebel Ajlun
Castle of Rabad
Mizpeh
Ajlun
Ain Jamneh
Kefreny
Ramoth Gilead
Gerasa

JOPPA or Japha
(Yafa)
Mount Ephraim
Shiloh
(Seilun)
Gath Rimmon
(Beit Rima)
Gilgal
(Jiljulieh)
Thimnathah
(Tibneh)
Jebel
(el Yenduyeh)
Ono
(Kefr Ana)
Bene Berak
(Ibn Ibrak)
Jazur
(Yazur)
Lydda Lod
(Ludd)
Beth Dagon
(Dagun)
Jehudah
(Yehudiyeh)
Sarid
(el Kefireh)
Gebellat
(Deir Yehanni)
Gibbethon
(Kibbiah)
Elon
(Beit Ilu)
M'Azotus
(Kefr ez Zeitun)
Jeshanah
(Ain Sinia)
Baal Hazor
(Tell Asur)
Chedar-Nathan
Ophni
(Jufna)
Hammath
(Hammam)
Quibah Ephraim
(el Tayibeh)
Adida Hadid
(Haditheh)
Modin
(Midieh)
Zereda
(Surdah)
Bethel
(Beitin)
Rock Rimmon
(Rummon)
Ataroth
(Atara)
Naarah
(Ain Duk)
Ramleh
(Er Ramleh)
Gazu
(Jazu)
Baalath
(Belat)
Arch
(Ain Arik)
Ai
(Et Tell)
Ai Aiath
(Et Tell Ayan)
Zemaraim
(Ras es Sumra)
Rock Oreb
(Gib el Ghurab)
Mount Baalah?
Beth Horon Lower
(Beit ur el Tahta)
Eleasa
(Kh. Ilasa)
Beeroth Bene-ja
(Birch)
Beth Horon Upper
(Beit ur el Foka)
Secim
(Kh. Sukeikeh)
Michmash
(Mukhmas)
Bocrim
(Ain Mahruk)
Beth Nimrah
(Tell Nimrin)
Jahneel Jahneh Jamnia
(Yebneh)
Ekron
(Akir)
Naamah
(Jamun)
Shiveathbaal
Gezer
(Tell Jezer)
Gibeah
(Jeba)
Geba Gaba Gibeah
Jericho
Gilgal
(Jiljulieh)
Abel Shittim
(Tell Kefrayn)
Tyrus
(Arak el Emir)
Kasr
Mushirfeh
Maledah
(el Mughar)
Jahzeel
(Kh. Kuweizibeh)
Emmaus
(Kubeibeh)
Gibeah
(Tuleil)
Alemeth
(Khirbet Almit)
Asmoth
(Es Sawiyeh)
Adummim
(Tal'at ed Dumm)
Ain es Sultan
Sabula el Kabbud
Jazer
(Sert Jerah)
Elealah
(El Al)
Heshbon
(Hesban)
Libben
Hunaeh
Beth Aram
(Tell Iktanu)
Zoar
(Shaghur)
Silmah
(Sumia)
Beth Jeshimoth
(Suweimeh)
Ashdoth Pisgah
(Arak el Ajar)
Masin
Asbaran
Mashita
Mt Pisgah
(Ras es Siyagha)
Mt Nebo or Pisgah
(Neba)
Zedekiah
Diblathaim
Beth Jeshimoth
(Suweimeh)
Hebron
(Beit Ainun)
Gederah
(Kh. Jedireh)
Jehlah
(Beit Nettif)
Mesad
(Kh. Mesheid)
Jarmuth
(Yarmuk)
Jerusalem
(Kudsh)
Beth Anoth
(Beit Anan)
Adoraim
(Dura)
Socoh
(Kh. Shuweikeh)
Azekah
(Kh. Zakariya)
Zanoah
(Kh. Zanuta)
Eshtaol
(Eshua)
Zorah
(Sura)
Mekonah
(Ez Zuweideh)
Asbdod Azotus
(Esdud)
Timnath
(Tibneh)
Beth Shemesh
(Ain Shems)
Kiriath Jearim
(Kuryet el Enab)
Ekron
(Akir)
Suafir esh Shemaliyeh
Saphirro
(Sifarin)
Hadashah
(Hadid)
Ashkelon Askalon
(Askalan)
Migdal Gad
(El Mejdel)
Beit Affeh
Enganim
(El Jinneh)
Tekoa
(Tekua)
Wilderness of Tekoa
Bethlehem
(Beit Lahm)
Mar Saba
Shechem
(Nablus)
Middin
(Kh. Mird)
Gomorrah
(Khurbet Kumran)
Ras Feshkhah
Ain el Feshkhah
Benoth Baal
(El Mureibeh)
Medeba
(Madeba)
Djize
Ziza
Beth Meon
Baal Meon
(Maain)
Beth Peor
(Mayin)
Marsaghah
Ain Zarka Main
Callirhoe
(Baths of Herod)
Dimon
Madmen
(Medeinen)
Dubbaa
Nahaliel
Zareth Shahar
(Zara)
Ataroth
(Attarus)
Kiriathaim
(Kureiyat)
Macherus
(Mekaur)
Wadi Zerka Main
Lachish
(Umm Lakis)
Eglon
(Ajlan)
Lachish
(Umm Lakis)
Bozkath
(Umm el Biyar)
Anthedon
(Teda)
Majumas Gaza
(el Mash)
GAZA
(Ghuzzeh)
Beth Tappuah
(Tuffuh)
Sitten Well
(Ain sitteh)
Hebron
(Kiriath Arba)
Hanim
(Beni Naim)
Cabbon
(Kh. Zuheileh)
Lahmas
(Khirbet el Lahm)
Dannah
(Idhna)
Holon Hilen
(Beit Aujeh)
Nezib
(Beit Nusib)
Bethel
(Beit Aula)
Halhul
(Halhul)
Beth Anoth
(Kh. Beit Aanun)
Zoar
(Safieh)
Ziph
(Tell Zif)
Maresha
(Kh. Mer'ash)
Eleutheropolis
(Beit Jibrin)
Ether
(Kh. Attir)
Ir-Nahash
(Deir Nakhkhas)
Beersh
(Beersheba)
Telem
(Kh. Telim)
Wilderness of Hebron
Wilderness of Ziph
Dilean
(Beit Dejan)
Eshtemoa
(es Semua)
Maon
(Kh. Main)
Carmel
(el Karmul)
Rachal
(El Kuseifeh)
Jezreel
(Kh. Ismail)
Ain Hajla
Wady Makkukh
Bell of Hardilah
Ain Gedi Hazezon Tamar
(Ain Jidy)
Dead Sea
The Salt Sea
(Bahr Lut)
(1292 ft below Mediterranean)
Arad
(Kh. Arad)
Siphmoth
Jagur
Kerioth Hezron
(Kh. Karyatein)
Middin
(Ain Jeweibeh)
Masada
(Sebbeh)
Beth Birei
Beth Lebaoth
(Kh. Lebweid)
Dimonah
(Adaadeh)
Jeshua
(Kh. Sawa)
Kh. Hora
Fara
Beersheba
(Bir es Seba)
Sheba
(Tell es Seba)
Beth-palet-phelet
(Kh. Khuraibeh)
Wady es Seba
Wady el Milh
City of Salt
Moladah
(Tell el Milh)
Adadah
(el Zeidah)
Aroer
(Ararah)
Route from Egypt to Hebron
Edom or Idumea
Jebel Usdum
El Lissan
Ed
(es Solf)
Mahas
Sar
Kabbath Ammon
Philadelphia
(Amman)
Joghbehah
(el Jubeiliah)
Yajuz
Rammun
Gadda
(Kulat es Zerkat)
Pennel
(Teb Osha)
Ar of Moab
Rabbath Moab
(Rabba)
Kir of Moab
(Kerak)
Luith
(Sarabut)
Aroer
(Arair)
Dibon or Daibon
(Dhiban)
Mahaiter el Haj
Han es Zebib
Jeh Shihan
Sal es Sindeh
Motah
Hutraneh
Moza to Damascus
The Haj Road
Arnon
Wady Mojib
Wady Ahsy
Wady Hesa
Wady Kerak
Wady Hasa
Wady Ghuweir
Wady Fikreh
Wady Hanaiyeh
Wady Sufieh
Wady Jeib
Wady Sherah
Wady Ghurab
Wady Jeib

DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

A

A.—This letter is used in critical notes on the text of OT and NT to denote the Codex Alexandrinus, a MS of the Greek Bible written apparently in Egypt *c.* A.D. 450, placed in the library of the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1098, presented by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople (formerly of Alexandria), to Charles I. in 1628, and now in the British Museum. It contains the whole Bible except Gn 14^{14-17} $15^{1-5.\ 16-19}$ 16^{6-9}, 1 K [1 S] 12^{18}–14^{9}, Ps 49 (50)^{20}–79 (80)^{11}, Mt 1^{1}–25^{6}, Jn 6^{50}–8^{52}, 2 Co 4^{13}–12^{7}. The Psalter is introduced by a letter of Athanasius to Marcellinus, the *Hypotheses* of Eusebius, and various tables; and is concluded by a collection of Canticles from OT and NT, and a Christian Morning Hymn. Rev is followed by two Epistles of Clement (wanting 1^{58-63} 2^{13-20}), both apparently still in ecclesiastical use at the time when this MS. was written. Last of all, marked as extra-canonical, came eighteen Psalms of Solomon; but this part has disappeared. Its readings in OT can be most readily ascertained from Professor Swete's edition of the LXX. Its NT text was published by Woide in 1786, by B. H. Cowper in 1860, and by E. H. Hansell in a parallel text, 1864. The whole MS was published in a photographic facsimile by the Curators of the British Museum in 1879. J. O. F. MURRAY.

ℵ (Aleph), the first letter in the Heb. alphabet. This symbol in crit. app. denotes the Codex Sinaiticus, a MS of the Greek Bible discovered in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai by C. Tischendorf, 1844 and 1859. It was written towards the middle or end of the 4th cent. Four scribes at least were employed on it. The scribe who copied Tobit and Judith wrote also six cancel leaves in the NT containing Mt 16^{9}–18^{12} 24^{36}–26^{6}, Mk 14^{54}–Lk 1^{55}, 1 Th 2^{14}–5^{28}, He 4^{16}–8^{1}, besides various headlines, titles, subscriptions, and section numbers. This scribe Tischendorf further identified with the scribe who wrote the NT in Codex B, Vaticanus (which see). The MS shows marks of revision due to various hands from the 4th cent. to the 12th cent. One of these, $\aleph^{ca}$, 7th cent., declares in a note at the end of 2 Es [Ezr-Neh] and at the end of Est, that he had compared the MS in these books with a very ancient copy transcribed by Antoninus the Confessor, and collated with Origen's Hexapla by the holy martyr Pamphilus when in prison at Cæsarea. The corrections introduced by him in these books, though of an Origenic character, certainly do not embody the complete Hexaplaric text.

There seems to be no clear evidence to show either where the MS was written, or how it passed into the possession of the monks of St. Catherine. While in their possession it fell into decay, and long ago the outside sheets were cut up for bookbinding purposes; and Tischendorf was convinced that the sheets he rescued in 1844 were only waiting their turn for use in the oven. It is not surprising, therefore, that the MS is now far from complete. It contains portions of Gn 23. 24 and of Nu 5. 6. 7; 1 Ch 9^{27}–19^{17}, 2 Es $9^{9\text{-}end}$ [Ezr 9^{9}–Neh], Est, To, Jth, 1 Mac, 4 Mac (3 Mac perhaps lost), Is, Jer, La 1–2^{20}, Jl, Ob, Jon, Nah, Hab, Zeph, Hag, Zec, Mal, Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, Wis, Sir, Job. The NT is complete, and is followed by the Epistle of Barnabas and part of the Shepherd of Hermas.

The text has been published in facsimile type—(1) in 1846, 'Cod. Frid.-Aug.,' containing the sheets of OT secured in 1844; (2) in 1862, 'Cod. Sin.,' containing, besides NT, the rest of OT, with the exception of a few verses (published in an appendix in 1867). Tischendorf also published the NT text in a handy volume in 1863. The OT readings are most easily accessible in Swete's edition of the LXX (Cambridge, 1887–95, ed. 2, 1895–8).

J. O. F. MURRAY.

A.—A symbol used in OT criticism by Dillmann to signify the Priestly elements of the Hex., more usually known as P. See HEXATEUCH.

F. H. WOODS.

A is frequently used in AV, and sometimes retained in RV, in constructions that are now obsolete. It is found both as an adj. (or indef. art.) and as a prep. 1. *A*, as an adj., is a worn-down form of the Old English adj. *an*, 'one.' (1) In modern Eng. *a* is used before a consonantal sound, *an* before a vowel sound. In the Eng. VSS of the Bible this usage is not invariable. See AN. (2) *A* is found qualifying abstract nouns without affecting their meaning: Wis 12^{17} 'thou art of a full power' (RV 'perfect in power'); 12^{19} 'to be of a good hope' (RV 'of good hope'); 2 Co 10^{6} 'having in a readiness' (RV 'being in readiness'); 2 Mac 13^{12} 'commanded they should be in a readiness.' Cf. Guylforde, *Pylgrymage* 7: 'alwaye in a redynesse to set forth when they woll.' On the other hand it is sometimes omitted where it is required for individualising: Sir 39^{17} 'at time convenient.' (3) In Lk 9^{28} 'about

an eight days (RV about eight days) after these sayings' the art. is used as in 'a good many'; so 1 Mac 4^{15} 'there were slain of them upon a three thousand men' (RV 'about three thousand').

2. In other expressions *A* is a prep., being a worn-down form of *an* or *on*, and stands for the modern 'at,' 'in,' or 'on.' 2 Ch 2^{18} 'three thousand and six hundred overseers to set the people a work' (RV 'a work'); 1 Co 9^{7} 'who goeth a warfare (RV 'serveth') any time at his own charges?' Jth 7^{2} 'horsemen . . . and other men that were afoot.' Most frequently with a verbal noun in 'ing': 2 Ch 16^{6} 'wherewith Baasha was a building' (AV of 1611, later edd. 'was building,' RV 'had builded'); 1 Es 6^{20} 'Being still a building, it is not yet fully ended'; Lk 8^{42} 'She lay a dying.' The full form *an* or *on* remained side by side with this worn-down form: Ac 13^{36} 'David . . . fell on sleep'; Mt 4^{2} 'He was afterward an hungered' (RV 'He afterward hungered.' 'An hungered' occurs also Mt $12^{1.\ 3}$ $25^{35.\ 37.\ 42.\ 44}$, Mk 2^{25}, Lk 6^{3}, and in all these places RV leaves it unchanged).

LITERATURE.—Besides the necessary edd. of the Eng. Bible, Skeat, *Etymol. Dict. of the Eng. Lang.*[2]; Murray and Bradley, *Eng. Dict. on Hist. Principles* (called the *Oxford Eng. Dict.*); Whitney, *Century Dict.*; Wright, *Bible Word Book*[2]; Michie, *Bible Words and Phrases*; Mayhew, *Select Glossary of Bible Words*; Trench, *Select Glossary*; together with the Concordances to Shakespeare, Milton, etc.; and the Clarendon Press and Pitt Press edd. of the Eng. works of the period.

J. HASTINGS.

AARON (אַהֲרֹן, LXX Ἀαρών).—In the narratives of the Exodus, Aaron is, after Moses, the most prominent figure. Often appearing as the colleague or representative of the great leader and lawgiver, he is in particular the priest, and the head of the Israelitish priesthood. We must, however, distinguish between our different authorities in the Pent., for in the priestly narrative Aaron not unnaturally occupies a far more important place than in the earlier account of JE.

In JE, Aaron is first introduced as Moses' brother, and with the title of the *Levite*, in Ex 4^{14} J, where J″, sending Moses on his mission to the Israelites, appoints him, on account of his fluency in speech, to be the spokesman of Moses to the people (vv.$^{14-16}$). Aaron meets his brother in the mount of God; together they return to Egypt and assemble the elders of the Israelites, before whom Aaron, instructed by Moses, delivers God's message and performs the appointed signs. The people believe; but when Moses and Aaron request Pharaoh to grant the people temporary leave of absence, the king refuses to listen to them (Ex 4–6^{1}). In the account of the plagues Aaron occupies quite a subordinate place, being the silent companion of his brother. It is Moses who is sent to Pharaoh and announces the coming plagues (Ex $7^{14ff.}$ $8^{1ff.\ 20ff.}$ $9^{1ff.\ 13ff.}$ [J mainly]—with 10^{3} contrast 10^{6} '*he* turned'). Aaron is merely called in four times along with Moses to entreat for their removal ($8^{8.25}$ 9^{27} 10^{16}). Indeed it seems probable that the mention of Aaron in these passages is due, not to the original narrative of J, but to the editor who combined J and E; for in each case Moses alone answers, and in his own name; in 8^{30} 9^{33} 10^{18} his departure alone is mentioned, while in 8^{12} it is Moses alone who prays for the removal of the frogs. In the history of the wanderings the passages relating to Aaron are for the most part derived from E, where indeed Miriam is described as the sister of Aaron (15^{20}). With Hur he assists Moses in holding up the rod of God to ensure the defeat of Amalek ($17^{10.\ 12}$ E), and together with the elders he is called to Jethro's sacrifice (18^{12} E). At Sinai, while priests and people remain below, Aaron accompanies Moses up the mountain (19^{24} J), together with Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel ($24^{1ff.\ 9-11}$); and when Moses with Joshua alone is about to approach still nearer to God, Aaron and Hur are temporarily appointed supreme judges of the people ($24^{13.\ 14}$ E). Moses' absence being prolonged, Aaron, at the people's request, makes a golden calf as a visible symbol of J″, for which he afterwards weakly excuses himself to Moses, throwing the blame upon the people ($32^{1-5.\ 21-25}$). At a later period Aaron with Miriam opposes Moses, on the ground that they also are recipients of divine revelations, Miriam being apparently regarded as the leader on this occasion, since the punishment falls upon her (Nu 12 E). Some further particulars relating to Aaron are to be learnt from Dt, in passages apparently based on the narrative of JE; namely the intercession offered by Moses on his account after the making of the golden calf (Dt 9^{20}); the choice of Levi as the priestly tribe, probably in consequence of the zeal shown by them against the idolaters ($10^{8f.}$); the death of Aaron at Moserah (site unknown), and the succession of his son Eleazar to the priestly office ($10^{6.\ 7}$, the itinerary probably from E, cf. Nu $21^{12f.\ 16.\ 18ff.}$). The last passage is important as showing that the tradition of a hereditary priesthood in the family of Aaron was found even outside the priestly history. Comp. Jos 24^{33} E, where mention is made of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the son of Aaron.

It is, however, in the priestly tradition, where the institution of the ordinances of divine worship is described at length, that Aaron figures most prominently as the founder of the Israelitish priesthood, and becomes, indeed, with Moses the joint leader of the people. P records several details respecting Aaron's family: he is the son of Amram and Jochebed (Ex 6^{20}), and three years older than Moses (*ib.* 7^{7}, Nu 33^{39}). His wife was Elisheba, his sons Nadab, Abihu (cf. Ex $24^{1.\ 9}$ E?), Eleazar (cf. Jos 24^{33} E), and Ithamar. See Ex 6^{23} etc. A slightly different representation of Aaron's first commission is given in Ex 6^{2}–7^{13} P, from that in the parallel narrative Ex 4–6^{1} JE. Here Aaron is appointed the spokesman of Moses, not to the people, but to Pharaoh (see 7^{1}), and it is before the king that Aaron works a wonder, turning his rod into a serpent. From this point onwards the importance assigned to Aaron in P becomes very marked. He regularly co-operates with Moses at the time of the Egyp. plagues, usually bringing these to pass by means of his rod in accordance with Moses' instructions (Ex $7^{19f.}$ $8^{5f.\ 16f.}$). Many commands of God are addressed to both leaders alike (Ex 9^{8-10} $12^{1.\ 43}$, Lv 11^{1} 13^{1} 14^{33} 15^{1}, Nu 2^{1}, cf. $1^{3.\ 17.\ 44}$); they are consulted by the people (Nu 9^{6} 15^{33}, cf. 13^{26}), and against both of them the murmurings of the people are directed (Ex 16^{2}, Nu 14^{2}, cf.^{26} $16^{3.\ 41}$ cf.^{18} 20^{2}). All this, however, does not prevent distinct and characteristic parts being assigned to each of them. Thus the first place is given to Moses throughout. He receives the divine revelation on Mount Sinai respecting the appointment of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood (Ex 28^{1-4} 29^{44}), and upon the completion of the tabernacle solemnly consecrates them, and offers the appointed sacrifices (Ex 29, Lv 8. 9). Aaron, on the other hand, is specially 'the priest' (Ex 31^{10} 35^{19} 38^{21}, Lv 13^{2}, Nu 18^{28}), who stays a plague by an offering of incense (Nu 16^{46-48}); to his charge the tabernacle is committed (*ib.* $4^{5.\ 19.\ 27f.\ 33}$), and to him the Levites are given in exchange for the firstborn (*ib.* $3^{39ff.}$). Aaron is distinguished from his sons, the inferior priests, by the anointing which he receives (Ex 29^{7}, Lv 8^{12}, cf. Ex 29^{29}, Lv $4^{3.\ 5.\ 16}$ $6^{20.\ 22}$ 16^{32} $21^{10.\ 12}$, Nu 35^{25}): — passages which speak of his sons as being also anointed

probably belong to the later additions to the Priestly Code (Ex 28^{41} 30^{30} 40^{15}, Lv 7^{36}, Nu 3^{3}). Between the family of Aaron and the rest of the Levites a sharp distinction is drawn (see esp. Nu 3. 4). In this connection it is to be noticed that in the main portion of Nu 16 Korah's companions in his rebellion are called 'princes of the congregation' (16^{2}), *i.e.* not all Levites (cf. Nu 27^{3}); their complaints are directed against the exclusive claims of the tribe of Levi, and all murmurings are finally silenced by the miraculous budding of the rod of Aaron, the representative of the house of Levi (Nu 17^{1-11}). But certain additions seem to have been made to the chapter to emphasize a different point, and in these passages Korah's companions are regarded as wholly Levites, who protest against the superior claims of the house of Aaron (Nu $16^{9-11.16-19.36-40}$). See further, PRIESTS; also AARONITES, AARON'S ROD, KORAH.

For failing to show due honour to J" at Meribah Kadesh, in the fortieth year of the wanderings, Aaron was forbidden to enter the promised land (Nu 20^{8-13}). Shortly afterwards, accompanied by Moses and his own son Eleazar, Aaron ascended Mount Hor, on the border of the land of Edom, and after being solemnly stripped of his priestly garments, which were put on Eleazar, died there at the age of 123 (Nu 20^{22-29} $33^{38f.}$ P). The site of Mount Hor is uncertain, the traditional identification with Jebel Nebi Harun, S.W. of Petra, being very doubtful (see Dillm. on Nu 20^{22}); the itinerary of P (Nu 33^{30-38}) names six stages between Moseroth (Dt 10^{6} Moserah) and Mt. Hor.

In the older literature outside the Pent., the mission of Moses and Aaron in Egypt is alluded to in Jos 24^{5} E, and 1 S $12^{6.8}$ (a passage which has affinities with E). Micah (6^{4}) names as the leaders of the people at the time of the Exodus, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, but Aaron is not mentioned elsewhere in the prophets. H. A. WHITE.

AARONITES (בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן 'sons of Aaron').—This phrase might, according to Sem. idiom, denote either the members of a class or guild (comp. sons of Korah, sons of Asaph, sons of the prophets), or members of a family connected by blood kinship. As used in OT it was understood in the latter sense, all the priests, at anyrate from the time of the second temple, tracing their descent from Aaron, as the head and founder of the Israelitish priesthood. The term does not occur earlier than the priestly portions of the Pent., where in certain groups of laws the epithet Aaronites is often given to the priests (see esp. Lv 1–3, and comp. 6^{9} 'Aaron and his sons'), and a sharp distinction is drawn between the Aaronite priests and the Levites who wait upon them (see esp. Nu 3^{10} 16^{40} 18^{1-7}). It is doubtful whether any mention of the Aaronites or seed of Aaron was to be found in the original H (Law of Holiness), the present text of Lv 17^{2} $21^{1.17.21.24}$ $22^{2.4.18}$ being probably due to the R. The Chronicler divides the priests into the houses of Eleazar and Ithamar, assigning sixteen courses to the former and eight to the latter; and, probably without good authority, he connects the former with the Zadokite priests of Jerus., and the latter with the family of Eli (1 Ch 24), though the name of one of Eli's sons (cf. also 1 S $2^{27f.}$) would suggest a connexion between this family and Phinehas the son of Eleazar (Jos 24^{33}). Throughout his work the priests are frequently termed the Aaronites (sons of Aaron)—viz. 1 Ch $6^{54.57}$ 15^{4} $23^{28.32}$ $24^{1.31}$, 2 Ch $13^{9.10}$ 26^{18} 29^{21} 31^{19} 35^{14}, Neh 10^{38} 12^{47}. In 1 Ch 12^{27} 27^{17} the house or family of Aaron is placed on a level with the other tribes; and similarly in some late Psalms, by the side of the House of Israel and the House of Levi, the priestly class is described as the House of Aaron (Ps $115^{10.12}$ 118^{3} 135^{19}). H. A. WHITE.

AARON'S ROD.—Aaron's rod is the centre of interest in an important incident of the desert wanderings—time and place are both uncertain—as recorded by the priestly narrator (P), Nu 17^{1-11} (Heb. text 17^{16-26}). The passage should be studied in connexion with the more complex narrative in ch. 16, to the events of which the incident in question forms the sequel (see Driver, *LOT* 59 f.). In obedience to a divine command, 12 rods, representing the 12 princes of the tribes, each with the name of a prince engraved upon it, together with a 13th rod (cf. Vulg. fueruntque virgæ duodecim absque virga Aaron) to represent the tribe of Levi, but bearing the name of Aaron, were deposited by Moses before 'the testimony,' *i.e.* before the ark. The following morning it was found that 'the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and put forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and bare ripe almonds' (17^{8} RV), by which it was miraculously proved that J" had Himself selected the tribe of Levi to be the exclusive possessors of the priestly prerogatives. The standpoint of the narrator is thus different from that of a later stratum in the foregoing section, which represents a party of *Levites* in revolt against the exclusive priesthood of the sons of Aaron. 'Aaron's rod that budded' was ordered to be put back to its former place '*before* the [ark of the] testimony' (17^{10}) as a token to future generations of the divine choice. A later Jewish tradition, at variance with this command, and with the express statement of 1 K 8^{9}, is found in He 9^{4}, and in later Jewish writers, that the rod, like the pot of manna, had a place with the tables of stone *within* the ark.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

AB.—See NAMES (PROPER), and TIME.

ABACUC.—The form in which the name of the prophet Habakkuk appears in 2 Es 1^{40}.

ABADDON.—This word is found in the OT only in the Wisdom Literature. When it first appears, the old view of Sheol as a place where the family, national, and social distinctions of the world above are reproduced, had been partially displaced; and in some measure the higher conception had gained acceptance, which held that in Sheol at all events moral distinctions were paramount, and that men were treated there according to their deserts. In Job 31^{12} Abaddon (אֲבַדּוֹן) bears the general meaning of 'ruin,' 'destruction.' (But see Dillm. and Dav. *in loc.*) In the other instances of its occurrence, however, it is specialised, and designates the place of the lost in Sheol. Thus in Job 26^{6}, Pr 15^{11} 27^{20} (אבדה, וו Kerê אֲבַדּוֹן) it occurs in conjunction with 'Sheol' (שְׁאוֹל), and in Ps 88^{11} with 'grave' (קבר). Again, in Job 28^{22} a further development is to be observed. In this passage it is linked with death (מות), and personified in the same way as we find שָׁמְיָא in Dn 4^{23} and Hades in Rev 6^{8}, and שמים מקום in the Talmud. The word is found once more in the Bible in Rev 9^{11}. In this passage it is used as the proper name of a prince of the infernal regions, and explained by the word Ἀπολλύων='Destroyer.' In the LXX אבדון is always rendered by ἀπώλεια, except in Job 31^{12} where LXX implies a different text. The first two meanings above given are found in the Aram. and later Heb. Finally, in the latter in the 'Emek Hammelech, f. 15. 3, Abaddon becomes the lowest place of Gehenna.

R. H. CHARLES.

ABADIAS (Ἀβαδίας), 1 Es 8^{35}.—Son of Jezelus, of the sons of Joab, returned with Ezra from captivity. Called Obadiah, son of Jehiel, Ezr 8^{9}.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ABAGTHA (אֲבַגְתָא, Est 1^{10}), one of the seven chamberlains or eunuchs sent by Ahasuerus (Xerxes) to fetch the queen, Vashti, to his banquet. The name, which is apparently Persian, is probably akin to the names Bigtha (1^{10}) and Bigthan (2^{21}). For the derivation, *bagdâna*='God's gift,' has been suggested, but cannot be regarded as certain. In the LXX the names of the chamberlains are quite different from the Hebrew.

H. A. WHITE.

ABANAH (אֲבָנָה, Kerê אֲמָנָה, AV Abana; AVm Amana, RVm Amanah; 2 K 5^{12}). This 'river of Damascus,' the Chrysorrhoas of the Greeks, is identified with the *Barada*, to whose waters Damascus owes her life. Rising in the uplands near Baalbec, it drains the hollow in the bosom of Anti-Lebanon. *'Ain el Barada*, in the plain of *Zebedâny*, swells the stream, which then plunges down the deep picturesque gorge of *Wady Barada*. About 14 miles N.W. of Damascus, in a beautiful romantic spot in the heart of the hills, rises the mighty fountain *el Fîjeh* (Gr. πηγή, a spring); a river born in a moment, which, after a brief, foaming course, joins the *Barada*, more than doubling its volume. It then flows along the bottom of a deep winding valley, shaded by beautiful and fruitful trees; bare, yellow rocks towering high on either hand above the green. About half the water is led captive along the eastern bank towards the city, the Beyrout road passing between the streams. Just where the precipitous cliffs advance as if to close the gorge, it escapes from the mountains, and, throwing itself out fanlike in many branches, waters the plain, supplies the city, and drains off into the northern two of the marshy lakes eastward. One branch is called *Nahr Banias*, a reminiscence of the ancient name.

W. EWING.

ABARIM (הָעֲבָרִים).—A plural form of the word signifying 'part beyond'; and with respect to the Jordan, on the E. side of it. It is used as a proper name preceded by הַר 'mount' (Nu 27^{12}, Dt 32^{49}), and by הָרֵי 'mountains' (Nu 33^{47}). It is also found with עִיֵּי [see IYE-ABARIM] (Nu 21^{11} 33^{44}). In all these places the def. art. is used with Abarim, but in Jer 22^{20} (RV Abarim, AV 'the passages') the def. art. is not used. For the geogr. position see NEBO. The LXX translate A. by τὸ πέραν, except in Nu 33^{47}, Dt 32^{49} where they have τὰ (τὸ) Ἀβαρείν(μ). For Ezk 39^{11}, and a very doubtful use of this word, see Smend, *in loc.*

A. T. CHAPMAN.

ABASE, ABASEMENT.—Abase is three times used in AV, and retained in RV to translate שָׁפֵל *shâphêl*, otherwise rendered 'bring low' or 'make low,' 'bring down' or 'bow down,' 'humble'; and once to tr. עָנָה, Is 31^{4} 'he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself (=be cast down) for the noise of them.' In NT it is five times used to render ταπεινόω, changed in RV into 'humble,' except in Ph 4^{12} 'I know how to be abased,' and 2 Co 11^{7} 'Commit a sin in abasing myself.' **Abasement**, meaning humiliation, occurs in Sir 20^{11} 'There is an a. because of glory; and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.' Cf. Sir 25^{23} RV 'A wicked woman is a. of heart' (AV 'abateth the courage'). Notice that 'abasement' and 'basement' (a mod. word) are distinct, both in derivation and meaning.

J. HASTINGS.

ABATE.—This verb occurs only six times in AV (all in OT), and yet it translates five different Heb. words. The meaning of the Eng. word is, however, the same throughout, to *lessen*. 'His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated' [Driver: 'neither had his freshness fled'] (Dt 34^{7}). 'It shall be abated (RV an abatement shall be made) from thy estimation' (Lv 27^{18}). (See ESTIMATION.) 'The waters were abated' (RV 'decreased') (Gn 8^{3}). RV tr. still another Heb. word 'abated' in Nu 11^{2} (AV 'was quenched'). The word is also found with the same sense in Wis 16^{24}, Sir 25^{23}, 1 Mac 5^{3} 11^{49}. Cf. Shakespeare—

> 'Abate thy rage, abate thy manly rage.'
> —*Henry V.* III. ii. 24.

And Walton, 'Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience,' *Lives*, iv. 288.

J. HASTINGS.

ABBA.—The transliteration (ἀββᾶ) of the Aram. word for 'father'; see, for example, the Targ. of Onk. (perhaps of the 1st cent.) at Gn 19^{34} (cf. G. Dalman, *Gram. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*, § 40, c. 3). It occurs three times in the NT, and always in direct address, viz. in our Lord's prayer in Gethsemane as given by St. Mark (14^{36}), and in the 'cry' of the Spirit as referred to by St. Paul (Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}).

The phenomena connected with the form and use of the word have occasioned divers opinions, the merits of which our present knowledge does not always enable us to pronounce upon with positiveness. It has been held, for instance (see John Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr. ad Mc. l.c.*), that when spelt with the double *b* and final *a*, the word refers to physical fatherhood; accordingly, our Lord's choice of that form is thought to indicate special closeness of relationship. But the frequent use of Abba simply as a title of honour in the Mishna and Tosefta seems to disprove this opinion (Schürer, *HJP* § 25, n. 30; cf. Jg 17^{10}, 2 K 2^{12}, Mt 23^{9}). On the other hand, it has been asserted that in Syr. the word with the double *b* denotes a spiritual father, with a single *b* the natural. But this distinction also seems not to be sustained by usage (see Payne Smith's *Lexicon, s.v.*). Again, it is noteworthy that the Gr. equivalent, ὁ πατήρ, is appended to the term in all three instances of its occurrence. The second Evangelist, indeed, in other cases sometimes introduces the Aram. terms used by our Lord (see 5^{41} $7^{11.\,34}$); but in those cases the added Gr. translation is preceded by an explanatory phrase distinctly marking it as such. Moreover, the Apostle Paul makes the same addition of ὁ πατήρ in both instances. Had the term 'Abba,' then, become a quasi proper name? Indications are not wanting that it had already taken on a degree of conventional sacredness; servants were forbidden to use it in addressing the head of the house (Berachoth 16*b*, cited by Delitzsch on Rom. *l.c.*). It seems to have been the favourite appellation of God employed by Jesus in prayer (cf. Mt $11^{25.\,26}$ $26^{39.\,42}$, Lk 10^{21} 22^{42} 23^{34}, Jn 11^{41} $12^{27.\,28}$ $17^{1.\,11.\,24.\,25}$). This would greatly promote its use in Christian circles; and though the second word was probably added primarily by Gr.-speaking Jews in explanation of the first, usage doubtless soon gave the phrase the force of an intensified repetition and the currency of a devotional formula. Merely impassioned repetition, indeed, ordinarily adheres to the same term (as κύριε, κύριε, Mt 7^{22}; ἠλεί, ἠλεί, 27^{46}); such expressions, therefore, as ναί, ἀμήν, Rev 1^{7} (cf. 2 Co 1^{20}); 'Amen, So be it'; 'Hallelujah, Praise the Lord,' are closer analogues. Rabbinical examples are not wanting of similar combinations; see Schoettgen, *Horæ Hebr.* on Mark, *l.c.*

J. H. THAYER.

ABDA (עַבְדָא), 'servant, *sc.* of the Lord'; cf. names Obadiah, Abdeel, Ebed.—**1.** Ἐφρά B, Ἀβαώ A, Ἐδράμ Luc. Father of Adoniram, master of Solomon's forced levy (1 K 4^{6}). **2.** Ἀβδάς ℵ, Ἀβδιάς Luc. A Levite descended from Jeduthun (Neh 11^{17}). Called Obadiah (1 Ch 9^{16}).

C. F. BURNEY.

ABDEEL (עַבְדְּאֵל), father of Shelemiah (Jer 36[26]), one of those ordered by King Jehoiakim to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch. Sept. omits.

ABDI (עַבְדִּי, perhaps for עַבְדִּיָה 'servant of Yah,' cf. Palmyr. עבדי).—**1.** Grandfather of the musician Ethan, 1 Ch 6[44]. **2.** Father of Kish, 2 Ch 29[12]. **3.** A Jew who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[26] = Aedias, 1 Es 9[27]. H. A. WHITE.

ABDIAS (2 Es 1[39]).—Obadiah the prophet.

ABDIEL (עַבְדִּיאֵל 'servant of God').—Son of Guni (1 Ch 5[15]). See GENEALOGY.

ABDON (עַבְדּוֹן 'servile').—**1.** Son of Hillel, of Pirathon in Ephraim, the last of the minor judges, Jg 12[13-15]. **2.** A family of the tribe of Benjamin dwelling in Jerus., 1 Ch 8[23]. **3.** A Gibeonite family dwelling in Jerus., 1 Ch 8[30] 9[36]. **4.** A courtier of Josiah, 2 Ch 34[20]; in 2 K 22[12] his name is Achbor. G. A. COOKE.

ABDON (עַבְדּוֹן).—A Levitical city of Asher (Jos 21[30], 1 Ch 6[74]), now (v. d. Velde) *'Abdeh* E. of Achzib on the hills (*SWP*, vol. i. sheet iii.). C. R. CONDER.

ABEDNEGO (עֲבֶד נְגוֹ; נְגוֹ = perh. נְבוֹ 'servant of Nebo'; so Hitzig, Grätz, Schrader).—See SHADRACH.

ABEL (הֶבֶל, Ἄβελ).—The second son (twin?) of Adam and Eve, by occupation a herdsman (Gn 4[2]), offered to God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain (He 11[4]), and out of jealousy was slain by his elder brother (Gn 4[8]. See CAIN). The current etymology (הֶבֶל breath, vanity) has been disputed by the Assyriologists, who connect the name with ablu, abal, 'son' (cf. Asurbanipal); but while this may well be the root, it does not follow that it gives the etymology in the mind of the writer. There would have been no point in naming the younger brother 'son' (Franz Delitzsch), and it is better to suppose that the proper name was here designed to suggest the idea of the short-lived or possibly the shepherd (cf. הֶבֶל). The representation of A. as a shepherd coincides with the OT tradition of the superiority of the pastoral life. The ground of the acceptance of A.'s offering (Gn 4[4]) is not its conformity to a revealed command, nor its character of blood, but the spirit of true piety which was expressed in his giving to God his best, viz. the firstlings of the flock, and of these the fattest portions. Cain's knowledge of God's acceptance of A.'s offering implies a visible sign, probably the kindling of the sacrifice by fire from heaven (cf. 1 K 18[38]). In NT Abel appears as the first martyr (Mt 23[35]), and as a hero of faith (He 11[4]), while his death is contrasted with that of Christ as calling, not for forgiveness, but for vengeance (cf. Westcott on He 12[24]). The character and the fate of A. reflect the Jewish consciousness of the enduring division of mankind into the two classes of the people and the enemies of God, and of the persecutions endured by His chosen people at the hands of their enemies (cf. 1 Jn 3[12]).

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *COT*; Dillmann, *Genesis*; Delitzsch, *Genesis*; and Literature of SACRIFICE.

W. P. PATERSON.

ABEL (אָבֵל), 'meadow.'—The name of various places in Pal. and Syria, situated by cultivable lands. In one passage (1 S 6[18]) Abel stands apparently for Eben (אֶבֶן), 'stone' (see RV, AVm, LXX, and Tar.), applying to a 'great stone' at Bethshemesh of Judah.

1. Abel-beth-maacah (AV **maachah**) (אָבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה), 'Abel of the House of Maachah' in Upper Galilee (2 S 20[14. 15. 18]), now *'Abil Kamḥ*, 'Abel of wheat,' on the plateau of the mountains a little W. of Tell el-Ḳaḍi (Dan). It was taken by the Syrians in the 10th cent. B.C. (1 K 15[20], 2 Ch 16[4]), and by the Assyrians about B.C. 732 (2 K 15[29]) (*SWP*, vol. i. sheet ii.).

2. Abel-cheramim (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים), 'meadow of vineyards' (Jg 11[33]), on the Moab plateau near Minnith.

3. Abel-maim (אָבֵל מַיִם), 'meadow of waters' (2 Ch 16[4]), the same as No. 1. The mountains in this region are well watered, and the site noted for corn, as its modern name shows.

4. Abel-meholah (אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה), 'meadow of the dance,' or of the 'circle' (Jg 7[22], 1 K 4[12] 19[16]), in the Jordan Valley near Bethshean. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Abel Maula) it is placed 10 Rom. miles from Scythopolis (Bethshean), which points to the present *'Ain Ḥelweh*, or 'sweet spring,' near which is a ruined mound. See *SWP*, vol. ii. sh. ix.

5. Abel-mizraim (אָבֵל מִצְרַיִם), 'meadow of Egyptians' (Gn 50[11]), or (with different points אָבֵל for אָבֵל) 'mourning of Egyptians.' There is a play on the word in this passage. It was between Egypt and Hebron, yet is described as 'beyond Jordan.' It is difficult to suppose that such a route would be taken to Hebron, nor was the region beyond Jordan in Canaan. The site is unknown (see ATAD). [See Delitzsch and Dillm. *in loc.*; Driver, *Deut.* p. xliif., and Taylor in *Expos. Times* (1896), vii. 407.]

6. Abel-shittim (אָבֵל הַשִּׁטִּים), 'meadow of acacias' (Nu 33[49]), in other passages Shittim only (which see). The place is described as in the plains of Moab. The Jordan plain E. of the river, opposite Jericho, is the site now called *Ghôr el Seisebân*, or 'valley of acacias.' The plain is well watered, and still dotted with acacias. (See *SEP*, vol. i.)

C. R. CONDER.

ABHORRING.—In Is 66[24] 'abhorring' means a thing that is abhorred, an abhorrence: 'They shall be an a. unto all flesh.' The same Heb. word (דֵּרָאוֹן) is tr. 'contempt' in Dn 12[2] 'Some to shame and everlasting contempt' (RVm 'abhorrence'). J. HASTINGS.

ABI (אֲבִי, probably = '(my) father'*; LXX 'Αβού) is the name of a queen-mother of the 8th cent. (2 K 18[2]) who is called Abijah in the parallel passage 2 Ch 29[1]. The reading in Kings is the most probable. Abi was daughter of Zechariah (? cf. Is 8[2]), wife of Ahaz, and mother of Hezekiah.

G. B. GRAY.

ABIA, ABIAH.—See ABIJAH.

ABI-ALBON (אֲבִי־עַלְבוֹן, A 'Αελελβων).—A member of 'the Thirty,' or third division of David's heroes (2 S 23[31]). In the parallel passage (1 Ch 11[32]) we find 'Abiel' (אֲבִיאֵל); this is undoubtedly right, and is supported by B ([Γαδ]αβιηλ) and Luc. ([Γαλσ]αβιης). Klostermann has further conjectured that the final syllable 'bon' (בון) of Abi-albon is a corruption of 'Beth' (בית), and belongs to the following word (הערבתי). Wellhausen and Budde restore Abi-baal (אֲבִי־בַעַל). See ARBATHITE.

J. F. STENNING.

ABIASAPH (אֲבִיאָסָף *'Abhi-'asaph* = 'father has gathered'), Ex 6[24] = **EBIASAPH** (אֶבְיָסָף *'Ebh-yaṣaph* = 'father has increased'), 1 Ch 6[23. 37] 9[19]; cf. further 1 Ch 26[1], where Asaph occurs by error for one of the two preceding forms; see Bertheau, *i.l.*

The evidence for the alternative forms may be thus summarised:—

For Abiasaph—Heb. text and Targ. at Ex 6[24]; and possibly Vulg. (*Abiasaph*) in all places, and LXX ('Αβιασάφ or 'Αβιασάρ) in all places except cod. B in 1 Ch 6[23]; but Vulg. and LXX are really ambiguous.

For Ebyasaph—Sam. at Ex 6[24]; Heb. text in all passages in Chronicles. Against the middle א of Abiasaph, and therefore in favour of Ebyasaph, are the Syr. (ܐܒܝܣܦ), Ex

* On the meanings of this name and the following names beginning with Abi, see further art. NAMES, PROPER.

6^{24}, 1 Ch 6^{23}; ܐܒܝܬܪ, 1 Ch 6^{37} 9^{19}) and LXX, B ('Αβιαθάρ=אביתר) in 1 Ch 6^{23}.

The evidence thus preponderates in favour of Ebiasaph.

Ebiasaph is the name of a division of the Korahite Levites, and is mentioned only in the genealogies of P and the Chronicler. According to 1 Ch 9^{19} 26^{1} (in the latter passage read Ebiasaph for Asaph; see above), a section of the division acted as doorkeepers. On the difficulties which arise when Ebiasaph in the genealogies is (erroneously) regarded as an individual, see the article in Smith's *DB*.

G. B. GRAY.

ABIATHAR (אֶבְיָתָר 'father of plenty,' for אֲבִיתָר, or 'The Great one is father' [Bähr]).—A landholder (1 K 2^{26}) of Anathoth in Benjamin, a priestly city (Jos 21^{18}), whence also sprung the priest-prophet Jeremiah. He was son of the high priest Ahijah or Ahimelech, and is first mentioned in 1 S 22^{20}, where it is implied that he alone escaped from the massacre of the priests at Nob. According to the Heb. text of 1 S 23^{6}, he joined David at Keilah, in which case 22^{20} would be proleptic, and $23^{2.\,4}$ might be explained by supposing that David could inquire of the Lord by a prophet (1 S 28^{6}), *e.g.* Gad (22^{5}); but according to the LXX 'he went down with David into Keilah,' apparently from the forest of Hareth; and this seems to harmonise better with the story. David felt a special appeal to his affections in the young priest's position: 'I have occasioned the death of all the persons of thy father's house. Abide thou with me, fear not; for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life.' The friendship thus cemented by a common danger was remembered long afterwards by Solomon when commuting A.'s death sentence into degradation: 'thou hast been afflicted in all wherein my father was afflicted.'

The adhesion of A. was of signal service to David, inasmuch as he brought with him an ephod, which, whether it were the high priestly ephod containing the Urim and Thummim (so Jerome, *Qu. Heb. in loc.*, and Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiv. 6) or a sacred image, was at all events a recognised method of 'inquiring of the Lord' (1 S 14^{18}, LXX, RVm). In this way A. was able to continue to David (1 S 23^{9} 30^{7}) the services rendered before by his father (1 S 22^{15}). Dean Stanley mentions (*Jewish Ch.* Lect. 36) a Jewish tradition that the power of thus inquiring of the Lord expired with A.; and possibly in virtue of this power he is mentioned as one of David's counsellors (1 Ch 27^{34}).

In David's flight from Absalom we find A. loyal, and only prevented by David's request from sharing his master's exile; and his son Jonathan, with Ahimaaz, used to convey from the priests to the king secret intelligence of Absalom's plans. It is very doubtful if the words of Solomon, 'Thou barest the ark of the Lord God before David my father' (1 K 2^{26}), refer to the attempt made by Zadok and A. to carry the ark with David on his flight (Stanley), or to the commission given by David to Zadok and A. (1 Ch 15^{11-15}) to superintend the carrying of the ark by the Levites from the house of Obededom to Mt. Zion (Lord A. Hervey). On both these occasions A. is not so prominent as Zadok (see esp. 2 S $15^{24.\,25}$, where Grätz reads, 'A. went up' for 'stood still,' cf. Jos 3^{17}). The reference is much more general, and alludes to the custom of the ark as the symbol of J"'s presence accompanying the host to battle (see, *e.g.*, Nu 31^{6}, Jos 6^{4}, 1 S 4^{3}, 2 S 11^{11}). The attempt made by Zadok and A. was an instance of this custom, and not a new departure; and David refuses to permit it, not because it was a violation of the sanctity of the ark, but as being himself unworthy to claim the special protection of J". It may here be noted that a conjecture has been made, that as Zadok ministered at the tabernacle at Gibeon (1 Ch 16^{39}), so A. may have been the custodian of the ark on Mt. Zion. On the defeat of Absalom, Zadok and A. smoothed the way for the king's restoration (2 S 19^{11}). A.'s loyalty did not, however, remain proof to the end; he united with Joab in lending his influence to the abortive insurrection of Adonijah. Both priest and chief captain were possibly actuated by jealousy, the one of Zadok, and the other of Benaiah. But while Joab was executed in accordance with David's dying instructions, A.'s life was spared in consideration of his old loyalty: 'So Solomon thrust out A. from being priest unto the Lord; that he might fulfil the word of the Lord which He spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh' (1 K 2^{27}).

With the deposition of A. the *direct* high priestly line of Eleazar came to an end. It is important to emphasize this, since it has been commonly held, on the authority of Chron. and Josephus, that the high priests, from Eli to A. inclusive, were of the line of Ithamar, and that the line of Eleazar was restored in the person of Zadok. Let us examine the evidence on which this statement rests.

The Chronicler mentions as priests in David's time, 'Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar' (1 Ch $24^{3.\,31}$), this Ahimelech being son of A., according to v.^{6}. Now 'Ahimelech, son of A.,' is quite unhistorical. In 2 S 15^{27}, 1 K 1^{42}, Jonathan is son and representative of A.; and, moreover, A. did not lose the office of high priest until the reign of Solomon. The mistake originated in 2 S 8^{17}, where, by a very ancient error, 'Ahimelech, son of A.,' is joint priest with Zadok. The emendation, 'A., son of Ahimelech,' found in the Syr. version, is adopted by Gesenius, Wellhausen, and Driver, and may be regarded as certain. The Chronicler not only copies the mistake (1 Ch 18^{16}), with the obvious blunder 'Abimelech,' but treats this Ahimelech as a real personage. It is noteworthy that Josephus in his paraphrase of 1 Ch 24 (*Ant.* vii. 14. 7) mentions A., not Ahimelech, and yet he accepts (viii. 1. 3, v. 10. 4) the descent of A. from Ithamar, and further distinctly asserts that during the high priesthood of Eli and his successors the descendants of Eleazar were merely private individuals. The Chronicler, on the other hand, ignores Eli and his descendants, and in 1 Ch $6^{3-15.\,50-53}$ gives what seems intended to be a list of high priests from Aaron to the Captivity in the line of Eleazar. Those who are familiar with the peculiar tendencies of the Chronicler will not think the suggestion unreasonable, that here we have an attempt both to vindicate the unbroken succession of the high priests of his own time, and to evade what he would have considered a stumbling-block in the earlier history. Thus, if A. were the lineal successor of Eleazar, would not his deposition be a breaking on God's part of the promise to Phinehas of an everlasting priesthood? (Nu 25^{13}). Yet the unbiassed reader of 1 S 2^{30} can scarcely fail to see a plain allusion to the promise to Phinehas, and a no less plain assertion that the promise was conditional: 'I said, indeed, that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before Me for ever; but now the Lord saith, Be it far from Me,' etc. These words cannot refer to the general promise to Aaron's family in Ex 29^{9}, for God's purpose in that respect was not altered; the Aaronic descent of Zadok being undisputed. It is interesting to observe that the Chronicler does not say that Eli's family had usurped the high priesthood, as Josephus insinuates; and, indeed, such a usurpation could not

have been passed over in silence in the earlier history had it ever occurred. The Chronicler, on the other hand, provides an explanation of another stumbling-block — the dual high priesthood of Zadok and A. in David's reign—by the statement with which 1 Ch 24 opens, that 'Eleazar and Ithamar executed the priests' office.' This seems an excellent precedent for a dual priesthood, but labours under two difficulties: first, that it is quite unsupported by the Pent. and Josh., in which Eleazar alone is high priest after Aaron's death; and, secondly, that although Zadok's name always comes first when the two are mentioned together, yet A. was the chief until the reign of Solomon, when Zadok was *promoted* to his place (1 K 2^{35}). It is remarkable, too, that the priests who serve in Ezekiel's ideal temple are always styled 'the sons of Zadok' (40^{46} 43^{19} 44^{15} 48^{11}), as if they could claim no higher antiquity.

A. is mentioned in 1 K 4^{4} as still joint priest with Zadok; but this is probably a mistake, or may refer to the beginning of Solomon's reign, just as, in 2 S 23, Asahel and Uriah are enumerated among David's mighty men. There is a difficulty connected with the mention of A. in Mk 2^{26} RV, where Christ is made to say that David ate the shewbread 'when A. was high priest,' *ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως*, B, ℵ, Vulg. ('sub A. principe sacerdotum'). The words are omitted by D and some Old Latin MSS, while A, C, 1, 33 insert *τοῦ* before *ἀρχιέρεως*, 'in the days of A. the high priest,' *i.e.* in his lifetime, but not necessarily during his high priesthood. N. J. D. White.

ABIB (אָבִיב, always with art., *μὴν τῶν νέων*, *mensis novorum* or *novarum frugum*, Ex 13^{4} 23^{15} 34^{18}, Dt 16^{1}). See Time.

ABIDA (אֲבִידָע 'my father had knowledge').—A son of Midian (Gn 25^{4} AV **Abidah**, 1 Ch 1^{33}).

ABIDAN (אֲבִידָן 'father is judge') is a name that occurs only in P. According to this document, Abidan, son of Gideoni, of the tribe of Benjamin, was one of the twelve 'princes' who represented their respective tribes at the census and on certain other occasions, Nu 1^{11} 2^{22} $7^{60.\ 65}$ 10^{24}.

G. B. Gray.

ABIDE. — In AV and RV 'abide' is used both transitively and intransitively. **1.** As a trans. verb in two senses: (*a*) to await, be in store for, as Ac 20^{23} 'Bonds and afflictions abide me'; cf. Ps 37^{9} (Pr. Bk.) 'They that patiently abide the Lord.' (*b*) To withstand, endure, as Jer 10^{10} 'The nations shall not be able to abide His indignation'; Mal 3^{2} 'But who may abide the day of His coming?' Cf. 'They cannot abide to hear of altering,' Pref. to AV 1611; 'Nature cannot abide that any place should be empty,' H. Smith (1593), *Serm.* 97. **2.** As an intrans. verb in three senses: (*a*) to continue in the place or in the state in which one now is, as Ac 27^{31} 'Except these abide in the ship'; Jn 12^{24} 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground, and die, it abideth alone'; 1 Co 7^{40} 'She is happier if she so abide'; 2 Mac 7^{17} 'abide a while, and behold his great power.' (*b*) To dwell, reside, as Lk 8^{27} 'And wore no clothes, neither abode in any house, but in the tombs'; Ps 61^{4} 'I will abide (RV 'dwell') in Thy tabernacle for ever'; Jn 8^{35} 'And the bond-servant abideth not in the house for ever: the son abideth for ever'; Jn 15^{5} 'He that abideth in Me, and I in him.' (*c*) To last, endure (esp. in the face of trial, cf. 1 (*b*), above), as 1 Co 3^{14} 'If any man's work abide'; Ps 119^{90} 'Thou hast established the earth, and it abideth.' **Abiding**, as an adj., is used by RV, He 10^{34} 'a better possession and an a. one,' and 13^{14} 'an a. city'; as a noun it is found 1 Es 8^{81} 'they have given us a sure a. in Jewry.' J. Hastings.

ABIEL (אֲבִיאֵל 'father is God'). — **1.** Son of Zeror, of the tribe of Benj., was father of Kish and Ner, and consequently grandfather of Saul and Abner, 1 S 9^{1} 14^{51}. According to 1 Ch $8^{33}=9^{39}$ Ner was father of Kish; in this case Abiel would have been great-grandfather of Saul. But the statement in Ch is an error, very possibly due to transcriptional causes; *vid.* Bertheau on 1 Ch 8^{33}. **2.** The name of one of David's 'thirty men' (2 S 23^{31})= 1 Ch 11^{32}. The form (**Abi-albon**) under which this man's name now appears in the Heb. text of Samuel is due to textual corruption; Wellhausen (on 2 S 23^{31}) supposes the original form to have been Abibaal; but there seems no sufficient reason to doubt the form (Abiel) preserved in Chron.; cf. Driver on 2 S 23^{31}. G. B. Gray.

ABIEZER (אֲבִיעֶזֶר 'father is help'). — **1.** The name of a clan (מִשְׁפַּחַת Jos 17^{2} (P or R); אֲלֶף Jg 6^{15}) belonging to the tribe of Manasseh (Jg 6^{15}). Consequently, in genealogical descriptions of the tribal relations, Abiezer appears as a son or descendant of Manasseh, Jos 17^{2}, 1 Ch 7^{18}, Nu 26^{30} (P; in this last passage the name is written Iezer, אִיעֶזֶר, LXX' Ἀχιέζερ). The most distinguished member of the clan was Gideon, who describes it (cf., however, Moore [*Intern. Critical Commentary*] on Jg 6^{15}) as 'the poorest in Manasseh,' Jg 6^{15}, cf. 8^{2}. In the time of Gideon the clan was settled at Ophrah of the Abiezrites (Jg 6^{24}, cf. v.^{11}), which perhaps lay near Shechem. In any case it would be unsafe, from P's statement that Abiezer was a son of Gilead (Nu 26^{30}; cf. 1 Ch 7^{18}, but cf. Jos 17^{2}), to infer that the clan was ever settled on the E. of Jordan; cf. Dillmann on Nu 26^{30}. **2.** Abiezer the Anathothite, *i.e.* man of Anathoth in Benjamin (1 Ch 27^{12}; cf. Jer 1^{1}), was one of David's heroes, 2 S $23^{27}=1$ Ch 11^{28}. According to 1 Ch 27^{12} he was the acting military officer of David's army in the 9th month. **Abiezrite** is the gentilic form. G. B. Gray.

ABIGAIL and (2 S 17^{25} RV) **Abigal** (Heb. generally אֲבִיגַיִל, 3 times אֲבִיגָל, once each אֲבִגָיִל, אֲבִגַיִל 'father is joy,' or, perhaps, if the ' be not original, 'has rejoiced.' — **1.** The discreet and beautiful wife of Nabal the Carmelite. Hearing of her husband's dismissal of David's messengers, and refusal of their request, unknown to her husband she went to meet David with provisions for him and his men, and in this way so gained David's favour that he abandoned his intended raid on Nabal. Some ten days after, Nabal died, and subsequently Abigail became David's wife: this was after David's former wife, Michal, had been given to Palti, but apparently at about the same time that he also married Ahinoam the Jezreelitess. Together with Ahinoam, Abigail shared David's life at Gath, suffered captivity (from Ziklag) by the Amalekites, and was speedily rescued; later she lived with David at Hebron, and there bore a son, —Chileab (2 S 3^{2}) or Daniel (1 Ch 3^{1}) by name,— 1 S 25; also 27^{3} $30^{5.\ 18}$ 2 S 2^{2} 3^{3}, 1 Ch 3^{1}.

2. A sister of Zeruiah—and according to 1 Ch 2^{16} also of David—who through her union with Ithra the Ishmaelite (see art. Ithra) became mother of Amasa. The words in 2 S 17^{25} (בת נחש), which assert that she was a daughter of Nahash, are probably an intrusion from v.^{27} (בן נחש=the son of Nahash); cf. Wellhausen, *i.l.* G. B. Gray.

ABIHAIL (Heb. אֲבִיחַיִל 'father is might').— According to the Massora the name is read אביהיל (with ה, not ח) in 1 Ch 2^{29} 2 Ch 11^{18}; but this is probably the result of a pre-Massoretic tran-

scriptional error. **1.** Mentioned only in Nu 3^{35} (P) in the phrase 'Zuriel, son of Abihail' (see ZURIEL). **2.** 'Wife' of Abishur, 1 Ch 2^{29}. **3.** Daughter of Eliab, son of Jesse, and consequently a niece of David's. The only passage (2 Ch 11^{18}) where she is mentioned is slightly corrupt; but, according to the most probable emendation, Abihail was the mother of Rehoboam's wife Mahalath. According to another interpretation, Abihail was wife of Rehoboam; but this is not the natural sense of the Heb. text, and is out of harmony with the context; vv.[19. 20] imply that only *one* wife has been mentioned. **4.** In this case the name occurs only in 1 Ch 5^{14} in a Gadite genealogy; this Abihail was apparently a clan resident in Gilead. **5.** Father of Esther, and uncle of Mordecai (Est 2^{15} 9^{29}). For the curious variant of LXX, which gives the regular LXX equivalent of Abinadab, it is difficult to account.

G. B. GRAY.

ABIHU (אֲבִיהוּא 'he is father'), second son of Aaron by Elisheba (Ex 6^{23}, Nu 3^2 26^{60}, 1 Ch 6^3 24^1): accompanied Moses to the top of Sinai (Ex $24^{1. 9}$): admitted to the priest's office (Ex 28^1): slain for offering strange fire (Lv $10^{1. 2}$, Nu 3^4 26^{61}, 1 Ch 24^2).

W. C. ALLEN.

ABIHUD (אֲבִיהוּד 'my father is majesty').—A Benjamite, son of Bela (1 Ch 8^3). See GENEALOGY.

ABIJAH (אֲבִיָּה 'Jah is my father').—**1.** King of Judah (אֲבִיָּהוּ, 2 Ch $13^{20. 21}$). He is called **Abijam** (Vulg. Abiam), 1 K 14^{31} $15^{1. 7. 8}$. Nestle explains this as equivalent to אביעם 'father of the people'; but since Abijah is read by thirteen of Kennicott's and de Rossi's MSS, supported by the LXX Ἀβιού, Abijam is probably a mistake. As being the eldest son of Maacah, the favourite wife of Rehoboam, his father appointed him 'to be chief, even the prince among his brethren; for he was minded to make him king' (2 Ch 11^{22}). His mother's name is variously given as Maacah the daughter of Abishalom (1 K 15^2) (Absalom, 2 Ch $11^{20. 21}$), or Micaiah the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah (2 Ch 13^2). See MAACAH. He reigned about two years, from the eighteenth to the twentieth year of Jeroboam. There is probably no reign the accounts of which in Kings and Chronicles are so discrepant as that of Abijah. In Kings there is nothing related of him except that 'he walked in all the sins of his father,' and that 'there was war between Abijam and Jeroboam'; and, in the history of Asa, an incidental allusion to 'things that Abijah had dedicated' for the temple. In fact, as in the case of Jehoram (2 K 8^{19}), he was spared by God merely on account of the divine promise to David. But in Chronicles not only is there much additional historical matter, but Abijah seems to be a great and good man, and he is made the utterer of a sort of manifesto of the theocratic principles of Judah. The desultory warfare implied in Kings becomes in Chronicles one decisive pitched battle fought in the territory of Ephraim, in which Abijah's army of 400,000 slay 500,000 out of the 800,000 marshalled by Jeroboam. The battle is preceded by an oration spoken on Mt. Zemaraim by Abijah. After strongly affirming the divine right of the Davidic line, he dwells on the previous impiety of Jeroboam's rebellion against Rehoboam when the latter 'was young and tender-hearted, and could not withstand them; and now ye think to withstand the kingdom of the Lord in the hands of the sons of David.' The gods and priests of Judah and Israel are sharply contrasted: 'Whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them that are no gods.' The ceremonial of the daily worship at Jerusalem is minutely described, and the loyalty of Judah to J" is twice affirmed. The battle which follows reads like an echo of the heroic age of Israel. 'Jeroboam caused an ambushment to come about behind them. . . . the priests sounded with the trumpets (cf. Nu 10^9 31^6, Jos 6^{16}), then the men of Judah gave a shout (cf. Jos 6^{20}); and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel.' Three cities of Israel were taken: Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron. The last two are otherwise unknown, unless Ephron or Ephrain (RVm) be the same as Ephraim (2 S 13^{23}, Jn 11^{54}). Bethel must soon have been recovered by Baasha (2 Ch 16^1). After this we are told that Abijah 'waxed mighty, and took unto himself fourteen wives.' Presumably most of his thirty-eight children were born before he came to the throne. The Chronicler mentions as his authority for this reign the commentary (Midrash) of the prophet Iddo, who was also one of the biographers of Rehoboam.

2. Samuel's second son, who with his brother Joel judged at Beersheba (1 S 8^2). Their corrupt administration of justice was one of the reasons alleged by the elders of Israel in justification of their demand for a king. The RV retains the spelling Abiah in 1 Ch 6^{28}.

3. A son of Jeroboam I. who died in childhood. His mother having gone disguised to the prophet Ahijah to inquire if he should recover, received the heavy tidings of the future annihilation of the house of Jeroboam, and of the immediate death of her child, 'taken away from the evil to come': 'And all Israel shall mourn for him, and bury him; for he only of Jeroboam shall come to the grave, because in him there is found some good thing toward the LORD the God of Israel in the house of Jeroboam' (1 K 14^{13}).

4. 1 Ch 24^{10}. One of the 'heads of fathers' houses' of the sons of Eleazar, who gave his name to the 8th of the 24 courses of priests, the arrangement of whom is ascribed to David (1 Ch 24^3, 2 Ch 8^{14}). To this course Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, belonged (Lk 1^5). It is probable that this clan, and not an individual, is indicated in the lists of priests who 'went up with Zerubbabel' (Neh 12^4). LXX omits this and other names in Neh 12 (they are supplied by $\aleph^{c. a.}$), and in the list of priests who 'sealed unto the covenant' in the time of Nehemiah (10^7) (Ἀβειά, B, ℵ). Of the 21 names in Neh 10, 13 occur in nearly the same order in a list of 22 in ch. 12, while three others are very similar; and of the names in these two lists 9 are found in the names of David's courses. On the other hand, 'the book of the genealogy of them that came up at the first' (Neh 7, Ezr 2) mentions only four families of priests, nor do there seem to have been more in the time of Ezr (10^{18-22}).

5. A son of Becher, son of Benjamin, 1 Ch 7^8.

6. RV retains 'Abiah,' 1 Ch 2^{24}. Wife of Hezron, eldest son of Perez, son of Judah. She was probably daughter of Machir (2^{21}).

7. Wife of Ahaz, and mother of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^1), named Abi, 2 K 18^2. Her father Zechariah is possibly mentioned in Is 8^2.

N. J. D. WHITE.

ABIJAM.—See ABIJAH.

ABILENE (Ἀβιληνή), Lk 3^1.—A tetrarchy about A.D. 26 in Syria (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10, XIX. v. 1, XX. vii. 1; *Wars*, II. xi. 5), the cap. being at **Abila** on the N. slope of Hermon. The ruins of Abila surround a small village on the right bank of the river at *Sûk Wâdy Barada*, 'the market of the valley of the Abana River.' The name has given rise to a local tradition (based on the Koran) that Cain here buried Abel, whose tomb is shown at a large tank cut in the rock on the top of a cliff to the south. It is also preserved in the Latin text of Lucius Verus, on the N. side of the rock-cut

passage of the Rom. road W. of the town. The region of Abilene is also noticed in a Gr. text found in 1873 at Burkush on Hermon, showing that the district included the Antilebanon and Hermon, N.W. of Damascus. There is a cemetery at Abila of Rom. rock-cut tombs on the left of the stream, which here forms a cascade. They are adorned with bas-relief busts, and there are several tombstones with Gr. texts, giving the names of Lucius, Archelaus, Phedistus, Antonia, and Philander. N. of the river and E. of the town are foundations of a small Rom. temple.

LITERATURE.—Reland, *Palästina*, p. 527 ff.; Robinson, *Later BR*, pp. 479–484; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 352 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 335–339; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* p. 127; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, viii. 40; *SWP Special Papers*; Waddington, *Inscrip. Grec. et Lat. de la Syrie*, *s.v.* 'Abila.' C. R. CONDER.

ABILITY.—Both in OT and NT ability occurs in two senses, which must be distinguished. 1. It signifies *material* capacity, resources, wealth, as Ezr 2^{69} 'They gave after their a. (Heb. 'acc. as his hand may reach') into the treasury'; Lv 27^{8} 'According to the a. of him that vowed shall the priest value him.' Cf. LXX of Lv $25^{26.\ 49}$ with Ac 11^{29} below; and

> 'Out of my lean and low ability
> I'll lend you something.'
> —Shakespeare, *T. N.* iii. 4.

This is the meaning also of Ac 11^{29} 'Then the disciples, every man according to his a., determined to send relief unto the brethren,' though the original is a verb, *καθὼς εὐπορεῖτό τις*, meaning 'acc. as each prospered.' 2. It signifies *personal* capacity, strength of body or of mind. Thus Dn 1^{4} 'Such as had a. (כֹּחַ) in them to stand in the king's palace'; Mt 25^{15} 'He gave talents . . . to every man according to his several a. (*δύναμις*).' So Wis 13^{19}, Sir 3^{13} AVm. In modern Eng. a. is almost confined to mental capacity, though one hears it locally used of physical strength. In the sense of wealth the latest example found is in Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*.

J. HASTINGS.

ABIMAEL (אֲבִימָאֵל, perhaps = 'father is God,' but the force of the מ is uncertain) was one of the Joktanids or (S.) Arabians (see art. JOKTAN), Gn 10^{28} (J), 1 Ch 1^{22}. Nothing further is known of this tribe, but it is markworthy that another name of the same peculiar formation, viz. אבמעזר, has been found on the S. Arabian inscriptions; see D. H. Müller in *ZDMG* 1883, p. 18.

G. B. GRAY.

ABIMELECH (אֲבִימֶלֶךְ 'Melech [Malki or Molech] is father').—**1.** A king of Gerar mentioned in connexion with the history of Abraham, Gn 20^{1-17} 21^{22-32} (both E), and of Isaac, Gn $26^{7-11.\ 26-33}$ (both J). With all their points of difference, it appears impossible to resist the conclusion that we have in J and E two variants of the same story. In both the patriarch resorts to the same method of defence to protect himself from the same danger (20^{2} 26^{7}); in both A. is righteously indignant at the deceit practised upon him ($20^{9ff.}$ 26^{10}); in both a treaty is entered into with A. ($21^{23f.}$ $26^{28f.}$); in both Phicol (21^{22} 26^{26}) and Beersheba (21^{32} 26^{33}) are mentioned. In all probability J has preserved the earlier form of the tradition, acc. to which Isaac, and not Abraham, was the patriarch concerned. The parallel story in Gn 12^{10-20} (where Pharaoh of Egypt takes the place of A. of Gerar) is also from a Jahwistic source, but scarcely from the same pen as 26^{7-11}. If the title J^{1} be adopted for the latter, we may designate the other J^{2}, whether we accept or not of Kuenen's theory that he edited a *Judæan* recension of J.

LITERATURE.—Comm. of Dillm. and Del. on *Gen. ll. cit.*; Cornill, *Einleit.*^{2} 54 f.; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. A.T.* 78, 138; Kautzsch u. Socin, *Genesis*; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 416; Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, 234, 252.

2. A king of Gath acc. to title of Ps 34^{1}. Here A. is possibly a mistake for Achish (cf. 1 S $21^{11ff.}$), a better known Phil. name being substituted for a less familiar one, or it *may* be that Abimelech is less a personal name than a title of Phil. kings like Egyp. Pharaoh (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

3. This A. is generally reckoned one of the judges (so in Jg 10^{1}, but probably not by editor of 9 nor in 1 S 12^{11}). Acc. to Jg 8^{31} (R) he was a son of Gideon by a Shechemite concubine. Upon his father's death he gained over 'his mother's brethren' in Shechem, and with the aid of a hired troop of 'vain and light fellows' murdered all his 70 brothers except the youngest, Jotham, who contrived to escape. A. then ascended the throne and assumed the kingly title (9^{1-6}). Jotham, leaving his place of concealment, spoke at Mt. Gerizim his well-known parable (vv.$^{7-21}$), which was calculated to sow dissension amongst the Shechemites, who were partly of Can. and partly of Isr. blood. After three years both sections were weary of the rule of A., who seems to have taken up his residence elsewhere (vv.$^{22-25}$). Gaal, the leader of the Israelite faction (see, however, Moore on Jg 9^{28}), made such headway in Shechem that Zebul, the governor, an adherent of A., was obliged to feign compliance with his designs. All the while, however, he was keeping A. secretly informed of the revolutionary movement, and suggesting methods of checking it (vv.$^{26-33}$). At length A. advanced to attack the city, and Gaal was completely routed, and after his defeat expelled by Zebul (vv.$^{34-41}$). In a second day's fight A. captured Shechem and put to the sword all the inhabitants that fell into his hands. A number having taken refuge in the temple of El-berith, he burned the building over their heads (vv.$^{42-49}$). Sometime afterwards A. met his death while besieging Thebez. Being struck down by a millstone which a woman flung from the wall, he ordered his armour-bearer to kill him in order to escape the disgrace of perishing by the hand of a woman (vv.$^{50-57}$).

The above is a reasonable and in general self-consistent narrative, but there are not a few points of detail where the course of events is involved in considerable obscurity. Zebul upon any theory plays a double part, but it is not quite certain whether there was to the last a complete understanding between him and A. Kittel thinks there was, and supposes that Z. was put to death by the Shechemites after they discovered his treachery. Wellhausen, on the contrary, believes that he perished along with the Shechemites, A. having come to regard him as the real instigator of the revolt, and refusing to be propitiated by the offering of Gaal as a scape-goat. It is further doubtful whether A. himself acted in the interests of the Can. or of the Isr., but at all events Wellhausen rightly remarks that 'the one permanent fruit of his activity was that Shechem was destroyed as a Can. city and rebuilt for Israel' (cf. 1 K $12^{1.\ 25}$).

The story of A. in Jg 9 is the natural sequel of the version of Gideon's hist. contained in 8^{4-27} (note also how the sentiments of Jotham's parable agree with $8^{22.\ 23}$, unless, indeed, these latter two verses are an 8th cent. interpolation). The narrative is one of the oldest in OT, belonging to the same type as the narratives concerning the minor judges. It is free from Deuter. touches and turns of expression, and may in its present form date from the earliest years of the monarchy. Its purpose is to show how the murder of Gideon's sons was avenged on A. and the Shechemites, who were practically his accomplices (9^{57}, cf. vv.$^{7.\ 16-24}$). Budde attributes the preservation of the story to E, who, however,

himself composed the Jotham parable. Moore considers that it is possible to disentangle two narratives, (A) vv.[22-25. 42-45. 56f.], cognate with which are vv.[1-21], (B) vv.[26-41]. The first of these he would assign to E, the second to J. This scheme has the advantage of removing a good many difficulties presented by the chapter in its present form.

LITERATURE.—Cornill, *Einleit.*[2] 56; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. A.T.* 33, 82, 232; Driver, *LOT* 157; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 227 ff., 353 ff.; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 117 ff.; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 13 n., 18 n., 82 n., 85 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 237 ff.

4. A priest, the son of Abiathar, acc. to 1 Ch 18[16], where, however, the reading of MT. 'Abimelech the son of Abiathar,' is obviously a mistake for 'Abiathar the son of Ahimelech' (cf. 2 S 8[17] and notes on it by Budde in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT*, and by Kittel in Kautzsch's *A.T.*). See ABIATHAR.

J. A. SELBIE.

ABINADAB (אֲבִינָדָב 'father is generous'; LXX always 'Αμιναδάβ (A 'Αμιναδάβ), except at 1 S 31[2], where B (but not A) reads 'Ιωναδάβ).—**1.** Owner of the house whither the ark was brought by the men of Kirjath-jearim after the catastrophe at Beth-Shemesh (1 S 7[1]), whence it was subsequently removed by David, 2 S 6[3f.], 1 Ch 13[7]. During its stay here it was kept by Eleazar, son of Abinadab. **2.** The second son of Jesse, specially mentioned in the narrative of 1 S 16 as not being the elect of J" for the kingdom. He accompanied his brothers Eliab and Shammah to join Saul's army against the Philistines—1 S 16[8] 17[13], 1 Ch 2[13]. **3.** A son of Saul slain in the battle of Mt. Gilboa, 1 S 31[2]=1 Ch 10[2]. Otherwise mentioned only in the genealogies of Chronicles, 1 Ch 8[33] 9[39]. But cf. art. ISHVI. **4.** On Abinadab in 1 K 4[11] (AV, not RV), see BEN-ABINADAB.

G. B. GRAY.

ABINOAM (אֲבִינֹעַם 'father is pleasantness'), the father of Barak, is mentioned both in the song (Jg 5[12]) and the prose narrative (Jg 4[6. 12]) of the campaign of Barak and Deborah against the Canaanites. G. B. GRAY.

ABIRAM (אֲבִירָם 'my father is the Exalted One'). —**1.** The son of Eliab, a Reubenite, who with Dathan (which see) conspired against Moses (Nu 16[1 etc.], Dt 11[6], Ps 106[17]). **2.** The firstborn son of Hiel the Bethelite, on whom the curse fell for rebuilding Jericho (1 K 16[34]).

G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

ABISHAG (אֲבִישַׁג, meaning uncertain; possibly 'father has wandered').—A very beautiful young Shunammitess who was brought to comfort David in his extreme old age, according to the advice of his servants, 1 K 1[2ff. 15]. After David's death, Abishag, as his father's widow, was asked in marriage by Adonijah; the request was refused by Solomon, who appears to have seen in it a renewal of Adonijah's claim to the throne, 1 K 2[12-24]; cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 89 f. G. B. GRAY.

ABISHAI (אֲבִישַׁי, but אֲבִשַׁי 2 S 10[10], 1 Ch 2[16] 11[20] 18[12] 19[11. 15] 'My father is Jesse').—A. appears from 1 Ch 2[16] to have been the eldest son of Zeruiah, David's sister. More impetuous than the crafty Joab, but equally implacable, 'hard' (2 S 3[39] 19[22]), the first mention of Abishai (1 S 26[6]) presents him to us as already one of the most daring and devoted of David's followers. He volunteers to go down with David to Saul's camp by night, and is only prevented by David's veneration for the king's sacred office from smiting Saul 'to the earth at one stroke.' We next find him (2 S 2[18. 24]) with his two brothers at that battle of Gibeon which had such fatal results, first to Asahel, and ultimately to Abner, in whose treacherous murder by Joab, Abishai shared as joint avenger of blood (2 S 3[30. 39]). The victory in the Valley of Salt over Edom (cf. 2 K 14[7]), which is ascribed to David in 2 S 8[13] (Syrians), and to Joab in Ps 60 title (1 K 11[15. 16]), is attributed to Abishai in 1 Ch 18[12]. In the war that was caused by Hanun's insult to David's envoys, Joab gave Abishai command of the second division against the Ammonites, while he himself opposed the Syrians (2 S 10[10. 14]). Abishai's character is well brought out in the story of David's flight, when he retorts the abuse of Shimei in true Oriental style, and is impatient to slay the offender at once (2 S 16[9-11]). Nor could Shimei's subsequent abject submission induce Abishai to forgive the man that had 'cursed the Lord's anointed' (19[21]). In the battle with Absalom, Abishai shared the command of David's army with Joab and Ittai (18[2. 5. 12]). In 2 S 20[6] the name Joab should probably be substituted for that of Abishai (so Jos. *Ant.* VII. xi. 6, the Syr. vers., Wellhausen, Thenius, and Driver), and v.[7] read as in the LXX: 'And there went out after him Abishai and Joab's men,' etc. It is natural to suppose that Abishai connived at the murder of Amasa by Joab, 2 S 20[10] (so Josephus). His special exploits were, rescuing David from Ishbi-benob, 2 S 21[17], and slaying three hundred men, 23[18]. These feats earned for him the first place 'of the three in the second rank' (1 Ch 11[21], RVm), the other two being probably Joab and Benaiah; the first three being Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah.

Abishai probably died before the rebellion of Adonijah. If he had been alive, he must have been mentioned among the leaders of either side.

N. J. D. WHITE.

ABISHALOM.—See art. ABSALOM.

ABISHUA (אֲבִישׁוּעַ, meaning uncertain; perhaps 'father is wealth.'—**1.** According to the genealogies of Chron., where alone the name occurs, son of Phinehas and father of Bukki, 1 Ch 6[4f. 50], Ezr 7[5]; cf. 1 Es 8[2] and art. ABISUE. **2.** A Benjamite; presumably the name was that of a clan, since other names in the context are certainly clan names, 1 Ch 8[4]; cf. Nu 26[38ff.]. G. B. GRAY.

ABISHUR (אֲבִישׁוּר 'father is a wall').—A Jerahmeelite described as 'son' of Shammai; Abihail was his wife, and Ahban and Molid his children (1 Ch 2[28f.]).

ABISSEI (AV Abisei).—One of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Es 1[2]), called in 1 Ch 6[4] ABISHUA, and in 1 Es 8[2] ABISUE.

ABISUE (LXX, B 'Αβεισαί, A 'Αβισουαί) 1 Es 8[2], AV Abisum, is identical with Abishua.

ABITAL (אֲבִיטַל 'father is dew'), wife of David, to whom, during his residence in Hebron, she bore Shephatiah, 2 S 3[4]=1 Ch 3[3].

ABITUB (אֲבִיטוּב), 1 Ch 8[11], and **ABIUD** ('Αβιούδ), Mt 1[13]. See GENEALOGY.

ABJECT, now only an adj., was formerly also a subst. and a verb. As a subst., meaning the dregs of the people, abject is found in Ps 35[15] 'The abjects (נְכִים, RVm 'smiters') gathered themselves together against me.' Cf. T. Bentley (1582), 'O Almightie God: which raisest up the abjects, and exaltest the miserable from the dunghill,' *Monu. Matr.* iii. 328; G. Herbert, 'Servants and abjects flout me,' *Temple*: Sacrifice, 36.

J. HASTINGS.

ABNER, אַבְנֵר (אֲבִינֵר 1 S 14[50]), 'my father is Ner,' or 'is a lamp.' Saul's first cousin, according to 1 S 14[50. 51] (the more probable account),

but uncle according to 1 Ch 8^{29-33} 9^{35-39}. Jos. follows Chronicles in *Ant.* VI. iv. 3, but Samuel in VI. vi. 6. The language used of him by David, 'Art not thou a valiant man, and who is like to thee in Israel?' (1 S 26^{15}); 'Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?' (2 S 3^{38}), is not inconsistent with the recorded facts of Abner's life, although the one speech was uttered in a tone of banter, and the other possibly dictated by motives of policy. As captain of the host (1 S 14^{50} 17^{55}), Abner sat next Saul at the banquet (1 S 20^{25}), and lay near him in the camp ($26^{5.7}$). A Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Heb. in loc.*) states that the witch of Endor was Abner's mother. On Saul's death Abner secured for Ishbosheth the allegiance of all the tribes except Judah (2 S 2^{8-10}). He placed the feeble king at Mahanaim, while he himself conducted the war with David west of Jordan. One of the battles—that of the pool of Gibeon—is detailed on account of its fatal results. Here we have evidence of Abner's comparative mildness of character. It is possible that the preliminary encounter of the champions of the two armies was suggested by him in order to decide the claims of the rival houses without unnecessary bloodshed. Then we have his reiterated reluctance to slay Asahel, and, finally, his protest against the unnaturalness of the war: 'Shall the sword devour for ever? . . . How long shall it be ere thou bid the people return from following their brethren?'

As the war proceeded in David's favour 'Abner made himself strong in the house of Saul' (2 S 3^{6}). This rendering lends some plausibility to Ishbosheth's insinuation that he was aiming at the crown by a liaison with the late king's concubine (cf. 2 S 12^{8} 16^{21}, 1 K 2^{13-25}). The indignation, however, with which Abner repelled the charge, and the absence of self-seeking in his subsequent conduct, support the paraphrase of AV and RVm, 'showed himself strong for (בּ) the house of Saul.'

Be that as it may, the accusation alienated Abner, who forthwith declared that he would accomplish J"'s will by making David king over all Israel. He entered at once into negotiations both with David and the elders of Israel and Benjamin. David, on his part, astutely demanded as a preliminary the restitution of Michal, who would be at once a link with the house of Saul and a living memorial of David's early prowess. Ishbosheth's shadowy authority was made use of to carry out this condition. Abner was now hospitably entertained by David at Hebron, and had scarcely departed to fulfil his engagements to David when Joab returned from a foray. Asahel's death was still unavenged; here was a plausible pretext for ridding himself of a dangerous rival; so Joab secretly recalled Abner, and with the connivance of Abishai treacherously murdered him in the gate of Hebron, a city of refuge. The enormity of this crime called forth from David a bitter curse (2 S 3^{29}) on the perpetrator, and was never forgotten by him (1 K $2^{5.32}$). Abner was buried in Hebron, amidst the lamentations of the nation. The king himself acted as chief mourner, and honoured the dead warrior with an elegy which pithily expresses the strange irony of fate by which the princely Abner died a death suitable to a profane and worthless man. (Heb. 'was A. to die [*i.e.* ought he to have died] as Nabal dieth?') The dismay caused by Abner's death (2 S 4^{1}) seems to prove that neither Ishbosheth nor his subjects in general had realised Abner's defection. The inevitable crisis was hastened, and by a curious chance the head of the murdered Ishbosheth was buried in Abner's grave (2 S 4^{12}). We learn from the Chronicler that Abner dedicated certain spoil for the repairs of the tabernacle (1 Ch 26^{28}), and that his son Jaasiel was captain of Benjamin in David's reign (1 Ch 27^{21}).

N. J. D. WHITE.

ABODE.—1. The past tense of ABIDE (which see). 2. In Jn 14^{23} ('We will come unto him, and make our abode with him') a. is tr. of the same word (*μονή*) which in Jn 14^{2} is rendered MANSION (which see).

J. HASTINGS.

ABOMINATION.—Four separate Heb. words are thus rendered in OT (sometimes with the variation *abominable thing*), the application of which is in many respects very different. (1) The commonest of these words is תּוֹעֵבָה, which expresses most generally the idea of something loathed (cf. the verb, Mic 3^{9}), esp. on religious grounds: thus Gn 43^{32} 'to eat food with the Hebrews is an *abomination* to the Egyptians,'—a strong expression of the exclusiveness with which the Egyptians viewed foreigners, esp. such as had no regard for their religious scruples; thus, on account of their veneration for the cow (which was sacred to Isis), they would not use the knife or cooking utensil of a Greek, which might have been employed in preparing the flesh of a cow as food (Hdt. ii. 41); Gn 46^{34} 'every shepherd is an *abomination* to the Egyptians,'—shepherds, viz., were ranked, it seems, with the *βουκόλοι*, whose occupation was deemed a degrading one, who from living with their herds in reed cottages on the marshes were called *marshmen*, and who are depicted on the monuments as dirty, unshaven, poorly clad, and even as dwarfs and deformed (cf. Del. *ad loc.*; Birch-Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1878, i. 288 f., ii. 444; Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 1890, p. 371 f.; Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.* p. 439); Ex $8^{22\,(26)}$ the Israelites are represented as unwilling to sacrifice 'the *abomination* of the Egyptians' in Egypt itself, with allusion, probably, to animals which the Egyptians abstained religiously from sacrificing, though they were sacrificed freely by the Hebrews, as the cow, which was sacred to Isis, the bull, unless it was pronounced by the priests to be *καθαρός*, or free from the sacred marks of Apis (Herodotus' statements on this point are not entirely borne out by the monuments, but there seems to be some foundation for them), sheep at Thebes, and goats [according to Wiedemann, an error for rams] in Mendes (Hdt. ii. 38, 41, 42, 46; cf. Birch-Wilk. ii. 460, iii. 108 f., 304 f.; Wiedemann, *l.c.* pp. 180–182, 183, 187 f., 196 f., 218 f.).

Two special usages may be noted: (*a*) the phrase *Jehovah's abomination*, of idolatry or practices connected with it, or of characters or acts morally displeasing to God, Dt 7^{25} 12^{31} 17^{1} 18^{12} 22^{5} $23^{19\,(18)}$ 25^{16} 27^{15} (cf. 24^{4}, Lk 16^{15}), Pr 3^{32} $11^{1.20}$ 12^{22} $15^{8.9.26}$ 16^{5} 17^{15} $20^{10.23}$ (comp. in a Phœn. inscription, *ap.* Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxvi, the expression "Ashtoreth's abomination,' of the violation of a tomb); (*b*) esp. in the plur., of heathen or immoral practices, principally in H and Ezk, as Lv $18^{22.26.27.29.30}$ 20^{13}, Dt $13^{15\,(14)}$ 17^{4} $18^{9.12}$ 20^{18}, Jer 7^{10} 32^{35}, 1 K 14^{24}, 2 K 16^{3} $21^{2.11}$, Ezk $5^{9.11}$ $7^{3.4.8.9}$ $8^{6.13.15}$ etc. (43 times in Ezk), rarely of an actual idol, 2 K 23^{13} (of Milcom), Is 44^{19}, and perhaps Dt 32^{16}.

(2) פִּגּוּל, the technical term for stale sacrificial flesh, which has not been eaten within the prescribed time, only Lv 7^{18} 19^{7}, Ezk 4^{14} (where the prophet protests that he has never partaken of it), and (plur.) Is 65^{4}. For distinction this might be rendered *refuse meat*; the force of the allusion in Ezk 4^{14}, Is 65^{4}, in particular, is entirely lost by the rendering 'abominable thing' of AV, RV.

(3) שֶׁקֶץ, the technical term for the flesh of prohibited animals (see article UNCLEAN), Lv 7^{21} $11^{10-13.20.23.41.42}$ (cf. the corresponding verb, v.$^{11.13.43}$ 20^{25}): this sense of the word gives the point to Ezk 8^{10}, Is 66^{17}. שֶׁקֶץ would be best represented by

detestation, or *detestable thing* (cf. *detest* for the verb, Dt 7[26]). Note that in Dt 14[3] *abomination* is תּוֹעֵבָה, not the technical שֶׁקֶץ used in Lv 11.

(4) שִׁקּוּץ, allied in etymology to (3), but in usage confined almost exclusively to objects connected with idolatry, and chiefly a contemptuous designation of heathen deities themselves: first in Hos 9[10] 'and became *detestations* like that which they loved' (Baal of Peor, named just before); more frequently in writers of the age of Jer and Ezk, viz. Dt 29[16 (17)], Jer 4[1] 7[30] (=32[34]) 13[27] 16[18], Ezk 5[11] 7[20] 11[18. 21] 20[7. 8. 30] 37[23], 1 K 11[5] 'Milcom the *detestation* of the Ammonites,' v.[7. 7], 2 K 23[13. 13] (*not* of Milcom), v.[24]; also Is 66[3], Zec 9[7]. In AV, RV, where this word occurs beside תּוֹעֵבָה (No. 1), as Ezk 5[11] 7[20] (and Ezk 37[23], even where it stands alone), it is rendered for distinction *detestable thing*; and either this or *detestation* would be the most suitable Eng. equivalent for it. S. R. DRIVER.

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, THE (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως), Mt 24[15], Mk 13[14], 'spoken of by Daniel the prophet,' the appearance of which, 'standing ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ (Mt), or ὅπου οὐ δεῖ (Mk),' is mentioned by Christ as the signal for the flight of Christians from Judæa, at the time of the approaching destruction of Jerus. The Gr. phrase is borrowed from Dn 9[27] LXX βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων (so Theod.), 11[31] LXX βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως (Theod. βδ. ἠφανισμένον), 12[11] LXX τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (Theod. βδ. ἐρ.); cf. 8[13] (LXX, Theod.) ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐρημώσεως. The Heb. in the first of these passages is מְשֹׁמֵם שִׁקּוּצִים, in the second שִׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם, in the third שֹׁמֵם שִׁקּוּץ, in the last תֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם. שִׁקּוּץ is the word explained under ABOMINATION (4), as being often the contemptuous designation of a heathen god or idol. מְשֹׁמֵם and שֹׁמֵם are, however, difficult. מְשֹׁמֵם elsewhere (only Ezr 9[3. 4]) means *horrified*; שֹׁמֵם means usually *desolate* (as La 1[4. 16]), though it might also (as ptcp. of שָׁמַם, Ezk 26[16] 27[35] *al.*) mean *horrified* as well; in Dn, however (supposing the text to be sound), the exigencies of the sense have obliged many commentators to suppose that the Poel conjug. has a trans. force; hence RV 9[27] 'one that *maketh desolate*'; 11[31] 'and they shall profane the sanctuary, even the fortress, and shall take away the continual burnt-offering, and they shall set up the abomination that *maketh desolate*'; 12[11] 'from the time that the continual burnt-offering shall be taken away, and the abomination that *maketh desolate* set up'; so 8[13] תֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם 'the transgression that *maketh desolate*' (the form שֹׁמֵם *might* just be a ptcp. Poel with the מ dropped; Ges.-K. §§ 55 R. 1, 52. 2 R. 6). In spite, however, of the uncertainty as regards שֹׁמֵם (or מְשֹׁמֵם), the general sense of 11[31] and 12[11] is clear. Dn 11[21-45] deals with the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, and v.[31] refers to the desecration of the temple by the troops of Antiochus, the subsequent suspension of the daily burnt-offering and other religious services (which lasted for three years), and to the erection on 15 Chislev, B.C. 168, of a small idol-altar (βωμός) upon the Altar of burnt-offering (1 Mac 1[33-59]). 12[11] (like 8[13]) is another reference to the same events. It is remarkable, now, that in 1 Mac 1[54] the idol-altar is called by exactly the same name that is used in the Bk. of Dn—ᾠκοδόμησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (cf. 6[7]). Dn 9[27] is very difficult: but, as the reference in NT is rather to 11[31] and 12[11], it need not here be further considered; LXX, Theod., however, it may be noted, have καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων. Of the perplexing expression שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם, now, a clever and plausible explanation has been suggested by Nestle (*ZATW* 1884, p. 248; cf. Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 105; Bevan, *Dan.* p. 193), viz. that it is a contemptuous allusion to שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם *Baal of heaven*, a title found often in Phœn. and (with שָׁמַיִם for שֹׁמֵם) Aram. inscriptions, and the Sem. equivalent of the Gr. Ζεύς: according to 2 Mac 6[2] Antiochus desired to make the temple a sanctuary of Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος,—as his coins show (Nestle, *Marginalien*, p. 42, who cites Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, pp. xiv, xlviii), his patron deity,—who in the Syr. vers. of the same passage is actually called בעל שמין *Baal of heaven*. Upon this view, we are released from the necessity of searching for a meaning of שֹׁמֵם in exact accordance with the context; the βωμός (with, possibly, an image connected with it) erected by the Syrians upon the Altar of burnt-offering was termed derisively by the Jews the 'desolate abomination,' the 'abomination' being the altar (and image?) of Zeus (Baal), and 'desolate' (*shōmēm*) being just a punning variation of 'heaven' (*shāmaim*). The Gr. trs. of Dn and 1 Mac, in so far as they supposed the expression to mean βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως, no doubt understood the idolatrous emblem to involve, by its erection, the desertion of the temple by its usual worshippers, and ultimately its actual 'desolation' (see 1 Mac 4[38]). 11[31] and 8[13] (the subst. with the art., the ptcp. without it), and still more (if, as is probable, the reference be to the same idolatrous emblem) 9[27] (the subst. plur., the ptcp. sing.), are grammatically difficult; but the text in these passages is perhaps not in its original form (cf. Bevan).

As to the meaning of the expression in the prophecy of Christ, it is very difficult to speak with confidence. It would be most naturally understood (cf. Spitta, *Offenb. des Joh.* 493–496) of some desecrating emblem, similar in general character to the altar or image erected by Antiochus, and of which that might be regarded as the prototype: but nothing exactly corresponding to this is recorded by history; the order which Caligula issued for the erection in the temple of a statue of himself, to which divine honours were to be paid, being not enforced (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 8). The three most usual explanations are—(1) the Rom. standards, to which sacrifices were offered by the Rom. soldiers in the temple, after it had been entered by Titus (Jos. *BJ* VI. vi. 1); (2) the desecration of the temple by the Zealots, who seized it and made it their stronghold, shortly before the city was invested by Titus (*ib.* IV. iii. 6–8, cf. vi. 3 *end*); (3) the desolation of the temple-site by the heathen, at the time of its capture by Titus (so Meyer). The term *standing* (which points to some concrete object) is a serious objection to the second and third of these explanations; it is some objection, though not perhaps a fatal one, to the first, that it places the signal for flight at the very last stage of the enemy's successes, when even the dwellers in Judæa (in view of whom the words are spoken) would seem no longer to need the warning. The erection of the imperial statue in the Temple was, however, only averted in the first instance by the earnest representations of the procurator Petronius and of King Agrippa I., and afterwards by Caligula's own untimely death (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 99 f.): the emperor's order caused great alarm among the Jews, who even after his death (A.D. 41) continued to fear lest one of his successors should revive and enforce it (Pfleiderer, *Das Urchrist.* pp. 403–407; Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 196 ff., 203 ff.); hence (as even the first explanation mentioned above leaves something to be desired) it may not be an unreasonable conjecture * that the language of the original prophecy was more general, and that, during the years of agitation and tension which preceded the final struggle of A.D. 70, it was modified so as to give more definite expression to such apprehensions; the masc.

* The writer is indebted for this suggestion to his friend, Prof Sanday.

ἑστηκότα, which in Mk 13[14] is the best reading (א BL; so RV, 'standing where *he* ought not'), would also lend itself more readily to this explanation than to any of those previously mentioned.* The supposition (Weiss) that the army of the heathen Romans is referred to, involves an unnatural application, both of the expression 'abomination of desolation,' and of the verb 'standing.' In the parallel passage of Lk (21[20]) the phraseology of the earlier synoptists seems to have been not only (as in so many other cases) re-cast, but also coloured by the event ('when ye see *Jerus. encircled by armies*, then know that her desolation hath drawn nigh'); a paraphrase such as this, however, cannot fairly be deemed an authoritative interpretation of the expression used in Mt and Mk.†

S. R. DRIVER.

ABOUT.—As an adv. about is used in AV in the following obsolete expressions:—**1.** To lead about or go about = roam about, circuitously. The verb is mostly סָבַב, which simply means to 'turn': Ex 13[18] 'God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness'; Jos 16[6] 'The border went about (RV 'turned about') eastward'; 1 S 15[12] 'He set him up a place, and is gone about and passed on'; Ec 2[20] 'I went about (RV 'turned about,' *i.e.* considered my past life) to cause my heart to despair.' **2.** To go about=here and there, up and down: Jer 31[22] 'How long wilt thou go about (RV 'hither and thither'), O thou backsliding daughter?' **3.** To go about=to seek, attempt: Jn 7[19] 'Why go ye about to kill Me?' RV gives 'seek' in Jn 7[19. 20], Ac 21[31], Ro 10[3], 'assay' in Ac 24[6] 26[21], and keeps 'go about' in Ac 9[29]. **4.** To cast about=to turn round: Jer 41[14] 'So all the people . . . cast about and returned.' **5.** Thereabout=about that: Lk 24[4] 'They were much perplexed thereabout.'

J. HASTINGS.

ABRAHAM.—The narrative of the patriarch Abraham is contained in Gn 11[26]–25[18], and, as it stands before us, consists of a series of consecutive stories or scenes from the patriarch's life. It makes no pretence of being a complete biography. It may be doubted whether the compiler of the Hex. had any intention of preserving *all* the extant traditions respecting A. His purpose seems rather to have been to select from the traditions current among the Hebrews such narratives as would best illustrate the origin of the Isr. nation, and would best set forth how the divine Providence had shielded the infancy of the chosen race, and had predestined it both to inherit the land of Can. and to be a blessing among the nations of the earth. As would be natural under the circumstances, the traditions relating to A. have special reference to sacred localities in Pal.; but unfortunately they do not afford any very precise *data* for determining the age in which he lived. The compiler gives us a picture of A. which he derived apparently from *three* groups of tradition. We will first briefly summarise the narrative, and then indicate the portions which belong to the separate sources of tradition, according to the generally accepted results of critical analysis.

Abram, Nahor, and Haran are sons of Terah. Their home is in Ur of the Chaldees (Gn 11[26-28]), where Haran dies. A. marries Sarai, who was his half-sister (Gn 20[12]). A. and his wife, with their nephew Lot, Haran's son, accompany Terah, who migrates from Ur of the Chaldees, and journeys to Haran, where Terah dies (Gn 11[31. 32], Jos 24[2]). Terah is said to have had Canaan in view when he set out upon his journey (Gn 11[31]). A. in Haran receives the divine command to quit his country and kindred, and accompanied by Lot enters the land of Can. He traverses the whole country; and we are told in particular of Shechem and Bethel being places at which he halted, and, as his custom was, built an altar to J″ (Gn 12[1-8]). Driven by a famine, A. journeys to Egypt, where, in cowardly fear for his own life, he says that Sarai is his sister, and does not acknowledge her as his wife. The princes of Egypt bring the report of Sarai's beauty to Pharaoh king of Egypt, who sends to fetch her, has her placed in his own harem, and loads A. with presents on her account. The intervention of J″ alone delivers the mother of the promised race from her peril. Pharaoh learns of the wrong he is doing, through the plagues which befall his house. In great dudgeon he summons A., justly reproaches him for the deception, and dismisses him and his belongings from Egypt (12[10-20]).

A. and Lot return from Egypt to the district of Bethel; but their possessions in flocks and herds have greatly increased. It proves impossible for two such large droves to keep close together. Constant disputes break out between the retainers of the two chiefs. It is evident that they must separate. A., though the elder, proposes the separation, and offers Lot the choice as to the region to which he shall go. Lot chooses the rich pasture-land of the Jordan valley, and departs. A. remains on the soil which has been promised him, and receives as a reward for his unselfishness a renewal of the divine prediction that his descendants shall inhabit it as their own (13). A. removes to Hebron (13[18]), and while he is encamped there war breaks out in the immediate neighbourhood. The kings of the towns in the Jordan valley rebel against Chedor-Laomer (Kudur-Lagamar), the great Elamite king. The king of Elam with his vassals, the kings of Shinar, Ellasar, and Goyyim (?), march against the rebels, defeat them in a great battle, and retire, carrying off many prisoners and rich booty from Sodom and Gomorrah. Lot is one of the captives. A. is no sooner apprised of this than he arms his 318 retainers, and summons to his aid Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner, the three chieftains of the Hebron district, with whom he is confederate. The combined force overtakes the victorious army at Dan, in the N. of Canaan, surprises them by a night attack, routs them, and recovers Lot and the other prisoners, and all the booty. On the way back A. is met in the plain of Shaveh by the king of Sodom, and Melchizedek king of Salem. Melchizedek solemnly blesses A. for his heroic deed; and the Heb. patriarch, in recognition of Melchizedek's priestly office, gives him a tenth of the spoil. On the other hand, he proudly declines the offer which the king of Sodom makes, that A. should receive the spoil for himself; he asks only for the share that would compensate his confederates, Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner, and their men (14).

A., who by reason of his childlessness cannot entertain hopes of the fulfilment of the divine promise, receives in a special vision assurance of

* Those critics who (as Keim, *Jesus of Naz.* v. 237–239; cf. Holtzmann, *Handkomm.* i. 259 f., *Einl. zum NT*[3], p. 383 f., with the references) regard Mt 24[15-28], Mk 13[14-27], as an independent Jewish (or Jewish-Christian) apocalypse originating shortly before A.D. 70, which has been incorporated with our Lord's discourse, can, of course, adopt still more readily the same explanation; but it is difficult to think that even these verses, though particular phrases may have been modified in the course of oral transmission, are without a substantial basis in the words of Christ.

† Bousset (*Der Antichrist*, 1895, pp. 14, 93, 106 f., 141 f.), treating Mt 24[15 ff.] (=Mk 13[14 ff.]) as purely eschatological, supposes the reference to be to the future Antichrist, who is frequently described (on the basis of 2 Th 2[4]) as sitting in the Temple, and receiving divine honours (*e.g.* by Irenæus, v. 25. 1, 30. 4; see further passages in Bousset, p. 104 f.); but it may be doubted whether the view of Mt 24[15 ff.], upon which this explanation depends, is correct.

the great future of the race that shall spring from him. By the gracious condescension of the Almighty, a covenant is made by sacrifice between the patriarch and God; and during the night, when a deep sleep has fallen upon A., he learns the future destiny of his descendants, and the vision is ratified by an outward symbol (15 esp. 12-17). Sarai, who has no hope of having children, persuades A. to take Hagar, her Egyp. maidservant, as a concubine. Hagar, finding herself with child, is insolent towards Sarai, who thereupon treats her so harshly that Hagar flees into the desert. She is there stopped by an angel, and sent back, comforted by the promise respecting the child that is to be born. This is Ishmael (16). But Ishmael is not the promised son. Thirteen more years elapse before God appears again to A., and again promises that his descendants will be a mighty nation. In pledge of the fulfilment of his word, he changes Abram's name to Abraham, Sarai's to Sarah, and ordains that the rite of circumcision shall be the sign of the covenant between God and the house of Abraham. The promise that Sarah shall have a son, and the command to call his name Isaac, prepare us for the long-expected consummation (17). But it is not to be yet. Another great scene intervenes, to try, as it were, the patriarch's faith, and make proof of the character of the father of the Heb. race. J″, accompanied by two angels, appears in human form to A. as he sits before his tent by the oaks of Mamre. A.'s offer of hospitality is accepted; and as the three strangers partake of the meal, the one who is J″ promises to A. a son by Sarah, who overhears, and laughs incredulously (18$^{1-15}$). The two angels proceed to Sodom and Gomorrah; J″ remains with A., and discloses to him the approaching destruction of 'the cities of the plain.' A. pathetically intercedes, and obtains the assurance that if but ten righteous be found in the city it should be spared for their sake (18$^{16-33}$). J″ leaves A.; and then ensues the description of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the vividness of which is enhanced by the brief reference to A., who in the morning looks forth from the hill country of Hebron, where he had stood during his colloquy with J″, and sees thence the reek of the smoke rising as from a furnace (19^{28}). Strangely out of place though it seems, we find interposed at this point the story how A. journeyed to the South-land or Negeb, and dwelt in the territory of Gerar, where Abimelech was king, and how A. once more fears for his life on account of Sarah's beauty, represents her to be his sister, and temporarily loses her, when she is taken to Abimelech's harem. As in the Egyp. story, Sarah is kept from harm by a special visitation; Abimelech is warned by God, releases Sarah, and rebukes A. (20).

At length the long-promised son is born to A. of Sarah; he is circumcised the 8th day, and receives the name of Isaac (21$^{1-7}$). Sarah takes offence at the sight of Ishmael playing with Isaac; and A. is instructed by God to yield to Sarah's demand, and dismiss both Hagar and Ishmael from his tent (21^{8}). A.'s prosperity and success induce Abimelech to seek alliance with the patriarch. A covenant between them is struck; the well, which Abimelech's servants had taken by force from A., is restored to him, and receives the name of Beer-Sheba. A. dwells for some time in Phil. territory, encamped in the vicinity of the well (21$^{22-34}$).

Some years later, when Isaac has grown to be a lad, comes the last trial of A.'s faith. God orders him to sacrifice his only son upon a lofty hill, distant three days' journey from his place of encampment. He does not hesitate. All is done in perfect obedience; the knife is raised to slay Isaac, when a voice from heaven is heard. God wishes not a hair of the lad's head to suffer; He is satisfied with this proof of the patriarch's absolute trust in God, his readiness to sacrifice that which was most precious in his eyes. A ram is sacrificed in the stead of Isaac; and the holy covenant between J″ and A. is ratified anew (22$^{1-13}$).

Then Sarah dies; and A., whose seed is to possess the whole land, has to purchase a burial-place. The field and cave of Machpelah at Hebron is the portion of ground which he buys with all due formality from Ephron the Hittite; and there he buries Sarah (23).

Feeling his days drawing to a close, A. causes his steward to swear not to let Isaac take to wife one of the daughters of the land, and sends him to Haran, where he finds Rebekah, and brings her back to be Isaac's wife (24).

It is strange next to read that A. takes Keturah to be his wife, and becomes the father of six sons, the patriarchs of Arabian tribes (25$^{1-4}$). But at the age of 175 he dies, and is buried in the cave of Machpelah (25$^{7-11}$).

The foregoing outline shows the truth of what has been remarked above, that the life of A. in the Bk of Gn is not so much a consecutive biography as a series of scenes derived from groups of Heb. tradition, and loosely strung together. How far the three main groups of patriarchal narrative—the J, E, and P—overlapped one another we cannot say, but the fact that the existing account is derived from different sources sufficiently explains some of the chief difficulties and discrepancies that strike the ordinary reader.

J.—The narrative of J opens with A. being in Haran, and migrating with Lot to Can. at the command of J″.

It mentions A.'s nomadic movements in Can., and the altars at Bethel and Shechem. It records the separation of A. and Lot, and A.'s sojourn at Hebron.

It describes A.'s journey to Egypt, and his return to the S. of Can.

It contains the promises made to A., and the covenant in ch. 15. It records the marriage with Hagar, Hagar's flight, and the birth of Ishmael.

It gives the long epic narrative of the visit of the three men to A.; A.'s intercession; and the overthrow of the cities of the plain.

It narrates the birth of Isaac, and the mission of A.'s servant to Haran.

J = 12$^{1-4.\ 6-13}$ 5. $^{7-11a.\ 12b-18}$ 15. 16$^{4-14}$ 18. 19 (exc. v.^{29}) 21. (partially) 24.

E.—The narrative of E opens with A.'s wandering to and fro, with Lot, in Can. It reproduces, perhaps from some separate source, an account of the war between Chedor-Laomer and the rebel 'cities of the plain,' A.'s rescue of his nephew, and Melchizedek's blessing.

It describes the blessing pronounced upon the patriarch in ch. 15. It records A.'s sojourn at Gerar, and the peril to which Sarah was exposed at the court of Abimelech (20). It contains an account of the birth of Isaac; and the mention of the banishment of Hagar and Ishmael implies that it also included an account of Ishmael's birth. It records the alliance of A. with Abimelech at Beersheba. And, so far as A. is concerned, concludes with the story of the sacrifice of Isaac.

E = 14. (possibly) 15. (partially) 20. 21$^{6-32}$ 22.

P.—The narrative of P is a mere skeleton outline of facts. A. is Terah's son. Terah, with A. his son and Lot his nephew, leave Ur-Casdim, and set out for Can.; they stay at Haran, where Terah dies, 205 years old. A., 75 years old, accompanied by Lot, journeys to Can. A. settles near Mamre; Lot goes E. to the Jordan valley. A. marries Hagar ten years after entering Can.; Ishmael is born in A.'s 86th year. In his 99th year God makes a covenant with him, and ordains the rite of circumcision, changing his name to Abraham, and Sarai's to Sarah. A. laughs at the idea of Sarah having a son; and the son to be born to him is to be called Isaac. In his 100th year A. has a son Isaac, who is circumcised. Sarah dies at Hebron 127 years old, and A. purchases the cave of Machpelah for a burying-place. He himself dies at the age of 175, and is buried by Isaac and Ishmael in the cave.

P=13$^{6.\ 11b.\ 12}$ 16$^{1-3.\ 15.\ 16}$ 17$^{1-27}$ 19^{29} 21$^{1b.\ 2b-5}$ 23. 25$^{7-17}$.

The combination of the three strata of tradition has only in a few instances led to apparent inconsistencies. The J narrative, which makes Haran A.'s native country (Gn 12. 24), contains no allusion to Ur-Casdim. J's narrative contains the story of A.'s cowardice in Egypt; it is E's narrative which contains the story of his cowardice at the court of Abimelech. The narratives of J and E, which speak of Sarah's beauty attracting the notice of Egyptians and Philistines, do not mention the ages of A. and Sarah. According to J, A. very prob. had died before the return of the servant with Rebekah, since יִצְחָק should prob. be read

for יָדַע in 24[67]; for we can hardly suppose that Isaac's mourning for his mother would have lasted for three years. The mention of A.'s marriage with Keturah in the foll. ch. is derived from a different source.

The foll. are the chief difficulties arising from the Abraham narrative:—

1. *The Home of A.'s People.*—From the fact that Terah is said to have lived at Ur-Casdim, and that Ur has been identified by Assyriologists with Uru, the modern Mugheir, in S. Bab., the conclusion has very commonly been drawn that A. migrated first from Chaldea. This, however, depends upon the correctness of the identification of Ur-Casdim with Uru, which has been much disputed on the grounds, (1) that the genealogy of Gn 11[10] brings the Sem. race as far as Mesopotamia, from which the next movement in the direction of Can. would be to Haran; (2) that the name Casdim was applied to an Armenian tribe; and (3) that it does not appear in connexion with S. Bab. until much later (upon the whole controversy see Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, Eng. tr. i. 180f.; Dillmann, *Genesis*, p. 214 f. As to the position of Ur-Casdim, see art. UR OF THE CHALDEES). The common early Heb. tradition seems to be expressed in Gn 24, according to which A.'s kindred were the dwellers in N. Mesopotamia; and it is this belief which also is reiterated in the story of Jacob. Cf. 'A Syrian (*i.e.* Aramæan) ready to perish was my father' (Dt 26[5]). Whether Ur-Casdim is to be placed in N. Mesopotamia or in Chaldea, the impression remains that 'J' believed A.'s home and kindred to have been in Haran.

2. *The Character of the Narrative related in Gn* 14.—There appears to be no reason to question the hist. probability of an Elamite campaign such as is here described. There is nothing inherently improbable in the event as has sometimes, in some quarters, been asserted. A. did not defeat the Elamite army in a pitched battle; he made a night attack, fell upon an unsuspecting foe, and recovered prisoners and baggage,—a very different exploit from the conquest of Damascus, which late legend assigned to him. The primitive invasion of Chedor-Laomer has been claimed by some Assyriologists for an approximate date of 2150 (so Hommel, *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* p. 3); and the invasion of W. Asia by an Elamite will naturally be associated with the Elamite empire of that remote time. But upon what principle the events of A.'s life can be carried back to the 22nd cent. B.C. has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Biblical chronology does not suggest the interval of nearly a thousand years between A. and the Exodus.

3. *The Promises made to A.* are found *eight* times repeated, (i.) Gn 12[2. 3] (ii.) 12[7] (iii.) 13[14] (iv.) 15 (v.) 17 (vi.) 18 (vii.) 21[12] (viii.) 22[16]. The promises fall under three main heads, (*a*) the land of Can. shall be possessed by the seed of A.; (*b*) the seed of A. shall become a mighty nation; (*c*) A. shall have a son born of Sarah, and the son is to be called Isaac. The number of times that the promise appears is due to the compilers having selected this as the most conspicuous feature in the narrative of A. in each of the sources of tradition. The seemingly strange fact, that the narrative in ch. 17 should take no notice of the mention of the same promise in ch. 15, is at once accounted for when it is seen to be an instance of the manner in which the different narratives overlap one another. The promises, contained in the different traditions, seemed to the compiler so important in view of the general purpose of his book, that, at the risk of considerable repetition, he has incorporated them all. These promises ever ranked among the religious privileges of Israel (Ro 9[4]). They proclaimed God's covenant with His people, according to which He required of them simple obedience and justice (Gn 18[19]); they also announced that through Israel all nations should be blessed.

4. *The Sacrifice of Isaac* marks the crowning event in the life of A. Obviously, it must rank as the surpassing act of the patriarch's faith in God. But a difficulty arises in some minds from the wickedness of the act which God at first commands A. to do. Even though He never intended A. eventually to execute the terrible command, still is it consistent with divine goodness and justice to issue an order, to obey which seemed to have the result of placing blind trust in a positive command above the reasonable recognition of the natural demands of love, mercy, and justice? But there are two considerations which cut the ground from beneath this objection. (1) We are tempted to assume that in the patriarchal narrative the voice of God is an audible external communication. But then, as now, God speaks in different ways, and by conscience most directly. The question put by A.'s conscience was whether his complete trust in God extended even to the readiness to surrender his only son; it was in the truest sense a word of God to A. (2) That the answer to this questioning was given in the shape of human sacrifice on a mountain top, illustrates the importance of bearing in mind the imperfect development of the moral consciousness in that remote period. Human sacrifice was frequently practised in Sem. races. If the worshippers of other Sem. deities were ready to sacrifice their firstborn to their gods, was A. to be behind Assyria, Ammon, and Moab in devotion? The moral standard of the age would not be shocked at a deed too fatally common. The ideas of mercy and justice were, in that period, low, and needed to be raised. To propitiate the Deity by child murder was regarded as the height of religious devotion. The narrative, therefore, fulfils the twofold object of giving the crowning proof of A.'s absolute faith in J″; and further, of demonstrating the moral superiority of faith in J″ over the religious customs of other Sem. races. J″ forbade the sacrifice of the firstborn: J″ upheld the instinct implanted in human nature which shrunk in horror from the act. He taught that J″ had no pleasure in the infliction of suffering upon the innocent; that the character of J″ was raised above that of the heathen gods by higher love and truer justice.

ii. A. IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL. — The attempt has been made to deprive the story of A. of all hist. value, and to represent the patriarch either as a mythical personage or as the typical impersonation of the virtues of the religious Isr.; but as yet no evidence has been found to connect the name of A. with that of a tribal deity, while the endeavour to find in his story a philosophical description of abstract qualities seems to presuppose a stage of literary development to which the materials of the Hex. can make no claim, and to desiderate a literary unity which those materials emphatically contradict.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that recollections of the nomadic age, committed to writing (in the form that has come down to us) in a post-Mosaic era, and evidently strongly coloured by the teaching of the prophets of J″, are likely to have preserved the hist. facts of the remote past in a form in which personal details are inextricably intertwined with racial movements, and, for simplicity's sake, the destinies of a future nation are anticipated in the features of family experience.

According to this view, A. was the leader of a great nomadic movement of the Hebrews (Gn 10[21] 14[13]), who migrated from Mesopotamia into Canaan. These Hebrews penetrated as far as Egypt (Gn 12), but for the most part established themselves in the

S. of Canaan, and in Hebron and Beersheba formed friendly relationships with the dwellers of the land (Gn 14. 21[22]). The story of Lot seems to indicate that the peoples of Ammon and Moab had originally belonged to the Heb. migration which was led by A., and, having separated themselves from their comrades, occupied the territory of the Rephaim, the Emim, and the Zamzummim (Dt 2[11. 19-21]).

Again, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that some of the references to Ishmael and the allusion to Keturah contain an Isr. picture of the relationship of the Arabian tribes and clans to the Heb. stock rather than the record of personal history. The Egyp. origin of Hagar (Gn 16[1]) and of Ishmael's wife (Gn 21[21]) will then indicate that the new settlers received into their community a considerable admixture of an Egyp. element at the time when they dispersed throughout N. Arabia. The fact that 'the sons of Nahor' (Gn 22[20-24]), 'the sons of Ishmael' (Gn 25[12-18]), 'the sons of Edom' (Gn 36[15-19]), form groups of *twelve*, and that 'the sons of Keturah' thus form a half-group of *six*, is an additional sign of the probability that the record is not only that of the domestic life of a family, but also that of the political distribution of a race.

While this consideration must modify the acceptance of a uniform *literal* historicity for the narrative of A., it is not incompatible with the view that in A. we have the great leader of a racial movement, and one who left his mark upon his fellow-tribesmen, not only by the eminence of his superior gifts, but by the distinctive features of his religious life, the traditional features of which were the devotion to one God, the abandonment of the polytheism of his ancestors, and the adoption of circumcision as the symbol of a purer cult.

iii. A. IN THE THEOLOGY OF OT.—The scattered reminiscences of the patriarchs were collected and compiled, even more for the purpose of illustrating the fundamental principles of the Isr. revelation than with the object of retailing any exhaustive biography.

The religion of Israel dates, according to OT, from A., not from Moses. A.'s servant addresses J″ as the God of his master A. (Gn 24[12]); J″ is to Isaac the God of A. (Gn 26[24]); to Jacob He is 'the God of A. and the fear of Isaac' (Gn 31[42]). A. never speaks of J″ as the God of his fathers. A. is the founder of the religion; he is the head of the family which had J″ for its God. There is no designation of the God of Israel which can go farther back to the origin of the Heb. faith than the often-repeated title 'the God of A.' (cf. Ps 47[9]).

The story of A. reflects the belief in the free grace of God which chose the patriarch and brought him from a distant land, and in spite of his failures loved him and made His covenant with him. The call of A. and the promises made him thus represent the Election (ἐκλογή) of Israel. A. as the chosen servant is the prophet, the instrument of J″'s purpose (Gn 20[7]). He is the friend of God (Is 41[8], 2 Ch 20[7]. Cf. Arab. *El-Khalil*). God's mercies towards him are appealed to by the prophets of the Captivity (Is 51[2], Ezk 33[24]) as the ground of confidence that J″ would not forsake the heirs of the promises made to A.

The unique relation in which A., in Isr. theology, stood to the God of revelation is indicated by the ref. of the prophets to A. as 'the one' (see Is 51[1. 2], Ezk 33[24], Mal 2[15]). In the Bk of Sir, A. is spoken of as 'great father of a multitude of nations; and there was none found like him in glory; who kept the law of the Most High, and was taken into covenant with Him: in his flesh he established the covenant; and when he was proved he was found faithful' (44[19. 20]). In these words are summarised the chief points upon which the later Jewish literature esp. insisted in any reference to the life and character of A. He was the founder of the race; he was credited with a perfect knowledge of the Torah; he was the institutor of circumcision; he was tried, and in virtue of his faith was declared righteous.

iv. A. IN THE THEOLOGY OF NT.—In NT, A. is referred to in a variety of ways. The words of John the Baptist in Mt 3[9], Lk 3[8], and of St. Paul, Ro 9[7], rebuke the popular Jewish supposition that descent from A. carried with it any special claim upon divine favour. Our Lord speaks of A. as one with whom all the partakers of divine redemption shall be privileged to dwell (Mt 8[11]); and as of one who is both cognisant of things on earth, and is also entrusted with the special charge over the souls of the blest (Lk 16[22]). Our Lord employs the imagery of current religious belief; A. is the typical representative of 'the righteous' who have been redeemed; he is 'the father of the faithful.' Hence He says (Jn 8[56]), 'Your father A. rejoiced to see My day; and he saw it, and was glad.' He obtained a vision of the meaning of the promises, and rejoiced in the hope of their future fulfilment. Christ was the consummation of all the aspirations of A., the father of the race. According to the Jewish tradition (*Bereshith Rabba* 44, Wünsche), A. saw the whole history of his descendants in the mysterious vision recorded in Gn 15[8ff.]. Thus he is said to have 'rejoiced with the joy of the law' (Westcott on Jn 8[56]).

The subject of the faith of A. seems to have formed a stock subject of discussion in the Jewish synagogue. It is alluded to in 1 Mac 2[52] 'Was not A. found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness?' The 'locus classicus' for the subject was Gn 15[6]; and the question propounded by the Jewish teachers turned upon the nature of the faith which was counted to A. for righteousness. To Philo the whole history of A. was merely an allegory descriptive of the truly wise man whose inner nature is made one with the divine by teaching (διδασκαλία), as Isaac's by nature (φύσις), and Jacob's by discipline (ἄσκησις). In Philo's treatment of the subject, 'faith,' which frees the soul from the dominion of the senses, was 'the queen of virtues' (*de Abrah.* ii. p. 39); and Philo refers to Gn 15[6] at least 10 times (see Lightfoot, *Gal.* p. 158, and Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. 55) for the purpose of indicating the supreme excellence of A.'s faith.

Rabbinical Judaism did not adopt the symbolical and abstract explanation which satisfied the Alex. philosopher. It regarded A. as inseparable from A.'s seed, and the faith of A. as consisting in the fulfilment of the law.

Against this Rabbinic interpretation St. Paul directs his argument in Ro 4[1-8] and Gal 3. Faith with the apostle is the motive power of the whole spiritual life, and he lays stress on the fact that the mention of A.'s faith precedes the institution of circumcision. The faith of the patriarch was not due to the rite; it was only ratified and confirmed by it (cf. Ro 4[9-12] and the notes of Sanday and Headlam). The same subject comes under discussion in the Ep. of St. James; and there the apostle of the circumcision safeguards, as it were, the Christian position from a perversion of the Pauline teaching. With St. James 'the faith' of A. is not so much the motive power of spiritual life as the settled belief, the genuineness of which can only be tested by action (Ja 2[19], see Mayor, *in loc.*).

Yet another reference to A.'s faith is found in He 11[8-11], where the patriarch is described as having been 'enabled to work towards the fulfilment of

God's counsel by his trust in the unseen' (Westcott, *in loc*). The three features of the patriarch's life which the writer of the Ep. selects for the illustration of this 'faith,' are (1) self-surrender, in the departure from his home (v.[8]); (2) patience, in the pilgrim's expectation of a future abiding place (vv.[9. 10]); (3) influence, since his faith, affecting Sarah's faith, led to the fulfilment of the promise (vv.[11. 12]).

Later Jewish teaching, dwelling on the same theme, says, 'In like manner thou findest that A. our father inherited this world and the world to come solely by the merit of faith whereby he believed on the Lord' (*Mechilta* on Ex 14[31]).

v. JEWISH TRADITION.—It was natural that Jewish tradition should be busy with regard to the great founder of the people of Israel. From the fact that A. received the divine call in Ur of the Chaldees, and *ur* in Heb. meant 'flame,' the strange story was invented of his having been cast into a fiery furnace by Nimrod. This legend appears in various forms. One of the best known is that which is recorded in the Targ. of Jonathan on Gn 11[28] 'And it was when Nimrod had cast A. into the furnace of fire because he would not worship his idol, and the fire had no power to burn him, that Haran's heart became doubtful, saying, If Nimrod overcome, I will be on his side; but if A. overcome, I will be on his side. And when all the people who were there saw that the fire had no power over A., they said in their hearts, Is not Haran the brother of A. full of divinations and charms, and has he not uttered spells over the fire that it should not burn his brother? Immediately there fell fire from the high heavens and consumed him; and Haran died in sight of Terah his father, where he was burned in the land of his nativity, in the furnace of fire which the Chaldæans had made for A. his brother' (Etheridge's tr.).

Another version of the story appears in *Bereshith Rabba*, where A. refuses to obey Nimrod's command that he should worship fire; and suggests that it would be more reasonable to worship water that quenches fire, or the clouds that give the rain, or the wind that drives the clouds; finally, he exhorts Nimrod to worship the one God. Nimrod causes A. to be thrown into a fiery furnace; but God delivers him from its flames. For other instances of the Rabbinic treatment of A.'s life, see Weber, *System der Altsynagog. Palästin. Theologie*, Leipzig, 1880. In *Pirke Abhoth* (v. 4) it is said, 'With ten temptations was A. our father tempted, and he withstood them all; to show how great was the love of A. our father.' For the ways in which the Rabbins reckoned up these ten temptations, see Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 94.

The facts that A. came from Haran, that he won his victory at Hobah, near Damascus (Gn 14[15]), and that his servant was a native of Damascus (Gn 15[2]), seem to have given rise to the legend that A. conquered Damascus. So Josephus relates that 'Nicolaus of Damascus,' in the 4th book of his history, says thus: 'A. reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land of Babylon. . . . Now the name of A. is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and they show a village named after him, The habitation of A.' (*Ant.* I. vii. 2). A.'s native country having been Chaldæa, he was credited by the Jews with a knowledge of secret arts and magic (cf. Philo, *de præm. et pœn.*; Jos. *Ant.* I. vii.); and Josephus records the tradition that A. first introduced into Egypt the knowledge of arithmetic and astrology which he had brought with him from Chaldæa (*Ant.* I. viii.).

For the preservation of these and other legends, see *Cod. pseudepigr. Vet. Test.*, J. A. Fabric., tom. 1 (1722), and Beer, *Leben Ab.* (1859). *The Testament of A.* (first ed. by James, 'Texts and Studies, Camb. 1892) deserves especial mention as an apocr. (apparently of Egyp. origin) of apocalyptic character, first mentioned by Origen, *Legimus . . . justitiæ et iniquitatis angelos super Abrahami salute et interitu disceptantes*, etc. (*In Lc.* Hom. 35), and recently brought before the notice of students in a most interesting form by the learned editor.

vi. THE NAME 'ABRAHAM.'—The attempts to discover the etymology of this name can hardly as yet be said to have been successful. According to one very prob. explanation, **Abram** represents a contracted form of Abiram or Aburam, just as 'Abner' probably stands for 'Abiner' or 'Abuner'; while Abraham may have been a local, or an Aramaic, dialectical variety of pronunciation. Abiram was a fairly common name (cf. Nu 16[1. 12] 26[9], 1 K 16[34]) in Heb.; and it is said to be a recognised proper name in the Assyr. Inscriptions, under the form of Abu-ramu (so Schrader and Sayce). The analogy of other proper names, like Abi-melek, Abiel, Abi-jah, makes it exceedingly doubtful whether the name Abram can rightly bear the meanings traditionally assigned to it, 'Lofty father,' or 'the father of the lofty one.' For (1) it stands to reason that no child, however lofty its descent, would have been called 'father,' or 'the father of' a god, whether Melech, or Jah, or Ram; (2) the feminine names Abi-gail, Abi-tal, show the impossibility of this explanation. Probably, therefore, the right meaning of the name is 'Ram (the lofty one) is father,' as Hiram would mean 'Ram is brother,' of the owner of the name. Even so, the origin of the longer name **Abraham** remains still unexplained. The derivation of the name in Gn 17[5] is only a popular word-play, connecting the termination *-raham* with the Heb. המון 'multitude.' Halévy (*Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 1887, p. 177) ventured to propose that Abraham represents אַבִיר הָם 'the chief of a multitude,' the first part of the name being derived, not from *ab*, 'father,' but from *abir*, 'chief,' and the second part from *ham* (root *hamah*), 'multitude.' For this theory there does not appear to be much probability. The deriv. of the longer name must be left uncertain, although the most likely explanation of it is to be found in the variant pron. of proper names in different localities or in different clans of the same people. Thus רהם may be a dialectical form of רום; and Abraham the same in meaning as Abram, just as Abiram is the same in meaning as Abram (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 4, and Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Rel. Gesch.*).

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned above, the reader is referred to the Comm. on Genesis by Delitzsch, and Dillmann; to the Histories of Israel by Ewald, Reuss, and Kittel; to the works on OT Theology by Oehler, Schultz, and Dillmann. For illustration from Assyr. sources, see Sayce, *Patriarchal Pal.* (1895); Tomkins, *Times of Abraham* (1878); Schrader, *COT*[2] (1885).

H. E. RYLE.

ABRAHAM, BOOK OF.—A work, consisting of 300 *στίχοι*, bearing this name, is found in a list of Jewish apocryphal writings, preserved from a much earlier period, in an appendix to the *Chronographia Compendiaria* of Nicephorus (*c.* 800 A.D.). This list is printed in Credner's *Gesch. des Kanons*, 1847, as well as in Schürer's *HJP* II. iii. 126. The so-called *Synopsis Athanasii* presents the same list, omitting, however, the number of *στίχοι*, which is attached to each book in the Stichometry of Nicephorus. It is likely that this is the book from which Origen quotes as to a contest between the angels of righteousness and iniquity with regard to the salvation of Abraham (*In Luc.* Hom. 35); and James is prob. correct in identifying this *Book* with the *Testament of A.* (*Texts and Studies*, ii. 2, p. 27 ff.). An *Apoc. of A.* is mentioned by Epiphanius as used by the Ophites.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM.—A term used of the abode of the righteous dead, defining it as a position of blessedness in intimate association with the father of the faithful, 'the friend of God.' In Scripture

it occurs only in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk 16[22. 23]), where it appears both in the singular (κόλπος Ἀβραάμ) and in the plural (κόλποι Ἀβραάμ). Taken from the practice of reclining at table, so that the head of the guest leant back upon the bosom of his neighbour, the place of distinction belonging to him who was seated in this way next the host, the figure expresses the ideas of nearest fellowship and highest honour. In the Rabbin. literature the phrase (חיקו של אברהם אבינו) was applied to the place reserved for the pious departed, into which they passed immediately after death, and in which they dwelt free from the woes of hell (cf. 4 Mac 13[17]). It was a Jewish belief that the intermediate state contained two distinct compartments—a place of relative preparatory reward for the good, and a place of relative preparatory penalty for the evil (cf. Bk of Enoch 22, 2 Es 7[76ff.] etc.). Some of the Jewish books speak of certain receptacles (*promptuaria*) into which the souls of the faithful dead were taken (Apoc. of Bar 30[2], 2 Es 4[35. 41] 7[32] etc.). And in the theology of the 3rd cent. and onwards it was taught that the circumcised should not be subject to hell. It was a saying of Rabbi Levi (of the 3rd cent.), that in the world to come Abraham would sit at the entrance to hell, and suffer no circumcised Isr. to pass into it. It has been usually supposed, therefore, that in NT the phrase 'Abraham's bosom' refers to the intermed. state, and designates a division of the underworld, where the good enjoy a preliminary measure of blessedness. In this case it is identified with Paradise, the *lower* Paradise as dist. from the heavenly, or is taken to describe a condition of peculiar honour in the Hades-Paradise. It is uncertain, however, when this idea of two separate localities within the underworld came to prevail. It was the idea of the later and mediæval Judaism. But whether it was in circulation so early as our Lord's time is doubtful. There seems reason to believe that the older Judaism spoke only of a *Garden of Eden* for the righteous dead, and a *Gehinnom* (Gehenna, Hell) for the wicked dead, identifying the latter with *Sheol*. If so, 'Abraham's bosom' in the parable would not be the name for a special compartment of Hades, or for an intermed. condition of blessedness distinct from and preliminary to the final state of perfect felicity. And in the parable itself it is only the rich man that is expressly described as 'in Hades.'

LITERATURE.—Wetstein on Lk 16[22. 23]; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* p. 851, etc.; Fritzsche u. Grimm, *Exeg. Handb. zu den Apocryphen*, on 4 Mac 13[16]; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 180; Hamburger, *RE*; Weber, *System der altsyn. paläst. Theol.* p. 328; Meyer-Weiss, *Kom.*[8] p. 543, etc.; Salmond, *Christ. Doct. of Immortality*, p. 345.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

ABRECH (אַבְרֵךְ).—A word called out before Joseph as he passed through the land of Egypt in his official capacity of prime minister to the Pharaoh (Gn 41[43]). Its exact signification is not a matter of agreement amongst scholars. The LXX (ἐκήρυξεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ κήρυξ) and the Vulg. (*clamante præcone, ut omnes coram eo genu flecterent*) are not literal or direct translations. The Targ. of Onk. interprets it as 'father of the king,' on the ground possibly of Gn 45[8]. Jewish scholars who have derived it from Heb. refer it to the root בָּרַךְ *bend the knee*, in the Hiph. Imv., where, for the usual ה, an א has been substituted (cf. Jer 25[3]). Luther regarded the case as hopeless, in saying, 'Was *abrech* heisse, lassen wir die Zäncker suchen bisz an den jüngsten Tag' (Ges. *Thes.* p. 19). Of the many proposed Egyp. (and Coptic) derivations, we need note only the following:—(1) *Abrek* (απρεκ) *caput inclinare* (Rossi, *Etymol. ægypt.* p. 1, in Ges. *Thes.* p. 19); (2) *ap-reχ-ν, head of the wise* (Harkavy, *Berl. Ægypt. Zeitschr.* 1869, p. 132); (3) *ab-rek, rejoice thou* (Cook, *Speaker's Com. in loco*, p. 482); (4) *āb(u)-rek, thy commandment is the object of our desire, i.e.* 'we are at thy service' (Renouf, *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.* Nov. 1888, pp. 5–10). On the other hand, several derivations are suggested from the Asiatic-Sem. side: (1) Sayce compares it with an 'Accadian' *abrik*, a seer, appearing also in the Sem. form, on an unpublished tablet, of *abrikku* (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 183, n. 3); (2) Delitzsch compares the Assyr. *abarakku* (fem. *ab(a)rakkatu*), *a titled personage*, possibly *grand vizier* (*Paradies*, p. 225; *Heb. Lang.* p. 26; *Proleg.* p. 145; and *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, p. 68 f.); (3) Schrader dissents from Delitzsch (*COT*[2] i. 139); (4) Halévy derives it from *paraku* (*Rev. d. Études Juives*, 1885, p. 304). But of all the suggested sources of this much-abused word, the Heb. and the Assyr. above mentioned seem to carry with them the least number of difficulties. (The text of Gn 41[43f.] does not indicate that there was anything more than a salute.) It is, in either event, an Egyptianised Sem. word, probably carried down into Egypt during the centuries of Hyksos rule. This opinion receives support, too, from the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna tablets that there had been for many centuries before Joseph's day free international communication between Egypt and Asia.

IRA M. PRICE.

ABROAD.—In its modern meaning of 'in (or 'to') another country,' a. is not used in AV or RV. The nearest approach is Jn 11[52] 'The children of God that are scattered a.' On the other hand a. is used in senses now wholly or nearly obsolete. **1.** It signifies specially outside one's own dwelling, the opp. of 'at home.' Lv 18[9] 'Whether she be born at home or born a.'; La 1[20] 'A. the sword bereaveth, at home there is as death'; Jg 12[9] 'Thirty daughters he sent a., and thirty daughters he brought in from a. for his sons'; Dt 23[10] 'Then shall he go a. out of the camp'; Lk 8[17] 'Neither anything hid that shall not be known and come a.' (RV 'to light'); Sir 26[5] 'A drunken woman and a gadder a.' Cf.—

> 'Where as he lay
> So sick alway
> He might not come abroad.'
> —Sir T. More, *A Merry Jest*.

2. On the outside of anything: Lv 13[12] 'If a leprosy break out a. in the skin.' **3.** In the general sense of openly, freely, widely: Mk 1[45] 'But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze a. the matter'; Ro 16[19] 'For your obedience is come a. unto all men'; 5[5] 'The love of God is shed a. in your hearts.'

J. HASTINGS.

ABRONAH (עַבְרֹנָה).—A station in the journeyings, occurs only Nu 33[34. 35], AV **Ebronah.**

ABSALOM (אַבְשָׁלוֹם, in 1 K 15[2. 10] אֲבִישָׁלוֹם **Abishalom**, 'father is peace'), the third son of David (2 S 3[3], 1 Ch 3[2]). He first comes into prominence in connexion with the story of his sister Tamar (2 S 13). After the foul outrage done to the latter by Amnon, David's eldest son, A. determined upon revenge, but concealed his purpose for two years. At the end of this period he gave a feast at the time of sheep-shearing, and invited the king and his sons. David declined for himself, but permitted Amnon and his brothers to go. While the feast was at its height, the servants of A., upon a signal given by their master, fell upon Amnon and slew him. Having thus avenged the affront put upon his sister, A. fled to the court of his maternal grandfather, Talmai, the king of Geshur, where he remained for three years. Then Joab, perceiving that David longed for a reconciliation with his son, contrived, through the medium of 'a wise woman of Tekoah,' to procure a reversal of the virtual sentence of banishment, and A. returned to Jerus., but was not per-

mitted to approach the presence of the king. This unnatural condition of things continued for two years, when A. applied to Joab to use his interest at court to procure a full reconciliation. David's general had, however, for some reason become less hearty in the matter, and declined even to meet A., until the latter resorted to the expedient of ordering his servants to set fire to Joab's barley field. When the owner of the field came in person to demand an explanation of this injury, he was at length persuaded to intercede with the king on behalf of his son, and his mediation proved successful. It is easy to conceive that David, by his injudicious mingling of leniency and severity, had completely forfeited the confidence of his son, and it was doubtless from this occasion onwards that A. began to hatch the plot that proved fatal to him, and which has gained for his name an unenviable immortality. He took advantage of a misunderstanding that seems to have existed between David and the men of Judah, and set himself sedulously to gain the confidence and affection of all visitors to the court. In particular, those who came to have matters of law decided were flattered by the attentions of the heir-apparent, who also was careful to drop hints that the king might do far more to expedite the administration of justice, and that if he (Absalom) were only judge, a very different state of things would be inaugurated. Thus he 'stole the hearts of the men of Israel.' He was greatly helped in the accomplishment of his scheme by the extraordinary personal charms he possessed (2 S 14^{25-27}).

How long this preparatory stage lasted is uncertain. The *forty* years of 2 S 15^{7} manifestly cannot be correct, and should perhaps be read *four* years. When at length he judged that the time was ripe for the execution of his rebellious enterprise, A. obtained leave of absence from his father, on pretence of having to go to Hebron to pay a vow he had made during his sojourn in Geshur. His emissaries were at work throughout the whole land, preparing for a general rising, and his adherents became daily more numerous. At the very outset he gained over David's famous counsellor Ahithophel the Gilonite, who may have had reasons of his own for deserting the king (see BATHSHEBA). So alarming were the reports which reached David, that he resolved to abandon the capital and save himself and his household by flight to the eastern Jordanic territory. He was accompanied by the faithful Cherethites and Pelethites, to whom were added on this occasion a body of Gittites who had probably formed part of David's followers in the old days at Ziklag. The offer of Zadok and Abiathar to accompany him with the ark was declined, and Hushai the Archite was also directed to remain at Jerusalem and do his utmost to defeat the counsel of Ahithophel. Upon Absalom's arrival in Jerusalem, Hushai played the part of rebel so skilfully that he gained the complete confidence of the aspirant to the throne. Ahithophel first of all counselled A. to take a step which would make the breach between him and his father irreparable (2 S 16^{21-23}), and then advised that prompt measures should be taken to pursue and destroy David before he could rally around him any considerable number of troops. Hushai counselled delay and cautious measures, and his advice was followed, to the chagrin of Ahithophel, who, seeing that all was lost, went and set his house in order and hanged himself. The two sons of Zadok and Abiathar were despatched by Hushai with intelligence to David of what had transpired at Jerusalem. The young men were hotly pursued, and narrowly escaped capture, but evading their pursuers by stratagem reached David, who the same night with his whole company passed over Jordan. At Mahanaim, Barzillai the Gileadite and others supplied him liberally with provisions. Ere long a sufficient number of troops was assembled to justify the king in joining battle with the forces of A., which by this time had also passed the Jordan. The decisive battle was fought in 'the wood of Ephraim.' David, yielding to the wish of his supporters that he should not expose his life by taking the field in person, arranged his army in three divisions, commanded respectively by Joab, Abishai, and Ittai the Gittite. To each of these three generals he gave the charge, 'Deal gently, for my sake, with the young man, even with Absalom.' From the very first the tide of battle set strongly against the rebel army, which lost heavily in the engagement, and still more heavily in its retreat through the forest. Absalom himself was hurried by his mule under an oak, and becoming entangled by the head in the fork of a branch, hung defenceless. In this situation he was discovered by a soldier, who at once informed Joab. The royal general, who appreciated the situation more justly than his master, unhesitatingly pierced the hapless youth to the heart. Having thus disposed of the rebel leader, Joab recalled his troops from the pursuit of the vanquished army. When news of the issue of the battle was brought to David, he forgot everything else in grief at his son's death, and exclaimed again and again, 'O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!' This conduct, natural enough from one point of view, might have had serious results but for the sturdy common-sense of Joab, who pointed out that the king had to think of his soldiers as well as his son. The remonstrance was sufficiently rough in its expression, yet David recognised its wisdom, and, stifling his emotion for the time, came out and thanked his troops for their gallant service in the field. A. was buried near the scene of his death, and the spot was marked by a great heap of stones. According to 2 S 14^{27} he had three sons, and a daughter named Tamar. The latter is with much probability identified with Maacah of 1 K 15^{2}, the wife of Rehoboam (cf. 2 S 3^{3}, 2 Ch $11^{20f.}$). The sons must have predeceased their father, or else a different tradition is followed in 2 S 18^{18}, where we are told that A. had no son.

The story of Absalom forms part of the section 2 S 9–20 and 1 K 1–2, which, with the exception of a few passages, comes from a single pen. Its dominating aim is to trace the progress of Solomon to the throne. Hence it has to explain how the three sons of David who seemed to have superior claims, Amnon, Absalom, and Adonijah, failed to secure the succession. The style is bright and flowing, the descriptions are graphic, and, with all the writer's evident partiality for David and Solomon, the historical character of these chapters, down even to the minutest details, is established by proofs that are amongst the strongest in the O.T.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *Introduction*, p. 172f.; Budde, *Richter u. Samuel*, pp. 247–255; Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, etc., pp. 258–263, also *Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* 50f.

J. A. SELBIE.

ABSALOM IN APOCR. (Ἀβεσσάλωμος, Ἀψάλωμος A).—**1.** A. was the father of Mattathias, one of the captains who stood by Jonathan the Maccabee when the main part of his army fled at the beginning of a battle against the Syrians at Hazor in Northern Galilee (1 Mac 11^{70}=Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 7). It is perhaps the same Absalom whose son Jonathan was sent by Simon the Maccabee to secure Joppa after his brother Jonathan had been imprisoned by Tryphon (1 Mac 13^{11}=Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 4). **2.** According to 2 Mac 11^{17}, one of two envoys sent by the Jews to Lysias when he began to treat with them for peace after his defeat at Bethsuron

(Beth-zur) in 165 B.C. In 1 Mac $4^{34f.}$ = Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 5, no mention is made of overtures for peace, but Lysias is stated to have withdrawn to Antioch for reinforcements. It is probable that the author of 2 Mac has made some confusion between the first expedition of Lysias and a second invasion two or three years later, when, after gaining a victory at Beth-zur, he made terms with the Jews in consequence of troubles in Syria.

H. A. WHITE.

ABSALOM'S TOMB.—See JERUSALEM.

ABUBUS (Ἄβουβος, 1 Mac $16^{11.15}$) was the father of Ptolemy, the son-in-law of Simon the Maccabee, by whom Simon was murdered at Jericho.

ABUNDANCE.—This word is used with great freedom in AV, translating about twenty Heb. and nearly as many Gr. words. Each occurrence should be considered in relation to the orig. word. Here it is necessary only to draw attention to the obs. use of a. to signify *superfluity*: Mk 12^{44} 'All they did cast in of their a.' (RV 'superfluity,' Gr. τὸ περισσεῦον, as opp. to ὑστέρησις, 'deficiency,' said of the widow; so Lk 21^{4}); Ps 105^{30} 'Their land brought forth frogs in a.' (RV 'swarmed with frogs,' Heb. שֶׁרֶץ; so Ex 8^{3}, and cf. Gn $1^{20.21}$ 9^{7}); 2 Co 12^{7} 'through the a. of the revelations' (Gr. ὑπερβολή, RV 'exceeding greatness').

J. HASTINGS.

ABUSE, ABUSER. — **1.** In NT abuse is used twice (as tr. of καταχράομαι) when the meaning is not a. but 'use to the full' regardless of consequences (see Thayer, *N.T. Lex.*): 1 Co 7^{31} 'Those that use the world as not abusing it' (RV m. 'using it to the full'); 9^{18} 'that I a. not my power in the gospel' (RV 'so as not to use to the full my right in the gospel'). **2.** In OT a. is found thrice (as tr. of עָלַל) with a person as object. In 1 S 31^{4} and 1 Ch 10^{4} the meaning is insult or dishonour, as in Milton, *Sam. Ag.* i. 36—

> 'I, dark in light, exposed
> To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong.'

But in Jg 19^{25} it is the old sense of defile or ravish: 'They knew her, and abused her all the night.' Cf. Fordyce, *Serm. to Young Women* (1767): 'He that abuses you, dishonours his mother.' Hence in 1 Co 6^{9} ἀρσενοκοίτης, 'one that lies with a male,' is tr^{d} 'abusers of themselves with mankind' (RV 'men'); and RV gives the same tr. at 1 Ti 1^{10}.

J. HASTINGS.

ABYSS.—The translation (in RV, not in AV) of ἄβυσσος, a word compounded from α intensive and βυσσός, Ionic form of βυθός, *depth* (2 Co 11^{25}), and connected (see Curtius) with βαθύς, *deep*, and the Eng. *bath*; primarily and classically an adj. = *very deep*, or even *bottomless*; applied to the yawning gulfs of Tartarus (Eur. *Phœn.* 1605) and, metaph., to a sea of calamity (Æsch. *Suppl.* 470): in profane Greek used as a subst. by Diog. Laert. only (iv. 5. 27), on an epitaph, 'the black abyss of Pluto.' (Comp. Job 41^{23} LXX τὸν τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου.) Once (perhaps twice) in LXX it is an adj. (Wis 10^{19} the bottomless deep of the Red Sea: possibly also Job 36^{16} metaph. = *boundless*): elsewhere, LXX, NT, and eccl. Gr., a subst.; in LXX the trans., with few exceptions, of *tĕhôm, the tumultuous water-deep* (some thirty times), and, once each, of *mĕzûlah, sea-deep* (Job 41^{31}), of *zûlah* (Is 44^{27}), *the deep flood* (of Euphrates) and of *raḥabh, spacious place* (Job 36^{16} if subst.). *Primarily* in LXX it signifies (with *tehôm*) the *waters beneath*, by which the earth was at first covered (Gn 1^{2}, Ps 104^{6-9}), but on which it was afterwards made to rest (Jon 2^{6}; see Ps 24^{2}), and from which its springs and rivers welled up (Gn 7^{11} 49^{25}, Dt 8^{7}: cf. Rev 9^{1} φρέαρ). Not unnaturally it denoted also the upper seas and rivers connected with the subterraneous waters (Ps 107^{26} 106^{9}), the original notion of *tumultuousness* in *tĕhôm* (Ps 42^{7}) being overlaid by that of *depth* in ἄβυσσος (Sir 24^{29}, Jon 2^{6}, Ps 36^{7}). *Secondarily*, from the notion of subterraneousness and depth, it is the *place after death*, but is never in LXX the actual translation of *Sheol* (though this etymologically = *depth*, Ps 71^{20}; cf. Ps 86^{13}); in this sense, apparently, it is not justifiable to eliminate altogether the connotation of *raging waters*. [Comp. the contrast with *heaven* in Gn 7^{11} (πηγαὶ ἀβύσσου) with that in Ps 139^{8} (Sheol) and in Ro 10^{7} (ἄβυσσος); also Job 41^{23} LXX, and Job $26^{5.6}$ (ὕδατος).] The relation to Sheol, with its dull, shadowy monotony and even misery, coupled with the OT idea of Sheol as a *pit dungeon* (Is 24^{22}), and with pre-NT apocalyptic usage (Enoch 10^{13} *chasm of fire*; 21^{10} *prison of the angels*; 18^{11} *abyss*), prepared for the NT use of the word. It occurs only twice outside Rev: in Ro 10^{7} it is simply the *abode of the dead*; in Lk 8^{31} it is the *prison destined for evil spirits*. In seven passages of Rev (chs. 9. 11. 17. 20) it is a *prison* in which evil powers are confined ($20^{1.3}$), and out of which they can at times be let loose (11^{7} 17^{8}), but is not the *lake of fire* ($20^{2.10}$); nor is Satan regarded as himself cast into this prison, but only to be so cast ($20^{1.2}$) for 1000 years.

J. MASSIE.

ACACIA.—See SHITTIM.

ACCABA (B Ἀκκαβά, A Γαβά, AV Agaba), 1 Es 5^{30}.—His descendants returned among the 'temple servants' under Zerubbabel. Called Hagab (חָגָב), Ezr 2^{46}; Hagaba, Neh 7^{48}.

ACCAD, ACCADIANS.—Accad (or *Akkad*), with Babel, Erech, and Calneh, was one of the chief cities in the land of Shinar. These four constituted the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod (Gn 10^{10}). The LXX reads Ἀρχάδ. The Bab.-Assyr. inscriptions are the source of all our information on this name. It was at first supposed that *Akkadû*, occurring so frequently in the inscriptions in connexion with *Sumer*, referred only to a district or province. But it is now known that there was a city of that name (Hilprecht, *Freibrief Neb.* i. col. ii. l. 50). Its form is and is read *al Akkad* (or 'non-Sem.' *Agade*), city of Accad, the name under which the city was for long centuries known. It was the residence of the first historical ruler of all Babylonia, Sargon I., whose activity dates from 3800 B.C., according to the statement of Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.), an inscription discovered in 1881 on the site of Sippar. Frequent references to two Sippars, 'Sippar of the Sun-god' and 'Sippar of Anunit,' indicate some strange fortunes in connexion with this site. The worship of Ishtar of Accad was replaced by that of Anunit of Sippar. In very early times Sippar was the chief seat of sun-worship, and Accad of Ishtar worship. Gradually there was a political absorption, and all references seem to justify the assumption that of those two cities lying close together, Sippar with its Sun-god became the more powerful, and practically absorbed Accad. The worship of Ishtar, however, did not lose its identity, but was continued under the name of Sippar of Anunit (McCurdy, *Hist. Prophecy and the Monuments*, § 94). It is possible, but still unproved, that the city of Accad lay opposite to Sippar on the left bank of the Euphrates. Its exact site is a matter of doubt, but it is thought to have been located near *Abu-habba*, about fifteen

miles west of Baghdad. Delitzsch conjectures that it may have been one of the two cities which bore the name of Sepharvaim, but McCurdy locates this double city in N. Syria (§ 349). The Wolfe expedition to Babylonia in 1884–85 (cf. *Report*, pp. 24, 25) located it at *Anbar*, on the Euphrates, N.W. of the ruins of Babylon. It was probably the capital city of *mât Akkadi*. (Consult for greater fulness the literature named below.)

From ancient times the kings of Babylonia, and the kings of Assyria who ruled over this territory, appended to their names *šar Šumêri u Akkadi*, king of Sumer and Akkad. Now, what was the origin of this double title? It was probably not indicative of the two regions of Babylonia, S. and N., as kings who ruled only over S. Babylonia claimed it. It was also claimed by conquerors who had not advanced farther S. than Nippur (cf. Winckler, *Untersuch. z. altorient. Ges.* 65 ff.). It seems, then, that 'Sumer and Accad,' in the titles of kings, may have been no more than a claim to the ancient territory and city of Accad, with *additional* territory (cf. McCurdy, § 110). (For other views of the question, cf. Schrader, *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsf.* p. 533 f.; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 198; Tiele, *Gesch. Babyl.-Assyriens*, part i. p. 76 f.)

Upon the identification of these names with specific localities has been built up the theory of the so-called Sumerians and Accadians. To the consideration of this theory we will now turn our attention.

It is maintained by a certain school of Oriental historians and linguists, that the lower Mesopotamian valley was at an early day populated by the Accadians, who were originally related to the Sumerians. They spoke, it is said, an agglutinative language. In the midst of these peoples Sem. tribes settled down, and adopted the language and customs of their foresettlers. Step by step the Sem. language gained ascendency, and about 1200 B.C. the native tongue died out, except as a sacred and literary vehicle, in which capacity it served until a late date. It is claimed that those early non-Sem. peoples reached a high degree of civilisation, that they left many traces of their culture in their monuments of art and language, and that we can readily interpret them. This supposed prehistoric people and their language are termed among Eng. Assyriologists, 'Accadians,' among French and German 'Sumerians,' derived from the supposedly most important localities where the most ancient inscriptions are found.

On the other hand, there is a growing school which maintains that the Semites, whom we know as possessing the cuneiform characters, were the inventors of these last and the developers of Sem. culture, and that the so-called 'Sumerians' and 'Accadians' are but figments of an over-zealous scientific spirit. A few only of the points can be noticed. We find in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia word-lists which give a twofold, and sometimes a threefold, explanation of cuneiform ideograms. These ideograms are found in all stages of the Bab.-Assyr. language. In these lists one column of explanations gives us regular Sem. words, and another, words somewhat unfamiliar in sound, which are supposed to be of non-Sem. origin. But careful scrutiny shows that these strange words yield to Sem. roots, and that even the most unfamiliar are simply made up of possible word-forms of the same idiom, disguised according to regular ascertainable methods. Again, what can be said of so-called bilingual or unilingual texts? In both cases we meet with an abundance of these disguised Sem. words, and of Sem. grammatical constructions and modes of thought. The evidence of the slight remains of prehistoric art in Babylon is not decisive. Again, the Sem. Babylonians never in any way speak of or allude to any such people as the supposed Sumerians or Accadians. Still, the same language was used in Babylon down to the latest period of its history, with no name, nor even a tradition, of that supposed great and influential nation whose heritage fell to the Semites. Other peoples who came into contact with the Babylonians, and who exercised considerable influence on them, *e.g.* the Elamites, receive frequent mention, but there is not the slightest allusion to an Accadian race. It is not impossible that new discoveries may remedy this defect, but it is certainly amazing that what is assumed to have been the most influential factor in early Bab. civilisation is entirely unmentioned. When we find that Sem. documents date from as early a period as the earliest so-called 'Accadian,' and that this hypothetical language was used alongside of the regular Sem. for nearly 3000 years, we are inclined to ask, 'What does this mean?' In an examination of the language, we find many Sem. words and values which at first sight do not admit of such an explanation. But it is a fact that the number which do admit of it is continually increasing. Out of 395 phonetic values, Prof. Delitzsch names 106 which he regards as demonstrably Sem. (*Assyrische Grammatik*, § 25). Prof. McCurdy adds more than 40 others, running up the list to about 150 values. It is not impossible that further investigation may greatly increase the number.

But do not the inscriptions from Telloh, which are plainly ideographic, furnish conclusive proof of the soundness of the Accadian theory? So one might expect; but we are already finding in them actual Sem. words, disguised under the forms which are found in later bilingual texts. Besides, it is found that the oldest kings of 'Ur of the Chaldees,' the founders of the first Bab. kingdom, knew how to write Sem. as well as 'Accadian' inscriptions.

[NOTE BY EDITOR.—Professor Price has been permitted to state his view of this question unreservedly. For he is himself an accomplished student of Assyriology, and he has the support of some eminent scholars (see especially McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. 87 ff.). But the Editor thinks it necessary to say that the weight of authority is undoubtedly on the other side, leading Assyriologists everywhere having come to the conclusion that the view which Professor Price combats is substantially true. The reader should, however, consult the literature which Professor Price has given below, representing both sides of the question, and the articles ASSYRIA and BABYLONIA.]

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *Zur Frage nach d. Urspr. d. altbab. Kultur*, 1883; Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, 1881 f.; ——— *Die Sumerisch-Akkadische Sprache*, *Verh. 5ten Or. Cong.* ii. pp. 249–287; ——— *Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze*, 1879; Hommel, *Zeitsch. f. Keilschriftforschung*, vol. i. p. 214 f.; Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, 1885, p. 71 f.; Hommel, *Ges. Bab.-As.* 1885, 240 ff.; Tiele, *Bab.-As. Ges.* 1886 f., 68; Halévy, *Aperçu grammatical de l'Allographie as.-bab.* 1883; ——— *Mélanges de critique et d'histoire relatifs aux peuples sémitiques*, 1883; Delitzsch, *As. Grammatik*, 1889, § 25; McCurdy, *Presb. and Ref. Review*, Jan. 1891, pp. 58–81; ——— *Hist. Proph. and Mon.* 1894, i. §§ 79–85; Hommel, *Sumerische Lesestücke*, 1894; several articles in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, by Halévy, Guyard, and others.

IRA M. PRICE.

ACCEPT, ACCEPTABLE, ACCEPTATION. — **1.** Besides other meanings, accept is used in the sense of 'receive with favour': Gn 4[7] 'If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?' Dt 33[11] 'Bless, Lord, his substance, and a. the work of his hands.' It is then sometimes followed by 'of': Gn 32[20] 'I will appease him with the present . . . peradventure he will a. of me' (RV 'accept me'); 2 Mac 13[24] 'And the king accepted well of Maccabæus.' 'Accept' or 'accept the person' is often the translation of Heb. נָשָׂא פָּנִים 'to lift up the face,' *i.e.* to look favourably on: Job 42[9] 'The

Lord also accepted Job'; Pr 18[5] 'It is not good to a. the person of the wicked.' This Heb. idiom has been tr. into Gr., and is found in the NT as *πρόσωπον λαμβάνω*, always in a bad sense, 'partiality,' 'respect of persons.' Lk 20[21] 'Neither acceptest thou the person of any'; Gal 2[6] 'God accepteth no man's person.' Then this phrase is turned into *προσωπολήμπτης* (Ac 10[34] 'respecter of persons'), *προσωπολημπτέω* (Ja 2[9] 'have respect to persons,' RV 'of persons'), and *προσωπολημψία* ('respect of persons' Ro 2[11], Eph 6[9], Col 3[25], Ja 2[1]), three words found nowhere but in the NT and (thence) in eccles. writers. The English 'accept the person' is derived from the eccles. Lat. *acceptare personam*. 2. Acceptable is used in the sense of 'favourable': Is 49[8] 'In an a. time have I heard thee'; 61[2] 'To proclaim the a. year of the Lord' (*i.e.* the year of Jehovah's favour). 3. Acceptation=favourable reception, is found in 1 Ti 1[15] 4[9] 'worthy of all a.'

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot on Gal 2[6]; Sanday and Headlam on Ro 2[11].

J. HASTINGS.

ACCEPTANCE.—*Accept* and cognate words are used in Scripture to denote the relation of favour and approval in which one man may stand to other men, and especially to God. Of the various phrases employed to convey the idea, those of most frequent occurrence are in OT, נָשָׂא 'to raise,' and רָצָה 'to associate with, have pleasure in,' and in NT, *εὐάρεστος*, 'well pleasing.' The conditions of A. with God appear in OT partly as ceremonial, partly as moral and religious. Purifications and sacrifices (which see) are necessary in view of human ignorance and sin. But the sacrifices must be offered in a spirit free from greed or deceit. To enforce the moral disposition which must accompany every offering, is one of the great functions of the prophets. When the covenant has been established between God and Israel, entrance into it becomes a condition of receiving, and especially of having a joyful assurance of, the divine grace and favour. Similarly in NT, A. is set forth as only in Jesus Christ and for His sake (Eph 1[6], 1 P 2[5]); and, as the history of the patriarchs presents us with living pictures of what is acceptable to God under the old covenant, so Jesus is Himself the Beloved Son in whom the Father is well pleased (Mt 3[17] 17[5]), and the type of all that God receives and approves.

A. STEWART.

ACCESS.—This word (not found in OT) occurs in NT in Ro 5[2], Eph 2[18] 3[12] as the rendering of *προσαγωγή*. The Gr. word may express *either* an actual 'bringing near,' or 'introduction,' *or* merely a 'means of access,' or 'a right to approach.' In class. Gr. the idea suggested might be that of 'introduction to the presence-chamber of a monarch.' The OT associations of the kindred verb *προσάγειν* seem to connect the word rather with the peculiar relation in which Isr. stood to J", and to give the term a special appropriateness in describing the admission of Gentiles into a new covenant relation with God (*τὴν χάριν ταύτην*, Ro 5[2], cf. Eph 2[17]), cf. Ex 19[6] and 1 P 3[18]; and the approach of Christian worshippers to the Father (Eph 2[18] 3[12]), cf. Lv 1[2] etc., Lv 4[14], Mal 1[11], Ezk 44[13] etc. This last idea is worked out in detail in He 10[19-22]. Our 'right to approach' or 'our introduction' is uniformly described by St. Paul (cf. Jn 14[6]) as given us by Christ.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

ACCO, AV **Accho** (עַכּוֹ).—This city, included in the lot of Asher (Jg 1[31]), was never taken by Israel. Known at different times as Ptolemais (1 Mac and NT), St. Jean d'Acre, Accaron, Acon, etc., the old Heb. עַכּוֹ *'Acco* survives in the Arab *'Akka*. Josephus calls it 'a maritime city of Galilee' (*BJ* II. x. 2). It was important as commanding the coast road, and affording easy access to the great routes crossing the plain of Esdraelon.

From the promontory of Carmel the shore sweeps northward with a beautiful inward curve, forming the Bay of Acre, on the northern extremity of which the city stands. From *Ras en-Nakûrah*, in the north, the mountains recede some miles from the coast, leaving a fertile plain, which is bounded on the south by the Carmel range. It is watered by the Kishon (*el Maḳaṭṭa'*) and *Nahr Na'amân*, the ancient Belus. The plain furnishes Haifa, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Ṣafed with half their supply of fruit and vegetables, sending also much to Beyrout.

Of the 10,000 or 12,000 inhabitants, two-thirds are Moslems, the remainder being Greek and Catholic Christians, with a few Jews and Persians. It is the seat of a provincial governor, under whom are the districts of Haifa, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Safed. The chief trade is the export of grain brought by camels from *Haurân*. About 1000 tons of oil from the olive groves of Galilee are also annually exported. Entered from the south by a single gate, it is defended to landward by a double rampart, to seaward by a strong wall. The ancient inner harbour has disappeared, and the outer is used only by smaller vessels, the neighbouring anchorage of Haifa being more safe and convenient for larger ships.

Few cities have had a stormier history. Allied with Sidon and Tyre in the days of Eluleus against Shalmaneser IV. (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2), it was taken by Sennacherib, and given by Esarhaddon to the king of Tyre. Held in succession by Babylon and Persia (Strabo, xvi. 2. 25), on the division of Alexander's kingdom it fell to Ptolemy Soter. Its strategic value was proved in the Syro-Egyp. wars. Betrayed to Antiochus the Great (B.C. 218), it was immediately recovered by Egypt. Simon Maccabæus defeated and drove the forces of Tyre, Sidon, and Ptolemais into the city (1 Mac 5[22]; *Ant.* XII. viii. 2). Alex. Balas took it by treachery, and there married Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor (*Ant.* XIII. ii. 1, iv. 1, 2). Demetrius Nikator gave it to Jonathan 'for the necessary expenses of the temple' (1 Mac 10[39]). Here Jonathan was perfidiously taken by Tryphon (*Ant.* XIII. vi. 2). Besieged by Alexander Jannæus, relieved by Ptolemy Lathyrus (*Ant.* XIII. xii. 4), it was captured by Cleopatra, who gave it to the Syrian monarchy (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 2). Tigranes the Armenian having taken the city, at once retired (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 4; *BJ* I. v. 3). Falling to the Parthians (*Ant.* XIV. xiii. 3; *BJ* I. xiii. 1), it finally passed under the power of Rome, and was raised to the rank of a colony, with the title, 'Colonia Claudii Cæsaris Ptolemais.' Herod built here a gymnasium (*BJ* I. xxi. 11). It is last mentioned in Scripture in connexion with St. Paul's visit (Ac 21[7]).

W. EWING.

ACCOMPLISH.—The primary meaning of a. is to bring to a successful issue. But the only examples of this in the AV are Ps 64[6], Pr 13[19], 1 Es 1[17], Ac 21[5]. Sometimes a. simply means to 'do,' 'perform': 1 K 5[9], Jth 2[18], Is 55[11] 'it (God's word) shall a. that which I please.' It is occasionally used in the obsolete sense of 'to complete a period of time': Jer. 25[12] 'when seventy years are accomplished'; Is. 40[2] 'her warfare is accomplished'; Job 14[6] 'till he shall a., as an hireling, his day.' From this arises its most frequent meaning, to bring to an ideal or divine completeness, to fulfil: (*a*) prophecy (once only), 2 Ch 36[22]; (*b*) God's wrath, La 4[11], Ezk 6[12] 7[8] 13[15] 20[8, 21]; (*c*) Christ's work, Lk 9[31] 12[50] 18[31] 22[37], Jn 19[28]. The RV has sought to reserve this meaning for the word 'fulfil,' but unsuccessfully.

J. HASTINGS.

ACCORD, ACCORDINGLY, ACCORDING TO.—1. 'Of its own accord' is used in the special sense of *without human agency* in Lv 25^5 'That which groweth of its (see ITS) own a.,' and in Ac 12^{10} 'which opened to them of his own a.' From the Gr. in both passages (*αὐτόματος*) we get our word 'automatically.' In 2 Co 8^{17} 'of his own a. he went unto you,' the Gr. (*αὐθαίρετος*) is lit. 'self-chosen,' of his own free choice. 2. In Is 59^{18} 'Acc. to their deeds, accordingly he will repay': 'acc. to' and 'accordingly' are translations of the same Heb. word, and have the same meaning. 3. In Ezk $42^{11.\ 12}$ 'acc. to' means 'corresponding to.' 4. As verbal adj. 'according' is found only in Wis 18^{10} 'an ill a. cry' (*ἀσύμφωνος*, RV 'in discord'): cf. *In Memoriam*—

> 'That mind and soul, according well,
> May make one music.'

J. HASTINGS.

ACCOS ('Ακχώς, 1 Mac 8^{17}).—Eupolemus, the son of John, the son of Accos, was one of the envoys sent to Rome by Judas Maccabæus in 161 B.C. Accos represents the Heb. Hakkoz (הַקּוֹץ), which was the name of a priestly family (1 Ch 24^{10}, Ezr 2^{61}); Eupolemus, therefore, may well have been of priestly descent.

H. A. WHITE.

ACCOUNT. — As a subst. a. is either literally the number counted, as Ec 7^{27} 'Counting one by one, to find out the a.'; or metaphorically 'reckoning' (Gr. λόγος, 'word'), as Ro 14^{12} 'Every one of us shall give a. of himself to God.' As a verb a. is used in rare or obs. meanings. 1. To estimate, as Dt 2^{20} 'That also was a^{ed} a land of giants'; Ro 8^{36} 'We are a^{ed} as sheep for the slaughter'; He 11^{19} 'a^{ing} that God was able'; He 11^{26} RV 'a^{ing} (AV, 'esteeming') the reproach of Christ greater riches.' Cf. 1 Mac 6^9 'He made a. (*ἐλογίσατο*) that he should die.' Then it is sometimes followed by 'of,' as 1 K 10^{21} 'It (silver) was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon'; 1 Co 4^1 'Let a man so a. of us as of the ministers of Christ.' 2. To 'reckon' or 'impute,' as Gal 3^6 'It was a^{ed} (RV 'reckoned') to him for righteousness.' 3. To 'seem,' or 'be reputed,' as Mk 10^{42} 'they which are a^{ed} (Gr. *οἱ δοκοῦντες*) to rule over the Gentiles'; so Lk 22^{24}. Cf. Gal $2^{2.\ 6}$ 'those of repute' (Gr. *οἱ δοκοῦντες*).

J. HASTINGS.

ACCURSED.—In AV חֵרֶם *ḥêrem* is tr. 'accursed' in Jos 6^{17} $7^{12\ bis}$, and 'a. thing' in Jos $6^{18\ bis}$ $7^{1\ bis.\ 11.\ 13.\ 15}$ 22^{20}, 1 Ch 2^7. In all these places RV gives 'devoted' or 'd. thing.' For the *ḥêrem* is not accursed *from* God so that we may make what secular use of it we please, but devoted *to* God, and not to be used by us at all. A. is also the tr. of *ἀνάθεμα*, *anathema*, in Ro 9^3 1 Co 12^3 Gal $1^{8.\ 9}$. In these passages RV simply transliterates the Greek. See CURSE.

J. HASTINGS.

ACHAIA ('Αχαΐα), when Greece was free, was the strip of land bordering the Corinthian Gulf on the S.; but, by the Romans, the name Achaia was applied to the whole country of Greece, because the Achæan League had headed Greek resistance to Rome. Conquered and united with the province of Macedonia in B.C. 146,* Achaia was in B.C. 27 made a separate province; and Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, and some part of Epirus, together with Eubœa and the western, central, and southern Cyclades, were included in it. It was governed by an official with the title Proconsul (Ac 18^{12}), who was appointed by the Senate from among the ex-prætors; and not less than five years must have elapsed between his prætorship and his proconsulship. Corinth was the capital of the province, and the proconsul's ordinary residence (Ac 18^{12}). As the severity of taxation was a subject of complaint, Tiberius, in A.D. 15, reunited Achaia with Macedonia and Mœsia under the administration of an imperial *legatus*; but in 44, Claudius made it again a senatorial and proconsular province. Either at this or some later time, Thessaly was divided from Achaia and united with Macedonia, and Epirus with Acarnania was made a separate procuratorial province (as Ptolemy III., § 13. 44–46, and § 14, describes them). On 28th November, A.D. 67, Nero at the Isthmian games declared Greece free; but within a few years Vespasian again made it a senatorial province; and, so long as the empire lasted, it was governed by a proconsul, under whom were a *legatus* and a *quæstor*. The proconsul and his *legatus* were regularly annual officials, and so was the quæstor always, but an imperial *legatus* governed for a much longer term (two ruled from A.D. 15 to 44). In ordinary Gr. usage, the term 'Hellas' corresponded approximately to the Rom. sense of Achaia; and in that way Ἑλλάς is mentioned in Ac 20^2. But there was a wider sense of the epithet 'Greek,' according to which Macedonia could be thereby designated; and thus Achaia and Macedonia together constitute the Gr. lands in Europe, and are sometimes coupled as a closely connected pair (Ac 19^{21}; cf. Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co 9^2, 1 Th 1^8).

The existence of Jewish settlements and synagogues in Corinth and Athens, the two greatest cities of Achaia, is attested in Ac 17^{17} $18^{4.\ 7}$; and is suggested elsewhere by the rapid foundation of new churches in Achaia (1 Co 2^1, Ac 18^{27}). The presence of Jews is proved in Sparta and Sicyon as early as B.C. 139–138 through the letters addressed to those States by the Rom. Senate, 1 Mac 15^{23}; and in Bœotia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, and Corinth by a letter of Agrippa to Caligula, Philo, *leg. ad Gaium*, § 36 (Mang. ii. 587). Jewish inscriptions have been found at Athens, Patræ, and Ægina.

LITERATURE.—There is a good article on Achaia in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*: see also Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* i. p. 321 f.; Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* (*Röm. Gesch.* v.) ch. vii.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ACHAICUS ('Αχαϊκός).—The name is Roman (see CORINTH), and appears to have been perpetuated in the family of L. Mummius, who earned it by his conquest of Corinth and Achaia, B.C. 146. The A. of 1 Co 16^{17} may have been a freedman or client of the Mummii. In company with Stephanas and Fortunatus he had appeared at Ephesus, and had 'refreshed the spirit' of St. Paul, and, he adds, of the Corinthians also; they thus 'supplied' something which 'was lacking' on the part of the Corinthians. This suggests that they were distinct from (1) the bearers of the Cor. letter (1 Co 7^1) to St. Paul; and from (2) οἱ Χλόης (1 Co 1^{11}), who had more recently brought back to Ephesus the disquieting news, under the fresh impression of which 1 Co was written. (See STEPHANAS, FORTUNATUS, CHLOE; CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO).

A. ROBERTSON.

ACHAN (עָכָן, in 1 Ch 2^7 עָכָר, Sept. 'Αχάρ, prob. the correct form of the name, cf. 'Valley of *Achor*').—A man of the tribe of Judah, son of Carmi, also called (Jos 22^{20}) son of Zerah, who was his great-grandfather. After the fall of Jericho, he coveted and took a portion of the spoil, which had been devoted to utter destruction. This sin in the devoted thing, involving the breach of a vow made by the nation as one body, brought wrath upon all Israel, and their first attack upon Ai was repulsed with the loss of thirty-six men.

* This fact, hotly disputed for a time since 1847, is now generally admitted; but A. was treated more easily than some provinces; Athens (and Delos, which see), Sicyon (which received part of the territory of Corinth), Sparta (which was free from taxation and head of the Eleutherolakones) receiving specially favourable terms: see 1 Mac 15^{23}.

Investigation was made by lot to discover who had sinned, and Achan was singled out. He made full confession of his guilt, and the stolen treasure was found hid under his tent. Instant execution followed. Not only Achan himself, but his tent, his goods, his spoil, his cattle, and his children, were taken to the valley, afterwards called the valley of Achor. There they stoned him, and all that belonged to him, afterwards consuming the whole with fire, and raising over the ashes a great heap of stones. This act of vengeance is represented as being in some measure an expiation of the crime. 'The Lord turned from the fierceness of His anger.' The supposition that his family were accessories to his crime finds no support in the narrative. The language of Jos 7^{25} ('all Israel stoned *him* with stones, and they burned *them* with fire') has been regarded as implying that Achan alone suffered the death penalty, the plural number referring to the oxen, asses, and sheep, and that his sons and daughters were brought to the valley merely as spectators, that they might have a terrible warning. It is doubtful if the text will bear this construction, and the sweeping nature of the act of judgment recorded is rather to be explained by reference to the stage of moral development which Israel had reached at the time (Jos 7^{1-26}). R. M. Boyd.

ACHAR.—The form in 1 Ch 2^{7}, 2 Es 7^{38} of the name Achan (wh. see).

ACHBOR (עַכְבּוֹר 'mouse' *or* 'jerboa').—**1.** An Edomite (Gn 36^{38}). **2.** A courtier under Josiah, mentioned as one of the deputation sent by the king to Huldah the prophetess; son of Micaiah (2 K $22^{12.\ 14}$), and father of Elnathan (Jer 26^{22} om. LXX, 36^{12}). Called Abdon (2 Ch 34^{20}).
C. F. Burney.

ACHIACHARUS ('Αχιάχαρος B, 'Αχείχαρος א, אקיקר Aram. and Heb., אחיור Syr.), the nephew of Tobit, was governor under Sarchedonus = Esarhaddon (To 1^{21} etc.), or, according to the Aramaic text, 'Rab over all that was his (the king's), and Shalit over all the land of Assyria'; cf. Dn 2^{48}. The nearest Hebrew name is Ahihud (אֲחִיהוּד), 1 Ch 8^{7}. J. T. Marshall.

ACHIAS.—An ancestor of Ezra (2 Es 1^{2}), omitted in Ezr and 1 Es.

ACHIM ('Αχείμ).—Perhaps a shortened form of Jehoiachim, an ancestor of our Lord (Mt 1^{14}). See Genealogy.

ACHIOR ('Αχιώρ, אֲחִיאוֹר 'brother of light').—**1.** In LXX Nu 34^{27} for Ahihud. **2.** In Jth (5^{5} etc.), a general of the Ammonites, spokesman for the Jewish cause, and afterwards convert (ch. 14). **3.** In Vulg. To 11^{18} by mistake. F. C. Porter.

ACHIPHA (B 'Αχειβά, A 'Αχιφά, AV **Acipha**), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His children were among the 'temple servants' or Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel. Called Hakupha, Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ACHISH (אָכִישׁ, 'Αγχούς).—The king of Gath to whom David fled for refuge after the massacre of the priests at Nob. Finding himself recognised as the slayer of Goliath, David feigned madness, and so escaped from the Phil. court (1 S 21^{10}). (This incident belongs to one of the later documents of Samuel.) In 1 S 27^{2} (belonging to the *Judaic* or earliest document) A. is called 'the son of Maoch' (possibly = 'son of Maacah,' 1 K 2^{39}), receives David with his band of 600 men, and assigns him the city of Ziklag in the S. of Judah. Despite the wishes of A., the other Phil. princes refuse to let David take part in the final campaign against Saul. J. F. Stenning.

ACHMETHA (אַחְמְתָא, 'Εκβάτανα), the cap. of Media, mentioned Ezr 6^{2} as the place where State documents of the time of Cyrus were preserved. The Aram. form of the name employed in Ezr (LXX 'Αμαθά) closely resembles the Pehlevi הַמְתָאן (*Bundehesh*, p. 23, i. 4), derived from the Old Pers. *hangmatana* (*Behistan Inscr.* II. xiii. 8), derived by Rawlinson from *ham* and *gam*, with the meaning 'meeting-place.' This Old Pers. form, accommodated to the Greek pronunciation, gave rise to the name Agbatana or Ecbatana (To 6^{5}, Jth 1^{2-4}), and survives in the modern Hamadan (34° 8′ N, 48° 3′ E), the cap. of the province of Persia bearing the same name, with which the ancient cap. of Media is ordinarily identified. Hamadan lies at the foot of Mt. Elwend, 'whence it derives a copious water supply, and in a plain thickly besprinkled with vineyards, orchards, and gardens, but whose elevation is 6000 ft. above the sea; it enjoys one of the finest situations in Persia' (Curzon, *Persia*, i. 566). This is clearly the Ecbatana of To 6^{5}, where it is represented as lying midway between Nineveh and Rhages; and also of Strabo, xi. 523, who knows of it as the summer residence of the Parthian kings; for which its elevation and consequently cool climate suited it. But the ancient cap. of the Median empire, built, according to Herodotus (i. 98, 99), by the first king Deioces (*c.* 700 B.C.), 'with walls of great size and strength, rising in circles one within the other,' each wall being coloured to correspond with one of the seven planets, is to be sought, acc. to Sir H. Rawlinson (*JRGS* x., art. 2, and ad *l.c.* Herod.), not at Hamadan, but at Takht-i-Sulayman (36° 25′ N, 47° 10′ E) in Adherbijan, the ancient Atropatene, distinguished from Media Magna. The Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene (ii. 84, ed. Whiston), speaks of the 'second Ecbatana, the seven-walled city'; and in the very learned paper quoted, Rawlinson (1) identifies that city with the Gazaka of the Greeks and Ganzak of the Armenians; (2) identifies Ganzak with the Shiz of Mohammedan writers; and (3) localises Shiz at Takht-i-Sulayman, where a conical hill, surrounded by ruins, which enclose a lake that has attracted the observation of ancient and modern travellers, corresponds with the description of Ecbatana given by Herodotus, as well as with what that historian tells us of the character of the surrounding country (i. 110). Hamadan, which lies at the foot of a mountain, would not admit of being fortified in the way described; and, though search has been made by numerous explorers (see Polak in *Mittheilungen der Wiener Geograph. Gesellschaft*, 1883, art. 1), no traces have been discovered of buildings such as Herodotus mentions. The description in Jth (1^{1-4}), to which no historical value attaches, would seem to refer to the same city as that of Herodotus; and another record of the impression created by the strength of its fortifications is, according to Rawlinson, to be found in the account of Var in the 2nd Fargard of the Vendidad. D. S. Margoliouth.

ACHOR Valley (עֵמֶק עָכוֹר 'valley of trouble,' Jos $7^{24.\ 26}$ 15^{7}, Is 65^{10}, Hos 2^{15}).—In the last passage the name may perhaps not be geographical. The valley was near Jericho, but its exact position is not quite certain. It appears, however, from its connexion with the border of Judah, to be probably *Wâdy Kelt*, a deep ravine close to the site of the Jericho of the Christian era. The stream becomes a foaming torrent after rains, and, issuing into the plains, runs between steep banks south of modern Jericho to the Jordan (*SWP* vol. iii. sh. xviii.). C. R. Conder.

ACHSAH (עַכְסָה 'anklet,' 1 Ch 2^{49} AV **Achsa**).—The daughter of Caleb. She was promised in marriage by her father to the man who should capture Debir or Kiriath-sepher. Othniel, the brother (nephew?) of Caleb, accomplished the feat, and obtained the promised reward. As the bride was being conducted to her home, she lighted off her ass and besought her father to add 'springs of water' to the dowry of a south land (Negeb), which he had already given her. In response he granted her 'the upper springs and the nether springs' (Jos 15^{16-19}, Jg 1^{9-15}). R. M. BOYD.

ACHSHAPH (אַכְשָׁף).—There were perhaps two towns in Galilee of this name. **1.** Noticed with places in Upper Galilee, may be the present *El-Kesâf* S. of the Leontes, on the mountains of Naphtali (Jos 11^{1} 12^{20}). **2.** A city of Asher (Jos 19^{25}), noticed with other towns near the coast, is more probably the modern *El-Yasîf* near Acre. This is also noticed by the Mohar, an Egyp. traveller (14th cent. A.D.) on his way down the coast. The loss of the letter *caph* in this name may be compared with the well-known case of Achzib (2). See *SWP* vol. i. sheets ii. iii., and Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*. C. R. CONDER.

ACHZIB (אַכְזִיב).—**1.** One of the 22 towns of Asher (Jos 19^{29} B Ἐχοζόβ, A Ἀχζείφ, in Jg 1^{31} B Ἀσχαξεί, A Ἀσχενδεί). It is identified as Ez-Zib on the coast between Acre and Tyre, near where the level line of sand is broken by the promontory of Ras-en-Nakurah. The present village—a mere huddle of glaring huts on one of the highest eminences of the sandy sea-wall—has nothing to indicate that it was once a place of some note. It is mentioned in Jg 1^{31} among the towns and districts that Israel failed to conquer. A. was called Aksibi by the Assyr., and Ecdippa by the Greeks and Romans. Josephus and Jerome refer to it. The Rabbin. writers, hedging the Land as they did the Book, marked out three districts, indicated by A., Antioch, and Mesopotamia. They inclined to the view that A. was on the outside of the first boundary line. All within was Holy Land, where bread, wine, and oil could be found ceremonially clean, and where the dates of the months and their fasts could be accurately known in time for observance.

2. Another **Achzib** (B Κεζείβ, A omits), situated in the Shephelah or 'low-land' of Judah, is mentioned along with Keilah and Mareshah in Jg 15^{44}, and with Mareshah and Adullam in Mic 1^{14}. This neighbourhood suggests a possible identification with 'Ain-Kezbeh near Adullam. The name appears as Kezib (כְּזִיב, Χασβί) in Gn 38^{5}, and as Kozêba (כֹּזֵבָא, B Σωχηθά, A Χωζηβά) in 1 Ch 4^{22}. Some literary interest attaches to Mic 1^{14}, where it is said that 'the houses of Achzib shall be a lie (Achzab) to the kings of Israel.' The resemblance seems to imply a play on the word. Occurring in a passage of vehement reproach, such derision corresponds to the spitting on the ground, which Orientals resort to when greatly excited and provoked—as an expression of uttermost nausea and contempt. G. M. MACKIE.

ACQUAINT, ACQUAINTANCE.—Acquaint as a reflexive verb, meaning to make the acquaintance of, is found in Job 22^{21}, Ec 2^{3}. Cf. Shak.'s *Temp.* II. ii. 39: 'Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows.' Acquaintance is both sing. and plur., Ps 55^{13} 'But it was thou, a man mine equal, my guide, and mine a.' (RV 'my familiar friend'); Lk 23^{49} 'And all his a. and the women that followed him from Galilee.' Acquainted, meaning 'to be familiar with,' occurs Ps 139^{3}, Is 53^{3} 'a. with grief.' J. HASTINGS.

ACROSTIC.—A poem so composed that the initial letters of certain recurring periods (lines, distichs, etc.) follow some definite arrangement. In the OT all the recognised acrostics are alphabetical, *i.e.* the initials make up the Heb. alphabet. They are Pss 9–10. 25. 34. 37. 111. 112. 119. 145, Pr 31^{10-31}, La 1. 2. 3. 4, Sir 51^{13-30}. See also Hab 1^{2}–2^{1}. The periods assigned to each letter may consist of one line (Pss 111. 112), two (Pss 34. 145, etc.), three (La 3, etc.), or even sixteen lines (Ps 119); or the lines may vary in number, as esp. in La 1 and 2, and to some extent in the Psalms. Where the period consists of several lines, the initial letter is sometimes repeated with each line (La 3) or distich (Ps 119). In other respects the acrostics vary very much in style and subject, and, though usually late, undoubtedly belong to very different dates. Thus Pss 37 and 119 from their didactic style are evidently late, while the Jahwistic Ps 25 is comparatively early. The acrostic character of these poems often throws indirectly an interesting light on their history, showing us unmistakably the hand of the reviser, who sometimes did not scruple to disturb their alphabetical character. The most striking example of this is in Ps 9–10, originally one alphabetical psalm of usually four lines to each letter. This the reviser cut into two, in Ps 9 adding vv.$^{20-21}$ * as an appendix (comp. Ps 25^{22} 34^{23}), and omitting two or three verses after v.^{5}. In Ps 10 the verses represented by צ–ם were omitted to make room for the insertion of a very curious and ancient fragment in vv.$^{2-11}$. Somewhat similar, but less violent, alterations occur in Pss 25. 34 and 37. Thus in Ps 25 the insertion of אלהי by the Elohistic reviser (see HEXATEUCH) in v.^{2} gives א instead of ב as the initial letter. It would seem also that v.^{18} has been substituted for a ק verse, or else that the latter has been omitted. The omission of the נ verse in Ps 145 appears to be accidental. It is interesting to notice that when the psalms are, from their style and position in the Psalter, likely to be of late date, there is little or no interference with their alphabetical arrangement. The transposition of the letters ע and פ in La 2 and 3 cannot easily be accounted for.

Bickell, *Zeitsch. für Kathol. Theol.* (Innsbruck) 1882, p. 326 ff., has shown that the conclusion of Sir, of which the original Heb. is now lost, was alphabetical, the letters ת–מ, vv.$^{21-29}$, being evident at once from the Syr. version. It has also been maintained that Nah 1^{2}–$2^{1,3}$ was originally alphabetical; but if so, the text has been so altered by revision or corruption that very few traces of this remain.

Some critics claim to have discovered a name acrostic in Ps 110, the initials of 1–4, after omitting the introductory words, spelling שמעון; but this coincidence can hardly be considered conclusive.

F. H. WOODS.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.—

i. Introduction.
ii. Text and Transmission.
iii. Literary History.
iv. Modern Criticism.
v. Purpose and Contents.
vi. Analysis.
vii. Authorship and Date.
viii. The Acts and Josephus.
ix. The Historical Value of the Acts.
(1) *A Priori* Objections.
(2) The Acts and St. Paul's Epistles.
(3) The Archæological Evidence.
(4) The Period of Transition.
(5) The Early Community in Jerusalem.
(6) The Speeches.
x. Sources of the Acts.
xi. Conclusion.
xii. Literature.

i. The ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, the fifth book in the English Canon, is unique in its character.

* The verses are numbered in this article according to the Heb. Bible.

While we have four separate narratives of the life of our Lord, and a very considerable number of letters by different apostles, it is the only history of the early Church that can make any claim to be authentic. Some writers indeed, such as Holtzmann (*Handkommentar*, p. 307), suggest that it is to be put on the level of other works written in the second century recording the deeds of the apostles · but such a position is quite untenable. Even if some of them, such as the Acts of Paul and Thecla, may rest on an historical basis, that is the most which can be admitted. The greater number of them, most notably the Clementine Romances, for which there was once claimed almost an equality with the Acts, are now decisively thrown to a later date. The Acts is the sole remaining historical work which deals with the beginnings of Church history; and this amongst other causes has made it a favourite mark of modern criticism.

ii. TEXT AND TRANSMISSION.—Although our authorities for the transmission of the Acts are in the main similar to those for the Gospels, they are fewer in number. Like the Gospels, it is contained in the five leading Uncials (ℵ A B C D), in the Vulg., in the Peshitta and Harclean Syriac, in the two chief Coptic VSS, and there are quotations from it in the leading Fathers. Two sources are, however, defective. We have nothing corresponding to the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac, nor do we even know whether such a text existed; and the Old Latin is very inadequately represented. On the other hand, we possess one other Uncial of considerable importance, namely, the Codex Laudianus (E) of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a bilingual MS. of the Acts only. In later Minuscules it is generally found forming one volume with the Catholic Epistles.

The inadequate representation of the Old Latin and the absence of an old Syriac text are to be regretted, owing to the fact that the particular textual phenomena which they exhibit meet us in some authorities of the Acts in a very conspicuous form, namely, what is called the *Western* text (by Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. lxxi, the δ text; by Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 24, the β text). This is represented more or less definitely by the two bilingual MSS. D E, by the marginal readings of the Harclean Syriac, by the Old Latin so far as we can recover it (Codex Gigas, Floriacensis, and similar fragments, with the Paris MS. Latin 321, edited by M. Berger), and by Western Fathers, esp. Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lucifer, Augustine, Vigilius, Bede (some having a mixed text). The characteristics of this text are well known; it adds passages of considerable length, it paraphrases, it sometimes seems to correct the shorter text; and all these characteristics appear, but in a very much more marked form, in the Acts; it sometimes gives a different aspect to a passage by the variations from the shorter text, sometimes its variations give additional and apparently authentic information. The problem of the origin of this text has caused in recent years a considerable amount of discussion. Some few critics, such as Bornemann (1848), have been bold enough to consider it the original text; but that opinion has found few followers. Rendel Harris, in 1891, started a series of modern discussions by suggesting that the variations of Codex Bezæ were due to Latinisation, and implied the existence of a bilingual MS. at least as early as 150 A.D. He also found signs of Montanist influence. His main theory was adequately refuted by Sanday in the *Guardian* (18th and 25th May 1892), who ascribed the recension suggested by the Western text to Antioch. Ramsay, in 1892 (*Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 151, ed. 2), found evidence of a Catholic reviser who lived in Asia before the year 150, a locality which had already been suggested by Lightfoot (Smith's *DB*[2] i. p. 42), while WH suggest N.W. Syria or Asia Minor (*Gr. Test.* ii. p. 108). Dr. Chase, in 1893, attacked the problem from another side, accepting Antioch as the locality, and finding the principal cause of the variations in retranslation from the Syriac, a position he failed to make good. Lastly, Dr. Blass has suggested that the author issued two editions, and that both forms of the text are due to himself personally, the one representing a rough draft, the other a revision: again, a theory which is hardly satisfactory (see Chase, *Crit. Rev.* 1894, p. 300 ff.; Blass' reply begins in *Hermathena*, No. xxi. p. 122).

A definite solution of the problem has not been attained, nor has it yet been attacked in a really scientific manner. A careful study of the MSS. D and E, and their relations, is necessary in order to eliminate their individual peculiarities. But in all probability the solution lies in the direction suggested by WH (p. 122 f.). If we compare the phenomena presented by the text of apocr. writings we find just the same tendency to variation, but in an even more exaggerated form. Popular literature was treated with great freedom by copyists and editors. Immediate edification or convenience was the one thing considered. During the first seventy years of their existence, *i.e.* up to the year A.D. 150, the books of NT were hardly treated as canonical. The text was not fixed, and the ordinary licence of paraphrases, of interpretation, of additions, of glosses, was allowed. These could be exhibited most easily in early and popular translations into other languages. It was a process which would have a tendency to continue until the book was treated as canonical, and its text looked on as something sacred. Although some whole classes of readings may be due to one definite place or time, yet for the most part they represent rather a continuous process, and it is not probable that any theory which attempts to tie all variations down to a special locality or a definite revision will now be made good.

In one point, however, WH's conclusions will require modification. It must not be forgotten that Western authorities represent ultimately an independent tradition from the Archetype. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that in any single reading, which is clearly not Western in its character, they may preserve a better tradition than the MSS whose text we should usually follow. We must, in other words, distinguish Western readings from readings in Western authorities. For example, Ἕλληνας read by A D in 11[20] may be correct.

iii. The LITERARY HISTORY of the Acts is similar to that of the great number of books of NT. In the last quarter of the second century, when we begin to have any great extent of Christian literature, we find it definitely cited, treated as Scripture, and assigned to St. Luke. This is the case esp. with Irenæus, who cites passages so continuous as to make it certain that he had the book before him substantially as we have it, but with many of the readings we call Western. He lays stress on the fact that there is internal evidence for the apostolic authorship, and is followed in this by the Muratorian Fragment (Iren. *Adv. Hær.* i. 23. 1; iii. 12. 12, 13. 3, 14. 1, 15. 1; iv. 15. 1). The book is also ascribed to St. Luke by Tertullian (*De Ieiunio*, 10) and Clement of Alex. (*Strom.* v. 12. § 83, p. 696, cf. Sanday, *BL*, p. 66 f.); while undoubted quotations appear in Polycrates of Ephesus (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 24), in the letter concerning the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons (*ib.* v. 1), and a possible one in Dionysius of Corinth (*ib.* iv. 23). By this date the work is an

integral portion of the Canon in all Churches, and there are no signs of any difference of opinion. Nor is there any reason for arguing that because our knowledge of it begins suddenly, therefore the book suddenly appeared in the Canon. We have no decisive evidence earlier, because we have no books to contain that evidence. Moreover, the wide area over which our evidence extends seems to imply that the ascription to St. Luke is a genuine tradition, and not a mere critical deduction.

For an earlier period the industry of critics has collected a number of parallels, on which indeed, for the most part, no great stress can be laid; but two lines of argument enable us to take the book farther back. The unity of authorship of the Acts and St. Luke's Gospel must be admitted as axiomatic, and it is quite clear that Tatian, Justin, and Marcion were acquainted with St. Luke's Gospel. Now, the existence of St. Luke's Gospel implies the existence of the Acts, and this conclusion is supported by a number of parallels between the Acts and Justin, which would not perhaps be by themselves of great weight (Ac 1^{8} = *Ap.* i. 50, 2^{30} = *Dial.* 68, 7^{52} = *Dial.* 16, 17^{23} = *Ap.* ii. 10, 26^{23} = *Dial.* 36, 76). The use of St. Luke by Marcion clearly carries the Acts back to the early part of the second century; but we can go still earlier. Among the apostolic Fathers there are suggestions of contact with Barnabas, Hermas, and Clement on which little stress can be laid, while Papias shows himself acquainted with the persons mentioned by St. Luke; but in Ignatius and Polycarp (Ac 2^{4} = Pol. 1, 10^{42} = Pol. 2, 20^{35} = Pol. 2, 7^{52} = Pol. 6, 8^{21} = Pol. 12, 1^{25} = Ign. *Mag.* 5, 6^{53} = Ign. *Phil.* 11, 10^{41} = Ign. *Smyn.* 3) there are resemblances which, although slight, are so exact as to make the hypothesis of literary obligation almost necessary, as Holtzmann even seems to think (*Einleitung*,[3] 1892, p. 406, 'there are still more noteworthy resemblances with Justin, Polycarp, and Ignatius'). This last evidence is of increasing importance, as not only the genuineness but also the early date of the letters of Polycarp and Ignatius is becoming daily better established, and these quotations almost compel us to throw back the writing of the Acts into the 1st cent.—this is, of course, provided we accept the literary unity. If we accept the elaborate distinction of sources (see § x.) which has become fashionable lately, no evidence at an early date is valuable except for the words quoted.

The history subsequent to the second century need not detain us. Some few heretics appear to have left the work out of the Canon, and Chrysostom complains that it was not much read in his time; but it is always with him as with all other Church writers, one of the accepted books. Its place in the Canon varies. The ordinary position is immediately after the Gospels (*Evv. Act. Cath. Paul.* or *Evv. Act. Paul. Cath.*), and this is the place it occupies in almost all Gr. MSS. from the Vatican onwards, in the Muratorian Fragment and later lists, in Syr. and Lat. MSS. The order, *Evv. Paul. Act. Cath.*, is that of the Sin., some Minuscules, MSS of the Peshitta of the 5th and 6th cent., the Codex Fuldensis and Vulg. MSS from the 13th cent. A third order is *Evv. Paul. Cath. Act.*, which is found in the Apostolic Canons, 85, the Bohairic and perhaps the Sahidic MSS, in Jerome's Bible and Spanish Vulg. MSS. The only point of importance in the order would be whether there was an early tradition grouping the writings of St. Luke together. There is very little evidence of this. In some cases St. Luke's was placed fourth among the Gospels, but this happened, as a rule, in authorities which do not put the Acts next; for example, the Codex Claromontanus and some Coptic authorities. There seems, however, some evidence for thinking that in Origen's time the order of the Gospels was *Jn Mt Mk Lk*, and that these were followed by the Acts. In the case of Irenæus, however, our oldest evidence for Asia and the West, we find the Gospel already separated from the Acts and definitely grouped with the other Gospels (Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons*, ii. 343–383).

iv. Modern Criticism.—1. By far the most prevalent opinion concerning the Acts has always been, and still is, that which ascribes it to St. Luke the companion of St. Paul. This is the opinion, not only of those critics who are classed as orthodox, but of Renan, whilst it has recently been maintained with great vigour by Ramsay and Blass. It is, of course, compatible with very varying estimates of its historical authority. While Renan considers it valuable mainly as a witness to the opinions and ideas of the author's own time, Ramsay, on the other hand, claims for St. Luke a place in the very first rank of historians—*i.e.* amongst those who have good material, who use it well, and who write their history with a very clear insight into the true course of events. Even he, however, admits that for the earlier portion its value is dependent on the value of the sources used.

2. As soon as Baur began to develop his theory of Church history, it became apparent that it was inconsistent with the Acts; and partly arising from a comparison with the history recorded in the Galatians and for other critical reasons, but partly owing to a different *à priori* conception of what was the nature of the development of the early Church, an opinion has widely prevailed that the Acts presents us with a fancy picture written in the second century in the interests of the growing Catholicism of the day. This has been the view of Baur, Schwegler, Zeller (to whom we owe by far the fullest investigation on this side), Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Hausrath, Holsten, Lipsius, Davidson, van Manen, and others. But in the extreme form in which it was held it is gradually being given up. Neither the late date nor the exaggerated view of the differences of parties in the early Church is really tenable. The unhistorical character comes, it is now said, rather from defective knowledge and insight, not from deliberate purpose, and the writer wrote as he could rather than as he would. He represents, in fact, the opinions of his day, those of 'Heathen Christianity developing into Catholicity' (Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. i. 56). Moreover, few would care for a much later date than 100 A.D. 'The authorship by St. Luke would be just conceivable if some time about the year 80 were taken as the *terminus ad quem*' (Holtzmann, *Handkomm.* p. 312).

3. The school of Baur had the great merit of establishing the fact that the Acts is an artistic whole, that the writer had a clear conception of the manner in which the Church developed, and wrote with that idea always before him. In the last ten years a series of writers have attacked the question of the sources of the book (see § x.) in a manner quite inconsistent with this. They have imagined a number of writers who have gradually compiled the book by collecting and piecing together scraps of other books, and by altering or cutting out such passages in the same as seemed inconsistent with their particular opinions. This view, in anything like an extreme form, is absolutely inconsistent with the whole character of the work.

A sufficient amount has been said about the various opinions which have been held, and it will be most convenient to pursue our subsequent investigations from the point of view which we consider most probable.

v. Purpose and Contents.—The purpose which the writer of the Acts had before him may be

gathered from his own preface, corresponding as it does with the plan and arrangement of the work. There is indeed a slight obscurity. He begins by referring to his previous book in the words τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον, and very clearly sums up the contents of the work as being περὶ πάντων ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν; but he never gives the second part of the sentence. Its purport, however, may be gathered from the following verses. The apostles were to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost and of power, and were to be witnesses of the Lord in Jerusalem and in all Judæa and Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth. In other words, the subject of the book is (1) the divine credentials of the apostles as exhibited in their *power*, and (2) the extension of the gospel in the stages marked by the words Jerusalem, Judæa, and Samaria, the uttermost parts of the earth.

When we examine the structure of the book, we find that it almost exactly corresponds with these words. There is clear evidence of method. The writer begins with the enumeration of the names of the apostles and the members of the community. Then comes the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the immediate outburst of power. Then the preaching in Jerusalem. In this we notice that all signs of the apostolic power and all points which lead to the spread of the gospel are specially noted. An instance of the first is the story of Ananias and Sapphira; of the last, the way in which the different stages in the growth of the Church are continually emphasised ($2^{41, 47}$ 4^{4}). In ch. 6 there is clearly a new start. The appointment of the seven is dwelt on, both because of the immediate exhibition of power (6^{7}), and because of the immense results which followed from the preaching of Stephen and the persecution which followed his death.

In 8^{4} the second stage of progress is entered upon. The word spreads to Samaria (8^{4-25}). The extension of the gospel is suggested by the story of the Ethiopian eunuch (8^{26-40}). In 9^{1-30} comes Saul's conversion, an event of extreme importance for the writer's purpose. In 9^{31} is given another summary of the progress of the Church—by this time throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria. A series of incidents relating to the missionary work of St. Peter now follows (9^{32}–11^{18}), selected as containing the first definite signs of the extension of the gospel to the Gentiles, Ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν εἰς ζωὴν ἔδωκεν. In 11^{19} we reach a further stage. The word is preached in Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch, and the Church of Antioch is founded—the word being preached there to those who are not Jews. In 12^{24} again the spread of the word is dwelt on. Another stage in the narrative is ended.

We get in 13^{1} or 12^{25} what is clearly intended to be a new departure. The amount of preparation shows us the importance that the author attaches to the first setting out of Paul and Barnabas together, and from this time onwards the narrative proceeds very definitely forward until the time when St. Paul reaches Rome. We may again mark stages in the narrative—13^{4}–14^{26}—commonly called the first missionary journey of St. Paul; in which we notice the emphasis laid on the exhibition of δύναμις on the part of the apostle. In 15^{1-29} comes the apostolic council; then 15^{36}–21^{16} the further missionary enterprise of St. Paul. Here we notice how it is always the points of departure which are dwelt on, as, for example, the first preaching in Europe and in great and important towns. Then 21^{17}–28^{16} the series of events which ultimately lead St. Paul to Rome. Here the great fulness of detail arises partly from the better knowledge of the author, partly from the important character of the events, — St. Paul preaches before rulers and kings, Lk 21^{12},—partly because they are all events which help in taking the gospel to Rome. There the author leaves St. Paul preaching, because he has then accomplished the purpose of his narrative. Rome is typical of the ends of the earth. A definite point is reached, and the narrative is definitely concluded. (For arguments in favour of the definite conclusion of the work, see Lightfoot in Smith's *DB*[2] i. 27, as against Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 23.)

The above sketch of the plan of the work has, at any rate, the merit of being an attempt to discover the author's purpose by an examination of his own language. The fault of other views is that they exaggerate points of minor importance. A series of writers from Schneckenburger (1841) onwards have seen in the work a book of conciliating tendency, based on the parallelism between St. Peter and St. Paul; and this view in a more or less modified form has been the prevailing one. It has, as will be suggested, this much truth, that the writer would pass over for the most part incidents of a less creditable character; he did not, however, do so, as this theory implies, because he wished to conceal anything (he gives us quite sufficient hints of the existence of difference of opinion, 15^{1-35}, $21^{20ff.}$), but because they did not help in the aim of his work. He looks upon Christianity as a polity or society, and it is the growth of this society he depicts. The internal history is looked at in so far as it leads to external growth. The view of Pfleiderer and some others is that the book was written from an apologetic point of view to defend Christianity against Judaism and paganism. With this object, like the later Christian apologists, the writer depicts the Roman authorities as, on the whole, favourable to Christianity, while he represents the attacks as coming from the Jews. There is no doubt that he does so; but the obvious reason for doing so was the fact that the author was narrating things as they happened, while he gives no hint that his work is intended to be apologetic. It is addressed to a believing Christian, not to any outsider.

vi. ANALYSIS.—A certain amount of discussion has taken place as to whether the Acts should be divided into two or three main parts. All such discussions are thoroughly fruitless. There are quite clearly definite stages in the narrative, and the writer is systematic. We must observe the structure, but we are at liberty to make such divisions as seem convenient—remembering that the divisions are not the writer's, but our own. The following is suggested as a convenient analysis on the lines of the previous summary. The speeches are italicised :—

INTRODUCTION.
- 1^{1-11}. The Apostolic Commission.

THE CHURCH IN JERUSALEM.
- 1^{12-26}. The names of the apostles and the completion of their number.
- 1^{15-22}. *Speech of Peter.*
- 2^{1-13}. The gift of the Holy Spirit.
- 2^{14-42}. *Speech of Peter.*
- 2^{43-47}. Increase of the disciples.
- 3^{1-26}. Healing of the impotent man. *Speech of Peter.*
- 4^{1-22}. Imprisonment of Peter and John. *Speech of Peter before the Sanhedrin.*
- 4^{23-31}. *Prayer of the Church on their release.*
- 4^{32}–5^{16}. Communism of the early Church — Barnabas, Ananias and Sapphira.
- 5^{17-42}. Second imprisonment of Peter and John. *Speech of Gamaliel.*
- 6^{1-7}. The appointment of the Seven.
- 6^{8-15}. The preaching of Stephen.
- 7^{1-53}. *The speech of Stephen.*
- 7^{54}–8^{3}. Death of Stephen and persecution of the Church.

THE CHURCH IN JUDÆA AND SAMARIA.
- 8^{4-25}. Philip in Samaria. Simon Magus.
- 8^{26-40}. Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch.
- 9^{1-30}. Conversion of Saul.
- 9^{31}. Extension of the Church.
- 9^{32-43}. Peter at Lydda and Joppa.

10[1-48]. Conversion of Cornelius. *Speech of Peter.*
11[1-18]. Discussion on the subject at Jerusalem. *Speech of Peter.*

THE CHURCH IN ANTIOCH.

11[19-26]. Foundation of the Church in Antioch.
[27-30]. Collection for the poor in Jerusalem. Mission of Paul and Barnabas.
12[1-19]. Persecution of Herod. Peter thrown into prison.
[20-23]. Death of Herod.
[24]. Progress of the Church.
12[25]–13[3]. Barnabas and Saul sent forth from Antioch.

FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY OF PAUL AND BARNABAS.

13[4-12]. Cyprus. Elymas and Sergius Paulus.
[13-52]. Antioch in Pisidia. *Speech of Paul to the Jews.*
14[1-7]. Iconium.
[8-20]. Lystra. *Speech of Paul to the Gentiles.*
[21-28]. Visit to Derbe and return journey to Antioch on the Orontes.
15[1-35]. The apostolic council in Jerusalem. *Speeches of Peter and James. Letter to the Churches.*

SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY OF ST. PAUL.

15[36]–16[5]. The Churches revisited.
[6-40]. Journey into Europe. Philippi.
17[1-15]. Thessalonica and Berœa.
[16-34]. Athens. *Speech of Paul in the Areopagus.*
18[1-18]. Corinth.
[19-21]. Return to Antioch in Syria.
[22]. Visit to Jerusalem.

THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

18[23]. Visit to Galatia.
[24-28]. Apollos at Ephesus.
19[1-41]. Paul at Ephesus. Disturbance in the theatre.
20[1-6]. Journey in Macedonia and Greece.
[7-12]. Troas.
[13]–21[16]. Journey to Jerusalem. *Speech to elders of Ephesus at Miletus.*

PAUL IN JERUSALEM.

21[17-40]. Disturbances arise.
22[1-21]. *Paul's speech to the people.*
[22]–23[11]. Paul before the Sanhedrin.
[12-35]. Paul sent to Cæsarea.
24[1-27]. Paul and Felix. *Speeches of Tertullus and Paul.*
[25-26]. Paul and Festus. *Speech before Agrippa.*
[27]–28[16]. Journey to Rome.

PAUL IN ROME.

28[17-31]. Interview with the Jews. Paul begins to preach.

vii. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—The following arguments enable us to fix with a considerable approach to certainty the authorship of the Acts. (1) It is quite certain that it is written by the author of the third Gospel. This is shown by the preface, which, like that of the Gospel, is addressed to Theophilus, and shows that the author claims to have written such a Gospel, and by the identity of style between the two books (the best and most recent demonstration is that of Friedrich). This fact may be taken as admitted on all sides. (2) The presence of certain portions written in the first person, seems to imply that the writer was an eye-witness of some of the events he describes, and a companion of St. Paul. In the Acts there are certain passages which are technically known as the 'we' sections, viz. 16[10-17] 20[5-15] 21[1-18] 27[1]–28[6]. Here the writer speaks in the first person. Moreover, these sections and also the accompanying incidents, in which the writer does not take part, but at which he was probably present, are presented with great fulness and exactness of detail, and seem to imply that the writer was an eye-witness. So far there is general agreement. But two explanations then become possible. Either the author of these sections was the author of the Acts, who changes the person when he becomes himself one of the companions of St. Paul, or these passages are one of the sources which the compiler of the work makes use of. All probability is in favour of the first view. The style of the 'we' sections is that of the author. It is perfectly true, indeed, that the author works up his sources in his own phraseology, as may be seen by a study of the third Gospel; but it is hardly possible to believe that a writer so artistic as the author of the Acts certainly is should have left these exceedingly incongruous first persons. So keenly has this been felt, that it has been suggested that the author introduced these sections in the first person to give an appearance of genuineness to his narrative—a suggestion which refutes both itself and some other theories. An examination of the scope of these sections lends itself to the same view. The first section begins at Troas (16[10]) and continues to Philippi (16[16]); the second begins at Philippi (20[5]) and continues over the whole period to the end of the book, the third person being occasionally adopted, as in 16[17], when the event recorded concerns only St. Paul and some of his companions, and not the whole party, nor the author personally. The most reasonable explanation of that fact is that the writer of these sections joined the party at Troas and went to Philippi; that after an interval of some years he again joined St. Paul at Philippi, perhaps his native place, and accompanied him first to Jerusalem and then to Rome. If any other hypothesis be adopted, it is difficult to account for the exceedingly fragmentary character of the sections. On the other side, it is argued that the 'we' sections are so much more historical in their character than some of the other sections, and so much fuller in detail, that they clearly betray a different hand. But the difference is never greater than would be found in passing from the work of an eye-witness to the work of one who, although a contemporary, is not an eye-witness. It is urged, again, that the work cannot be from the hand of a contemporary because of the inexactness and incorrectness of the knowledge of apostolic times which it exhibits. But this is really begging the whole question. We have no right to argue that a book is late because it is unhistorical, unless we have objective reasons for stating that it is so, which overpower the positive evidence for the early date. The balance of probability is in favour of the author of the Acts being identical with the author of the 'we' sections, and therefore of being a companion of St. Paul, but a companion who joined the apostle somewhat late in his career, and who therefore could only have a second-hand acquaintance with earlier events.

(3) The tradition of the Church from the end of the second century is that the author was Luke, a companion of St. Paul; and this exactly corresponds with the circumstances already described. St. Luke is the only companion of St. Paul, so far as our knowledge goes, who fulfils the conditions. The Acts could not have been written by Timothy, for Timothy was a companion during an interval when the 'we' sections cease (Ac 17[14]); nor by Titus, for we know from Gal 2[3] that he was with St. Paul earlier; nor by Silas, who was at the council (Ac 15[22]). St. Luke is never mentioned in any of the earlier Epistles, but he is in the later. Corroborative evidence of the Lucan authorship has been found in the medical terms used (Col 4[14], Lk 8[43], Ac 28[8] etc.).

(4) The argument in favour of the Lucan authorship of both the Gospel and Acts, based on a chain of coincidences, has been put very strongly by Bp. Lightfoot. (*a*) Tradition gives to the Gospel the name of St. Luke, a companion of St. Paul. (*b*) Internal but unobtrusive evidence shows its Pauline character. It dwells particularly on the universality and freedom of the gospel; and it refers to less obvious incidents in our Lord's life mentioned by St. Paul (1 Co 11[23]=Lk 22[19], 1 Co 15[5]=Lk 24[34]). (*c*) The Acts of the Apostles was certainly written by the same person as the Gospel. (*d*) An independent line of argument shows that it was written by a companion of St. Paul. (*e*) It, too, is Pauline in its character (so far as we are at liberty to use that word). It represents the same universality and freedom of the gospel, and the

same idea of the Christian Church, but more in the concrete (see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 124–128).

(5) The balance of argument is clearly, then, in favour of St. Luke as author of the Acts. There is, however, still room for doubt as to the time when it was written. (*a*) One theory places it almost immediately after the close of the narrative, and just before the outbreak of the Neronian persecution. The book, it is urged, comes to an abrupt conclusion, and the only explanation is that it is unfinished. As has been pointed out above, there is no real reason for saying the book is unfinished. The arrival of St. Paul in Rome formed a suitable conclusion, and the ending is similar in character to the ending of the Gospel. In the extreme form this argument is untenable, but it is still quite possible to hold that the narrative concluded here, because not many more events had occurred. Moreover, it might be held that the tone in relation to the empire represented the period before rather than after the Neronian persecution. The early date is still held by Blass, and the arguments against it are not very strong.

(*b*) The argument for a later date is generally based on Lk 21^{20} as compared with Mt 24^{15}, Mk 13^{14}. It is stated that the form of the prophecy there recorded has been modified by the knowledge of what happened at the siege of Jerusalem. The Gospel therefore was written after that event, and the Acts somewhat later, under the Flavians. The criticism of Blass, however, has very considerable weight, that there is little in the prophecies recorded by St. Luke which goes much beyond the language of Dn 9^{26}; and the reason given for a late date can hardly be considered demonstrative. Neither can that of Ramsay, who thinks that the Gospel must have been written just after Titus was associated in the empire with his father, so as to explain the incorrect date of Tiberius (Lk 3^{1}). No arguments are certain, and the language of Lk 21^{20} would in any case be quite compatible with a date some time before A.D. 70; but perhaps on the whole the amount of perspective contained in the book is hardly compatible with the earlier date, just as the relation of the third Gospel to the other two suggests the later date, and a period shortly after 70 is the most probable. Whether we can, as Ramsay suggests, press the *πρῶτον* of 1^{1}, and argue that a third treatise was in contemplation, is very doubtful.

The following are dates suggested by various writers, and are for the most part taken from Holtzmann:—64–70 (Hug, A. Maier, Schneckenburger, Hitzig, Grau, Nösgen, Blass), c. 80 (Ewald, Lechler, Bleek, Renan, Meyer, Weiss, Ramsay), 75–100 (Wendt, Spitta), 90 (Köstlin, Mangold), 95 (Hilgenfeld), c. 100 (Volkmar), 110–120 (Pfleiderer), Trajan and Hadrian (Schwegler, Zeller, Overbeck, Davidson, Keim, Hausrath), 125–150 (Straatman, Meijboom, van Manen).

The arguments for a later date are given most fully among recent writers by Holtzmann (*Einleitung*,[3] 1892, p. 405) as follows:—(1) Acquaintance with the Pauline Epistles (Rom, Gal, Cor, Eph, Thess, and Heb), also with Josephus. (2) Deliberate correction of the narrative of Gal $1^{17\text{-}24}$ in Acts $9^{26\text{-}30}$, of Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$ in $15^{1\text{-}33}$, of Gal 2^{11} in Acts $15^{35\text{-}39}$. (3) Unhistorical account of speaking with tongues (Ac $2^{4\text{-}11}$), of St. Paul's relations with the law, and legendary narratives such as that of the death of Agrippa, 12^{23}. (4) The writer is contemporary in time with the literary activity of Plutarch as shown by the parallel lives; and of Arrian and Pausanias (narratives of Journey), also of the *περίοδοι* of different apostles. (5) Atmosphere of the Catholic Church; parallelism of St. Peter and St. Paul; traces of the hierarchical view of the Church, and esp. the sacramental theory of laying on of hands. (6) Resemblances with the Pastoral Epistles. (7) Importance assigned to the political side of Christianity; the Roman Empire always represented as favourable to Christianity.

It is very difficult to deal with some of these objections quite seriously. Even if the use of the Pauline Epistles were proved, it is difficult to see what that has to do with the late date of the Acts. The contradictions with the Pauline Epistles are largely dependent on *à priori* views of Church history. Some points, as the resemblance to Plutarch, are purely fanciful. The political point of view is exactly that of St. Paul's Epistles. One point requires perhaps slightly fuller investigation; and the remaining points, so far as they are serious, will be best dealt with in an independent survey of the historical character of the work.

viii. The Relation of the Acts to Josephus presents to us, under the auspices of modern criticism, a curious double problem. While older critics, like Zeller, contented themselves with pointing out historical discrepancies, later critics since Keim (*Gesch. Jesu*, iii. 1872, 134, and *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, 1878, 18) have attempted to show that St. Luke made use of Josephus. The crucial passage is that concerning Theudas (Ac 5^{36}). In his speech Gamaliel is made to refer to a rebellion under a leader of that name; but according to Jos. this took place at least ten years later, under Cuspius Fadus, and long after that of Judas the Galilæan. So far the problem was simple, but it is now maintained that the mistake arose from the misapprehension of a passage of Josephus. In one paragraph he speaks about Theudas, in the next of the *Sons of Judas of Galilee*, and this, it is maintained, is the origin of the mistake. The two passages are quoted thus—

Jos. *Ant.* xx. v. 1 f.	Acts $5^{36 f.}$
Θευδᾶς . . . πείθει τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον . . . προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.	ἀνέστη Θευδᾶς λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν . . . ᾧ ἀνῃρέθη καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ διελύθησαν, κ.τ.λ.
Φᾶδος . . . ἐξέπεμψεν ἴλην ἱππέων . . . ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἥτις . . . πολλοὺς . . . ἀνεῖλεν.	
πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰουδᾶ τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀπήχθησαν τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος Κυρινίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητεύοντος.	μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰουδᾶς ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.

Now, whatever plausibility this comparison may have at first sight is very much diminished when we remember that the two passages in Jos. do not immediately follow one another, but are separated by an interval of 20 lines or more. Nor when we come to examine them do we find any close resemblance in the language. There are words common to both accounts, but they are none of them characteristic; it is not easy to describe a revolt without using the word *ἀποστῆσαι* in some form, while the details are different in the two accounts; the Acts give 4000 men, Jos. gives no number. This is recognised by Clemen (*SK*, 1895, p. 339), who is of opinion that the author of the Acts had read Jos. but forgotten him. Is this resemblance, or fancied resemblance, supported by any other passages? Keim and the author of *Supernatural Religion* have collected a large number of parallel passages, but they are not of a character to bring conviction. On the other hand, the argument of Zeller (Eng. tr. i. p. 232) on the discrepancy between the Acts and Jos. in the case of the death of Herod Agrippa is quite sufficient to prove independence; and this argument has been very well brought out by Schürer. Whatever the differences between the Acts and Jos. prove, they are only conceivable on the supposition of independence. Most of these do not affect our estimate of the historical character of the work; the difficulty about Theudas, even if it admits of no solution, may cast doubts on the historical character of Gamaliel's speech; it does not really affect the question of the Lucan authorship of the Acts.

ix. THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE ACTS.—1. *À priori Objections.*—In investigating the historical value of the Acts, we must first of all clear the ground by putting on one side a number of *à priori* objections. To say that the document is unhistorical because it narrates miraculous events, or because it contains accounts of angels, is simply to beg the question. Even if we were quite certain that such events were impossible and never occurred, we have abundant evidence for knowing that the early Christians believed in them. St. Paul claims himself to have worked what were believed both by him and his readers to be miracles (Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 8 f.). Again, all such difficulties as arise from an *à priori* theory of Church history must be banished. To deny documents because they conflict with one's theories, is to argue in a vicious circle. Although there are few serious critics who now accept the Tübingen theories, yet many of their assumptions have acquired a traditional hold on the minds of writers, and consciously or unconsciously affect their arguments. Similarly, objections based on the hierarchical or sacramental tendencies of a book assume that we can find the beginning of such tendencies in the Church; which we clearly cannot do.

Much the same may be said of the supposed parallelisms between St. Peter and St. Paul. According to Holtzmann, the strongest argument for the critical position is the correspondence between the acts of St. Peter and the other apostles on the one side, and those of St. Paul on the other. Both begin their ministry with the healing of a lame man; both work miracles, the one with his shadow, the other with napkins. Demons flee in the name of St. Peter and in the name of St. Paul. St. Peter meets Simon Magus; St. Paul Elymas and the Ephesian magicians. Both raise the dead. Both receive divine honours. Both are supported by Pharisees in the council. St. Paul is stoned at Lystra, Stephen at Jerusalem. St. Paul is made to adopt the language of St. Peter, St. Peter of St. Paul, and so on. The value of such an argument is one which can only depend upon individual feeling. It is, of course, perfectly true that they both occupy prominent places, that they are, in fact, the writer's heroes; but that does not prove the unhistorical character. We may well refer to Plutarch's lives. Because the writer finds parallels between the lives of two men, it does not prove that his narrative is fictitious. But, further, although there are resemblances, there are very considerable differences as well, and the resemblances arise largely from the positions in which the apostles were placed. There is nothing unnatural in the points of similarity, and they are balanced by many points of difference.

Lastly, all arguments against the Lucan authorship, or the historical character of the work, drawn from the fact that the writer clearly has a definite plan and purpose, are quite beside the mark. The distinction between a history and a chronicle is just this, that a history has a plan. The writer, from personal knowledge or other sources, forms a conception of the course of events, and writes his history from that point of view. In the present case the writer wishes to illustrate and describe the steps by which the Christian Church has developed. From that point of view he selects his materials; from that point of view he describes the events and the periods which are to him important; from that point of view he emphasizes the careers of St. Stephen, of St. Peter, of St. Paul. His view may be right or may be wrong, but because a writer has a view he is not necessarily unhistorical. We hope to show that the merit of St. Luke lies in having brought out just the point of view which was important, and that, although there are points in which he is perhaps incorrect, substantially his history is true and trustworthy.

2. *The Acts and St. Paul's Epistles.*—A considerable portion of the narrative of the Acts is contemporary with certain of St. Paul's Epistles. Here, then, we have some opportunity of controlling the narrative, and here we have to meet a very curious combination of arguments. It is now maintained that the Acts is late, and its narrative unauthentic because of differences from St. Paul's Epistles, and then that these Epistles are its sources. To prevent these arguments conflicting, we have to suppose a deliberate falsification of the narrative of Galatians by the author of the Acts, and an extraordinary capacity on his part to conceal his obligations. The parallels quoted are very slight, but most numerous in the case of the Epistles of the captivity. Even here they have little value as implying literary obligations; but if, as we believe, St. Luke, the author of the Acts, was St. Paul's companion in captivity, and possibly acted as his amanuensis, it is natural that his phraseology should be influenced by that personal contact.

There are three passages which demand a more exact comparison.

(*a*) Gal 1^{17-24} = Ac 9^{26-30}.
(*b*) Gal 2^{1-10} = Ac 15^{1-33}.
(*c*) Gal $2^{11f.}$ = Ac 15^{35-39}.

(*a*) If we examine the first passages we notice quite definitely certain discrepancies. The Acts contain no reference to the visit to Arabia; we should not gather from the narrative that three years had elapsed before the visit to Jerusalem; while the statement that he was unknown by face to the Churches that were in Judæa, is supposed to be inconsistent with the fact that he preached in the synagogues of Jerusalem. But how far do these discrepancies take us? It is quite clear that St. Luke selects what he requires for his purpose, and it is possible that he knew of the journey to Arabia and did not think it necessary to record it; nor, again, does he give exact indications of the time elapsed. There is no necessary inconsistency; but still the obvious impression created by the narrative is that the writer did not know of the Arabian journey, nor of the length of time which had elapsed before the Jerusalem visit, and the two narratives give a somewhat different impression. St. Paul wishes to emphasize his independence of the apostles; St. Luke wishes to show that St. Paul was received by them. But each hints at the other side. St. Paul clearly implies that he was received by them; St. Luke as clearly, that there was some hesitation about doing so, and St. Luke's language makes it plain that even if he had preached in synagogues in Jerusalem he had not preached in Judæa. The accounts are different and to all appearance independent, they represent different points of view, they supplement one another; they are not inconsistent.

(*b*) The same may be said in the main concerning the next narrative (Gal 2^{1-10}=Ac 15^{1-33}). The very careful examination of Lightfoot (*Galatians*, p. 109) represents, on the whole, a very fair historical conclusion. No sensible person will find any discrepancy if St. Paul, giving his internal motive, states that he went by revelation, and St. Luke gives the external motive. It is quite natural that St. Luke should give the public history, St. Paul the private. What is more important to notice is the incidental testimony that each account gives to the other. We gather from St. Paul his great desire to be on good terms with the leading apostles—if he is not, he fears he will run in vain and labour in vain; we gather that they receive him in a friendly manner—they give him the right hand of fellowship; although they are looked upon by some of their followers as being antagonistic to St. Paul, St. Paul does not think so. Again, from the Acts we gather that the conclusion was not carried out without much dispute, and presumably was not acceptable to all; and we equally gather, as we would from St. Paul, that those who had caused the disturbance had claimed that they represented the opinions of the chief apostles.

It has been assumed that Ac 15 refers to the same event as Gal 2^{1-10}; but this, although commonly, is not universally accepted. Why, it is asked, does St. Paul omit all reference to the visit recorded in Ac 11^{30}? This is a genuine difficulty. It has been suggested that there has been a disarrangement in the Acts, and, owing to a confusion of sources, one of the later visits has been duplicated. The argument against this is that Barnabas is represented as the companion of St. Paul, and that he had left him at a later date. A mistake in chronology is probable, but not a mistake as to the companionship. On the other side, Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 48) identifies the visit of Gal 2^{1-10} with that of Ac 11^{30}. He lays great stress on the difficulty involved in supposing that St. Paul omitted all reference to this journey. But the reasons given by Lightfoot—that the apostles were not in Jerusalem, and that therefore there was no need for the visit to be mentioned—are accepted by Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 61) as sufficient. We must refer the reader to Ramsay's own book for the discussion of the subject, but can only say that he has not succeeded in convincing us. A reasonable

criticism must say that the two narratives we are considering refer to the same events; that the accounts they contain are independent and supplementary, but not contradictory (see the discussion between Sanday and Ramsay in *Expositor*, Feb. 1896, and foll. numbers).

(*c*) The third point need not detain us long. It is merely that St. Luke does not record a narrative concerning St. Peter mentioned by St. Paul. He may have been ignorant of it; he may have thought that it did not answer his purpose; he may even have thought it better to omit an incident which he felt was discreditable. What is important to notice is that the narrative in Galatians proves conclusively that the standpoint of the Acts is correct. It was quite impossible that St. Paul could accuse St. Peter of hypocrisy unless he had already adopted his view. 'It is clear from Gal $2^{11ff.}$ that Peter then and for long before occupied in principle the standpoint of Paul' (Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 90).

An examination of these narratives proves the independence of the two accounts, and each corroborates the other in various points. When we turn to the general narrative in the Acts and compare it with that which can be gathered from the Epistles, we find three characteristics—independence, broad resemblances, and subtle points of contact. All the Epistles which correspond to the same period will fit into the narrative, while the minute coincidences which have been brought out by Paley, whose argument is not out of date,—more particularly that concerning the collection for the saints,—have very substantial evidential value.

3. *The Archæological Evidence.*—A great test of the accuracy of the writer in the last twelve chapters is given by the evidence from archæology. Its strength and value are so great that we need only refer to it. The investigations of the last twenty or thirty years have tended more and more to confirm the accuracy of the writer. In almost every point where we can follow him, even in minute details, he is right. He knows that at the time when St. Paul visited Cyprus it was governed by a proconsul; this was the case only between the years B.C. 22 and some time early in the 2nd cent.; then a change was made, probably in Hadrian's reign. He knows that the magistrates of Philippi were called στρατηγοί, and were attended by lictors, but that those of Thessalonica were πολιτάρχαι. He knows that Derbe and Lystra, but not Iconium, are cities of Lycaonia. The subject has been worked out in considerable detail by Lightfoot and Ramsay, and it is sufficient to refer to them. It is enough, too, to refer here to the very complete investigations of the account of St. Paul's voyage and shipwreck made by James Smith (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*). We need not enter into details, as they are admitted. What we must emphasize is the bearing of this evidence. It proves, in the first place, that in the latter portion of the Acts the writer had good and accurate sources of information. It is quite impossible that he should be correct in all these points unless he had good material, or was himself conversant with the events. But it also proves, however we think he acquired the information, that he was accurate in the use of his sources. It is quite inconceivable that a writer who is so accurate in a large number of small and difficult points could have, as is maintained, used Josephus, and used him with incredible inaccuracy. This evidence, on the other hand, does not prove that the writer is necessarily as trustworthy in the earlier portions of the history, where his sources of information were less good. It does suggest that he would get as accurate information as possible, and reproduce it correctly.

4. We pass backward to the *transition period*, which begins with the preaching of Stephen and extends to the end of the apostolic council. This is clearly the most important period in the history, and we have few means of controlling it. We have little independent evidence. What we can point to, in the first place, is the *naturalness* of the whole history. There were the germs of universalism in Christianity, but these needed opportunity to develop; and the whole history shows that the expansion arose from the natural reaction of events on the Christians, not from any deliberate purpose or from any one definite event. Take first the persecution. Zeller (Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 229) lays great stress on the fact that in the early chapters the Sadducees are the persecutors, in the later the Pharisees. But this inconsistency is thoroughly natural. At first the Sadducees oppose the Christians, because, being the official hierarchy responsible to the Romans for the order of the country, they fear disturbances; the Christians are merely a sect of devout and zealous Jews in favour with the Pharisees. But when once the universalist element inherent in Christianity is made apparent by the teaching of Stephen, the devout and zealous Jews are offended, the Pharisees take up the persecution, and it becomes a reality. We may notice again incidentally how it is the entrance of the freer Hellenic spirit in the person of Stephen which first brings out this universalistic element. The persecution leads quite naturally to a dispersion of the Christians, more particularly of those associated with Stephen, and consequently to the spread of Christianity. In all that follows St. Peter takes the lead, a position which is quite in accordance with what we know from Galatians (see above, § ix. 2). The stages work out gradually and naturally, the pressure of faith and enthusiasm leads the preachers of Christianity onwards. First come the Samaritans, then 'devout men' who are yet not circumcised; then the preaching to Gentiles; then the growth of a definite *Christian* community in Antioch, *i.e.* a community which the outer world clearly recognised as something distinct from Judaism, and which would naturally appear first in a place removed from older associations; then the first recorded journey of St. Paul, with its unexpected and far-reaching developments, and its subtle corroborations in the Romans (10^{12}). Naturally enough, there gradually arises a Judaising party in Jerusalem, and the older apostles find themselves acting as mediators between the two parties. The position which is ascribed to them by the Acts is always recognised by St. Paul, and he claims equally to be recognised by them; while both the Acts and St. Paul recognise the extreme party as claiming their authority although without entire justification (Ac 15^{24}, Gal 2^{12}). The whole story as told in the Acts is natural and consistent, and gives a much more credible account of the development of Christianity than any modern one constructed on *à priori* ideas.

5. *The Early Community in Jerusalem.*—The first section of the Ac (1^{12}–5^{42}) has been often treated as the least historical portion of the book. It is less true to say that it has been attacked. It is rather the case that it has been set on one side ('the idealised picture of the Jerusalem community,' Holtzmann). And the examination of it is difficult, for we have little that is definite with which to compare it. The theory, however, put forward is that this was written from the point of view of the author's own time, and from that aspect we can examine it. We know how the writer of the *Clementine Homilies* reproduces in the earliest days of the Church the doctrine and the organisation of his own time—he represents St. Peter as appointing bishops in every church. Now, at any rate, the writer of the Acts lived forty years later, and at a time when both the doctrine and the organisation of the Church were much more developed; yet we find absolutely no traces of this either in the speeches or in the narrative of the first five chapters.

To work this out in detail would be beyond the scope of the present article, but it may be illustrated in some points. The *Christology* is throughout primitive. Our Lord is called Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Ναζωραῖος (2[22] 3[6] 4[10]), a name which occurs in the Gospels, but elsewhere only twice, when St. Paul, in the later chapters of the Acts, is referring to his earlier life. So again the next phrase that meets us is παῖς θεοῦ (3[13. 26] 4[27. 30]), which occurs nowhere else in NT of our Lord, and elsewhere is used of Him in the *Didaché*, which clearly represents very early tradition. Again, we notice how very markedly Χριστός is not a personal name, τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν Χρ. Ἰησ. (3[20]), κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν (2[36]). One more phrase we may notice, ἀρχηγόν (3[15] 5[31]), which occurs elsewhere in Hebrews twice (2[10] 12[2]), and nowhere else in NT. We find nowhere the expression υἱὸς θεοῦ. Whereas St. Paul 'placarded' Christ crucified (Gal 3[1]), we find here, as we might expect, that St. Peter has to take towards the death of Christ a purely defensive attitude (3[18]). We have no reference to Christ's pre-existence. We have, in fact, a representation of what must have been, and what we have independent evidence to show was the earliest Christian teaching about Christ: — the proof that He was the Messiah, afforded by His resurrection, of which the apostles were witnesses, and by the Scriptures. Similar is the relation to the *universal* character of the Gospel. We are told that the Acts was written from a universalist point of view, and the statement is quite true in a sense; but we find that St. Peter's speeches are not affected by it. God raised up Jesus to give repentance to Israel (5[31]); Ye are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant (3[25]). There are elements of universalism, but they are incidental. The promise is to Israel first (3[26]); so (2[39]) 'to you is the promise and to your children, and to all those that are afar off'; 3[25] 'in Israel all the families of the earth shall be blessed.' The standpoint of these chapters is, in fact, that of the Jewish prophets. There is the germ from which future development can come, but the development is not there. One last point we may mention in this connexion is the *eschatology*. It is thoroughly Jewish and primitive, 'that He may send the Christ, who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus: whom the heavens must receive until the times of the restoration of all things,' 3[19. 21]; the Messianic kingdom is called the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως. There is nothing about the personal resurrection, which, of course, is a point which would not trouble the primitive community in the first years of its existence; and it is difficult to understand how a Greek writer who had seen the Neronian persecutions, and knew the needs of a later generation, could have invented this primitive idea of things.

If we pass to the organisation of the community, again, it is quite unlike the conception which we should expect from a Gentile Christian of forty or fifty years later. It is perfectly true that stress is laid on the unity of the primitive community, and it may be that this is exaggerated with a purpose; but no object could be gained by the representation which is given of its form and character. There is no trace of any later organisation, nor mention of presbyters. The Christians have, in fact, not yet been cast out of the synagogues. They are regular in their worship in the temple (Ac 2[46], Lk 24[53]). They take part in the morning and evening sacrifices. They observe the Jewish hours of prayer. They join in the synagogue worship (6[9] 9[2]). They are not only conforming Jews, they are devout (Ac 21[20] 22[12]). They do not yet realise that they are separate from Judaism. They are but a sect, the sect of the Ναζωραῖοι (Ac 24[5]). One more point may be noticed, the community of goods; the exact character of this it is unnecessary to discuss here. It is sufficient to point out that no reason has been suggested to explain why it should have so much emphasis laid on it, or why it should have been invented if it were not historical.

It has been said that we have little evidence for correcting this. The archæological evidence which we found in ch. 13 f. here fails us. But we have a few indirect hints. The position of the Twelve we may gather from 1 Co 9[5] 15[5]; of St. Peter from 1 Co 15[5], Gal 2[9]; of St. John from Gal 2[9]; of the brethren of the Lord from 1 Co 9[5]. A certain amount of incidental evidence is given by the Ebionite traditions concerning the position of St. James; and they correspond with what is suggested by the later parts of the Acts, where we have an account of the state of affairs by one who is presumably an eye-witness.

It is clear that these early chapters give a picture of the primitive community which is quite different from what existed within the experience of the writer, and which is in itself probable. Is it then likely that this should be the result of the historical imagination of the writer, or is it not more probable that it is historical in character and based on written evidence? We have no reason to doubt that we possess an historical account of the words of the Lord; and the same witnesses who recorded these, either by tradition or in writing, would be equally likely to record the speeches and acts of the leading apostle of the infant Church.

6. *The Speeches.* — One more point under this heading demands investigation, namely, the speeches. Are these genuine records of speeches actually delivered, or were they written by the historian in accordance with the fashion of the day? We may notice two points, to begin with. They are all very short, too short to have been delivered as they stand, and for the most part the style in which they are written is that of the historian. They are clearly, therefore, in a sense his own compositions. But the same can also be said of a considerable number of the speeches in the Gospel. We can compare St. Luke's account in this case with that of other authorities, and we find, indeed, a slight modification side by side with general accuracy; we find the style of the author, but the matter of the authority. On the other hand, there is no reason for thinking *à priori* that the speeches cannot be historical. As has just been pointed out, the speeches of the leading apostles would impress themselves on the growing community, and would be remembered as the words of the Lord were remembered.

Putting aside *à priori* considerations, we must as far as possible examine the character of the speeches themselves; and we must first see what light St. Paul's Epistles throw on the subject. According to 1 Co 15[1ff.] the main subjects of St. Paul's preaching were the death and resurrection of Christ, as proved by the Scriptures and as witnessed to by the apostles, and other incidental allusions in the Epistles support this (1 Th 1[10] 4[14]). Now, if we turn to St. Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch addressed to the Jews (13[16-41]), we find that the writer has exactly realised what was necessary for the situation. The basis is scriptural, and the central fact clearly is, the proof of the resurrection. Just at the end we have a definitely Pauline touch introduced (v.[39]). This shows that the writer clearly grasps the situation as it is hinted at by the apostle in his own letters, and as was exactly in accordance with the demands of the situation; and this is compatible either with his being a writer using a good source, and reproducing accurately a speech which he finds in

that source, or with his being a companion of the apostle, who knows the apostle's preaching well, and gives a typical speech showing the general character of his argument. It is very difficult to conceive of it as a *tour de force* of historical imagination. And this argument becomes stronger when it is found that it is applicable to all the speeches in the book. We have already touched on those of St. Peter, and have seen how clearly they reproduce an early stage of doctrinal development. Whatever difficulties there may be in the speech of Stephen, it certainly does not bear the marks of being a rhetorical composition. The speeches of St. Paul from first to last are singularly harmonious with the situation. The transition in tone from that we have already examined to that addressed to the heathen at Iconium or to that at Athens, is most marked. When we come to the later speeches addressed to the Jews, to Felix, and to Agrippa, what we notice at once as very extraordinary is the repetition of the narrative of the conversion. Now that is comprehensible on the supposition that the narrative was repeated on two occasions, but is not so if we are dealing with rhetorical exercises. But St. Luke was, on our supposition, with St. Paul during all these events, and would therefore have accurate knowledge. These speeches then, although written in the author's style, are clearly authentic; and we may argue in the same way about the other speeches, all of which are, in different ways, suitable to the occasion on which they claim to have been delivered.

The presence of the author's hand in the speeches cannot be denied. Their literary form is due to him. He may possibly have summed up in a typical speech the characteristics of St. Paul's preaching before certain classes of hearers. Some details or illustrations may be due to him, such as the mention of Theudas in Gamaliel's speech, or that of Judas in Peter's first speech. But no theory which does not admit the possession of good evidence, and the acquaintance of the author with the events and persons that he is describing, is consistent with the phenomena of the speeches. They are too lifelike, real, varied, and adapted to their circumstances to be mere unsubstantial rhetorical exercises.

x. SOURCES OF THE ACTS.—Until recently, critics seem to have contented themselves with either vague indications of the sources of the Acts, or a complete denial of the possibility of discovering them, at any rate in the earlier portions (Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Beyschlag, Pfleiderer, Baur, Schwegler). Recently, however, the problem has been attacked by a number of scholars, mostly of inferior rank, who do not seem to have attained any success, and whose method is not likely to lead to any substantial results. Of these, Sorof considers that Timothy, the writer of the 'we' sections, has combined a genuine writing by St. Luke and a St. Peter source. According to Feine there was an original Jerusalem Christian source, which was used in the Gospels and extended to ch. 12 of the Acts, but which knew nothing of the missionary journeys of St. Paul. The latter portion is partly due to the Redactor (R), partly to other sources. Spitta distinguishes an A source, the work of Luke, which contains about two-thirds of the Acts, and is also used in the Gospel, and a B source of Jewish-Christian origin, which runs parallel with the first through the whole of the Acts. Van Manen distinguishes a third document, which contained, however, only the 'we' sections, and these very much edited, a Paul biography, and a Peter biography. The most elaborate theory is that of C. Clemen. He distinguishes an 'Urchristliche Predigt,' an 'Erste Gemeindegeschichte,' and 'Zweite Gemeindegeschichte,' and Historia Hellenistarum, which has been worked into an Historia Petri; this was combined with an Historia Pauli which included the 'we' sections (Itinerarium Pauli) by a R who was free from party bias, then came a Judaising R, and then an anti-Judaising R. Jüngst distinguishes an A source, apparently the work of St. Luke; a B source, the work of an anti-Judaiser and a R. It may be added, that both Clemen and Jüngst consider that the original sources have been very much rearranged by the different redactors, and the true sequence of events destroyed.

A very few words are necessary concerning these theories. The statement of them is really a sufficient condemnation. There is no harmony in the results obtained; and the method is so *à priori* and unscientific that no result could be obtained. The unity of style of the book and its artistic completeness make any theory impossible which considers that it arose from piecing together bits of earlier writings. Somewhat more on right lines are the attempts of B. Weiss and Hilgenfeld, in the fact that they do not consider that more than one source is used in any separate passage. Weiss thinks there was one early history which contained an account of the early community, of Stephen, of Philip, of the journeys of Peter, of the council. Hilgenfeld has three sources, A Ac 1^{15}–5^{42} 9^{31-43} 12^{1-23}, B Ac 6–8^{40}, C 9^{1-30} 11^{17-29}; and both profess to be able to distinguish what is due to the source and what to the author, the method being for the most part absolutely arbitrary.

A study of St. Luke's Gospel shows us that the work is quite certainly a literary whole proceeding from one author, that this author made use of materials partly written, partly probably oral, and that he reproduced them probably largely in his own style. If we compare a section from this Gospel with the parallel one from St. Mark, which clearly represents very nearly the original source, we shall find that the difference, although one not affecting the main sense, is of a character which would make it quite impossible to arrive at one document from the other. We may notice, again, that although there is a certain uniformity of style running through the whole Gospel, yet the character of the source used seems to a certain, although undefined, extent to have modified it.

Now, in the Acts there is admittedly a certain difference in style between the earlier chapters and the later. The later, like the prologue to the Gospel and Acts and the 'we' sections, being written in a purer Greek style, the earlier being more Aramaic in character. Stated vaguely and generally, this is true, although no investigations have yet made it definite. The utmost it is at present safe to assert, is that there appears to be a difference in style in the earlier chapters, which suggests a written source.

Starting from the conclusion that the author was St. Luke, we must ascribe to him the conception of the history as a whole, and presumably, therefore, all the framework which is part of that conception, the object of the author being to mark the stages in the progress of Christianity. For the whole of the last section, from 20^{5} onwards, the author was either an eye-witness or in close contact with those who were such; as also in the section 16^{10-40}, and here we have the fullest and most detailed account. For all the remaining portions of St. Paul's journeys he could clearly have access to the very best information; and it is to be noticed here that generally, although not invariably, the information is perfectly accurate, so far as it can be tested, but not so full as in the later sections. For the stories concerning Philip in the first part of the book it is not necessary to go beyond

personal information; there is no sign of great exactness of knowledge, and the incident recorded 21^8 will explain how that information was acquired. For the earlier history of St. Paul a source is not required; St. Luke had heard the story told at least twice, probably much oftener, and there is just that vagueness concerning chronology which is almost invariably the characteristic of information dependent upon oral tradition. Of some other sections it is difficult to speak definitely. For the council the author would be able to supplement information gained from St. Paul by information gained in Jerus. It has been hinted that there is probably a written source behind portions of the first five chapters; we cannot define its limits in these chapters, nor say whether or no, as is possible, it included some later narratives, such as those of St. Peter (9^{32}–11^{18} and 12^{1-23}); it probably did not include chs. 6–7. No investigations have been made which authorise us to speak more certainly than this; but it has been suggested (see Blass on $12^{12.17}$) that these chapters had some connexion with St. Mark. It is doubtful whether any certain conclusions are possible, although a more scientific and more comprehensive study of the style of the Gospel and Acts may perhaps lead to some result.

xi. CONCLUSION.—It now only remains to sum up the conclusion of what, owing to the variations of opinion, has necessarily been a somewhat controversial article.

1. The Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles are the work of the same person; and all tradition and argument suggest that the author was St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul.

2. He wrote the Gospel to describe as accurately as he could the life and preaching of Jesus; he wrote the Acts to describe the growth and spread of the Christian Church.

3. He had formed a clear idea in his mind of the steps and course of this growth, and arranged his work so as to bring out these points. The object he had in view would influence him in the selection of his materials and the proportional importance he would ascribe to events; but it would be taking far too artificial a view of his work not to allow some influence to various less prominent ideas, and even to the accidental cause of the existence or non-existence of information on different points. The extent to which he carried out his purpose would be in some measure dependent on his opportunities.

4. Although he had a definite aim, and constructed a history with an artistic unity, there is no reason for thinking that the history is therefore untrustworthy. He narrated events as he believed they happened, and he gives a thoroughly consistent history of the period over which it extends.

5. The exact degree of credibility and accuracy we can ascribe to him is dependent on his sources of information. From ch. 12 onwards his source was excellent; from ch. 20 onwards he was an eye-witness. For the previous period he could not in all cases attain the same degree of accuracy, yet he was personally acquainted with eye-witnesses throughout, and may very probably have had one or more written documents. In any case, his history from the very beginning shows a clear idea of historical perspective, and of the stages in the growth of the community, even if certain characteristics of the primitive Church in Jerusalem have been exaggerated.

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A. C. HEADLAM.

ACUB (B 'Ακούφ, A 'Ακούμ), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons were among the 'temple servants' who returned with Zerub. Called Bakbuk, Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ACUD ('Ακούδ, AV **Acua**), 1 Es 5^{30}.—His sons were among the 'temple servants' who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel. Called Akkub (עקוב = 'cunning'), Ezr 2^{45}; omitted in Neh 7.

ADADAH (עֲרָעָדָה), Jos 15^{22}.—A city of Judah in the Negeb. The site may be at the ruin *'Ad'adah* in the desert south-east of Beersheba.

ADAH (עָדָה).—**1.** One of the two wives of Lamech, and mother of Jabal and Jubal (Gn $4^{19.20}$). The name possibly denoted 'brightness' (cf. Arab. *ghadât*), Lamech's other wife being named 'Zillah,' or 'Shadow,' 'Darkness.' These names have been cited to support the view of the mythological basis of the Genesis narrative. But the name may simply denote 'adornment' (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, p. 183 f.). According to Jos. (*Ant.* I. ii. 2) Lamech

had 77 sons born to him of Adah and Zillah. 2. Daughter of Elon, a Hittite, and one of the wives of Esau (Gn 36[2]); mother of Eliphaz, and ancestress of Edomite tribes, Teman, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, Amalek. In Gn 26[34] (P) the daughter of Elon the Hittite, whom Esau takes to wife, is named Basemath. The names in Gn 36 have suffered in the process of redaction, and this may account for the confusion. Jos. (*Ant.* II. i. 2), though mentioning Esau's age, and therefore referring to Gn 26[34], gives Adah and Oholibamah ('Αλιβάμη) as the names of Esau's wives. For a discussion on the name, see Baethgen's *Beiträge*, p. 149.

H. E. Ryle.

ADAIAH (עֲדָיָה 'Jehovah has adorned').—1. A man of Boscath, the maternal grandfather of king Josiah, 2 K 22[1]. 2. A Levite descended from Gershom, 1 Ch 6[41], called Iddo in v.[21]. 3. A son of Shimei (in v.[13] Shema) the Benjamite, 1 Ch 8[21]. 4. The son of Jeroham, a priest, and head of a family in Jerusalem, 1 Ch 9[12]. 5. The father of Maaseiah, a captain who helped Jehoiada to overthrow the usurpation of Athaliah, and set Joash on the throne, 2 Ch 23[1]. 6. One of the family of Bani, who took a strange wife during the Exile, Ezr 10[29]. 7. Another of a different family of Bani, who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10[39]. 8. A descendant of Judah by Pharez, Neh 11[5]. 9. A Levite of the family of Aaron; probably the same as (4), Neh 11[12].

R. M. Boyd.

ADALIA (אֲדַלְיָא, Est 9[8]), the fifth of the sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews. In the LXX the name is different, and the MSS vary between Βαρσά B, Βαρέλ א A, Βαρεά. H. A. White.

ADAM.—i. *Name.*—The word אָדָם is originally a common noun, denoting either a human being, Gn 2[5]; or (rarely) a man as opposed to a woman, Gn 2[22]; or mankind collectively, Gn 1[26]. The root אדם is variously explained as (*a*) *make, produce*, by analogy with the Assyr. *adâmu* (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch; Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). Man, therefore, as *adam*, is one *made* or *produced*, a *creature*, or possibly a maker or producer; (*b*) *to be red*, a sense in which the root frequently occurs in Heb., *e.g.* the account of Edom in Gn 25[30], and is also found in Arab. and Eth. and (?) in Assyr. This etymology would point to the term having originated among men of a red or ruddy race. Gesenius notes in support of this view that the men on Egyp. monuments are constantly represented as red. Dillmann on Gn 1. 2 also suggests a connexion with (*c*) an Eth. root= *pleasant*, well-formed, or (*d*) an Arab. root=*to attach oneself*, and so gregarious, sociable. It has also been suggested that *adam* is a derivative from *adamah*, ground, and describes man as earth-born, γηγενής. The statement of Gn 2[7], that man was formed from the dust of the *adamah*, indicates that this connexion was in the mind of the writer, but it can hardly be the original etymology. It is significant that A., as a term for man or mankind, is by no means universal in Sem. languages. It occurs in Phœnician and Sabæan, possibly in Assyr. (so Sayce, *Gram.* p. 2, and according to *HCM*, p. 104, is the common Bab. word for man; cf. Del. *Assyr. Wörterbuch*). Of course the *name* A. has been adopted by all Sem. translations. It is possible that Edom is a dialectic variety of A.

ii. *Adam as Common and Proper Noun.*—The first man is necessarily *the man*, and in his case the generic term is equivalent to a proper name. In use, *adam* naturally fluctuates between a common and proper noun. Thus in P's account of the Creation, Gn 1[1]–2[4a], he describes the creation of אדם, mankind, in both sexes; but in his first genealogy, Gn 5[1-4], אדם is used as a proper name. J gives an account of the Creation, Fall, etc., of הָאָדָם 'the man' (in 3[21] לְאָדָם 'to the man,' should be read instead of לְאָדָם 'to Adam'), and in 4[25] uses אדם without the article as a proper name.

iii. *The Narratives concerning Adam.*—P, in Gn 1[1]-2[4a] by itself, simply describes the creation of the human species, as of the other species of living creatures, and says nothing of any particular individuals. But it is only in the case of man that the two sexes are specified, and Dillmann maintains that זכר ונקבה is not to be taken collectively, 'male and female,' but as 'a male and a female, *i.e.* the first pair.' Gn 5[1-3], which is possibly from a different stratum of P, shows that the individual Adam, the ancestor of the nations mentioned in OT, and especially of Israel, is in some way identified with the human species, whose creation is described in Gn 1. This identification seems to imply that the human species originally consisted of a single pair; but P does not definitely commit himself to this position. Man is created last of all things on the same (sixth) day as the beasts, but by a separate act of creation and in the image of God; he receives a special blessing, according to which he is given dominion over the earth and its inhabitants, and the vegetable creation is assigned to him, to provide him with food. While it is expressly said of the light, the heavens, earth, and seas, the vegetable world, the heavenly bodies, the birds, fish, and other animals, that God saw that they were good, this is not separately stated concerning man, but is left to be inferred from the general statement that God saw that everything He had made was very good.

In J, Gn 2[4b]–4[26], while the earth is still a lifeless waste, the man is created out of the dust, and Jehovah animates him by breathing into his nostrils. He is set to take care of the garden of Eden, and is allowed to eat freely of its fruit, except the fruit of 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.' The animals are created as his companions and assistants; but these proving inadequate, the woman Eve is fashioned from his rib as he lies in a deep sleep. They live in childlike innocence till Eve is tempted by the Serpent, and Adam by Eve, to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Whereupon they become conscious of sin. Yet they have become like the Elohim, and might eat of the tree of life and become immortal. Hence they are cursed, and driven out of Eden. Man, henceforth, is to win his sustenance with grievous toil from soil which, for his sake, has been cursed with barrenness. The only later OT reference to Adam is at the head of the genealogies in 1 Ch; in Dt 32[8] and Job 31[33] *adam* is a common noun.

iv. *Significance of the Narratives.*—In both narratives man is sharply marked off as a created being from God the Creator; and is not connected with Him by a chain of inferior gods, demi-gods, and heroes, as in the Egyp., Assyr., and Chald. dynasties, and in other mythologies. Yet man has a certain community of nature with God; he is made in His image (P), and receives his life from the breath of Jehovah (J). Similarly, man's connexion with the animals is implied by his creation on the same day, his separate status by a distinct act of creation. He is lord of all things, animate and inanimate, the crown of creation (P). So, in J, the animals are made for his benefit; and the garden, with certain limitations, is at his disposal. Woman is also secondary and subordinate to man, and the cause of his ruin, but of identical nature. The formation of a single woman for the man implies monogamy. Man is capable of immediate fellowship with God. Sin is not inherent in man, but suggested from without; it is at once followed by stern punishment, which extends not only to

the human race, but to animate and inanimate nature. Compare EVE; and, specially for the Babylonian and other parallels to the Biblical narrative, COSMOGONY, EDEN. W. H. BENNETT.

ADAM IN THE NT.—Adam is twice mentioned in the NT in a merely historical fashion; in Jude v.[14], where we read of 'Enoch the seventh from A.,' and in Lk 3[38], where the genealogy of Jesus is traced up to him, and A. himself is '*the son* of God.' The extension of the genealogy beyond David or Abraham (as in Mt) is no doubt due to the universalist sympathy of the Pauline evangelist. There are two other passages in which reference is made to the OT story of the first man, with a view to regulating certain questions about the relations of men and women, esp. in public worship. The first is 1 Co 11[9ff.], the other 1 Ti 2[13ff.]. The use made of A. in these passages may strike a modern reader as not very conclusive; it has the form rather than the power of what may have suggested it—the similar use of part of the OT story by Jesus to establish the true law of marriage (Mt 19[4ff.], comp. Gn 2[24]).

Much more significant than these almost incidental references is the place occupied by A. in the theology of St. Paul (Ro 5[12-21], 1 Co 15[22. 45-49]). The apostle institutes a formal comparison and contrast between A. and Christ. 'As in A. all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' 'As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned': so, though the sentence is not formally completed (Ro 5[12]), righteousness entered into the world by one man, and life by righteousness. 'The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is of heaven. . . . And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.' In some sense A. and Christ answer to each other; each is the head of humanity, the one to its condemnation and death, the other to its justification and life. Yet it would be a mistake to put what St. Paul says about A. on a footing with what he says about Christ. He has experience to go upon in the case of Christ; his gospel concerning Him has a certainty and scope of its own quite independent of the harmony he finds in some points between the mode of man's redemption and that of his ruin. Of the two passages referred to above, it may be said that the one in Ro deals directly with the *work* of A. and of Christ, and its effects upon men; the one in 1 Co, with the *nature* of A. and of Christ, as related respectively to the actual and the ideal condition of man. All we are told of A. is that he sinned (*παράπτωμα*, Ro 5[15], implies the fall), and that his sin involved the world in death. In such a statement there is obviously a link wanting to an ethical interpretation: is it supplied in the difficult words *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*—in that all (have) sinned? That this aorist may (grammatically considered) be a collective historical aorist, summing up the aggregate evil deeds of men, is undoubted (Burton, *N.T. Moods and Tenses*, § 55); but to take it so, and make *ἥμαρτον* refer merely to the personal sins of men, is to dissolve the connexion with A. on which the apostle's argument depends. To say, again, that all men die because involved in the guilt of A.'s sin (*Omnes peccarunt, Adamo peccante*, Bengel), is still to leave the moral link amissing. To say that all die because of inherited depravity, which seems the only other possible suggestion, is to offer a physical rather than a moral connexion, though one which may be assented to and appropriated by the individual, and in that way become moral. It seems probable that St. Paul, although he is not explicit on the point, would have accepted this view; what he is concerned with is the solidarity or moral unity of the human race, and for this there is undoubtedly a physical basis. Heredity is the modern name for the organic connexion of the generations; and as the fact was familiar to the apostle, it is natural to suppose that he found in it the connecting link between the personal sin and doom of A. and that of his whole posterity. A., in other words, was to him not only the type, but the ancestor, of men as sinners; it is in A.—or because of A. in us—that we are lost men. But A. is a 'type of him that is to come.' This idea (see Weiss, *Romans*, p. 243 n.) is found also in the Rabbins (Quemadmodum homo primus fuit primus in peccato, sic Messias erit ultimus ad auferendum peccatum penitus: and again, Adamus postremus est Messias). He is a type only in the sense that alike from A. and Christ a pervasive influence should proceed, extending to the whole human race. We are what A. was and became, in virtue of our vital relation to him; we are to become what Christ was and became, in virtue of a vital relation to Him. This is the side of the subject treated in 1 Co 15. It can hardly be said to throw light on man's original state, or on the apostle's conception of it. The first A., in virtue of our connexion with whom we are what we are before we become Christians, was a living soul, psychical rather than spiritual, made of the dust of the ground—in other words, he was man as nature presents him to our experience; the last A., *ὁ ἐπουράνιος*, whose image we shall fully bear when this corruptible has put on incorruption, and this mortal has put on immortality, was and is life-giving spirit. It is too much to say, in face of Ro 5[12] and the whole sense of the NT, that man's mortality is here traced, not to Adam's act, but to his nature. His act is not specially in view here any more than Christ's redeeming acts, and his nature is indeed conceived as weak, and liable to temptation; but it is not less capable of immortality than of death; and it is the sin of our first father to which death as a doom is invariably referred by St. Paul.

LITERATURE.—Copious discussions of all the questions involved may be found (not to mention commentaries) in Beyschlag, *N.T. Theology*, ii. p. 48 ff.; Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, c. vii.; Weiss, *Lehrbuch der. Bibl. Theol. des N.T.* § 67. For Jewish points of connexion with St. Paul's teaching, see Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, cc. xv.–xvii.

J. DENNEY.

ADAM CITY (אָדָם 'red').—In the Jordan Valley, 'far off' from Jericho, and beside Zarethan. The latter (see ZARETHAN) appears to have been near the centre of the valley (see Jos 3[16]), and the usual site for Adam is at the present ruined bridge (built in the 13th cent. A.D.) at the Dâmieh ford, called *Jisr ed-Dâmieh*, about half-way up the Jordan Valley. The Jordan being narrow, with high banks, might have been dammed up in this vicinity by an extensive fall of the cliff. *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xv.

C. R. CONDER.

ADAM, BOOKS OF.—Romance, with ethical intent, accumulated around all the prominent worthies of OT narrative, among both Jews and Christians; and, naturally, no one received more attention than Adam. This process of embellishing and 'improving' OT story began before NT times. The Talm. speaks of a Bk of Adam, and such legendary lore furnished suitable pabulum for Mohammedanism. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 16) mention an apocryphal *Ἀδάμ*. Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxvi. 8) tells of a Gnostic work, *Revelations of Adam*, and the Decretum Gelasii prohibits Christians from reading the two works, *Penitentia Adæ* and *De filiabus Adæ*. The Cypriote Syncellus (8th cent.) makes quotations from a *Βιὸς Ἀδάμ* which closely resemble the Bk of Jubilees. The Jewish Bk of Adam is lost; but it probably furnished matter for still further elaboration in the

following Christian works which still survive. **1.** *The Ethiopic Bk. of Adam*, pub. by Dillmann, Göttingen, 1853; tr. also by Malan, London, 1882. **2.** A Syr. work, resembling the foregoing, entitled *The Treasure-Cave*, ed. by Bezold, Leipzig, 1883. **3.** The διήγησις καὶ πολιτεία Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὔας, ed. by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphæ*, 1866; and condensed by Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 468–476. **4.** 'Vita Adæ et Evæ,' a Lat. rendering of the same material, ed. by W. Meyer in *Transactions of Munich Academy*, vol. xiv. 1878. **5.** The 'Testamentum Adami,' which has been published by Renan, Syriac text with French tr. in *Journ. Asiatique*, 1853. **6.** The sacred book of the Mandaites is called the Bk of Adam, but has little in common with the foregoing. Edd., Norberg's, 1815; Petermann's, Berlin, 1867.

LITERATURE.—Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 1-94, ii. 1–43; Hort, art. 'Adam' in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 81, 147 f.; Zöckler, *Apocr. des AT.* 422. 3; Zunz, *Die gottesd. Vorträge der Juden*, 1892, p. 136.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ADAMAH (אַדְמָה), Jos 19^{36}, 'red lands.'—A city of Naphtali mentioned next to Chinnereth. Probably the ruin *'Admah* on the plateau north of Bethshean. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. vi.

C. R. CONDER.

ADAMANT is twice (Ezk 3^9, Zec 7^{12}) used in AV and RV as tr. of שָׁמִיר *shāmîr*, which is elsewhere rendered either 'brier' (Is 5^6 $7^{23.\ 24.\ 25}$ 9^{18} 10^{17} 27^4 32^{13}) or 'diamond' (Jer 17^1). Diamond, which arose from adamant by a variety of spelling (adamant or adimant, then diamant or diamond), has displaced a. as the name of the precious stone, a. being now used rhetorically to express extreme hardness. See under art. STONES (PRECIOUS). Ἀδάμας occurs in LXX at Am $7^{7.\ 8\ bis}$ as tr. of אֲנָךְ 'plummet'; this is the origin and meaning of a. in its only occurrence in Apocr., Sir 16^{16} AV. See PLUMMET.

J. HASTINGS.

ADAMI-NEKEB (אֲדָמִי הַנֶּקֶב), Jos 19^{33}, 'red lands the pass.'—A city of Naphtali. It is doubtful if the names should not be divided (see NEKEB). The site is probably at the present village *Ed-Dâmieh* on the plateau north-east of Tabor, where the basaltic soil is reddish. The site of Nekeb (*Seiyâdeh*) is not far off. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. vi.

C. R. CONDER.

ADAR (אֲדָר Ezr 6^{15}, Est $3^{7.\ 13}$ 8^{12} $9^{1.\ 15ff.}$, 1 Mac $7^{43.\ 49}$, 2 Mac 15^{36}, Est 10^{13} 13^6 16^{20}).—The 12th month in the later Jewish Calendar. See TIME.

ADASA (Ἀδασά).—A town near Bethhoron (1 Mac $7^{40.\ 45}$, Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 5), now the ruin *'Adaseh* near Gibeon. *SPW* vol. iii. sh. xvii.

ADBEEL (אַדְבְּאֵל), the third son of Ishmael, Gn 25^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{29}, eponym of the N. Arab. tribe, which appears in cuneiform inscrip. as *Idiba'il* or *Idibi'al*, and which had its settlements S.W. of the Dead Sea (Sayce, *HCM* 202; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 148; *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

ADDAN (אַדָּן, Ἀθαλαρ A, [Χαρα]αθαλαν B, 1 Es 5^{36}).—Certain of the inhabitants of this place joined the body of the returning exiles in the time of Zerubbabel, but they were unable to prove their true Isr. descent by showing to what great clan or family they belonged (Ezr 2^{59}). Probably they were not admitted to the privileges of full citizenship. The name does not appear in the later lists in Ezr 10, Neh 10. Some regard Cherub Addan as one name; v.^{60} suggests that Cherub, Addan, and Immer were three villages in one district in Babylon, from which the family of Nekoda came. In Neh 7^{61} the name appears as ADDON.

H. A. WHITE.

ADDAR, 1 Ch 8^3.—See ARD.

ADDAR, AV **Adar** (אַדָּר), Jos 15^3.—A town on the border of Judah south of Beersheba. There is a ruin east of Gaza which bears the name *'Adar*, but this seems perhaps too far west.

C. R. CONDER.

ADDER.—See SERPENT.

ADDI (Ἀδδεί).—An ancestor of Jesus Christ, Lk 3^{28}. See GENEALOGY.

ADDICT.—'To a. oneself to,' now used only in a bad sense, was formerly neutral, and is found in a good sense in 1 Co 16^{15} 'they have a. themselves to the ministry of the saints' (RV 'they have set themselves to minister unto the saints'). Cf. *Hist. Card.* (1670): 'The greatest part of the day he addicts either to study, devotion, or other spiritual exercises.'

J. HASTINGS.

ADDO (A Ἀδδώ, B Ἐδδείν).—The grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (1 Es 6^1). The name is similarly spelt in LXX of Ezr 5^1 (A Ἀδδώ, B Ἀδώ). See IDDO.

ADDON (אַדּוֹן), Neh 7^{61}. See ADDAN.

ADDUS.—**1.** (Ἀδδούς) 1 Es 5^{34}.—His sons were among the children of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerub.; the name does not occur in the parallel lists in Ezr 2, Neh 7. **2.** See JADDUS.

ADIDA (Ἀδιδά).—A town in the Shephelah (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 5) fortified by Simon the Hasmonæan (1 Mac 12^{38} 13^{13}). The same as Hadid.

ADIEL (עֲדִיאֵל 'ornament of God'). — **1.** A Simeonite prince who attacked the shepherds of Gedor, 1 Ch $4^{36ff.}$. **2.** A priest, 1 Ch 9^{12}. **3.** The father of Azmaveth, David's treasurer, 1 Ch 27^{25}.

ADIN (עָדִין 'luxurious'?), Ezr 2^{15} 8^6, Neh 7^{20} 10^{16}, 1 Es 5^{14m} 8^{32}. The head of a Jewish family, of which some members returned with Zerub., and with Ezra.

ADINA (עֲדִינָא), a Reubenite chief, one of David's mighty men, 1 Ch 11^{42}.

ADINO ([*Kethibh* עדינו העצני] 'Adino the Eznite,' B Ἀδεινων ὁ Ἀσωναῖος, A Ἀδειν ὁ Ἀσωναος).—The *Kerê* is clearly an attempt to introduce some sense into the meaningless *Kethibh*. The present Heb. text of 2 S 23^8 must be corrupt, the true reading being preserved in the parallel passage 1 Ch 11^{11} 'Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite, he lifted up his spear.' The last clause (הוא עורר את חניתו) was corrupted into הוא עדינו העצנו, and then taken erroneously as a proper name, being treated as an alternative to the preceding 'Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite' (see JASHOBEAM). B has the addition οὗτος ἐσπάσατο τὴν ῥομφαίαν αὐτοῦ; but this is not found in A, and is, as Wellhausen has pointed out, derived from the LXX tr. of Ch (cf. 2 S 23^{18}, where B renders the same words by ἐξήγειρε τὸ δόρυ αὐτοῦ).

J. F. STENNING.

ADINU (A Ἀδῖνος, B Ἀδελιος, AV **Adin**), 1 Es 5^{14}, called Adin (A Ἀδίν, B Ἀδειν), 1 Es 8^{32}.—His descendants returned with Zerubbabel to the number of 454 (1 Es 5^{14}, Ezr 2^{15}) or 655 (Neh 7^{20}). A second party of 51 (Ezr 8^6) or 251 (1 Es 8^{32}) accompanied Ezra. They are mentioned among 'the chiefs of the people' who joined Neh. in a covenant to separate themselves from the heathen (Neh 10^{16}).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ADITHAIM (עַדִיתַיִם), Jos 15^{36}.—A town of Judah in the Shephelah. The site is unknown.

C. R. CONDER.

ADJURE.—The primitive meaning of a. (from late Lat. *adjurare*) is to put under oath. This is its meaning in Jos 6[26] 'And Joshua adjured them at that time, saying, Cursed be the man' (RV 'charged them with an oath'), and 1 S 14[24] 'Saul had a[d] the people, saying, Cursed be the man.' Cf. v.[28] 'thy father straitly charged the people with an oath.' But the word is also used in early writers in the sense of to charge solemnly, without the actual administration of an oath. Thus Caxton (1483): 'Raguel desired and adjured Thobie that he shold abyde with hym.' This is the meaning of a. in the other places of the Bible where it is found (1 K 22[16], 2 Ch 18[15], Mt 26[63], Mk 5[7], Ac 19[13]). RV gives 'a.' (for AV 'charge,' Heb. שָׁבַע) at Ca 2[7] 3[5] 5[8, 9] 8[4], and at 1 Th 5[27] (Gr. *ἐνορκίζω*). **Adjuration** (not in AV) is found in RV at Lv 5[1] (אָלָה, AV 'swearing') and Pr 29[24] (אָלָה, AV 'cursing'). See OATH. J. HASTINGS.

ADLAI (עַדְלַי, *Ἀδαΐ*), the father of Shaphat, one of David's herdsmen, 1 Ch 27[29].

ADMAH (אַדְמָה), 'red lands,' Gn 10[19] 14[2, 8], Dt 29[23], Hos 11[8].—One of the cities of the *Ciccar* or 'Round.' It is not noticed as overthrown in the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gn 19), but is included in their catastrophe in the two later passages. The site is unknown. It might be the same as the city ADAM, which see. C. R. CONDER.

ADMATHA (אַרְכְּתָא, Est 1[14]), one of the wise men or counsellors of Ahasuerus. These seven royal advisers (cf. Ezr 7[14]), who were granted admission to the king's presence, and saw his face (cf. 2 K 25[19]), are perhaps to be compared rather with the supreme Persian judges (Herod. iii. 31) than with the representatives of the six families which took part with Darius against the pseudo-Smerdis (Herod. iii. 84). The name is possibly Persian, *admâta*='unrestrained.' In the LXX only three names are given. H. A. WHITE.

ADMINISTRATION in the general sense of service is now obsolete. But it is found 1 Co 12[5] 'there are differences of administrations' (*i.e.* different kinds of Christian service, RV 'ministrations,' the *Rheims NT* word). In 2 Co 9[12], though the Gr. is the same (*διακονία, sing.*), the meaning is not service generally, but the performance of service (RV again 'ministration' from *Geneva Bible*).
J. HASTINGS.

ADMIRE, ADMIRATION.—These words occur in AV as the expression of simple wonder, without including approbation. 2 Th 1[10] 'When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired (RV 'marvelled at') in all them that believe'; Jude v.[16] 'having men's persons in admiration' (Gr. *θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα*, RV 'showing respect of persons'); Rev 17[6] 'When I saw her, I wondered with great a.' (RV 'with a great wonder'). Compare the version in metre of Ps 105[5] 'Remember his marvellous works that he hath done,' is rendered—

'Think on the works that he hath done,
Which admiration breed.'

J. HASTINGS.

ADNA (עַדְנָא 'pleasure').—**1.** A contemporary of Ezra, who married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[30]). **2.** The head of the priestly house of Harim in the time of the high priest Joiakim, the son of Jeshua (Neh 12[15]). H. A. WHITE.

ADNAH.—**1.** (עַדְנָה) A Manassite officer of Saul who deserted to David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[20]). **2.** (עַדְנָה) An officer in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch 17[14]).
J. A. SELBIE.

ADO.—Mk 5[39] 'Why make ye this ado?' (RV 'Why make ye a tumult?'). The older form is *at do*, where 'at' is the prep. before the infin., found chiefly in northern Eng. and supposed to come from the Scandinavian. 'We have other things at do,' *Towneley Mysteries*, p. 181. 'At do' was contracted into 'ado,' and then looked upon as a subst. Cf. Shaks. *Tam. of Shr.* V. 1—

'Let's follow, to see the end of this ado.'

While throwing it out of Mk 5[39], the RV introduces 'ado' into Ac 20[10] 'Make ye no ado (AV 'Trouble not yourselves'), for his life is in him,' though the Gr. (*θορυβεῖσθε*) is the same in both places.
J. HASTINGS.

ADONIBEZEK (אֲדֹנִי בֶזֶק).—The name as it stands in Jg 1[5-7] must mean, *Bezek* (an otherwise unknown deity) *is my lord.* The town of Bezek (which see) will then also have taken its name from that of the god. The chief of a Can. kingdom in S. Pal., he was defeated by the tribe of Judah, taken prisoner, and mutilated by having his thumbs and great toes cut off. His boast was that he had similarly treated seventy kings. The mutilation was intended, while preserving the captive as a trophy, to render him incapable of mischief. According to Plutarch (*Life of Lys.*), the Athenians decreed that every prisoner of war should lose his thumbs, so that while fit to row he should be unfit to handle spear. Hannibal is accused (Valer. Max. ix. 2, ext. 2) of mutilating prisoners, '*prima pedum parte succisa.*' These may be slanders, but they prove how conceivable such mutilation was even then, and what was its object at all times.
A. C. WELCH.

ADONIJAH (אֲדֹנִיָּה).—**1.** The name of the fourth son of David (2 S 3[4], 1 Ch 3[2]). After the death of Absalom, Adonijah, who was next in order of birth, naturally regarded himself as the heir to the throne. His expectation was doubtless shared by the nation, and seems to have been for a time encouraged by his father. The situation had been altered, however, by the introduction of Bathsheba into the royal harem, and by the birth of Solomon. The influence and the ambition of this latest of David's queens rendered it certain that Adonijah would encounter a dangerous rival in his younger brother. It was probably his knowledge that intrigues against his interests were being carried on in the harem that led to the premature and ill-starred attempt of Adonijah to seize the crown before his father's death. The narrative (1 K 1 and 2) is from the same pen as the section in 2 S which contains the story of Absalom's rebellion, and is evidently the work of one who had access to trustworthy sources of information. There are several features of resemblance between the two narratives; and the two chief actors therein, Absalom and Adonijah, seem to have resembled one another in disposition and even in bodily characteristics (cf. 1 K 1[5, 6] with 2 S 14[25] 15[1]). At first Adonijah's enterprise seemed likely to be crowned with success. He attached to his cause such important and influential supporters as Joab the commander-in-chief, and Abiathar the priest. In company with these and many members of the royal family and the king's house, Adonijah held a great feast at En-Rogel, where the final arrangements were to be made for his coronation. But he had reckoned without his host. One whom he had not invited to the banquet was destined to checkmate the conspirators ere their plans were matured. Nathan the prophet seems to have occupied much the same position at the court of David as Isaiah afterwards held at that of Hezekiah. Seeing that not a moment was to be lost, Nathan hastened to Bath-

sheba, whose fears he easily awakened by pointing out the danger to which her own life and that of Solomon would be exposed if the attempt of Adonijah should succeed. Bathsheba, who seems to have already obtained from David a promise that Solomon should succeed him on the throne, immediately sought an interview with the aged king, and informed him of what was transpiring at En-Rogel; while Nathan, in accordance with a prearranged plan, came in opportunely to confirm her story. The prophet-counsellor played his part with consummate skill, notably when (1 K 1^{27}) he expressed surprise that the king, if he had sanctioned the action of Adonijah, had not taken his old friends and counsellors into his confidence. Yielding to the representations of the queen and the prophet, David renewed his oath to Bathsheba in favour of her son, and took prompt measures to secure the accession of the latter. At such a juncture the support of the royal bodyguard was all-important, and fortunately their loyalty was beyond suspicion. Their commander was ordered by David to escort the youthful Solomon, mounted upon his father's mule, to Gihon, and to have him anointed king by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet. This commission was executed amidst the enthusiasm of the people, who rent the air with shouts of 'God save King Solomon!' The unwonted noise reached the ears of Adonijah's guests at En-Rogel, causing astonishment, which passed into consternation when Jonathan the son of Abiathar hurried in with the news that David had chosen Solomon to succeed him. The company broke up in confusion, and Adonijah himself was so much alarmed that he fled for protection to the altar. Solomon, however, agreed to spare his life on condition of future loyalty. If Adonijah displayed no conspicuous wisdom in his attempt to seize the crown, his next act, which cost him his life, is hard to explain, except on the principle, *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* After the death of his father he actually requested Solomon to bestow upon him in marriage Abishag the Shunammite, the maiden who had attended upon David during his declining years. And as advocate for him in this delicate matter he chose Bathsheba! No one who is acquainted with the notions of Eastern courts can wonder at the resentment of Solomon, or that he construed this request as an act of treason. Considering the relation in which Abishag had stood to David, the people would certainly infer that Adonijah in taking her for his wife still asserted his right to the crown. (Compare the story of Abner and Ishbosheth in 2 S 3^{7}, and of Absalom in 2 S 16^{21}.) Speedily was sentence pronounced, 'Adonijah hath spoken this word against his own life; surely he shall be put to death this day'; and the sentence was immediately executed by the captain of the guard.

2. One of the Levites who, according to the Chronicler, was sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{8}). 3. One of the 'chiefs of the people' who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{16}). Same as Adonikam (Ezr 2^{13} 8^{13}, Neh 7^{18}).

J. A. Selbie.

ADONIKAM (אֲדֹנִיקָם 'my Lord has arisen'), Ezr 2^{13} 8^{13}, Neh 7^{18}, 1 Es 5^{14} 8^{39}. The head of a Jewish family after the Exile; in Neh 10^{16} Adonijah.

H. A. White.

ADONIRAM, ADORAM (אֲדֹנִירָם, אֲדֹרָם).—The latter name occurs 2 S 20^{24}, 1 K 12^{18}, and is probably a corruption of Adoniram. The LXX supports this view, reading 'Αδωνειραμ, 2 S 20^{24}, 1 K 4^{6} 5^{14} (Heb. אדנירם), 1 K 12^{18} (B 'Αραμ, A 'Αδωνιραμ), and in the parallel 2 Ch 10^{18} 'Αδωνειραμ (Heb. הֲדוֹרָם, Hadoram). A. was 'over the levy,' that is, he superintended the levies employed in the public works during the reigns of David, Solomon, and Rehoboam. He was stoned to death by the rebellious Isr. when sent to them by Rehoboam (1 K 12^{18}).

J. F. Stenning.

ADONIS.—Strictly not a name but a title, אָדוֹן *'Adôn*, 'Lord,' of the god Tammuz (which see). Is 17^{10} RVm 'plantings of Adonis' (נִטְעֵי נְעָמָנִים *nit'ê na'amānîm*, text '*pleasant* plants') and the setting of 'vine slips of a stranger' (strange *god*), is mentioned as the result of having 'forgotten the God of thy salvation.' So Ewald, Lagarde, Cheyne. With 'plantings of Adonis,' cf. the Gr. 'Αδώνιδος κῆποι, quick-growing plants reared in pots or baskets (Plato, *Phædr.* 276 B), and offered to Aphrodite as emblems of her lover's beauty and early death (Theocr. 15. 113).

The meaning of *na'amānîm* is, however, doubtful. Na'aman is *probably* the name of a god; cf. the name of the Syrian general (2 K 5^{1}), and Ar. Nu'mân, a king's name (Tebrîzî's scholia to *Hamâsa*). The river Belus is now called *Nahr Na'amân.* Lagarde (*Sem.* i. 32) quotes Arab. name of the red anemone, *Shaka'iku-n-Nu'mân*, explaining as 'the wound of Adonis'; but see Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. p. 7.

C. F. Burney.

ADONI-ZEDEK (אֲדֹנִי צֶדֶק 'Lord of righteousness,' AV **Adoni-zedec**), king of Jerusalem at the time of the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites under Joshua. After the Gibeonites had succeeded in making a league with Israel, he induced four other kings, those of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, to unite with him against the invaders. First they attacked, as traitors to the common cause, the Gibeonites, who appealed to Joshua for help. By a rapid night march from Gilgal, Joshua came unexpectedly upon the allied kings, and utterly routed them [Joshua, Beth-horon]. Adoni-zedek and his associates sought refuge in a cave at Makkedah, but were taken and brought before Joshua. The Heb. chiefs set their feet upon their necks in token of triumph. They were then slain, and their bodies hung up until the evening, when they were taken down and flung into the cave where they had hid themselves, the mouth of which was filled up with great stones (Jos 10^{1-27}). In Jos $10^{3f.}$ LXX reads 'Αδωνιβέζεκ, and some have identified the latter with Adonibezek of Jg 1^{5}. (See Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* i. 307; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 63 f.; Wellh. *Einleit.*[4] [Bleek] 182.)

R. M. Boyd.

ADOPTION (*νιοθεσία*) is a word used by St. Paul to designate the privilege of sonship bestowed by God on His people. While Jesus Himself and the New Testament writers all speak frequently and emphatically of our blessings and duties as sons or children of God, no other of them employs this special term, which occurs in five places in the Epistles of St. Paul (Gal 4^{5}, Ro $8^{15.\ 23}$ 9^{4}, Eph 1^{5}). It seems to express a distinct and definite idea in that apostle's mind; and since adoption was, in Roman law, a technical term for an act that had specific legal and social effects, there is much probability that he had some reference to that in his use of the word. The Romans maintained in a very extreme way the rights of fathers over their children as practically despotic; and these did not cease when the sons came of age, or had families of their own, but while the father lived could only be terminated by certain legal proceedings, analogous to those by which slaves were sold or redeemed. The same term (*mancipatio*) was applied to a process of this kind, whether a man parted with his son, or his slave, or his goods. Hence a man could not be transferred from one family to another, or put into the position of a son to any Roman citizen, without a formal legal act, which was a *quasi* sale by his natural father, and buying out by the person who adopted

him. If he was not in the power of a natural father, but independent (*sui juris*), as, *e.g.*, if his father were dead, then he could only be put in the place of son to another by a solemn act of the sovereign people assembled in their religious capacity (*comitia curiata*). For each family had its own religious rites, and he must be freed by public authority from the obligation to fulfil those of one, and taken bound to observe those of another. That transaction was, however, properly called *arrogatio*, while *adoptio* strictly denoted the taking, by one man, of a son of another to be his son. This, though not requiring an act of legislation, had to be regularly attested by witnesses; and in old form one struck a pair of scales with a piece of copper as an emblem of the primitive process of sale. Adoption, when thus legally performed, put a man in every respect in the position of a son by birth of him who had adopted him, so that he possessed the same rights and owed the same obligations.

No such legal and complete transference of filial rights and duties seems to have existed in the law of Israel; though there may have been many cases of the informal adoption known among us, as when Mordecai took the orphan Esther, his uncle's daughter, to be his (Est 2^{7}). The failure of heirs was provided for by the levirate law.

Now, since St. Paul represents the Christian's adoption as carrying with it certain definite privileges which would not be involved in such an act as Mordecai's, and since he may well have been acquainted with the Roman practice in this matter, it seems probable that he may have had it in view. (See Dr. W. E. Ball in *Contemp. Rev.*, Aug. 1891).

The earliest instance of his use of the word is in his Epistle to the Galatians, in a passage in which several names of human relations are used to illustrate those between God and man, and where the apostle expressly says, 'I speak after the manner of men' (3^{15}), *i.e.* I use a human analogy to make my argument plain. The term that he first employs after this remark is that rendered covenant, or testament (διαθήκη), here probably in the general sense of disposition, without emphasis on the peculiarities either of a covenant or of a testament. In virtue of this disposition, which was one of promise, given to Abraham and his seed, the blessing comes to all who are united to Christ by faith; for the promise, St. Paul argues, was not to the physical descendants of the patriarch as a multitude, but to a unity, the one Messiah, who was to gather all nations to Himself. According to this disposition of God, believers are sons and heirs ($3^{26.\ 29}$). But before their faith in Christ they were kept in ward under the law, which was not intended to add a condition to the covenant of promise, but to bring their latent sin to a head in transgressions (3^{19}), so that they might not seek to be justified by works, but might accept the blessing as of God's free grace through Christ, who became a curse for us that He might redeem us from the curse of the law ($3^{13.\ 23\text{-}24}$). This seems to be clearly the general line of the argument. But the position of men under the law appears to be represented by St. Paul in two different ways, sometimes as bond-servants under the curse ($3^{10.\ 13}$ $4^{7.\ 8}$), and sometimes as children under age ($4^{1\text{-}3}$). The explanation of this may be found in the consideration that St. Paul never meant to deny that Abraham, David, and other believers in OT times were really justified (see Ro $4^{1\text{-}8}$); while as many as were of the works of the law were under the curse. The former were like children under age, not yet enjoying the full privileges of sonship; the latter were like bond-servants. To both alike the blessing brought by Christ in the fulness of the time is called adoption (Gal 4^{5}), and this seems to indicate that St. Paul holds the sonship, of which he is speaking, to be founded on the covenant promise of God, and not on the natural relation to God of all men as such. We must not therefore lower the meaning of adoption, in his mind, to the conferring of the full privileges of sons on those who are children by birth. It is, as the whole context shows, a position bestowed by a disposition or covenant of God, and through a redemption by Christ. This probably led St. Paul to the use of the word; for the Roman adoption was effected by a legal act, which involved a *quasi* buying-out. He also plainly regards it as like the adoption of Roman law in this, that it gives not merely paternal care, but the complete rights of sonship, the gift of the Spirit of God's Son, and the inheritance. No doubt this legal analogy may be pressed too far; and St. Paul plainly indicates that what he means is really something far deeper; for it is founded upon a spiritual union to God's Son, which is described as 'putting on Christ' (3^{27}); so that our adoption is not a mere formal or legal act, though it may be compared to such in respect of its authoritative and abiding nature.

Some theologians of different schools (*e.g.* Turretin, Schleiermacher) have inferred from the connexion between redemption and adoption, in Gal 4^{5}, that adoption is the positive part of the complete blessing of justification, of which redemption or forgiveness is the negative part. But this is a very precarious inference; and the two terms are so different in their meaning, that it is far more probable that St. Paul meant by adoption a blessing distinct from our having peace with God and access into His favour, which he describes in Ro 5^{1} as the positive fruits of our justification. These blessings, indeed, cannot be separated in reality; they are only different aspects of the one great gift of life in Christ; but in order to understand clearly the evangelical doctrine of the NT, it is necessary to look at them separately.

The next place where St. Paul speaks about adoption is in Ro $8^{15.\ 23}$. Here he is speaking of the believer's new walk of holiness, and he has said, 'If by the spirit ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live' (8^{13}). In proof of this he asserts that 'as many as are led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God' (8^{14}); and then he proves this in turn by saying, 'Ye received not the (or, a) spirit of bondage again unto fear, but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.' The line of reasoning is the same as in Galatians, but put in the inverse order. The promise of life is proved by the fact of our being sons of God; and that, again, because the spirit that He has given us is that of adoption, enabling us to address God as our Father, and so (8^{16}) witnessing with our spirit that we are children of God. In this possibly there may be some allusion to the witnesses which were necessary to the solemn act of adoption according to Roman law and custom. Then, as in the earlier Epistle, it is stated that this adoption carries with it all the rights of true sonship, 'If children, then heirs,' etc. (8^{17}). St. Paul next proceeds to contrast this glorious prospect with the present sufferings of the people of God. These sufferings are shared by all creation; and the deliverance is to be at the revealing of the sons of God (8^{19}), when creation itself shall share the liberty of the glory of the sons of God (8^{21}). So in 8^{23} he says, 'we wait for our adoption, the redemption of our body.' It is the resurrection of life at the coming of the Lord that is undoubtedly meant; and that is called here the adoption, because it will be the full revelation of our sonship. Now are we sons of God, as St. John puts it; but the world knoweth us not, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but when it shall

appear, we shall be like Him (1 Jn 3^{1-3}). Another striking parallel is to be found in our Lord's words, as recorded by St. Luke ($20^{35.36}$), of those that are accounted worthy to attain to the resurrection from the dead, 'Neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels, and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection.' As salvation is sometimes spoken of as a thing perfect here and now, and sometimes as only to be completed at the last, so St. Paul speaks of adoption. It belongs to the believer really and certainly now, but perfectly only at the resurrection.

In Ro 9^4 St. Paul mentions 'the adoption' first among the privileges of Israel, which he there enumerates. This is in accordance with the fact that the nation as a whole is called in the OT God's son, and individual members of it His children, sons and daughters. The term implies further, what is also taught in OT, that they had this relation, not through physical descent or creation, but by an act of gracious love on God's part. And in $9^{7.8}$, St. Paul teaches that not all the children of Abraham and Jacob are children of God, but they who are of the promise, *i.e.*, as he put it before, they who accept the promise by faith. It is not necessary to suppose that St. Paul speaks here of another adoption, quite distinct from the Christian one; it is, indeed, an earlier and less perfect phase of it, but he regards it as essentially the same; since the gospel was preached before to Abraham, and justification, though founded on the actual redemption of Christ, was by anticipation applied to him and many others before Christ came.

The last place where St. Paul uses the term adoption is Eph 1^5, where he says that God eternally foreordained believers unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ unto Himself. This refers to the eternal purpose, in accordance with which God does all His works in time, and corresponds to what he had said in Ro 8^{29}, that 'whom He foreknew He also foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren.' The conformity here mentioned probably includes moral likeness; but the ultimate end is stated to be that there might be many brethren of Christ, among whom He is the firstborn. Our Lord, according to St. Paul, is, in a peculiar sense, God's Son, His own proper Son, begotten before all creation (Col 1^{15}), and the grace of adoption makes believers truly His brethren and joint-heirs with Him, though He has ever and in all things the pre-eminence as Son of God from eternity, by nature and not merely by grace.

For a fuller account of the Biblical doctrine of Divine Sonship, see GOD, SONS OF; CHILDREN OF.

LITERATURE.—Comm. on the Pauline Epp. by Calvin, Meyer, Alford, Ellicott, Lightfoot, Sanday-Headlam; works on NT Theology by Schmid, Weiss, Beyschlag, Bovon; studies in Pauline Theology by Pfleiderer, Sabatier, Bruce. (See Lit. under GOD, SONS OF; CHILDREN OF.)

J. S. CANDLISH.

ADORA ('Αδωρά) in Idumæa (*Ant.* XIII. ix. 1), noticed in 1 Mac 13^{20}. The same as Adoraim.

ADORAIM (אֲדוֹרַיִם), 2 Ch 11^9.—A city of Judah fortified by Rehoboam on the S.W. of his mountain kingdom, now *Dûra*, at the edge of the mountains W. of Hebron—a small village. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi. C. R. CONDER.

ADORAM.—See ADONIRAM.

ADORATION.—Under this term may be conveniently considered certain phases of worship. The word itself does not occur either in AV or RV, but both the disposition of mind and heart, and the outward expressions of that disposition, which are alike denoted by it, receive abundant illustration. From one of the actions expressive of A., —namely, lifting the hand to the mouth, either in order to indicate that the worshipper was dumb in the sacred presence, or, more commonly, to kiss it and then wave it towards the statue of the god,— the term itself is often supposed to be derived (*admoventes oribus suis dexteram*, Apul. *Met.* iv. 28; cf. Pliny, *NH* xxviii. 5; Min. Felix, *Oct.* ii.). This practice of kissing the hand, accompanied by certain other gestures, was, among the Romans, the special meaning of *adoratio* as distinguished from *oratio* or prayer. It was, in antiquity, expressive of the deepest respect, and is alluded to in Job 31^{27}, possibly also in 1 K 19^{18}, Ps 2^{12}, Hos 13^2. *Adorare* is however a compound verb, meaning, first, 'to address,' then, 'to entreat, to supplicate,' and, finally, 'to worship.' That A. should embrace at once a range of feelings and a series of acts is explained by a very simple consideration. The most profound and most intense feelings are just those which act or gesture expresses better than words. It is only, therefore, to a limited extent that A. finds expression in language, and then only in language of the most general and least objective kind. A. is, in the first place, the attitude of the soul which is called forth by the loftiest thoughts and realisations of God. Before His perfections the soul abases itself; it seeks to get beyond earth and earthly things and to enter into His nearer presence. A. belongs thus to the mystical side of religion; it includes the awe and reverence with which the soul feels itself on holy ground. Its appropriate expressions are therefore those which convey the feeling most adequately, even though when tried by any objective standard they might be pronounced meaningless. We distinguish generally between A. and those parts of Prayer and Worship which are directed towards a special end,—from confession, supplication, thanksgiving. Hymns and Prayers of A. set forth the majesty, purity, and holiness of God, His ineffable perfections, and the soul's loving contemplation of them. The adoring heart is 'lost in wonder, love, and praise.' In the Psalms, nature in all its departments is repeatedly called upon to praise and glorify God. St. Paul, caught up even to the third heaven, knowing not whether he was in the body or apart from the body, and hearing unspeakable words, is an example of that self-abandonment of devotion which is implied in the highest form of A. Possibly a similar meaning attaches to the statement of St. John, that he was 'in the spirit' on the Lord's day. Not only are angels called upon to bless the Lord, but A. is represented as the essence of the heavenly life. In Is 6 a scene of heavenly A. is depicted; and similar scenes are set forth in the Bk of Rev (4^{8-11} 5^{8-14} 7^{11-12}). A. is here distinguished from service, as something even more truly fundamental, even that from which the only acceptable service springs.

God is the only legitimate object of A., since in Him only perfection dwells, and He only must be the supreme object of love and reverence. His worship must be spiritual (Jn 4^{23}), and such worship accorded to any other is uniformly branded as idolatry. Christ is adored because 'God was in Him' (2 Co 5^{19}), and because God 'hath highly exalted Him, and is Himself glorified when the confession is made that 'Christ is Lord' (Ph 2^{9-11}).

As regards the attitudes and acts expressive of A., these, as already stated, symbolised the feeling experienced, and varied therefore with the kinds and degrees of emotion indicated. Humility was naturally expressed by prostration, kneel-

ing, or simply bending head or body; submission and reverence, by the folded hands and downcast eyes; wonder and awe, by the uplifted hands with palms turned outwards; invocation and supplication, by hands and arms outstretched; dependence and entreaty, by clasped hands or meeting palms. Among the Hebrews, *standing* was the more usual attitude in public prayer, as it is among the Jews to this day; it indicates, perhaps, more a consciousness of the presence of other men and less self-abandonment than *kneeling* (cf. the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican), which therefore was more appropriate to private devotion. Solomon, it is true, knelt at the dedication of the temple (1 K 8^{54}, 2 Ch 6^{13}). Ezra (Ezr 9^{5}) and Daniel (Dn 6^{10}) likewise fell upon their knees; and St. Paul knelt in prayer with the elders of Ephesus. In all these instances, however, the idea conveyed is rather that the spectators were overlooking or assisting at an act of private devotion, than that they were taking part in public or common prayer. In one instance (2 S 7^{18}=1 Ch 17^{16}) we read of *sitting* as an attitude of prayer; but this probably is a form of kneeling, the body being thrown back so as to rest upon the heels, as in other cases (1 K 18^{42}) it was thrown forward until the head was placed between the knees. *To fall at the feet* of a person (*προσκύνησις*) was an act of extreme reverence, generally accompanying supplication (1 S 25^{24}, 2 K 4^{37}, Est 8^{3}, Mt 28^{9}, Mk 5^{22}, Lk 8^{41}, Jn 11^{32}). Prostration before a human patron or benefactor was an Oriental, not a Roman, custom, and hence St. Peter declined to receive it from Cornelius, in whom it indicated a misapprehension as to the quality of the apostle. Of hands lifted to heaven we read in Is 1^{15}, 1 Tí 2^{8}. The consecration of love was denoted, as we have seen, by the kiss. Moses and Joshua were commanded to remove their sandals (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}), because the presence of God made holy the ground on which they stood. In all these instances it is easy to discern how the outward act expressed, and, in expressing, tended to intensify in the heart of the worshipper the feeling with which it was associated.

A. STEWART.

ADORNING (mod. adornment) occurs in 1 P 3^{3} 'Whose a. let it not be that outward a. of plaiting the hair.' The latest use of a. as a subst. is in H. More's *Seven Ch.* (1669): 'Her prankings and adornings' (*Oxf. Dict.*).

J. HASTINGS.

ADRAMMELECH (אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ).—1. A. and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim to whom the colonists, brought to Samaria from Sepharvaim, burnt their children in the fire (2 K 17^{31}). Adrammelech has been identified with a deity frequently mentioned in Assyrian records whose name is written ideographically AN. BAR. and AN. NIN. IB. This name has been conjecturally read 'Adar'; and if this conjecture be right, 'Adar' may be identified with 'Adrammelech' (*i.e.* 'Adar-prince' *or* 'Adar-Molech'). 'Adar' is a name of Accadian origin, signifying 'Father of decision' (*or* judgment). 'Adar' was active in sending the waters of the Deluge. (Cf. Schrader, *KAT*^{2}, on 2 K 17^{31}).

2. (2 K 19^{37}, Is 37^{38}) mentioned with Sharezer as one of the murderers of Sennacherib. In Is (*l.c.*) and in all the versions of Kings (*l.c.*) the two murderers are described as the *sons* of Sennacherib, but the *Kethîbh* of Kings omits 'his sons.' A Babylonian chronicle, referring to the murder, says simply, 'On the twentieth of the month Tebet, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son (*sing.*) in an insurrection.' (See E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. p. 281, and C. H. W. Johns in *Expository Times*, vol. vii. p. 238 f., and p. 360.

W. E. BARNES.

ADRAMYTTIUM ('Αδραμύττιον) was an ancient city of the country Mysia, in the Rom. province Asia, with a harbour, at the top of the gulf *Sinus Adramyttenus*. The population and the name were moved some distance inland during the Middle Ages to a site which is now called Edremid. It must have been a city of great importance when Pergamos was the capital of the kings of Asia; and hence, when Asia became a Rom. province, Adramyttium was selected as the metropolis of the N.W. district of Asia, where the assizes (*conventus*) of that whole district were held. Its ships made trading voyages along the coasts of Asia and as far as Syria (Ac 27^{2}); and a kind of ointment exported from the city was highly esteemed (Pliny, *NH* xiii. 2. 5). Its importance as a trading centre is shown by its being one of the cities where *cistophori*, the great commercial coinage of the east, were struck between 133 and 67 B.C. It suffered greatly during the Mithridatic wars, and rather declined in importance; but, even as late as the 3rd cent., under Caracalla, it still ranked sufficiently high to strike alliance coins with Ephesus (implying certain reciprocal rights in respect of religious festivals and games).

W. M. RAMSAY.

ADRIA (Ac 27^{27}, RV *Sea of* Adria).—The sea '[a]midst' which the ship carrying St. Paul was driven during fourteen days, before it stranded on Melita. After passing Crete, the voyagers encountered a violent 'north-easter' (RV *Euraquilo*), before which they drifted, and running under the island of Clauda (RV Cauda, now Gozo), they were afraid of being carried towards the quicksands (RV *Syrtis*) dreaded by the mariner on the African coast; but eventually, on the fourteenth day, descried land, where they ran the ship aground on an island called Melita. The sea which they traversed is termed ὁ 'Αδρίας. Three questions arise—(1) as to the form, (2) as to the origin, and (3) as to the range or connotation, of the word.

1. WH prefer the aspirated form 'Αδρίας; but while both forms occur in ancient writers (see the variations in Pauly-Wiss. *RE s.v.*), our choice must depend on the probable derivation of the name.

2. There were two towns of similar name—Atria or Hadria, in Picenum (now *Atri*), an inland town having no relation to the Adriatic (except indirectly through its port of Matrinum), and Atria, a town of early commercial importance near the mouth of the Po, with which the name is associated by such authorities as Livy (v. 33), Strabo (v. 1), and Pliny (*HN* iii. 120). This town, still called Adria, is described by Livy and others as a Tuscan settlement, but by Justin (xx. 1. 9) as of Gr. origin; and its early relations with Greece are (as Mommsen, in *CIL* v. 1. p. 220, points out) yet more certainly attested by painted vases of Gr. style found in no small number there, but not elsewhere in that district of Italy. The Picentine town was in imperial times called Hadria, and earlier coins belonging to it are inscribed HAT., while in inscriptions from the town on the Po the first letter is represented by A, not by H, and Mommsen, for that reason, has latterly preferred the form *Atria*.

3. As Adrias was early used in the sense, to which Adriatic has again been confined, of the branch of the sea between Italy and Illyria, it was not unnatural so to understand it in Ac 27, esp. as an island off its Illyrian shore, Melita (now Meleda), might have been the scene of the shipwreck. Bryant (*Diss. on the wind Euroclydon*), Macknight, and others adopted this view, which some, on their authority, have accepted, although Scaliger had pronounced it ridiculous and hardly worth refuting. Its chief champion is W. Falconer,

whose *Dissertation on St. Paul's Voyage*, published in 1817, was reissued in 1870 by the writer's nephew, Judge Falconer, with copious additional notes controverting (though with little real success) the arguments of Mr. Smith of Jordanhill, in support of the tradition which regards Malta as the scene of shipwreck, and takes Adrias in the wider sense of the waters between Crete and Sicily (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1848). The history of the strangely varying usage is well indicated by Partsch in Pauly-Wiss. *s.v.*, and by Müller in his ed. of Strabo, pp. 328, 335, 338. At first the name strictly belonged to the inner portion adjoining the mouths of the Po and the coast of the Veneti, while the lower or south portion was known as the Ionian Sea. But these names soon became interchangeable, or, if a distinction was drawn, it was that of two basins—the inner as far as Mount Garganus being more strictly 'the Adrias,' the outer the Ionian Sea. Strabo expressly recognises this distinction, but indicates that Adrias had now become the name for the whole (ii. 123, vii. 187). But while Adrias comes thus to include the Ionian Sea, the latter term in its turn obtained an extension to the sea lying between the west coasts of Greece and Sicily, which is called by Strabo the Sicilian, and was also termed the Ausonian Sea (ii. 123), and the name Adrias now received a corresponding, but even greater, extension. A very clear light is thrown on the range or connotation of 'the Adrias,' as used in Acts, by the statements of Ptolemy, who flourished (not 'immediately,' as Smith has said (p. 127), but) sixty or seventy years after St. Luke (he was alive 160 A.D.), and who presents an usage which must be presumed to have been not only existent, but current and generally accepted for some considerable time, in order to find a place in such a work. Ptolemy places the Adriatic to the east of Sicily (iii. 4), to the south of Achaia (iii. 14), to the west and south of the Peloponnesus (iii. 16), and to the west of Crete (iii. 15), thus giving to it precisely the extent which Strabo assigns to the Sicilian Sea. We meet the same wider range in earlier as well as later writers. The only argument of weight adduced by Judge Falconer in opposition to the case thus established, is that elsewhere (iv. 3) Ptolemy places Melita (Malta) in the African Sea, which bounds Sicily on the south. But it is too much to construe this as though Ptolemy 'distinctly and unequivocally *excluded* the island from all seas but that of Africa.' The alleged 'exclusion' is a mere inference by Falconer from the 'inclusion'; not at all necessary where Melita, lying between the two seas called African and Sicilian, might easily be associated with either. At any rate, the main question concerns not the mere geographical assignation of Melita as such, but the meaning to be attached to 'the Adrias' as the sea which the vessel traversed on its voyage. And here most commentators agree in holding that, in accordance with the current usage of the time when St. Luke wrote, the word is applied to the whole expanse of waters between Crete and Sicily.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

ADRIEL (עַדְרִיאֵל).—Son of Barzillai, a native of Abel-meholah in the Jordan Valley, about 10 miles S. of Bethshean. He married Merab, the eldest daughter of Saul, who should have been given to David as the slayer of Goliath (1 S 18[19]). Michal (2 S 21[8]) is a mistake for Merab.

J. F. STENNING.

ADUEL ('Αδουήλ, Heb. אדיאל, Syr. אצדואיל), one of the ancestors of Tobit, To 1[1]. A variant form of עַדְרִיאֵל, 1 Ch 4[36].

J. T. MARSHALL.

ADULLAM (עֲדֻלָּם), now *'Îd-'el-mā'* 'Feast of water,' or *'Îd-'el-miyeh* 'Feast of the hundred' (see Clermont-Ganneau and Conder in *PEF Mem.* iii. 361–67; Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 276 f.; Smith, *Geogr.* p. 229), in the valley of Elah, is frequently referred to in the OT. It was a city of the Canaanites (Gn 38[1]), in the district allotted to the tribe of Judah after the conquest (Jos 12[15]). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11[7]), and is mentioned later on by Micah (1[15]). After the Captivity it was re-peopled by the Jews (Neh 11[30]), and continued to be a place of importance under the Maccabees (2 Mac 12[38]).

The Cave of Adullam, famous through its association with the early history of David, has usually been supposed to have had no connexion with the city of that name, and has been located by tradition, as well as by many travellers, in the Wady Khareitun, about six miles south-east of Bethlehem. The most recent authorities, however, are strongly of opinion that an entirely suitable site for it can be found in the vicinity of the city, and that there is no reason for separating the two. Halfway between Shochoh and Keilah, and 10 miles north-west of Hebron, some caves have been found, the position of which suits all we are told about David's stronghold, and which are at once central and defensible. It may be regarded as practically settled that the Cave of Adullam was not far from where David had his encounter with Goliath.

Adullamite (עֲדֻלָּמִי 'native of Adullam') is applied to Hirah, the friend of Judah (Gn 38[1]). At the time of the conquest Adullam was a royal city, and if it was so in Hirah's time, he was probably king.

W. MUIR.

ADULTERY.—See CRIMES, and MARRIAGE.

ADUMMIM, THE ASCENT OF (מַעֲלֵה אֲדֻמִּים), Jos 15[7] 18[17], forming part of the eastern boundary between Judah and Benjamin, is the steep pass in which the road ascends from Jericho to Jerusalem. Its name, *Tal'at ed-Dumm*, is still the same—'the ascent of blood' or 'red,' and is most probably due to the red marl which is so distinctive a feature of the pass. In this pass, notorious for robberies and murders, is the traditional 'inn' of Lk 10[34], and near by the Chastel Rouge or Citerne Rouge, built by the crusaders for protection of pilgrims from Jerusalem to the Jordan.

A. HENDERSON.

ADVANTAGE.—This is one of our numerous misspelt Eng. words. It comes from *avant*, 'before,' with the suffix *age*. Hence it has no connexion with Lat. prep. *ad* (though the misspelling is found as early as 1523), and the meaning is not simple profit, but superiority. In this sense it is found in Ro 3[1] 'What a. then hath the Jew?' and 2 Co 2[11], to which RV adds 2 Co 7[2] 12[17. 18]. In Job 35[3], Jude v.[16] 'a.' should be 'profit.' And so the verb 'to advantage,' now obsolete, which is found in Lk 9[25], 1 Co 15[32] 'what advantageth it me?' is rightly turned into 'profit' in RV.

J. HASTINGS.

ADVENT.—See PAROUSIA.

ADVENTURE, now obs. as a verb, is found Dt 28[56] 'The tender and delicate woman among you which would not a. (intrans. = venture) to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness'; Jg 9[17] 'For my father fought for you, and a[d] (transit. = risked) his life'; Ac 19[31] 'desiring him that he would not a. himself (δοῦναι ἑαυτόν, 'give himself') into the theatre.' Cf. Shaks. *Two G. of Ver.* III. i. 120—

> 'Leander would adventure it';

and for the intrans. use *Rom. and Jul.* V. iii. 11—

> 'I am almost afraid to stand alone
> Here in the churchyard; yet I will adventure.'

'At all adventure' occurs Wis 2[2] 'we are born at all a.' (αὐτοσχεδίως, RV 'by mere chance') and 'at all adventures,' Lv 26[21] m (קְרִי, in the usual phrase עִם קֶרִי הֲלָכָה). Cf. T. Wilson (1553): 'which showte (shoot) . . . at all aventures hittie missie.'

J. HASTINGS.

ADVERSARY. — Besides the general sense of opponent, a. occurs with the special meaning of an opponent at law (ἀντίδικος), Lk 12[58] 'When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate'; Mt 5[25] Lk 18[3]. In the foll. passages it is used as the tr. of Heb. שָׂטָן *Sâtân*, Nu 22[22], 1 S 29[4], 2 S 19[22], 1 K 5[4] 11[14. 23. 25]. Cf. 1 P 5[8] 'your a. (Gr. ἀντίδικος) the devil.' See SATAN. J. HASTINGS.

ADVERTISE, 'to give notice,' 'inform,' Nu 24[14] 'I will a. thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days'; and Ru 4[4] 'I thought to a. thee' (RV 'disclose it unto thee'). In the last passage the Heb. is 'uncover the ear' (גְּלָה אֹזֶן). See EAR. **Advertisement,** in the sense of precept, admonition, occurs in the heading of Sir 20.

J. HASTINGS.

ADVICE, ADVISE, ADVISEMENT.—'To take advice' in mod. Eng. is to consult with another and receive his opinion. But in Jg 19[30] and 2 Ch 25[17] 'to take a.' means to consult with oneself and give an opinion; Jg 19[30] 'consider of it, take a. (RV 'take counsel') and speak.' So Shaks. 2 *Henry VI.* II. ii. 67—

> 'And that's not suddenly to be perform'd;
> But with advice, and silent secrecy.'

Advise in the sense, not of giving advice to another, but of deliberating with oneself, is found twice, 2 S 24[13] 'now a. (RV 'advise thee') and see what answer I shall return to him that sent me,' and 1 Ch 21[12] (RV 'consider'). 'Well advised' in Pr 13[10], 'but with the well advised is wisdom,' means not those who have accepted good advice, but those who are cautious or deliberate. Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 'Let him be . . . advised in his answers.' **Advisement,** now obs., occurs 1 Ch 12[19] 'the lords of the Philistines, upon a. (*i.e.* after deliberation) sent him away'; 2 Mac 14[20] 'When they had taken long a. thereupon' (RV 'when these proposals had been long considered').

J. HASTINGS.

ADVOCATE (παράκλητος), only 1 Jn 2[1]. See HOLY SPIRIT and PARACLETE.

AEDIAS (B Ἀηδείας, A -δί-), 1 Es 9[27]. — One of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives. The corresponding name in Ezr 10[26] is Elijah (אֵלִיָּה, Ἠλία). The form in 1 Es is a corruption of the Gr. (ΗΑΙΔ read as ΔΗΑΙΔ), and has no Heb. equivalent. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ÆNEAS (Αἰνέας) is the name of a paralytic at Lydda who was cured by Peter (Ac 9[33. 34]). We find the name used of a Jew in Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 22. A. C. HEADLAM.

ÆNON (Αἰνών, 'springs') is mentioned only in Jn 3[23] as near to Salem (which see). As the name 'springs' is common, its locality must be fixed by that of Salem. Eusebius and Jerome place Ænon 8 miles south of Scythopolis, now *Beisan*; and the name Sâlim is said to attach to a mound some 6 or 7 miles south of *Beisan*, while three-quarters of a mile south of it are seven springs. 'Rivulets also wind about in all directions. . . . I have found few places in Palestine of which one could so truly say, "Here is much water"' (Van de Velde, ii. p. 345, etc.). The chief difficulty in the acceptance of this identification is the naming of Salem (Jn 3[23]) as a well-known town, suggesting *the* well-known Salim, east of Shechem. Conder has pointed out 'Ainûn, bearing the name, situated in the Wâdy Fâr'ah. 'Here was once a large village, now completely overthrown. A great number of rock-cut cisterns are observed on the site' (*Survey Memoirs*, ii. p. 234). A little to the south of 'Ainûn is a succession of springs with flat meadows on either side, where great crowds might gather by the bank of the copious perennial stream shaded by oleanders. Here were 'many waters' (Jn 3[23] RVm). It is accessible by roads from all quarters, and is situated by one of the main roads from Jerus. to Galilee, the road passing Jacob's Well (Jn 4[6]) which our Lord may have taken to meet the Baptist in view of threatened misunderstandings and jealousies of this disciples. For a full description, see Conder's *Tent Work*, ii. pp. 57, 58. The distance is about 7 miles from Salim, which has been made an objection to this identification; but there is no nearer town of importance by which to describe its situation.

A. HENDERSON.

ÆSORA (Αἰσωρά), Jth 4[4] (AV **Esora**). — A Samaritan town noticed with Bethhoron, Jericho, and Salem (*Sâlim*). Possibly *'Aṣîreh*, N.E. of Shechem (*SWP* vol. ii. sh. xi.). C. R. CONDER.

AFFECT, AFFECTION.—In its literal sense of 'to act upon,' affect occurs once, La 3[51] 'mine eye affecteth mine heart.' In Sir 13[11] the meaning is to aspire, 'Affect not to be made equal unto him in talk.' Besides these, observe Gal 4[17. 18], where the meaning is to have affection for, be fond of. Gal 4[17] 'They zealously a. you, but not well (Gr. ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς, RV 'They zealously seek you in no good way'); yea, they would exclude you, that ye might a. them' (RV 'seek them'). Cf. Bingham, *Xenoph.* 'Alwaies soure and cruell, so that Souldiers affected him as children doe their Schoolemaster.' Besides these, a. occurs only Ac 14[2] 'made them evil a[ed]' (κακόω); 2 Mac 4[21] 'not well a[ed]' (ἀλλότριος), RV 'ill a[ed].'); 13[26] 'well a[ed]' (εὐμενής). **Affection** in old Eng. is any bent or disposition of the mind, good or bad, as Col 3[2] 'set your a. (Gr. φρονεῖτε, RV 'set your mind') on things above.' Hence, to tr. πάθος and the like, some adj. is added, as Col 3[5] 'inordinate a.' (Gr. πάθος, RV 'passion'); Ro 1[31] 'without natural a.' (Gr. ἄστοργος). But in the plu. affections means passions, as Gal 5[24] 'the flesh with the a. (Gr. πάθημα, RV 'passions') and lusts'; Ro 1[26] 'God gave them up unto vile a.' (Gr. πάθη ἀτιμίας, RV 'vile passions'). Cf. the difference between 'passion' and 'passions.' RV gives 'affections' in a good (*i.e.* the mod.) sense at 2 Co 6[12] (AV 'bowels,' which see). **Affectioned** is found in the neutral sense of 'disposed' in Ro 12[10] 'kindly a. (Gr. φιλόστοργοι, RV 'tenderly a.') one to another.' Cf. Fuller, *Abel Red.* 'He (Luther) was very lovingly affectioned towards his children.' J. HASTINGS.

AFFINITY.—In 1 K 3[1] 'Solomon made a. with Pharaoh'; 2 Ch 18[1] 'Jehoshaphat . . . joined a. with Ahab'; and Ezr 9[14] 'Should we . . . join in a. with the people of these abominations?' a. has the special sense of relationship by marriage, being distinguished from consanguinity or relationship by blood. Cf. Selden, *Laws of Eng.* (1649), 'Many that by a. and consanguinity were become Englishmen.' See MARRIAGE. J. HASTINGS.

AFFLICTION is now used only passively; the state of being afflicted, misery. So Ex 3[7] 'I have surely seen the a. of my people,' and elsewhere. But it is also in the Bible used actively, as 1 K 22[27] 'feed him with bread of a. and with water of a., until I come in peace' (*i.e.* bread and water that will afflict him). Cf. More, 'Let him . . . purge the spirit by the a. of the flesh.' J. HASTINGS.

AFFRAY.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

AFORE and its compounds.—**Afore**=before, is used as prep. Is 18^{5} 'afore the harvest'; as adj. 2 Es 5^{31} 'the night a.'; and as adv. Ro 1^{2} 'which he had promised afore.' **Aforehand** as adv.= beforehand, in anticipation, occurs Mk 14^{8} 'She is come a. to anoint my body'; and Jth 7^{1}. **Afore-promised** is now found 2 Co 9^{5} RV 'your a. bounty' (προεπηγγελμένος). **Aforesaid** occurs only 2 Mac 4^{23} 14^{8}. **Aforetime**=formerly, as Dn 6^{10} '(Daniel) prayed . . . as he did a.' Aforetime is happily introduced by RV at Dt $2^{10.12.20}$, Jos 4^{18}, 1 Ch 4^{40}, Jn 9^{8} Ro 3^{25} Eph $2^{2.11}$, Col 3^{7}, Tit 3^{3}, Philem v.^{11}, 1 P 3^{5}, for various AV expressions, generally as tr. of לְפָנִים or πρότε. The *a* in these words is a worn-down form of the old Eng. prep. *an* or *on*. See A. J. HASTINGS.

AFTER, AFTERWARD ('After, orginally a compar. of *af*, Lat. ab, Gr. *ἀπό*, Skr. *ápa*, with compar. suffix *-ter*, like -ther in "either," etc.= farther off.'—MURRAY) is found in AV and RV in all the modern usages as adv., prep., and conj., both of place and of time. The only examples demanding attention are: 1. some passages where after means 'according to,' as in Gn 1^{26} 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness'; esp. the following (where Gr. is *κατά*), Ro 2^{5} 'after thy hardness and impenitent heart'; 1 Co 7^{40} 'after my judgment'; 2 Co 11^{17} 'That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord'; Eph 4^{24} 'The new man, which after God is created in righteousness'; 2 P 3^{3} 'Scoffers, walking after their own lusts'; Gal 4^{23} 'he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh'; Tit 1^{1} 'the acknowledging of the truth which is after (RV 'according to') godliness'; and He 4^{11} (where Gr. is *ἐν*) 'lest any man fall after (RVm 'into') the same example of unbelief.' 2. Where after means 'in proportion to': Ps 28^{4} 'give them after the work of their hands'; Ps 90^{15} (Pr. Bk.) 'Comfort us again now after the time that Thou hast plagued us.' So Ps 51^{1} (Pr. Bk.). Cf. Litany, 'Deal not with us after our sins,' and Wyclif's tr. of Mt 16^{27} 'He schal yelde to every man after his works.' 3. Where after is used for *afterwards*, as 1 K 17^{13} 'Make me thereof a little cake first, and bring it unto me, and after (RV 'afterward') make for thee and for thy son.' So He 11^{8}, 2 P 2^{6}.

Afterward is the older form; when the AV was made, 'afterwards' was coming into use. Skeat says he has not been able to find it much earlier than Shakespeare's time (but *Oxf. Dict.* gives one 1300, and one 1375). AV (Camb. ed.) has afterward 66 times, afterwards 13 times. J. HASTINGS.

AGABUS (Ἄγαβος, of uncertain derivation; probably from either חָגָב 'a locust,' Ezr 2^{46}, or אָהַב 'to love'), a Christian prophet living at Jerusalem, Ac 11^{27-30} $21^{10.11}$. Though the prophets were not essentially predicters of the future, the case of Agabus shows that their functions sometimes included the actual prediction of coming events. At Antioch, A.D. 44, A. foretold a famine 'over all the world' in the days of Claudius. Only local famines are known in this reign, though some were so severe as necessarily to affect indirectly the entire empire (Suet. *Claud.* xviii.; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43; Euseb. *Chron. Arm.*, ed. Schöne, ii. 252 *et al.*). Both Suetonius and Eusebius date a famine in the fourth year of Claudius, A.D. 45; and since Judæa as well as Greece suffered, it is probably this to which Agabus referred. Josephus speaks of its severity, and of means taken for its relief (*Ant.* III. xv. 3, XX. ii. 6 and v. 2). The other prophecy of Agabus (A.D. 59) followed the OT method of symbolism, and has a close parallel in Jn 21^{18}. He foretold to St. Paul his imprisonment in Jerusalem, but did not thereby divert him from the journey. Nothing more is known concerning Agabus, though there are traditions that he was one of the seventy disciples of Christ, and that he suffered martyrdom at Antioch.

R. W. MOSS.

AGAG (אֲגָג, Nu 24^{7} אַגַג 'violent (?)' Assyr. *agâgu*, 'displeasure').—A king of the Amalekites, conquered by Saul and, contrary to the divine command, saved alive, but put to death by Samuel (1 S 15). From the way in which the name is used by Balaam (Nu 24^{7}), it seems not to have been the name of any one individual prince, but, like Pharaoh among the Egyptians, and (possibly) Abimelech among the Philistines, a designation or title borne by all the kings,—perhaps by the king of that nation which stood at the head of the confederacy. Kneucker and others, without any reasonable ground, insist upon taking it as a personal name, and make its use by the writer of Nu 24^{7} a reminiscence of the story from Saul's time. J. MACPHERSON.

AGAGITE (הָאֲגָגִי).—A term of reproach used to designate Haman, the enemy of the Jews at the Persian court of Ahasuerus (Est $3^{1.10}$ $8^{3.5}$ 9^{24}). In Josephus' version of the story (*Ant.* XI. vi. 5), Haman is described as 'by birth an Amalekite.' In Est 3^{1} instead of Agagite the LXX reads Βουγαῖον, and in 9^{24} ὁ Μακεδών, while in the other passages simply the name Haman occurs. Thus in the LXX the word Agagite does not occur. Some have argued (*e.g.* Bertheau in Comm.) that the designation was used to indicate to a Hebrew what 'Macedonian' would to a Greek, and that it meant Amalekite in the sense of a contemptible, hateful person, but not as implying that Haman had any genealogical connexion with Amalek. The promotion of a foreigner to such a position in the empire as Haman occupied, even under the regime of the most despotic monarchs, must have been quite an exceptional occurrence. Apart from any other indication of Haman's foreign extraction, it is scarcely safe to base an assumption of such a kind on the possible meaning of a mere appellative. Others (*e.g.* v. Orelli in Herzog) think that the connexion of this adjective with the proper name Agag is extremely doubtful.

J. MACPHERSON.

AGAIN.—The proper meaning of again, 'a second time,' is well seen in Rev 19^{3} 'And a. (Gr. δεύτερον, RV 'a second time') they said, Alleluia'; Jn 9^{24} 'Then a. called they (RV 'so they called a second time, Gr. ἐκ δευτέρου) the man that was blind'; Ac 11^{9} 'But the voice answered me a. (Gr. ἐκ δευτέρου, RV 'a second time') from heaven'; Ph 4^{16} 'ye sent once and again' (Gr. δίς, *twice*, as in Lk 18^{12} 'I fast *twice* in the week'). But the oldest meaning of a. is 'in the opposite direction' (now generally expressed by 'back'), and of this there are some interesting examples in the Bible: Jg 3^{19} 'He himself turned a. (RV 'back') from the quarries'; Lk 10^{35} 'when I come a. (RV 'back again') I will repay thee'; Pr 2^{19} 'None that go unto her return a.'; 2 S 22^{38} '(I) turned not a. until I had consumed them'; Lk 6^{35} 'lend, hoping for nothing a.' (RV 'never despairing'); Gn 24^{5} 'Must I needs bring thy son a. unto the land from whence thou camest?'; Mt 11^{4} 'go and show John a. (=go back and show John) those things which ye do hear'; Ro 9^{20} AVm 'who art thou that answerest again?' Cf. Ps 19^{6} (Pr. Bk.) 'It (the sun) goeth forth from the uttermost part of the heaven, and runneth almost unto the end of it a.'; and

[6]'Turn again, Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London!'

J. HASTINGS.

AGAINST.—1. In its primitive meaning of 'opposite to' against is rarely found alone, usually 'over a.,' as Dt 1[1] 'in the plain over a. the Red Sea'; but we find Gn 15[10] 'and laid each piece one a. another' (RV 'each half over a. the other'); 1 Ch 25[8] 'They cast lots, ward a. ward'; Ezk 3[8] 'I have made thy face strong a. their faces'; esp. Nu 25[4] 'Take all the heads (RV 'chiefs') of the people, and hang them up before the Lord a. the sun' (RV 'unto the Lord before the sun'); and 1 S 25[20] 'David and his men came down a. her' (*i.e.* opposite her, so as to meet her). 2. From the meaning 'opposite to' of place, easily arises 'opposite to' of time, of which we have an example in Ro 2[5] 'treasurest up unto thyself wrath a. (Gr. *ἐν*, RV 'in') the day of wrath'; 1 Mac 5[27]. Cf. Spenser, *Prothalamion*—

'Against the Brydale day, which is not long.'

3. In this sense a. is found as a conjunction in three places, Gn 43[25] 'they made ready the present a. Joseph came at noon'; Ex 7[15], 2 K 16[11].

J. HASTINGS.

AGAR.—The sons of Agar are mentioned (Bar 3[23]) along with the merchants of Midian and Teman, as ignorant of the way that leads to the secret haunt of Wisdom. They are called Hagarenes (which see), Ps 83[6]; and Hagrites, 1 Ch 5[19. 20] 27[31]. Their country lay east of Gilead.

J. T. MARSHALL.

AGATE.—See PRECIOUS STONES.

AGE, AGED, OLD AGE.—Respect towards the aged as such, apart from any special claims of kinship, wealth, or public office, has always been a characteristic feature in Oriental life. In modern Syria and Egypt it has a foremost place among social duties, taking rank with the regard paid to the neighbour and the guest. Any failure to show this respect on the part of the young is severely frowned down as unseemly and unnatural. In Israel the general custom was strengthened by the command in the law of Moses, 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head' (Lv 19[32]). This beautiful bond between youth and age may be described as a threefold cord of wisdom, authority, and affection.

1. *Wisdom.*—Where there is a scarcity of written record, personal experience becomes the one book of wisdom. As it is put by the Arab. proverb, 'He that is older than you by a day is wiser than you by a year.' There is a similar emphasis on the value of experience when they say, 'Consult the patient, not the physician.' Hence the diffidence and respectful waiting of the youth Elihu, 'Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom' (Job 32[7]). Similarly the taunt of Eliphaz, 'Art thou the first man that was born?' (Job 15[7]), and his claim, 'With us are the grey-headed and very aged men' (Job 15[10]). Thus also Moses, though possessed of the learning of the Egyptians, receives helpful advice from Jethro; and later on, the tragedy of the divided kingdom in the days of Rehoboam turns upon the difference of opinion between the old and young advisers of the king.

2. *Authority.*—It was natural that the voice of experience and wisdom should also be the voice of authority. It was the tide-mark of Job's prosperity that the aged rose up before him. From the dignity conferred on the father as lord of the house and head of the family, the title soon passed into one of public office. The old men became the 'elders' of Israel and of the Christian Church. Similarly among the Arabs, the family of the ruling sheikh (old man) bore the title of sheikhs from their youth—an extension of the orig. meaning that is seen also in the corresp. ecclesiastical term. When the Lord sought to set forth the high meaning of discipleship with regard to enmity, slander, immorality, and murder, He at once reached a point that seemed beyond the ideal when He alluded to the law revered by age and authority, and declared that even it must be vitalised and transfigured (Mt 5[21-23]).

3. *Mutual Affection.*—The teaching of the Bible on age appeals as much to the heart as to the head, and many affectionate interests are made to cluster around the relationship of old and young. In the language of endearment, 'the beauty of old men is the grey head' (Pr 20[29]), and 'The hoary head is a crown of glory' (Pr 16[31]). The presence of the aged in a community is regarded as a sign of peace and goodwill, just as the rarity of old age and of natural death indicates a state of blood-feud and party strife (Job 22[16]). John, who in youth came to Christ with a petition of selfishness, lives to say in his old age, 'Greater joy have I none than this, to hear of my children walking in the truth' (3 Jn v.[4]). The women of Bethlehem in their rejoicing over the child of Boaz and Ruth, bring the expression of their joy to her who would feel it most, and say, 'There is a son born to Naomi' (Ru 4[17]). In the same spirit the aged apostle, in his appeal to Philemon on behalf of Onesimus, gives a predominance to love over law, saying, 'I rather beseech, being such an one as Paul the aged' (Philem v.[9]). The last and softest fold of this affectionate relationship is the feebleness of age, and its claim upon the protection of the strong. It was the absence of this that made Moses stand apart and unique. Barzillai is too old for new friendships and fresh surroundings. The limit is set at threescore and ten, and excess of that is increase of sorrow. Jacob's retrospect is over days 'few and evil.' There are days in which there is no pleasure. Along with the recognition of long life as a mark of divine favour, the apostle can say, 'To die is gain.' Lastly, when heart and flesh fail, the prayer is made to the Almighty, 'When I am old, forsake me not' (Ps 71[18]).

Along with this devotion to the old and reverence for the past, the Bible keeps a large space for the fact of reaction against routine, and the superseding of the provincial and preparatory. Elihu occupies it when he says with the intensity of epigram, 'There is a spirit in man, and the breath of the Almighty giveth them understanding. It is not the great that are wise, nor the aged that understand judgment' (Job 32[7-9]). Cf. 'A new commandment I give unto you' (Jn 13[34]). The old existed for the young, not the young for the old. As the wisdom of the man of years grew into the teaching of the historical past, it was discovered that the new was really the old, and that the latest born might be the most mature. The very reverence for the wisdom of the past set the limitation to its authority. The well-worn garment had to be protected against the loud predominance of the new patch. The old bottles were once new. Hence along with the exhortation to seek the 'old paths' we have the announcement that 'old things are passed away.' Further, in the *Via Dolorosa* of the centuries along which the Word of God walked with the questionings and sorrows of men, as the light forced the darkness into self-consciousness, and the kingdom of God came nearer, it could not but happen that the august form would sometimes appear to block the way, and dispute the passage of the truth for which it existed. The appeal to the Burning Bush is always for some newer name than the God of the fathers. Hence in the course of revelation, as the purpose of divine grace grows luminous, the infinite spirit chafes against the limited form, and a distaste is provoked towards regimental wisdom and macadamized morality.

The refreshment of the brook makes men think of the fountainhead. Hence in Israel the akedia of Ecclesiastes on account of the omnipresent past; and in heathenism the inscription of religious despair, 'To the unknown god,' and the unrest that urged philosophy to 'some new thing' (Ac 17[21]).

The Bible witnesses throughout to this vital relationship between the new and the old; for its last scene is a repetition of the first—the new creature stepping into the new heavens and new earth, and in the eternal service behind the veil new notes are heard in the song of Moses and the Lamb. As long as the power of vision remains limited, it is essential to the sublime that something of blue haze and boundlessness should lie on the horizon both of life and landscape.

G. M. MACKIE.

AGEE (אָגִא).—The father of Shammah, one of 'the Three' (2 S 23[11]). We should prob. read '*the* Hararite' here in conformity with v.[33] and 1 Ch 11[34], the Jonathan of v.[33] (as emended) being the grandson of Agee. Wellhausen, however, prefers the reading 'Shage' (1 Ch 11[34]) to 'Shammah' of 2 S 23[33], and would restore 'Shage' here for 'Agee'; on this view, Jonathan (v.[33]) would be the brother of Shammah. J. F. STENNING.

AGGABA (A B[a b mg.] Ἀγγαβά, B om., AV **Graba**), 1 Es 5[29].—In Ezr 2[45] Hagabah, Neh 7[48] Hagaba. The source of the AV form is doubtful.

AGGAEUS (AV **Aggeus**), 1 Es 6[1] 7[3], 2 Es 1[40], for Haggai (which see).

AGIA (Ἀγιά, AV **Hagia**), 1 Es 5[34].—In Ezr 2[57], Neh 7[59] Hattil.

AGONE.—1 S 30[13] 'Three days agone I fell sick.' This is the earlier form of the past part. of the verb *agan* or *agon*, 'to pass by,' or 'go on.' Only the part. is found after 1300, and after Caxton's day this longer form gradually gave place to *ago*. Chaucer (*Troilus*, ii. 410) says—

'Of this world the feyth is all agon.'

J. HASTINGS.

AGONY.—In the sense of great trouble or distress, agony is used in 2 Mac 3[14] 'There was no small a. throughout the whole city' (cf. 3[16. 21]). In Canonical Scripture the word is found only in Lk 22[44] of our Lord's Agony in the Garden. And there it seems to have been introduced by Wyclif directly from the Vulg. *agonia*, just as the Lat. of the Vulg. was a transliteration of the Gr. ἀγωνία (on which see Field, *Otium Norv.* iii., *ad loc.*). Tindale (1534), Cranmer (1539), the Geneva (1557), the Rheims (1582), the AV (1611), and the RV (1881) all have 'an agony' here; Wyclif himself has simply 'agony.' J. HASTINGS.

AGREE TO.—In the sense of 'assent to,' with a person as object, a. is found in Ac 5[40] 'To him they a.' ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ. In Mk 14[70] it is used in the obsolete sense of 'agree with' or 'correspond with,' 'Thou art a Galilæan, and thy speech agreeth thereto' (ὁμοιάζει, TR; RV following edd. omits the clause). J. HASTINGS.

AGRICULTURE. — Agriculture, which in its wider sense embraces horticulture, forestry, and the pastoral industry, is here restricted to the art of arable farming — including not only ploughing, hoeing, etc., but reaping and threshing. As the savage phase has been followed by the pastoral, so the pastoral has been followed by the A[al], in the history of the progressive peoples. The first important advance upon the primitive stage took the form of the domestication of wild animals, and this, by bringing man into closer and more deliberate contact with the soil, contained the promise of further progress. The domestication of wild plants naturally succeeded, and the neolithic man is known, not only to have reared cattle, goats, and swine, but to have cultivated wheat, barley, and millet, which he ground with millstones and converted into bread or pap.

While the Aryans were still virtually in the pastoral stage, the A[al] art was being actively developed in Egypt and Assyria. In the Nile Valley nature bountifully paved the way. The inundations of the Nile create an admirable bed for the seed by reducing the irrigated soil to a 'smooth black paste,' and the monuments exhibit the people as improving from the earliest times their great natural advantages. The early traditions of the Hebrews, on the other hand, were essentially nomadic. The association of Cain with A. (Gn 4) implies a disparagement of the calling. Abraham is represented as a pure nomad. And although, as is indicated in the histories of Isaac (Gn 26[12]) and Jacob, the beginnings of A. would naturally have a place in the primitive period, it is only after the conquest of Can. that the Jews take rank as an A[al] people; and even then the tribes of the trans-Jordanic plateau, whose territory was unsuitable for tillage, continued to depend on cattle-rearing.

The agrarian legislation of the Pent. in reference to the settlement of Can. doubtless embodies some ancient laws and customs regulating the tenure of the soil, although other enactments must be regarded as of later origin, or even as the unfulfilled aspirations of the exilic age. To the last class probably belong the institution of the sabbatical year (Ex 23[11], Lv 25[4]), the produce of which, or its 'volunteer' crop, was reserved for the poor, the stranger, and cattle; and that of the year of jubilee (Lv 25[28]), in which the dispossessed heir resumed possession of his ancestral acres. Among the enactments of a greater antiquity and validity may be mentioned the law against the removal of landmarks (Dt 19[14]), which was made urgent by the fact that the arable lands, unlike the vineyards, were not divided by hedges (Is 5[5]).

The climate of Pal., owing to the removal of forests, must now be much less humid than in early times. The summer is rainless and warm, the winter and early spring are rainy and colder. During the dry season the heat, esp. in the low country, is excessive, and rapidly burns up all minor vegetation; while any surface-water, as from springs, is evident in the spots of unwonted verdure which it induces on the parched landscape. In autumn the cisterns are nearly empty, and the ground has become very hard. The husbandman must consequently wait for the rains before he can start ploughing. The rainy season begins about the end of Oct., and is divided into three periods—early rains (מוֹרֶה), which prepare the land for the reception of the seed, heavy winter rains (גֶּשֶׁם), saturating the ground and filling the cisterns, and late rains (מַלְקוֹשׁ), falling in spring and giving the crops the necessary moisture. Snow is often seen on the higher lands in winter, and hail is not infrequent. The coldest month is February, the warmest August.

The soil of Pal. varies widely in texture and appearance. In the higher regions it is formed mostly from cretaceous limestone or decomposing basalt rocks; in the maritime plain and the Jordan Valley there are more recent formations. Like the sedentary soils, where of sufficient depth, the alluvial deposits are naturally fertile; and under the intensive and careful cultivation of ancient times the fertility was proverbial (cf. Ex 3[8. 17],

Jer 11[5], Tacitus, *Hist.* lib. v. c. 6). The lessened productiveness of modern times is due in part to the diminished rainfall, but mainly to political and social changes. The high farming of antiquity took several forms. Low walls, built along hill-slopes to prevent 'soil-washing,' gave rise to flat terraces. Various methods of irrigation were practised (Gn 2[10], Pr 21[1], Is 30[25] 32[2. 20]). Canals conveyed the water from the natural sources to the fields, or water-wheels might be used.

Other A[al] improvements were the removal of stones from the fields, and the utilisation of the ash residue of stubble and weeds. Ordinary dung, made in dunghills by treading in straw (Is 25[10]), was also in common use (2 K 9[37]). A bare fallow would be occasionally allowed to raise the temporary fertility of the soil.

The number of **Crops** under cultivation was large. The most important was wheat (חִטָּה). The supply exceeded the requirements of the country, and it was possible to export it in considerable quantities (Ezk 27[17]). Second in importance was barley (שְׂעֹרָה), which was extensively used as food (Ru 3[15]), esp. by the poorer classes. Spelt (כֻּסֶּמֶת) was frequently grown on the borders of fields. Millet (דֹּחַן), beans (פּוֹל), and lentils (עֲדָשִׁים) were cultivated and used as food (Ezk 4[9], 2 S 17[28]). Flax (פִּשְׁתָּה) was grown (Ex 9[31]), and probably also cotton (כַּרְפַּס).

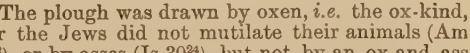
Among the statutory regulations relating to the crops, the most noteworthy are :—the prohibition against sowing a field with mixed seed (Lv 19[19]), a regulation implying considerable botanical knowledge; the provision for damages in case of pasturing a beast in a neighbour's field (Ex 22[5]); permission to the wayfarer to pluck from the standing corn enough to satisfy hunger (Dt 23[25]); reservation for the stranger and the poor of the corners of the field (Lv 19[9]), and other provisions dictated by humanity (Dt 24[19]).

The A. of Pal. has not advanced or changed in any important particular since OT times. In consequence we can, apart from Biblical notices, largely reconstruct the A[al] picture of the past from the Syrian conditions of to-day. An additional source of information has of recent years been opened up in the Egyp. hieroglyphics, and esp. in the representations of A[al] operations found in the Egyp. tombs; and in order the better to bind together this material, we shall now follow the process of cultivation of one of the common cereal crops from seed-time to harvest, giving some account of the implements employed and of the dangers incident to the growing crops. The year of the agriculturist was well filled up—from the middle of Oct. to the middle of Apr. with ploughing, sowing, harrowing, weeding; from the middle of Apr. onward with reaping, carrying, threshing, and storing the grain. The interval between threshing and sowing was occupied with the vineyard produce. It appears that the seed was sometimes sown without any previous cultivation, and afterwards ploughed in or otherwise covered, while at other times the seed was scattered on ploughed land, and covered by a rude harrow or by cross-ploughing. The former method was common in Egypt, where the grain, deposited on moist ground, might be covered by dragging bushes over it, and afterwards trodden down by domestic animals (cf. Is 32[20]). Where cultivation preceded sowing, various implements were used. From the Egyp. monuments it is possible to trace the evolution of the **Plough**—the starting-point being a forked branch used as a hoe, which was afterwards improved into a kind of mattock, and finally was enlarged and modified so as to be drawn by oxen. The plough was drawn by two oxen, and the draught was sometimes from the shoulders, sometimes from the forehead, or even from the horns. In some cases men with hoes may have pulverised

MODERN SYRIAN PLOUGH.

(1) El-Kabūsah, grasped in working by the left hand; (2) el-akar, the handle or stilt; (3) el-buruk, the beam; (4) el-nāṭeh, a support, secured by a wedge; (5) el-sawājir, the couplings; (6) el-wuṣlah, the pole; (7) el-sikkah, the ploughshare.

the surface after the plough, as in Egypt. (See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd series, vol. i. woodcut 422.) The old Heb. plough was of very simple construction, consisting of a wooden groundwork (1 K 19[21]) with iron wearing parts (Is 2[4], cf. 1 S 13[20]). It had one stilt to guide it (Lk 9[62]), leaving the other hand free to use the ox-goad (מַלְמָד).



OX-GOAD.

The plough was drawn by oxen, *i.e.* the ox-kind, for the Jews did not mutilate their animals (Am 6[12]), or by asses (Is 30[24]), but not by an ox and ass together (Dt 22[10]). On thin soil a mattock was sometimes necessary (1 S 13[20]). The unit of square measure was the area ploughed in a day by a yoke of oxen (צֶמֶד).

The season of **Sowing** was not one of joy (Ps 126[5]), owing to the uncertainty of the weather (Mic 6[15], Pr 20[4]), and the toilsomeness of the work in a hard and rocky soil. A start was made with the pulse crops, barley followed a fortnight later, and wheat after another month. Usually the sower scattered the seed broadcast out of a basket, but by careful farmers the wheat was placed in the furrows in rows (Is 28[25]). The summer or spring grain was sown between the end of Jan. and the end of Feb. In a season of excessive drought the late-sown seed rotted under the clods (Jl 1[17]); in a wet season the early-sown grain grew rank and lodged, and the husbandman was accordingly counselled to make sure of a crop by attending to both (Ec 11[6]).

Between sowing and reaping, the crops were exposed to several dangers. Of these the chief were the easterly winds prevalent in Mar. and Apr. (Gn 41[6]), hailstorms (Hag 2[17]), the irruption of weeds — esp. mustard, thistles, tares, and thorns (Jer 12[13]), the depredations of crows and sparrows (Mt 13[4]), of fungoid diseases, esp. mildew (Dt 28[22]), and of injurious insects, esp. the palmer-worm, the canker-worm, the caterpillar, and the locust. These names do not, as has been suggested, refer to the different stages in the life history of the locust (*Pachytylus migratorius*), but the first three are probably specific names for groups of pests. The crops were also in danger from the inroads of cattle (Ex 22[5]), and as harvest approached, from fire (Jg 15[4]).

The commencement of **Harvest** naturally varied, not only with the season, but according to elevation, exposure, etc. On the average it began with barley (2 S 21[9])—in the neighbourhood of Jericho about the middle of Apr., in the coast plains ten days later, and in the high-lying districts as much as a month later. Wheat was a fortnight later in ripening, and the barley and

wheat harvest lasted about seven weeks (Dt 16^9). The harvest was the occasion of festivities which in the later legislation were brought into close connexion with the religious history of the people. The crops were cut, as in Egypt, with the sickle. (See Wilkinson, *op. cit.* woodcuts 426 and 436.)

Little value was put upon the **Straw**, which was cut about a foot below the ears (Job 24^{24}). The reaper left the grain in handfuls behind him (Jer 9^{22}), and the binder tied it into sheaves (Gn 37^7), which, however, were not set up as shocks. The Egyptians usually cut the straw quite close under the ears, while some crops, such as dhurah, were simply plucked up by the roots. The method of

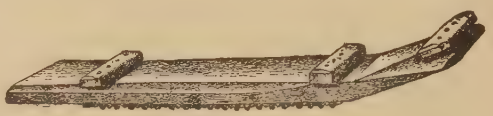
MODERN SICKLE.

pulling the corn was probably also practised in Pal. when the crops were light (Is 17^5). In OT there are apparently two kinds of **Sickle** referred to—חֶרְמֵשׁ and כִּנָּל. The wooden sickle, toothed with flints, supposed by Prof. Flinders Petrie to be an imitation of the jawbone of an ox, was used in Syria as well as in Egypt.

The reapers were the owners and their families, along with hired labourers (Mt 9^{38}), the latter of whom probably followed the harvest from the plains to the mountains. The workers quenched their thirst from vessels taken to the harvest-field (Ru 2^9), and ate bread steeped in vinegar (2^{14}), and parched corn (Lv 23^{14}), the latter prepared by being roasted and then rubbed in the hand.

The **Threshing** usually took place in the fields, a custom made possible by the rainless weather of harvest. The **Threshing-floor** (גֹּרֶן) consisted of a round open space, probably of a permanent character, and preferably on an eminence where it was exposed to the free sweep of air currents. For bringing in the sheaves, carts were employed in old times (Am 2^{13}). Threshing was performed in various ways. Small quantities of produce, also pulse-crops and cummin, were beaten out with a stick (Ru 2^{17}). In dealing with large quantities of grain, the sheaves were spread out over the floor, and, according to one system, cattle—four or five harnessed together—were driven round and round, until a more or less complete detachment of the grain was effected (Hos 10^{11}). To facilitate the process, the straw was repeatedly turned over by a fork with two or more prongs. A well-known picture gives a representation of this system as anciently practised in Egypt, noteworthy being the fact that the oxen are unmuzzled (cf. Dt 25^4).

The group further shows how the oxen were yoked together that they might walk round more regularly. (See Wilkinson, *op. cit.*) Of the threshing-machine two kinds were, and still are, employed in Palestine.

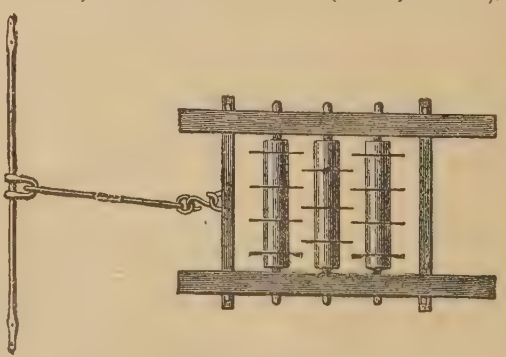


THRESHING-MACHINE.

One (חָרוּץ or מוֹרָג) consisted of an oblong board, whose under side was rough with notches, nails, and sharp stone chips, and which, being weighted down

THRESHING-FLOOR.

by stones and by the driver, not only shelled out the corn, but lacerated the straw (Is 41^{15}, Job 41^{30}).

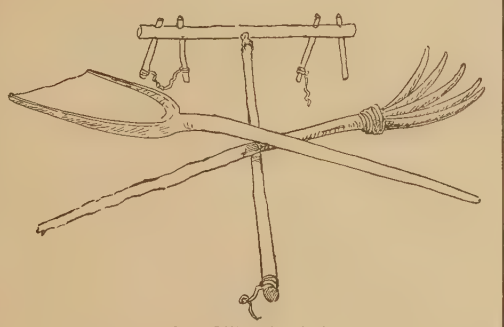


THRESHING-WAGGON.

The other kind of machine was the threshing-waggon, עֲגָלָה (Is $28^{27, 28}$), now seldom seen in Pal., but

still common in Egypt. It consisted of a low-built, four-cornered waggon frame, inside which were attached two or three parallel revolving cylinders or rollers. Each of the rollers was armed with three or four sharpened iron discs. There was a seat for the driver, and it was drawn by oxen yoked to a pole.

After the threshing came the work of Winnowing (Job 21^{18}, Ps 35^{5}). The mixture left by the previous operation, consisting of corn, chaff, and broken straw, was turned about and shaken with a wooden fork (Is 30^{24}), and advantage was taken of the winds to separate the grain from the lighter material. This often necessitated night work, as the winds usually blew from late in the afternoon till before sunrise.



FORK, FAN, AND YOKE.

At the later stage of the winnowing process the fork was less needed than the fan (מִזְרֶה), a kind of shovel; or the grain might be scooped up, as shown in some Egyp. representations, by two pieces of wood. The chaff, after being separated, was burned (Mt 3^{12}), or left to be scattered by the winds (Ps 1^{4}). From the heavier impurities the corn was cleansed by sieves (כְּבָרָה)—an operation specially necessary in view of the mode of threshing, after which it was collected into large heaps. To prevent thieving, the owner might sleep by the threshing-floor (Ru 3^{7}) until the removal of the grain, on waggons or otherwise, to the barns or granaries (Lk 12^{18}). It was often stored in pits (Jer 41^{8}), the openings of which were carefully covered up to protect them from robbers and vermin. The straw remaining from the threshing was used for cattle fodder (Is 65^{25}).

LITERATURE.—On the general subject: Benzinger, *Hebräische Archæologie*; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volks Isr.* Bd. i. Buch vii.; *Landwirthsch. Jahrbücher*; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Archæologie*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Fellows, *Asia Minor*; *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. ix., 'Ackerbau und Thierzucht'; *Indexed Quart. Statements* and other pubb. of the Pal. Explor. Soc. On Egyp. Agriculture: Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (2nd Series). On the Plough: Schumacher, 'Der arabische Pflug,' in Bd. xii. of above-named *Zeitschrift*. On the Threshing-machine: Wetzstein, 'Die syr. Dreschtafel,' in Bastian's *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie* (1873), 272 ff.

J. W. PATERSON.

AGRIPPA.—See HEROD.

AGUE.—See MEDICINE.

AGUR (אָגוּר; LXX paraphrases arbitrarily; Vulg. *congregans*). — Mentioned only in Pr 30^{1}. The name of an otherwise unknown Heb. sage, son of Jakeh. The word has been understood from very early times as a pseudonym, used symbolically. So Jerome, following the Rabbis of his time. In this case it might be interpreted as akin to the Syriac *âgûrô* = 'hireling' (of wisdom), or derived from Heb. אגר, and understood as 'collector' (of proverbs). Cf. form יְקוּשׁ in Ps 91^{3}, Pr 6^{5}. The description of Agur in Pr 30^{1} is not easy to understand. With the Massoretic pointing, the verse may be literally rendered, 'The words of Agur, son of Jakeh, the prophecy: the oracle of the man to Ithiel, to Ithiel and Ucal.' This sounds impossible. The conjunction of the words *massa* (=prophecy) and *nĕ'ûm* (=oracle) is unprecedented; the use of the article with *massa* is inexplicable; and the words which follow have no prophetic character. Consequently *Massa* has been understood as the name of a country (so Del.; and see RVm *Jakeh of Massa*); cf. Gn 25^{14}. Similarly, Lemuel would be understood to be king of Massa, Pr 31^{1}. Cheyne (*Job and Solomon*) and Strack (*Kurzgef. Komm.*) render *massa* as 'prophecy.' Both the country and the age of this unknown philosopher are purely conjectural. He may have been one of the 'men of Hezekiah,' Pr 25^{1}. His name is probably to be associated, as compiler rather than author, with the gnomic utterances in Pr 30^{2}–31^{9}; 31^{10-31} forming a separate section. The chief monograph on the subject is Mühlau, *De Prov. Aguri et Lem. origine* (1869), and a full discussion of the subject is to be found in Delitzsch's Comm. *in loco*.

W. T. DAVISON.

AH, AHA.—**1.** 'Ah' is used to express grief (esp. in face of coming doom), except in Ps 35^{25} 'Ah (RV 'Aha'), so would we have it,' where it expresses the exultation of an enemy, and Mk 15^{29} 'Ah (RV 'Ha!'), thou that destroyest the temple,' where it expresses mocking. The RV has introduced 'Ah!' into Lk 4^{34} for 'Let us alone' of AV (Gr. Ἔα, which may be either the imperat. of the verb *ἐάω to let alone* or an independent interjection, formed from the sound). **Aha** (a combination of *a*, the oldest form of 'ah,' and *ha*) expresses malicious satisfaction, except in Is 44^{16}, where it denotes intense satisfaction, but without malice, 'Aha, I am warm; I feel the fire.'

J. HASTINGS.

AHAB (אַחְאָב, Ἀχαάβ, Assyr. *A-ḥa-ab-bu*) signifies 'father's brother.' (Cf. analogous uses of the same element אח 'brother' in Syr. proper names.) The meaning of the compound is probably 'one who closely resembles his father.' The father in this case was Omri, the founder of the dynasty, and from him the son inherited the military traditions and prowess which characterised his reign. A. married Jezebel (אִיזֶבֶל), daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre (the Ithobalos, priest of Astarte mentioned by Menander, quoted by Jos. *c. Apion*, i. 18). This was part of the policy of close alliance with Phœnicia, begun by Solomon, and cemented by Omri. This bond of union was designated by Amos (1^{9}) a 'covenant of brethren.' It was undoubtedly founded on reciprocal commercial interest which subsisted for centuries, the corn, oil, and other agricultural products of Canaan being exchanged for other commercial products of the great mercantile ports of Phœnicia (cf. Ac 12^{20}).

Whatever commercial advantages might accrue, Israel's national religion was destined to suffer. A temple and altar to Baal were erected in Samaria as well as an Asherah-pole. To supersede Israel's national deity, J″, by the Tyrian Baal, seemed an easy task. To a superficial observer the difference between the worship of Ephraim and that of Samaria might appear trifling. Both Baal and J″ were worshipped with similar sacrificial accompaniments. Moreover, northern Israel had for centuries been exposed to all the influences which their more highly civilised Can. neighbours had introduced (Jg $2^{12, 13}$), and even the very name Baal, 'Lord,' was current in their speech as an appellation of J″

(Hos $2^{16.17}$ *). Yet there was one deep distinction which marked off the J″ of Mosaism from the Baal of the Canaanites. The religion of Mosaism was pure of sensual taint. The conjunction of Asherah with J″ in the days of Josiah (2 K 23^7) was a corrupt practice due to foreign innovation. So also were the debasing accompaniments of worship referred to in Am 2^7. And the licentious cult of Baal and Ashtoreth, established by the influence of A.'s Phœn. wife, would certainly have its temple attendants, probably Tyrian *Ḳedēshim* and *Ḳedēshôth*. These features of worship, however, had become perilously familiar to N. Israel, owing to their close contact with Can. neighbours. Accordingly, as we can readily infer from the language of Elijah in 1 K 19, national feeling was not deeply or permanently roused even by the influence of his stirring personality and by the occurrence of a prolonged drought of more than two years' duration (1 K 17^1 18^1), which, according to Menander of Ephesus, extended to Phœnicia.† In all probability, the military despotism wielded by the house of Omri, in alliance with a powerful northern State, was able to subdue any smouldering embers of discontent. But an act of cruel injustice awakened the dormant spirit of the people. Like many Oriental monarchs, A. displayed a taste for architecture, which Tyrian influence stimulated and fostered. He built a palace for himself, adorned with woodwork (probably cedar) and inlaid ivory, in Jezreel (1 K 21^1 22^{39}). To this he desired to attach a suitable domain, and for the purpose endeavoured to acquire, by purchase or exchange, the vineyard of one of the wealthier inhabitants, Naboth. But Naboth was unwilling to part with an ancestral inheritance. What A. could not accomplish by legal means, he was induced by the promptings of Jezebel to compass by fraud and judicial murder. This act aroused popular hatred, and the sense of outraged social order found expression in the denunciation of doom pronounced by Elijah (1 K 21^{12-24}) against the king and his unscrupulous queen (see NABOTH and ELIJAH). The incident is instructive to the student of Heb. religion, as it illustrates the contrast in the attitude of Phœn. as compared with Heb. religion towards social morality. In the words of W. R. Smith, 'the religion of J″ put morality on a far sounder basis than any other religion did, because the righteousness of J″ as a God who enforced the known laws of morality was conceived as absolute' (*Prophets of Isr.* 73).

It is more than doubtful whether A. really comprehended the religious issues. He regarded Elijah as a mischievous fanatic, 'a troubler of Israel' bent on wrecking the imperial schemes of aggrandisement based on alliance with Phœnicia at the expense of Syria. Elijah, like many another since his day, earned the title of unpatriotic, because he placed righteousness and religion before the exigencies of political statecraft.

The military career of A. exhibits him as a warrior of considerable prowess. Respecting his wars with Syria we have only the brief record in 1 K 20–22. In 1 K 20 we are plunged *in medias res*. Samaria has been for some time closely invested by the Syrian army under Benhadad, or more probably Hadadezer (*Dadidri*), if we follow the Assyr. annals (Stade). Of the defeats sustained by Israel prior to this siege we have no information. Benhadad (Hadadezer) made an insolent demand of the Isr. king, in the desperate extremity of the latter, that Syrian envoys should search the royal palace and the houses of A.'s servants. This was refused by A. with the unanimous approval of his people and their elders. To the arrogant menace of the Syrian, the king of Isr. replied in the proverbial phrase, 'Let not him who girds on the armour boast as he who puts it off.' Benhadad at once ordered the engines of war (LXX 'lines of circumvallation') to be placed against the city. But beyond this he took no further precaution, and resigned himself with careless ease to voluptuous carousal with his nobility and feudatory kings. Meanwhile A. mustered his army of 7000 men, officered by 232 territorial commanders, and attacked the Syrians with crushing effect (1 K 20^{15-21}), inflicting a total overthrow. In the following spring the Syrian monarch again took the field with a well-appointed army of overwhelming superiority. The Syrians attributed their previous defeat to the fact that the God of Isr. was a God of the hills (where cavalry and chariots could not so well operate*). If they could draw the forces of A. into the valley near Aphek, all would be well. But the battle that followed utterly falsified their expectations. The Syrians were put to utter rout, and saved themselves by precipitate flight to Aphek. Benhadad and his followers went as suppliants to A., who judged it politic to receive them with friendliness. A treaty was concluded, in which the Syrian king conceded to Isr. special quarters (streets) in Damascus,† a privilege which corresponded with a similar right which Omri was compelled to concede to Syria in his own capital, Samaria.

With the defective Biblical records before us, it is not easy to explain the complaisant attitude of A. in the hour of his victory. But the key to the solution of the mystery is given to us in the Assyr. annals. From these we learn that about this time a new disturbing factor was beginning to appear in W. Asian politics. Ever since the time of Saul the arena of Pal. foreign politics had been circumscribed within the region of the Hittite, Syrian, and Can. borders, and the interference of Egypt had only been occasional. Since the days of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* B.C. 1100) the military power of Assyria had been dormant. But during the time of Omri there were vivid signs that Assyria was at length awakening from its century long slumber, under the energetic rule of Aššur-nazir-pal. During the reign of his successor Shalmaneser (Šulmânu-ašaridu) II., who reigned from 860–825, it began to press more heavily on the lands near the Mediter. border, and to extend its boundaries towards the Hittite States. About the year 857 the power of this monarch threatened seriously the Pal. region. The king of Syria would be among the first to feel apprehension. The immediate effect of Shalmaneser's advance was to put an end, at least for a time, to the wars between Syria and Ahab. And in the negotiations described in 1 K $20^{30.33}$ it is pretty certain that the advance of the Assyr. power from the N.E. formed a subject of conversation between the two kings, and that Benhadad was glad, even upon disadvantageous terms, to get rid of a burdensome and exhausting war, in order that all his forces might be reserved to confront the formidable Assyr. foe. The attack was delivered in the year B.C. 854, when the battle of Karkar was fought. A considerable number of States, including Israel, but not including Judah, Edom, or Moab,‡ had united with Hadadezer

* Wellhausen's rejection of Hos 2^{16} (^{18} Heb.) is characteristic of his high *à priori* method.

† This took place during the reign of Ethbaal (Ithobalos), and lasted, according to Menander, *one* year. Of *Phœnicia* this may have been true.

* We know that the Israelites also possessed chariots in considerable number, from the express statement of the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II. lines 91, 92. Cf. 1 K 22.

† Ewald (*Ges. d. V. Isr.* iii. 488 n.) translates the Heb. by 'places of abode' (comparing the Arab. *maḥattah*), *i.e.* permanent ambassadorial residence. But this explanation is very far-fetched. LXX renders ἐξόδους, 'streets.' For other interpretations see Thenius, *ad loc.*

‡ In the case of Moab, the reason adduced by Prof. Sayce is probably the right one. Moab sent no contingent, because that State was then in revolt against Israel (*HCM* p. 393).

(=Dadidri=Benhadad) to resist the Assyrians. The account of the whole campaign may be read in the monolith inscription quoted in Schrader's *COT*[2] i. 183 ff. In lines 91, 92 we read that A., king of Israel, sent a contingent of 2000 chariots and 10,000 men. The total defeat of the allied kings, though probably obtained with heavy loss to the Assyrians, sufficed to break up the alliance. A. now followed the short-sighted policy of isolation in presence of the formidable Assyr. power—a policy which in the following century Ephraim and Judah in turn pursued with baleful results. The consequence was a renewal of the wars between Syria and Israel, which had been for some years suspended. We may infer from the scriptural account that A. took the initiative by endeavouring to recover Ramoth-gilead from Syria. Probably the allied kings of Isr. and Jud. endeavoured to profit by the weakness of Syria after the overwhelming defeat sustained by the latter in the battle of Karkar. In 1 K 22 we have a vivid portrayal of the dramatic scene between Micaiah, son of Imlah, and the prophets who prophesied in favour of immediate war with Syria (see MICAIAH). For Micaiah the result was imprisonment as the penalty for his outspoken deliverance of the divine message. Undeterred by the gravity of his prophecy, A. and Jehoshaphat went forth at the head of their respective forces to battle. But A. resolved to secure his person against the Syrian archers by appearing in his chariot divested of the ordinary *insignia* of royalty. This precaution, however, did not avail him against the chance arrow of a bowman, which penetrated between the joints of his breastplate. The king of Isr. slowly bled to death, and died about sunset. His body was conveyed to Samaria, where he was buried.

In the foregoing account of the Syrian wars of A. we have adopted the sequence of events recommended by Schrader (*COT*[2] i. 189 ff., who gives the Assyr. text and tr.), Ed. Meyer (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. 393), and recently by Sayce (*HCM* 320, 392), which places the battle of Karkar near the close of A.'s life. On the other hand, Wellhausen (art. 'Israel' in *Encycl. Brit.*) places the battle of Karkar and the alliance with (or, as he deems it, vassalage * to) Syria in the times that precede the Syrian wars of A.'s reign. But this view imposes great difficulties on the chronology of the period. From the Assyr. Canon of Rulers, compiled with great care and precision, and also from the Assyr. Annals, we obtain the following fixed dates :—

Battle of Karkar (in which A.'s contingent takes part) . . . . . 854 B.C.
Tribute of Jehu, 'son of Omri' . . . . . 842 ,,

Now, if we place the battle of Karkar *before* the Syrian wars of A.'s reign, his death cannot be placed earlier than B.C. 847. Accordingly, in place of the 14 years assigned by Scripture to the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram we can only allow a maximum of *five* years! On the other hand, by adopting the sequence which we have advocated, the difficulties are considerably reduced. A.'s death may then be placed in the year B.C. 853. Kamphausen, in his valuable treatise on the Chronology of the Heb. Kings (p. 80), suggests that A.'s name has been confused with that of his successor Jehoram in the Assyr. Annals; and Kittel, in his *Hist. of the Hebrews* (Germ. ed. ii. 233), seems disposed to accept this view. But against this proceeding we must emphatically protest. Biblical science will never make sure progress if we reject or modify archæological evidence in the interests of a chronological theory. The theory must be conformed to the evidence, not *vice versâ*. (On the subject of Heb. chronology see the writer's remarks in Schrader's *COT*[2] ii. 320–324, and also in C. H. H. Wright's *Bible Readers' Manual*.)

That A.'s rule was firm though despotic, and maintained the military traditions inaugurated by Omri, is indicated by the Moabite Stone, which informs us (lines 7, 8) that Omri and his son ruled over the land of Mehdeba (conquered by the former) for 40 years. It was not till the concluding part of A.'s reign, when he was occupied with his Syrian wars, that Moab rose in insurrection. The historian must not fail to take due note of the Judaic tendency of the narrative in 1 K 18–22, which paints the life of A. in sombre hues. When more than a century had passed after the destruction of his posterity, it is worthy of remark that the Ephraimite prophet Hosea (1^4) expresses a strong condemnation of Jehu's deeds of blood. In Mic 6^{16}, on the other hand, we see clearly reflected the Judaic estimate of Omri's dynasty, which dominates the account in 1 K 18–22.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

* The large contingent (2000 chariots and 10,000 men) furnished by A., according to the Assyr. records, renders the theory of 'vassalage' extremely improbable.

AHAB (אַחְאָב, אַחָב).—Son of Kolaiah, a false prophet contemp. with Jer. He is said to have been 'roasted in the fire' by the king of Bab. (Jer $29^{21f.}$).

AHARAH (אַחַרַח).—A son of Benj. (1 Ch 8^1); perhaps a corruption of אֲחִירָם (Nu 26^{38}). See AHIRAM.

AHARHEL (אַחַרְחֵל).—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^8). LXX ἀδελφοῦ Ῥηχάβ implies a reading אֲחִי רֵכָב =*brother of Rechab*.

AHASBAI (אֲחַסְבַּי).—Father of Eliphelet (2 S 23^{34}), and a member of the family of Maacah, settled at Beth-Maacah (20^{14}), or a native of the Syrian kingdom of Maacah ($10^{6.8}$). In the parallel passage (1 Ch $11^{35.36}$) we find two names, אוּר חֵפֶר, Ur, Hepher; both passages probably represent corruptions of the real name.

J. F. STENNING.

AHASUERUS (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ).—A name which appears on Pers. inscriptions as *Khsajârsâ*, and in Aram. without א prosthetic, as חשׁארשׁ (Schrader, *COT*[2] ii. 63). The monarch who bears this name in Ezr 4^6 was formerly reckoned by Ewald and others to be the Cambyses of profane history who succeeded Cyrus. It is generally recognised, however, by modern critics that he must be identified with Xerxes (485–465), who is beyond all question the Ahasuerus of the Bk of Est. See XERXES. The A. of Dn 9^1, the father of Darius the Mede, is a personage whose identity is as difficult to establish as the existence of 'Darius the Mede' is problematical. (Cf. Driver *LOT* 515 n.; Sayce *HCM* 543.)

J. A. SELBIE.

AHAVA (אַהֲוָא).—The name of a town or district in Babylonia (Ezr $8^{15.\ cf.\ 31}$), and of a stream in the neighbourhood (v.$^{21.\ cf.\ 31}$). On the banks of this stream Ezra encamped for three days at the beginning of his journey to Jerusalem. He was thus able to review his large company, and to make good the absence of Levites by sending a deputation to the chief of the settlement at Casiphia. Before commencing the march, Ezra instituted a solemn fast, and then took measures for the safe custody of the treasures and rich gifts which were in his possession. Ewald conjectured that the river Ahava or Peleg-Ahava was the same as the Pallacopas, a stream to the S. of Babylon. Rawlinson identifies it with the Is (see Herod. i. 179), a river flowing by a town of the same name, now called Hit, which is about eight days' journey from Babylon. It seems, however, more prob. that Ezra made his rendezvous near to Babylon itself; in that case we may suppose that the Ahava was one of the numerous canals of the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of the city (cf. Ryle, and Berth.-Rys. *ad loc.*). In 1 Es $8^{41.\ 61}$ the river is called Theras (Θερᾶς).

H. A. WHITE.

AHAZ (אָחָז 'he hath grasped,' LXX Ἀχάζ, Jos. Ἀχάζης, NT Ἀχαζ [WH Ἀχαζ]).—Son and successor of Jotham king of Judah. His name is probably an abbreviated form of Jeho-ahaz (יְהוֹאָחָז), since it appears on the Assyr. inscriptions as Ia-u-ḫa-zi. The date of his accession has been fixed at 735 B.C. His age at this time is given as twenty (2 K 16^2); but this is barely reconcilable with the other chronological data, which allow sixteen years to his reign, and state the age of his son Hezekiah at

his accession as twenty-five, since it would make Ahaz a father at the age of eleven. The difficulty is increased if we suppose that the son passed through the fire by Ahaz was his firstborn; and if, with several authorities, we allow only eight years to his reign, it is quite insuperable. There can be little doubt that the figures need correction. For twenty there is a slightly supported various reading, twenty-five, and this may be right. It is possible that the age of Hezekiah should be reduced, since Ahaz seems from Is 3^{12} to have been still youthful at the beginning of his reign. The date of his death is probably 715 B.C., though many place it 728–727 B.C. (see CHRONOLOGY OF OT).

Quite early in his reign, Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel, formed a coalition with the object of forcing Judah into an alliance against Assyria. According to our oldest authorities they met with little success, though the Syrians wrested the port of Elath from Judah, and Isaiah bade the king have no fear of 'these two tails of smoking firebrands.' To confirm the wisdom of his counsel, he invited him to ask any sign from God. Ahaz was too panic-stricken to listen to cool reason, and, under the pretext that he would not tempt God, refused the proffered sign, whereupon the prophet gave him the sign of Immanuel. The king called in the aid of the king of Assyria, Tiglath-pileser, who gladly accepted such an opportunity, and relieved Ahaz of his foes. But the relief was purchased dearly. Judah could form no alliance with a great empire like Assyria; it could only become tributary to it, even if the tribute was disguised under the name of a present. And tribute meant oppression of the poorer classes, which was already one of the most glaring of Judah's sins. Further, it was of vital importance that the nation should keep free from entanglement in the politics of large empires, since otherwise it lost its independence, and made even internal reform—which was the most pressing necessity—more difficult. The policy of A. illustrates the besetting weakness of the politicians of Judah, and was shortsighted and disastrous. If Isaiah's advice had been followed, A. would have secured the same result without its disadvantages, since in her own interests Assyria would have been compelled to vanquish the coalition, while Judah would have retained her independence.

We next find A. at Damascus, where he rendered homage to Tiglath-pileser. While there he saw an altar which pleased him, and sent the pattern of it to the priest Urijah, with instructions to build one like it. On his return he offered on his new altar, and ordered it to be used for the sacrifices, while the old brazen altar was used for the king to 'inquire by.' W. R. Smith has carefully discussed this innovation, and reached the result that it 'lay in the erection of a permanent altar-hearth, and in the introduction of the rule that in ordinary cases this new altar should serve for the blood ritual as well as for the fire ritual' (*RS*^{2} 485–9). The importance of this consists in the fact that the alteration seems to have been a permanent one. For the other changes introduced by A., see 2 K $16^{17.\,18}$.

In character A. was weak yet obstinate, frivolous and something of a dilettante, as we gather from his interest in his new altar, and from the association of his name with a dial or step-clock (see DIAL). He was also superstitious, and probably a polytheist. While no blame need attach—in the pre-Deuteronomic period—to his worship at numerous local sanctuaries, and while he was evidently a very zealous worshipper of J", yet the fact that he passed his son through the fire reveals the dark superstition to which he was a slave. And the terrible picture of the condition of Judah, painted in Is 2–5 and other prophecies of this time, is clear as to the idolatry, drunkenness, luxury, oppression, perversion of justice, grasping avarice, and shamelessness that poisoned the national life.

So far the account has been drawn entirely from 2 Kings and Isaiah, since they are our only trustworthy sources. In 2 Chron. the narrative has been thoroughly worked over. The history of the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion is told quite differently. There is indeed no hint of a coalition, the two armies act independently. The Syrians carry away a large number of captives, and Pekah slays 120,000 in one day and carries away 200,000 captives, who, however, are sent back at the advice of a prophet. The invasions have no political motive assigned, they are a punishment for the king's sin, while the figures are altogether incredible. Tiglath-pileser is called in, not to crush the coalition, but to help him against the Philistines and Edomites. He did not help him, however, but apparently came against him, and was bought off with tribute. The religious apostasy of A. comes out in much darker colours, and the account is really in conflict with the older. He burns his children, and not his son merely, in the fire; closes the temple and destroys its vessels, though we know that he took great interest in its services; and worships the gods of Damascus because of the success of the Syrians in war, though when A. visited Damascus their power had been utterly broken. Of all this the older history says nothing, and it is impossible to reconcile these later additions with the earlier narrative, and they are so characteristic of the chronicler's method of re-writing history, that any attempt to do so would be superfluous.

A. S. PEAKE.

AHAZIAH (אֲחַזְיָה or אֲחַזְיָהוּ 'J" hath grasped').—**1.** King of Israel, son of Ahab. He is said to have reigned two years; but as he came to the throne in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{51}), and his brother Jehoram succeeded him in Jehoshaphat's 18th year (2 K 3^{1}), the duration of his reign would not much exceed a year. The chronological statement in 2 K 1^{17}, which would imply a reign of nearly ten years, is probably an interpolation (Grätz, etc.); it is not found in B, and is misplaced in A. The Moabite Stone dates the revolt of Mesha as taking place after 'half the days of Omri's son'; but the Bible account (2 K 1^{1} 3^{5}) is more probable, which makes it a consequence of the death of Ahab, who was a comparatively powerful monarch. In any case we do not read of any effort to suppress this rising until the reign of Jehoram. It is possible that Ahaziah was engaged in preparations for war when the accident occurred which resulted in his death. He seems to have inherited from his mother her devotion to Baal, for in his extremity he sent to inquire at the oracle of Baalzebub, the special Baal worshipped at Ekron. The story of his fatal mission belongs rather to the history of Elijah. It is sufficient here to note that his thrice repeated summons of the prophet is characteristic of the son of Ahab and Jezebel; suggestive as it is of the callousness of his father, and the obstinacy of his mother. See JEHOSHAPHAT for the maritime alliance between Ahaziah and that monarch.

2. Ahaziah, king of Judah, youngest son of Jehoram. He was made king by 'the inhabitants of Jerusalem' (cf. 2 K 23^{30}), because all his elder brothers had been carried off in an incursion of Philistines and Arabians (2 Ch 21^{17} 22^{1}). His name is variously given as Jehoahaz (2 Ch 21^{17} 25^{23}) and Azariah (22^{6}). The latter is probably a blunder, Ahaziah being read by some Heb. MSS,

LXX, Pesh., Vulg.; and Jehoahaz is merely a transposition of Ahaziah (cf. Jechoniah = Jehoiachin). LXX has Ahaziah in 21[17], and omits the name in 25[23]. The other versions, except Vulg., also ignore the change. He began to reign in the 11th (2 K 9[29]) or 12th (2 K 8[25]) year of Joram of Israel, being then 22 years old, and reigned one year (2 K 8[26]). The reading 'forty and two' in 2 Ch 22[2] is absurd, since his father was 40 years old at his death. Pesh. here has '22' and LXX '20.' The evil influence which Athaliah, the queen mother, had exercised over her husband continued unchecked in the reign of her son (2 K 8[27], 2 Ch 22[3. 4]); yet in 2 K 12[18] we read of 'hallowed things' which he had dedicated apparently to J".

There is an irreconcilable discrepancy between Kings and Chron. as to the death of A. Joram of Israel having renewed the attack on Ramoth-gilead in which Ahab had failed, was joined by his nephew A. The town was captured (2 K 9[14]), but Joram received wounds which compelled him to return to Jezreel. It is implied that A. also returned to Jerusalem, for he 'went down' to see Joram at Jezreel (cf. 1 K 22[2]) (Ewald evades the difficulty by reading in 2 K 8[28] 'now Joram went,' etc., omitting 'with,' which is adopted in 2 Ch 22[5]). According to Kings, on seeing Joram's fate, A., pursued by Jehu, 'fled by the way of the garden house' (or 'Beth-haggan,' Stade, etc.), was mortally wounded 'at the ascent of Gur,' and died on reaching Megiddo. His body was carried to Jerusalem, and 'buried with his fathers in the city of David.' Meanwhile the 'brethren of Ahaziah,' ignorant of the revolution in Jezreel, had followed him from Jerusalem to visit Joram's children; they were met by Jehu on the road between Jezreel and Samaria, and were slain. This seems a consistent story; but when the Chronicler came to deal with it he found two stumbling-blocks. First, he has previously informed us that A. had no brethren living; therefore 'the brethren of Ahaziah' become in his record 'the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah' attending their master in Samaria or Jezreel; secondly, Kings implies that A., an idolater, was buried in the royal sepulchres. Now the Chronicler always carefully excludes idolaters (*e.g.* Jehoram, Joash, Amaziah, Ahaz) from 'the sepulchres of the kings,' and therefore he makes A., who was hiding in Samaria, be killed and buried there; that he is buried at all being for the sake of his good father Jehoshaphat. Enough has been said to show that here, as elsewhere, the Chronicler, if more edifying, is not so reliable as the earlier writer.

N. J. D. White.

AHBAN (אַחְבָּן 'brother of an intelligent one').—A Judahite, son of Abishur (1 Ch 2[29]).

AHER (אַחֵר 'another').—A Benjamite (1 Ch 7[12]), perhaps identical with **Ahiram** of Nu 26[38].

AHI (אֲחִי 'brother';* by many considered to have the same meaning as AHIJAH, wh. see) occurs in MT, and consequently in AV and RV, twice: (1) a Gadite (1 Ch 5[15]); (2) an Asherite (1 Ch 7[34]). But the reading is in neither case free from doubt; in 1 Ch 5[15] the Syr. omits the name, thus making vv.[14. 15] an uninterrupted genealogy of Abihail; but the LXX, which gives Ζαβουχάμ ('Αχιβούζ, A) υἱοῦ 'Αβδεήλ for בוז אחי בן אבריאל, must have had something very like אחי before them. The other VSS treat אחי as an appellative. In 1 Ch 7[34] for אחי ורוהגה, LXX, B has 'Αχιουιά, A 'Αχιουρὰ 'Ογά. Probably in the original continuous Heb. text some compound name in -אחי was read (? אחיה), followed by another name of which the letters הגה (in ורוהגה) are a mutilated survival.

G. B. Gray.

AHIAH.—See AHIJAH.

AHIAM (אֲחִיאָם, meaning doubtful, according to some, 'mother's brother').—One of David's heroes. He was son of Sharar (2 S 23[33]), or Sacar (1 Ch 11[35]), the Hararite. G. B. Gray.

AHIAN (אֲחִיָּן 'fraternal,' B 'Ιααείμ, A 'Αείν; these forms, together with the divergent text of the Syr., render the exact form of the original name uncertain).—Ahian was a Manassite, and is described as 'son of Shemida' (1 Ch 7[19]); but the name is scarcely that of an individual; note in the context Abiezer and Shechem, and cf. Nu 26[31ff.].

G. B. Gray.

AHIEZER (אֲחִיעֶזֶר, 'brother is help').—**1.** Son of Ammishaddai, one of the tribal princes who represented Dan at the census and on certain other occasions (Nu 1[12] 2[25] 7[66. 71] 10[25] (P)). **2.** The chief of the Benjamite archers who joined David while he was in hiding at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[1-3]).

G. B. Gray.

AHIHUD (אֲחִיהוּד 'brother is majesty.' In the form אחיחוד (1 Ch 8[6]) the second ח is probably an error for ה).—**1.** Acc. to P, Ahihud the son of Shelomi was the prince (נשיא) of the tribe of Asher, who, with similar representatives of the other tribes (on W. of Jordan), was appointed by Moses, at the divine command, to divide Canaan into hereditary portions (Nu 34[27] (P)). **2.** A Benjamite. Probably the passage 1 Ch 8[6. 7], the text of which is somewhat corrupt, means that Ehud begat Ahihud, and that Ahihud and his 'brother' Uzza were ancestors of the inhabitants of Geba. G. B. Gray.

AHIJAH (אֲחִיָּה or אֲחִיָּהוּ 'brother of J"').—**1.** High priest in the reign of Saul, and usually identified with Ahimelech (Josephus 'Abimelech') of 1 S 21. 22 (so Ewald *Hist. of Isr.* ii. p. 415, n. 3, 'since Melech, King, may be applied also to God'). He accompanied Saul's army as possessor of the ephod oracle (1 S 14[3]); but when an occasion arose for its use, Saul, with his usual precipitate self-reliance, interrupted the priest while in the very act of consultation (vv.[18. 19]). This temerity seems to be afterwards tacitly reproved by Ahijah (v.[36]): 'Let us draw near hither unto God.' The LXX reading in v.[18] 'Bring hither the ephod,' etc., is followed by Jos. (*Ant.* VI. vi. 3: 'He bade the high priest λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν προφητεύειν'), and accepted by most moderns. The phrase, 'bring hither,' seems appropriated to the ephod (1 S 23[9] 30[7]); and when the oracle is again consulted (14[41]), the LXX δὸς δήλους . . . δὸς ὁσιότητα,' Vulg. 'da ostensionem . . . da sanctitatem,' appears to point to the Urim and Thummim which were attached to the ephod. On the other hand, the ark seems to be used as an oracle in Jg 20[27], 1 Ch 13[3], and it often accompanied the host to battle. Aq., Sym., and Vulg. follow the Received text.

We next read of this high priest, when David, fleeing from Saul, comes to inquire of the Lord by his means (1 S 22[10]), as he had often done before (22[15]). The tabernacle appears to have been transferred to Nob from Shiloh when the latter was desolated (Ps 78[60], Jer 7[12. 14] 26[6. 9]), probably just after the death of Eli (to whom 'the priest—Shiloh,' 1 S 14[3], refers). Ahimelech's alarm at the appearance of so great a man (22[14]) unattended, was allayed by David's plausible explanation; and he actually gave the fugitive the shewbread of the priests, and the sword of Goliath, which had been suspended as a votive offering. Unfortunately there was a witness of the priest's well-meant zeal,

* For a fuller discussion of the meaning of this name and the following names beginning with Ahi, see NAMES, PROPER.

Doeg the Edomite, who was performing some vow. Not long after, David's worst anticipations (22^{22}) were realised. Ahimelech, with the eighty-five (LXX, 305; Josephus, 385) priests of 'his father's house,' was charged with conspiracy by Saul, and, notwithstanding his amazed protestations of innocence, condemned to instant death. Doeg, who did not share the traditional reverence felt by the king's guard for the priests of J", carried out the bloody order with the unnatural cruelty of his race. Abiathar alone escaped. The judgment on Eli's house was being consummated.

2. The Shilonite, of Shiloh (1 K 14^2), is the prophet of the rise and fall of Jeroboam I. In 1 K 11^{29} we find the young ruler thinking out his plans of rebellion in a lonely walk, when he is met by Ahijah, who comes to consecrate and control his ambitious designs. The prophet (LXX, RV) had, doubtless by divine command (cf. Is 20^2, Jer 13^1), clad himself with a new garment. This he rends in twelve pieces, and giving ten of them to Jeroboam promises him the reversion, on Solomon's death, of the kingdom over ten tribes, and, conditionally, 'a sure house' like that of David, repeating at the same time the divine judgment which had been already (vv.$^{9-13}$ D^2) revealed to Solomon, probably through Ahijah himself. Years pass by; Jeroboam has realised his ambition, but not the ideal set before him by the prophet. His eldest son falls sick. The king bethinks him of the true seer now [60 years] old and blind; but, fearing lest his defection might elicit an adverse answer, he sends his wife [Ano] disguised as a poor woman, with a poor woman's offering ['loaves, two cakes for his children, grapes, and a jar of honey']. A divine revelation, however, has already unmasked the deception. Ahijah [sends his lad to meet her and bring her in, treats her gifts with scorn] anticipates her with the 'heavy tidings' of the extirpation of Jeroboam's house, the dispersion of Israel, and, bitterest of all, the death of her child ['Thy maidens will come forth to meet thee, and will say to thee, The child is dead . . . and they will lament for the child, saying, "Ah Lord!" . . . and the wailing came to meet her']. The second Greek account, from which the details in brackets are derived, is found in B after 12^{24}, and places this event before Jeroboam's accession—an impossible place,—introduces Ahijah as a new character (2 K 14^2), and also ascribes to Shemaiah a symbolical prophecy similar to that of Ahijah, but spoken at Shechem before the rejection of Rehoboam. 14^{1-20} is omitted in B, but found in A, etc., supplied, according to Field, from Aquila. These facts and the want of connexion in 11^{26-40} lead W. R. Smith to conclude that 'both parts of the story of Ahijah are a fluctuating uncertain element in the text' (*OTJC*^{2} 119). Ewald also says that $14^{9.\,15.\,16}$ are later additions (*Hist. of Isr.* iv. p. 29, n 3). Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xi. 1) gives the verses in a different order.

Ahijah was one of the historians of Solomon's reign according to 2 Ch 9^{29}.

3. 1 K 4^3, one of two brothers, Solomon's scribes or secretaries. Their father Shisha (Seraiah, 2 S 8^{17}; Sheva, 2 S 20^{25}; Shavsha, 1 Ch 18^{16}) held the same post under David. **4.** Father of king Baasha, 1 K $15^{27.\,33}$ 21^{22}, 2 K 9^9. **5.** 1 Ch 2^{25} (LXX ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ), youngest son of Jerahmeel, or his first wife, if we read with Bertheau, 'of or from Ahijah,' ם having dropped out. See next verse. **6.** 1 Ch 8^7, one of the 'heads of fathers' houses' of Geba, a son of Ehud, for which read 'Abihud,' v.^{3} (Pesh., Grätz), or 'Ahoah' (v.^{4}). In the beginning of the verse read 'namely' for 'and.' The text is very obscure. See *Q.P.B.* **7.** 1 Ch 11^{36}, the Pelonite, one of David's mighty men; but Kennicott, etc., read instead 'Eliam—Gilonite,' from 2 S 23^{34}. **8.** 1 Ch 26^{20}. (In David's time) 'of the Levites, Ahijah was over the treasuries.' LXX, followed by Bertheau, etc., reads, 'the Levites, their brethren (*i.e.* the sons of Ladan, v.^{21}), were over,' etc. **9.** Neh 10^{26} (RV **Ahiah**), one of 'the chiefs of the people' who sealed to the covenant under Nehemiah.

N. J. D. WHITE.

AHIKAM (אֲחִיקָם 'my brother has arisen').—Son of Shaphan, a courtier under Josiah, mentioned as one of the deputation sent by the king to Huldah the prophetess (2 K $22^{12.\,14}$, 2 Ch 34^{20}), and later as using his influence to protect Jeremiah from the violence of the populace during the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 26^{24}). He was father of Gedaliah, the governor of the land of Judah appointed by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 25^{22} *al.*).

C. F. BURNEY.

AHILUD (אֲחִילוּד, perhaps a contraction of אָחִי יָלוּד 'child's brother').—**1.** (2 S 8^{16} 20^{24}, 1 K 4^3, 1 Ch 18^{15}).—Father of Jehoshaphat, the chronicler under David and Solomon. **2.** (1 K 4^{12}) Father of Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers.

C. F. BURNEY.

AHIMAAZ (אֲחִימַעַץ 'my brother is wrath').—**1.** Son of Zadok. He was a remarkably swift runner, whose style was well known (2 S 18^{27}), and as such he played an important part on the occasion of Absalom's rebellion. As had been arranged by David (2 S $15^{27.\,28.\,35.\,36}$), he and Jonathan, son of Abiathar, 'stayed by En-rogel, and a maidservant used to go and tell them,' from the priests, the plans of Absalom which had been divulged by Hushai, 'and they went and told King David.' This must have occurred more than once (2 S 17^{17}). Details of their last and most critical adventure are given (17^{18-21}), when, aided by a woman's craft, they succeeded in conveying the news that saved David's life. After the battle, Ahimaaz offered his services as messenger of victory; but Joab, fearing that the odium of being the first to tell of Absalom's death might injure the young man's prospects, refused, out of kindness, to allow him to run, and entrusted the duty to the Cushite courier. Ahimaaz, however, saw a way out of the difficulty; Joab yielded reluctantly to his importunity, and Ahimaaz 'ran by the way of the Plain' (the floor of the Jordan valley, Gn 13^{10} etc.); and by superior swiftness, and also, as is implied, by taking an easier route, 'overran the Cushite.' He did not belie David's description: 'He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings,' for by an adroit *suppressio veri* he achieved his purpose, and left to the Cushite the ungrateful office of breaking the king's heart. We read nothing more of Ahimaaz after this. It does not appear that he was ever high priest, since Azariah his son (1 Ch $6^{8.\,9}$) seems to have succeeded Zadok (1 K 4^2). **2.** (1 S 14^{50}) Father of Ahinoam, Saul's wife. **3.** (1 K 4^{15}) One of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers. He had the district of Naphtali as the field of his operations. Since he alone of the twelve has no father mentioned, it has been conjectured that he may possibly be the son of Zadok; but he surely would have succeeded his father in the high priesthood. Ahimaaz married Basemath, one of Solomon's daughters. Another of these officers made a similar alliance, which indicates that they held a high rank.

N. J. D. WHITE.

AHIMAN (אֲחִימָן: on the form, see Moore as cited below).—**1.** The sons of Anak or Anakites (see ANAK) are frequently mentioned, chiefly in D; but the special names Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai occur only in JE (Nu 13^{22}, Jos 15^{14}) and Jg 1^{10}, cf. v.^{20}. According to these passages, Ahiman,

Sheshai, and Talmai were 'sons' or 'children of Anak' (בני הענק or ילידי הע': for the latter, cf. ילידי הרפה 2 S 21[16. 18]), whose father was Arba (Jos 15[13], perhaps P). But, as a matter of fact, neither Anak (=long-necked) nor Arba (=four: with Kiriath-*arba* cf. Beer-*sheba*) are personal names (see Moore, *Judges* 1[20]). There is therefore no reason to doubt what the context of the above-cited passages suggests, viz. that Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai are the names, not of individuals, but of clans.

A., then, was a clan resident in Hebron (the more familiar name of Kiriath-arba) at the time of the Heb. conquest, and driven thence by Caleb. The clan may have been of Aramaic origin, since the names of Sheshai and Talmai are of an Aram. type, and the name Ahiman has analogy in Aram. as well as Heb. See further, Driver, *Deut.* p. 23 f.; Moore, *Judges*, p. 24 f.

2. The name of a family or division of door-keepers, 1 Ch 9[17]. This name is absent, not only from the briefer list in Neh 11[19], but also from the longer list in Ezr 10[24] (=1 Es 5[28]). It is possible, therefore, that the name (אחימן) in Chron. is simply due to dittography from the following word אחיהם (=their brethren); if this be so, it may have been facilitated by association with the Anakites (see No. 1), the preceding name in Chron.—Talmon—closely resembling in *sound* the Anakite Talmai. But the genuineness of the name is defended by Bertheau; cf. the *four names* in v.[17] and the *four divisions* suggested by vv.[24-26]. G. B. Gray.

AHIMELECH (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ 'brother of Melek (Molech)'). —**1.** The son of Ahitub, and grandson of Phinehas. He either succeeded his brother Ahijah in the priesthood, or was the same person under another name (1 S 14[3. 18]). On the supposition that they are identical, the main facts regarding him (1 S 21[1-9] 22[9-19]) are given under Ahijah; see also Doeg. In 2 S 8[17] and 1 Ch 24[6] it is generally supposed that the names of Abiathar and Ahimelech have been transposed by a copyist, so that we need not reckon another Ahimelech, grandson of the first. **2.** A Hittite, who joined David when a fugitive, and became one of his captains (1 S 26[6]).
R. M. Boyd.

AHIMOTH (אֲחִימוֹת, apparently 'brother is death'). —Mentioned only in the genealogy of 1 Ch 6[25] (Heb. v[10]), where he appears as son of Elkanah and brother of Amasai. For a discussion of the text and purpose of the genealogy, see Bertheau; cf. also Mahath (v.[35]). G. B. Gray.

AHINADAB (אֲחִינָדָב 'brother is generous').—Son of Iddo, one of the 12 officers appointed by Solomon for the victualling of the royal household. He was stationed at Mahanaim (1 K 4[14]).
G. B. Gray.

AHINOAM (אֲחִינֹעַם 'brother is pleasantness').—**1.** Daughter of Ahimaaz and the wife of Saul (1 S 14[50]). **2.** Ahinoam the Jezreelitess was one of the two women—Abigail being the other—whom David married after Michal had been taken from him. A. and Abigail were both with David while he sojourned with Achish at Gath, and were subsequently at Ziklag; from the latter city they were carried off by the Amalekites, but rescued by David and his men (1 S 30[18]). After Saul's death A. and Abigail went up to Hebron with David, and there A. gave birth to David's firstborn, Amnon (1 S 25[43] 27[3] 30[5], 2 S 2[2] 3[2], 1 Ch 3[1]). G. B. Gray.

AHIO (אֲחִיו)—**1.** Appears to be the name of a son of Abinadab (No. 1), and brother of Uzzah who drove the cart on which the ark was placed when removed from Abinadab's house (2 S 6[3. 4], 1 Ch 13[7]). In all three cases the LXX renders the word οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, which merely involves a different pronunciation of the same consonants—אֲחָיו; this may be right, but on the whole a proper name seems more probable in the context. **2.** (LXX ἀδελφὸς (A ἀδελφοὶ) αὐτοῦ, 1 Ch 8[31]; ἀδελφός (A ἀδελφοί, 1 Ch 9[37])) A son of Jeiel, and brother of Kish, the father of Saul. **3.** Another Ahio is mentioned in the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Ch 8[14]). Here also the LXX has ἀδελφὸς (A ἀδελφοὶ) αὐτοῦ, and in this case is probably right. Cf. Bertheau, *in loco*.
G. B. Gray.

AHIRA (אֲחִירַע).—Son of Enan, one of the 12 tribal princes who represented Naphtali at the census and on certain other occasions (Nu 1[15] 2[29] 7[78. 83] 10[27] (P)).

AHIRAM, AHIRAMITES (אֲחִירָם, הָאֲחִירָמִי 'brother is exalted').—The eponym of a Benj. family—the Ahiramites, Nu 26[38] (P). The name A. occurs in the corrupt forms אֲחִי (see Ehi) in Gn 46[21] (P), and אַחְרַח (see Aharah) in 1 Ch 8[1]; in defence of the originality of the form Ahiram, see Gray, *Stud. in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 35. G. B. Gray.

AHISAMACH (אֲחִיסָמָךְ 'brother has supported').—A Danite, father of Oholiab (AV Aholiab), Ex 31[6] 35[34] 38[23] (P).

AHISHAHAR (אֲחִישַׁחַר (pausal form) 'brother is dawn') is described in the Benjamite genealogies as one of the 'sons of Bilhan,' 1 Ch 7[10]. See under Bilhan.

AHISHAR (אֲחִישָׁר 'my brother has sung').—Superintendent of Solomon's household (1 K 4[6]).

AHITHOPHEL (אֲחִיתֹפֶל 'my brother is folly'—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), was a native of Giloh, a town in the south-western part of the highlands of Judæa, identified uncertainly with a village three miles north-west of Halhul. He was a very influential counsellor of David, his reputation for political sagacity being unrivalled; but he was destitute of principle, a man of craft rather than of character (2 S 15[12]–17[23], 1 Ch 27[33]). He joined the rebellion of Absalom, possibly through ambition, possibly out of sympathy with the resentment of his tribe of Judah at the decline of its tribal pre-eminence. It is supposed by some that he was also the grandfather of Bathsheba (cf. 2 S 23[34] with 11[3]); but the identification of her father with the son of A. is open to question, though certainly possible. The policy he advised was that Absalom should take possession of his father's harem, thus showing that no pardon could be expected from David, and that he should proceed at once in pursuit of his father. When Hushai's counsel of delay prevailed, A. recognised the necessary failure of the enterprise, withdrew to Giloh, and hanged himself (2 S 17[23]). There is no other case of deliberate suicide, except in war, mentioned in the OT, and the parallel in the NT is the case of Judas Allusions to A. have been found in Ps 41[9] 55[12-14] 59[11] and elsewhere; but these must not be treated as designed, and no inference can be drawn from them as to the authorship of the psalms. The Talmud and Midrashim occasionally refer to him. In the latter he is classed with Balaam as an instance of the ruin which overtakes wisdom that is not the gift of Heaven; and in the former (*Baba bathra* 1. 7) the great lesson of his life is said to be, 'Be not in strife with the house of David, and break off from none of its rule.' R. W. Moss.

AHITOB (B Ἀχειτώβ, A Ἀχιτ-, AV Achitob), 1 Es 8[2].—An ancestor of Ezra, son of Amarias and father of Sadduk [Ahitub].
H. St. J. Thackeray.

AHITUB (אֲחִיטוּב 'brother is goodness').—**1.** Son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli, the father of Ahimelech or Ahijah the priest who was put to death by Saul (1 S 14^{3} $22^{9.20}$). **2.** Acc. to 2 S 8^{17} (= 1 Ch 18^{16}) the father, acc. to 1 Ch 9^{11} Neh 11^{11} the grandfather, of Zadok the priest who was contemporary with David and Solomon. It is very doubtful, however, whether this A. does not owe his existence to a copyist's error. The text of 2 S 8^{17} should probably run וצדוק ואביתר בן־אחימלך בן־אחימוב: 'And Zadok and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub' (so Wellhausen, Budde, Kittel, Driver). **3.** Still more exposed to suspicion is the existence of another A., father of another Zadok (1 Ch $6^{11.12}$, 1 Es 8^{2}, 2 Es 1^{1}). **4.** An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}, AV **Acitho**.

J. A. SELBIE.

AHLAB (אַחְלָב), Jg 1^{31}.—A city of Asher. The site is supposed to be that of the later Gush Halab or Gischala (Jos. *Life*, 10; *Wars*, XI. xxi. 1), now *El-Jish* in Upper Galilee; but this is, of course, uncertain. See Neubauer, *Géog. Tal. s.v.* Gushhalab; and Reland, *Pal. Illustr.* p. 817.

C. R. CONDER.

AHLAI (אַחְלַי 'O that!' cf. Ps 119^{5}).—**1.** The daughter (?) of Sheshan (1 Ch 2^{31}, cf. v.^{34}). **2.** The father of Zabad, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{41}).

AHOAH (אָחוֹחַ).—Son of Bela, a Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{4} = אֲחִיחוּד of v.^{7}). See AHIJAH (6). The patronymic **Ahohite** occurs in 2 S 23^{9}.

AHUMAI (אָחוּמַי).—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{2}).

AHUZZAM (אֲחֻזָּם 'possessor,' AV **Ahuzam**).—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{6}).

AHUZZATH (אֲחֻזַּת 'possession').—'The friend' of Abimelech, the Philistine of Gerar, mentioned on the occasion when the latter made a league with Isaac at Beersheba (Gn 26^{26}). The position of 'king's friend' may possibly have been an official one, and the title a technical one (cf. 1 K 4^{5}, 1 Ch 27^{33}). The rendering of the LXX gives a different conception, that of 'pronubus' or friend of the bridegroom ('Οχοζὰθ ὁ νυμφαγωγὸς αὐτοῦ). For the fem. termination *-ath*, cf. the Phil. name 'Goliath' (see Driver's note on 1 S 17^{4}) and the Arabian name 'Genubath' (1 K 11^{20}).

H. E. RYLE.

AHZAI (אַחְזַי for אֲחַזְיָה 'J" hath grasped,' AV **Ahasai**).—A priest, Neh 11^{13} = **Jahzerah**, 1 Ch 9^{12}.

AI (הָעַי), Jos 7^{2-5} 8^{1-29} $10^{1.2}$ 12^{9}, Ezr 2^{28}, Neh 7^{32} (Jer 49^{3}, a clerical error for AR), called **Hai** in Gn 12^{8} 13^{3} AV; and **Aija** (עַיָּא *'Ayyâ*) in Neh 11^{31}. In Is (10^{28}) **Aiath** (עַיָּת).—The name means 'heap,' and it is not enumerated as an inhabited place after the conquest until about B.C. 700, but seems to have been inhabited after the Captivity. The situation is defined as east of Bethel, beside Beth Aven, with valleys to the north and west (Jos $8^{11.12}$). The site which agrees with these conditions is found at *Haiyân*, immediately south of a conspicuous stone mound called *Et-Tell*, 'the mound.' There is a deep ravine to the north, an open valley to the west, and a flat plain to S. and E. This site is $2\frac{1}{8}$ miles S.E. of Bethel, and on the road thence to the Jordan Valley. It is evidently the site of an ancient town, with rock-cut tombs. See *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xiv. Some MSS read Aija for Gaza (*i.e.* עַזָּה for עַוָּה) in 1 Ch 7^{28}, which appears to be the correct rendering.

C. R. CONDER.

AIAH (אַיָּה).—**1.** Son of Zibeon (Gn 36^{24} (AV **Ajah**), 1 Ch 1^{40}). **2.** Father of Rizpah, Saul's concubine (2 S 3^{7} $21^{8.10.11}$).

AIATH, Is 10^{28}; **AIJA**, Neh 11^{31}.—See AI.

AIJALON (אַיָּלוֹן), AV **Ajalon**, Jos 10^{12} 19^{42}, 2 Ch 28^{18}; **Aijalon**, Jos 21^{24}, Jg 1^{35} 12^{12}, 1 S 14^{31}, 1 Ch 6^{69} 8^{13}, 2 Ch 11^{10} (in Jg 12^{12} a place of the name is noticed in Zebulun, otherwise unknown).—This town in Dan was in the Shephelah, beneath the ascent of Bethhoron. It is the modern village of *Yâlo*. The name appears to mean 'place of the deer.' The town is clearly noticed in a letter from the king of Jerusalem, in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, as *Aialuna*. It was known to the Jews in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Aialon) as less than 2 Roman miles from Emmaus-Nicopolis, on the road to Jerusalem. This agrees with the situation of Yâlo and 'Amwâs. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

C. R. CONDER.

AIJELETH HASH-SHAHAR, Ps 22 (title).—See PSALMS.

AIM.—To 'aim at,' in the sense of 'conjecture,' 'make guesses at,' occurs Wis 13^{9} 'For if they were able to know so much that they could aim at (*στοχάζομαι*, RV 'explore') the world.' Cf. H. Smith (1593), 'No marvel if he did aim that his death was near at hand.' J. HASTINGS.

AIN (עָיִן, usually spelled 'Ayin, and represented in transliteration by ') is the sixteenth letter of the Heb. ALPHABET (wh. see), and so is used to introduce the sixteenth part of Ps 119. See PSALMS.

AIN (עַיִן 'an eye, or spring').—**1.** On the northern boundary of Israel, as given Nu 34^{11}. It lay west (S.W.?) of Riblah. It is almost impossible now to describe the boundary there given. Riblah has been identified with the village still bearing that name, 20 miles south-west of Hums (Emesa) and Zedad, with Sadâd some 30 miles east of Riblah; other points are unknown. Robinson, following Thomson, places Ain at *'Ain el-'Asy*, the main fountain of the Orontes, about 15 miles south-west of Riblah (*Researches* (1852), p. 538). Conder identifies this with Hazor-Enan (*Heth and Moab*, p. 7 ff.). A description of this fountain of the Orontes will be found in the passages referred to. On the whole question, see under PALESTINE, and other places named with Ain in Nu 34^{7-11}; also A. B. Davidson's *Ezekiel*, pp. 351, 352.

2. Jos 15^{32} 19^{7} and 1 Ch 4^{32}. Here Ain *and* Rimmon should apparently be read as one name, Ain-Rimmon = En-Rimmon, which see.

A. HENDERSON.

AIR (שָׁמַיִם, *ἀήρ*, *οὐρανός*) is the first of the three divisions—'the heaven above,' 'the earth beneath,' and 'the water under the earth.' Its usual sense is the atmosphere resting upon the earth, with special terms for the highest heavens and for air in motion, as wind, breath, etc. As the locality of air is above the earth, so its language is that of the supernatural. As the emblem of the insubstantial, and the antithesis of 'flesh and blood' (Eph 6^{12}), it is regarded as the dwelling-place of powers which, though under God, are over man.

Satan is described as 'the prince of the power of the air' (Eph 2^{2}), and the war of the Lord is there lifted out of all tribal provincialism, and declared to be a world-wide conflict between elemental good and evil. For safety and success in this battle 'the whole armour of God' is needed. In Dt 32^{17} the heathen gods are called *Shedhim*, the term by which modern Jews denote the malignant spirits that are considered to infest the air. The fear of offending them makes the uneducated Jewish woman say,

'By your leave'! when throwing out water from her door-step; and the dread of their congregated power makes the Jews walk quickly in the funeral procession. The same superstition passed into the Christian Church with regard to the efficacy of the passing bell. The Jews in the synagogue-worship, when repeating the solemn watchword of Israel, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is *one* Lord,' prolong the pronunciation of the word אֶחָד 'one,' as a protection against the hostility of the air-powers. See DEMON. G. M. MACKIE.

AKAN (עָקָן).—A descendant of Esau (Gn 36[27]). The name appears in 1 Ch 1[42] as Jakan.

AKATAN ('Ακατάν, AV Acatan), 1 Es 8[38].—Father of Joannes, who returned with Ezra, called Hakkatan, Ezr 8[12].

AKELDAMA (Ac 1[19] WH 'Ακελδαμάχ, TR 'Ακελδαμά, AV Aceldama).—The popular name of 'the field of blood,' bought with the money paid to and returned by the traitor, Mt 27[3-10]. The language of Ac 1[18] seems also to imply that it was so named as the scene of his suicide. It is not impossible that a spot so defiled would be eagerly sold and bought in the circumstances described. Such a place must have always been needed (Jer 26[23]), and at the time this 'field' was purchased, owing to the multitude of 'strangers' dwelling in and visiting Jerusalem, there may have been urgent need for a larger place of burial, and a difficulty of procuring land for such a purpose. The place had been previously known as 'the potter's field,' and seems to be identified with 'the potter's house' of Jer 18[2] 19[2], which was in the valley of the son of Hinnom, the scene in earlier times of Molech-worship, and subsequently defiled as a place of burial (Jer 7[30-32], 2 K 23[10]). The traditional site is still known as Ḥakḳ-ed-Dumm (in the 12th cent. called Chaudemar, a manifest corruption of the original). It is situated half-way up the hill, to the south of the Pool of Siloam, on a level spot. 'It is now a partly ruined building, 78 ft. long outside and 57 ft. wide, erected over rock-cut caves and a deep trench.' Originally there had been tombs cut in a natural cave, which forms the inner or southern part; and though these have been broken up to enlarge the space, six 'loculi' remain on the western side and two on the eastern. A deep trench has been cut in front of the original rock-tombs, 30 ft. deep, 21 ft. wide, and 63 ft. long. The wall built on the outer edge of the trench is about 30 ft. high. A stone roof thrown over the trench joins the hill face (*PEFSt*, 1892, p. 283 ff.). Apparently there was a cliff here with a natural cave in the face of it. This may have been used, as caves frequently are, as a potter's workshop. But the name of the gate, 'Harsith,' Jer 19[2] 'the gate of potsherds,' would rather indicate that the site of the potter's workshop was close by the gate, and not across a valley from it; his work would also require a supply of water to be at hand; nor can the Valley of Hinnom be said to be conclusively identified. According to Eusebius, Akeldama was on the *north* of the city; Jerome (by a slip or of design) places it on the south. From the seventh century (Arculph) it has been pointed out on the presently accepted site. Krafft (*Top. Jer.* p. 193) says he saw clay dug at Ḥakḳ-ed-Dumm; but Schick denies that potter's clay is found there, and says that only a kind of chalk used to mix with clay is got higher up the hill; but even if it were, clay is not used where it is found, but where facilities for its use are greatest. The ownership of the spot has been more valued in later times than when purchased by the chief priests. In the 12th cent. the Latins got it from the Syrians, in the 16th cent. it was in the possession of the Armenians, in the 17th cent. of the Greeks, and it passed again to the Armenians, who at the close of that century paid a rent for it to the Turks. More strange is the virtue attached to its soil of quickly consuming dead bodies, because of which, notwithstanding its history, 270 shiploads are said to have been taken to form the Campo Santo at Rome, and seven shiploads to Pisa for a like purpose. Schick calculates the accumulation in it of bones and small stones at 10 to 15 ft. deep. A. HENDERSON.

AKKOS ('Ακκώς, A; 'Ακβώς, B; AV Accoz), 1 Es 5[38] = HAKKOZ (wh. see).

AKKUB (עַקּוּב).—**1.** A son of Elioenai (1 Ch 3[24]). **2.** A Levite, one of the porters at the E. gate of the temple, the eponym of a family that returned from the Exile (1 Ch 9[17], Ezr 2[42], Neh 7[45] 11[19] 12[25]), called in 1 Es 5[28] **Dacubi**. **3.** The name of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2[42]), called in 1 Es 5[30] **Acud**. **4.** A Levite who helped to expound the law (Neh 8[7]). LXX omits. Called in 1 Es 9[48] **Jacubus**. J. A. SELBIE.

AKRABBIM (מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים), Nu 34[4], Jg 1[36]. Less correctly **Acrabbim** Jos 15[3] AV, 'The Scorpion Pass.'—The name given to an ascent on the south side of the Dead Sea, a very barren region. See DEAD SEA. C. R. CONDER.

AKRABATTINE ('Ακραβαττίνη) in Idumæa (1 Mac 5[3], AV **Arabattine**).—The region near Akrabbim.

ALABASTER. See BOX, MINERALS.

ALAMOTH, Ps 46 (title), 1 Ch 15[20].—See PSALMS.

ALBEIT.—Albeit is a contraction for 'all be it,' and means 'al(l) though it be.' Properly it should be, and sometimes is, followed by 'that'; but when regarded as a single word (=although), 'that' is omitted. It occurs only in Ezk 13[7] 'a. I have not spoken,' and Philem[19] 'a. I do not say to thee' (RV 'that I say not unto thee'); but is more freq. in Apocr., Wis 11[9] Sus[10, 53] 1 Mac 12[9] 15[35] 2 Mac 4[27]. J. HASTINGS.

ALCIMUS (אֶלְיָקִים 'God sets up,' grecised into 'Αλκιμος, 'valiant,' and abbreviated into יָקִים, whence 'Ιάκειμος, Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 5, and 'Ιάκιμος, *ib.* XX. x. 3) was the son (*Baba bathra* i. 33), or more probably the sister's son (*Midrash rabba* 65 *et al.*), of Jose ben-Joeser, the famous pupil of Antigonus of Socho. He was a native of Zeruboth, of Aaronic descent, but a leader of the Syrian and Hellenizing party. By Antiochus Eupator he was nominated to the high priesthood (B.C. 162), but was unable to exercise its functions on account of the influence in Jerus. of Judas Maccabæus. Retiring to Antioch, he gathered around him 'the lawless and ungodly men of Israel' (1 Mac 7[5]), by which is probably meant such members of the Hellenizing party as had been driven from Jerus. by the successes of Judas. As soon as Demetrius Soter had established himself at Antioch, the party of A. charged Judas with treason, and secured the king's favour for themselves. Demetrius was persuaded to renominate A. to the high priesthood, and to send an army under Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, with orders to install A. and to punish the Maccabees. The march of Bacchides does not appear to have been opposed; and at Jerus. it was found that many of the Ḥasidim were ready to support A., ostensibly because of his priestly descent, but really perhaps because of their suspicion of the dynastic designs of Judas. Sixty of their leaders, amongst whom is said (*Midrash*

rabba) to have been Jose ben-Joeser himself, were, however, soon after put to death together, by the order of the joint representatives of the Syrian king; and on the part of Bacchides further cruelties followed. The effect was to reduce the people to a condition of sullen submission; and Bacchides returned to Antioch, leaving a sufficient force to maintain A. in his priestly and vice-regal dignity. For a very short time the support of the Syrian troops enabled him to carry out his Hellenizing policy. But a reaction soon took place in favour of the party of Judas, who forsook the retirement in which he had remained during the presence of Bacchides in the country, and made himself master of all the outlying districts. A. went in person to the king, and by means of large presents secured the despatch of a second force under Nicanor, who was appointed to the governorship of Judæa. Nicanor at first formed an alliance, and apparently an intimate friendship, with Judas. But A., displeased at the neglect to install him in his office, returned again to Demetrius, who sent strict orders to Nicanor to seize Judas and bring him at once to Antioch. Judas managed to escape from an attempt to overcome him by treachery; and the two armies met at Adasa, near Bethhoron, on the 13th of Adar (March, B.C. 161). Nicanor fell in the battle, and the Syrian army was almost annihilated. Another army was collected by Demetrius, and sent into Judæa under the command of Bacchides. Judas was defeated and slain at the battle of Eleasa, and Bacchides proceeded to occupy Jerus. This time Bacchides remained in the country, and effectually protected A., who was at last able to discharge without hindrance his high priestly duties. His chief object appears to have been to abolish the separation of Jew from Greek. With that view he commanded the destruction of 'the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary,' and also of 'the works of the prophets.' The former has been identified with the Soreg, or low wooden breastwork before the steps leading between the courts; but the allusion seems to be rather to the wall itself, marking the limits beyond which Gentiles and the unclean were not allowed to pass. This was one of the separatist characteristics of the temple, ascribed in tradition sometimes to Haggai and Zechariah, sometimes to the members of the Great Synagogue. But before the destruction was completed, A. died (B.C. 160) of paralysis. Pss 74. 79. 80 have been interpreted as reflecting the sentiments of pious Jews during his priesthood. But the best authority for the period is 1 Mac 7^{5-50} 9^{1-57}, though cautious use may be made also of 2 Mac 14^{1-27}, and Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 5, XII. x.

R. W. MOSS.

ALEMA (ἐν Ἀλάμοις A, Ἀλέμοις ℵ), 1 Mac 5^{26}.—A city in Gilead. The site is unknown.

ALEMETH (עַלֶמֶת). —**1.** A son of Becher the Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{8}, AV **Alameth**). **2.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{36} 9^{42}).

ALEPH (ℵ).—First letter of Heb. Alphabet. See ALPHABET, PSALMS, and A.

ALEXANDER (Ἀλέξανδρος).—The name occurs five times in NT, and apparently belongs to as many distinct persons.

1. Mk 15^{21}. A son of SIMON of Cyrene, and brother of RUFUS (see these names). A. and Rufus are evidently expected to be familiar names to the readers. Very possibly they were Christian Jews.

2. Ac 4^{6}. 'Annas the high priest *was there*, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest' (RV). Of this A. nothing further is known. The suggestion of Baronius, Pearson, and Lightfoot, that he was the well-known Alabarch (on this title see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 280) of Alexandria and brother of Philo (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 1, cf. XIX. v. 1), 'scarcely needs serious discussion' (Edersheim). Philo was of high and wealthy birth (Jos. XX. v. 2), but Jerome's statement (*de Viris Illustr.* xi.) that he was 'de genere sacerdotum' is unsupported by any evidence.

3. Ac 19^{33}. 'And *some* of the multitude instructed A., the Jews putting him forward. And A. beckoned with the hand, and would have made a defence unto the people. But when they perceived that he was a Jew' . . . etc. etc. (RVm). The Jews were a natural and usual object of the religious animosity (cf. ἱερόσυλοι v.[37], and Ro 2^{22}), which on this occasion they had done nothing to provoke. A. is put forward by his co-religionists to clear them of complicity with St. Paul, but the enraged mob will give no Jew a hearing. The absence of any τις suggests (cf. v.[9]) that A. was well known at Ephesus; he *may* even have been one of the ἐργάται or τεχνῖται of v.[25], and thus identifiable with No. **5**; but this, although it is stated (by Ewald, *apud* Nösgen, *in loc.*) that Jews were sometimes engaged in forbidden trades, lacks evidence.

4. 1 Ti $1^{19.20}$. Mentioned with HYMENAEUS (cf. 2 Ti 2^{17}) as one of the unconscientious teachers who had 'made shipwreck concerning the faith.' St. Paul 'delivered them unto Satan' (cf. 1 Co 5^{5}, and see SATAN). There is no strong reason to identify this A. with No. **5**.

5. 2 Ti 4^{14}. This A. (1) was a smith (χαλκεύς). The word originally meant a worker in copper; but as other metals came to be more commonly worked, it became applicable (Lid. and S. *s.v.*) to workers in any metal, esp. iron (Gn 4^{22} LXX, see also TRADES). This makes possible, but by no means proves, the identity of A. with No. **3**, *if* the latter could be shown to be one of the craftsmen of Demetrius. (2) A. had 'done' (ἐνεδείξατο) St. Paul many evils; in particular he had greatly withstood (λίαν ἀντέστη, cf. Ac 13^{8}) his words. (3) Timothy is cautioned against a like experience. This last point locates A. with Timothy at Ephesus, and makes it probable that (2) also refers to something that had taken place when St. Paul was last there (1 Ti 1^{3}). If (2) refers to *heretical* teaching, our present A. might be identified with No. **4**. But (2) is equally compatible with *Jewish* hostility; and if so, we might combine (1) and (2) with the object of identifying him with No. **3**. In any case No. **5** is the only possible link between **3** and **4**. For specimens of the many possible conjectures on the whole subject, see the comm. *in loc.* and Holtzmann, *Pastoralbriefe*, p. 255 *sq.* If, with many critics, we regard the Epistles to Timothy as non-Pauline, we might follow the last-named writer in regarding Ac 19^{33} as the basis of the notice in 2 Ti; but in reality the two passages have nothing in common except the name; the malicious personal antagonism which is so prominent here is unhinted at there.

A. ROBERTSON.

ALEXANDER III. (Ἀλέξανδρος, 'defender of men'), known as the Great, was the son of Philip II., king of Macedonia, and of Olympias, a Molossian princess, and was born at Pella, B.C. 356. He succeeded his father in B.C. 336, and two years later set out on his eastern expedition. The battles of the Granicus (B.C. 334) and of Issus (B.C. 333) made him master of S.W. Asia. Egypt was next subdued, and Alexandria founded in B.C. 331. The discontent of his army thwarted his designs upon India, and in B.C. 323 he died at Babylon.

For Alexander's connexion with the Jews, the principal authority is Jos. *Ant.* IX. viii. 3–6. The story runs that, whilst he was besieging Tyre, A. sent orders to the Jews to transfer their allegiance

to him, and to supply him with provisions and auxiliaries. The high priest refused on the ground of his oath of fidelity to Darius. A. destroyed Tyre, took Gaza (B.C. 332) after a two months' siege (Diodor. xvii. 8; Arrian, ii. 26, 27), and marched against Jerus. The high priest Jaddua (Neh 12^{11}), or Simon the Just (*Yoma* 69), was taught in a dream what to do, and led out the priests and the people to meet him. At Sapha (צפה 'he watched'; known also as Scopus, Jos. *Wars*, v. ii. 3, an eminence near Jerus. whence city and temple were all visible) the priest and the king met. A. bowed before the divine name on the priest's tiara, and to the protestations of Parmenio replied that in a dream at Dium he had seen such a figure as Jaddua's, and had been promised success and guidance on the way. Escorted by the priests, he entered Jerus., sacrificed in the temple under the direction of the high priest, and, when shown the Book of Dan., interpreted of himself such passages as 8^{21} and 11^{3}. Before leaving the city he guaranteed to the Jews in all his dominions protection in the usages of their fathers, and immunity from taxation in their sabbatical years. How much of this story is legendary, it is impossible to decide. It is found in the Talmud as well as in Josephus. The silence of the classical historians (Arrian, Curtius, Plutarch, and the Epitomists) is inconclusive, as they are generally silent concerning matters relating to the Jews. The position and the suspected attitude of Jerus. make a visit on the part of A. probable in view of his contemplated expedition against Egypt. And though imagination has clearly been at work with the details of the narrative, the balance of probability is in favour of its substantial historicity.

By A. Palestine was included in the province of Cœle-Syria, which extended from Lebanon to Egypt. The governor was Andromachus, who chose as his residence the town of Samaria, because of its central position, and possibly also of the amenities of the neighbourhood. Against him the Samaritans rose in revolt, prompted by jealousy of the privileged Jews, by resentment at the establishment amongst them of the seat of government, or by the opportunity afforded by the absence in Egypt of such of their compatriots as were most favourably disposed towards A. (Jos. *Ant.* xi. viii. 6). Setting fire to the house of Andromachus, they burnt him alive. The news reached A. just after he had received the submission of Egypt; and, hastening back, he put to death the leaders of the revolt (Curt. iv. 8. 10), and removed the rest of the people from their city, planting a colony of Macedonians in their stead. From that time Shechem, at the foot of Mt. Gerizim, became the religious centre of the Samaritans. Coins of A. have been found coined at Ashkelon and Acco (Ptolemais), and also, if Müller's identifications are correct, at Cæsarea, Scythopolis, and Rabbah (Müller, *Numismatique d' Alexandre*, 303–309); but it cannot be inferred with confidence that these towns were made by him sub-capitals of districts, as such coins were issued by the Diadochoi long after the death of A. Not only were large numbers of the Samaritans settled by him in the Thebais (Jos. *Ant.* xi. viii. 6), and of Jews in Alexandria (*ib.* xix. v. 2; *Apion.* ii. 4) and in the Egyp. villages (see the evidence of papyri in Mahaffy, *Ptolemies*, 86, n.), but many of the latter appear to have willingly enrolled themselves in his army. When he was rebuilding the temple of Bel in Babylon, his soldiers were ordered to assist in removing the rubbish. The Jews are said to have refused on the grounds that any dealing with idolatry was forbidden them, and that their Scriptures predicted the permanency of the destruction of the temple of Bel. They were threatened and punished in vain. Appealing to A., they were exempted from the task, in virtue of the original stipulation that they 'should continue under the laws of their fathers.' The incident again is of doubtful authenticity; but it is in agreement with all the traditions of the kindly attitude of A. towards the Jews.

In the Biblical books A. is expressly mentioned only in 1 Mac $1^{1\text{-}7}$ 6^{2}, though several passages in Dan. are frequently interpreted as alluding to him.

LITERATURE.—The sources of A.'s history are examined in Freeman, *Hist. Essays*, 2nd ser. Ess. 5, to which add Pauly, *RE*, art. 'Alexander,' and Mahaffy, *Ptolemies*, where in § 56 evidence is adduced in favour of the novel suggestion, that A.'s friendship to the Jews was due to his desire to use them as a kind of intelligence department to his army. For the rabbinical traditions see Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Pal.* i. 41 ff.; Hamburger, *RE* ii. 44–47. Droysen, *Gesch. Alex. des Grossen* (Hamburg, 1837), and *Gesch. des Hellenismus* (Gotha, 1877) are of special value.

R. W. Moss.

ALEXANDER BALAS was either a natural son of Antiochus Epiphanes (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. ii. 1; Liv. *Epit.* 50; Strabo, xiii.), or a lad of Smyrna who claimed such descent (Justin, xxxv. 1; Appian, *Syr.* 67). In the latter (more likely) case, Balas was his proper name, and its etymology is unknown; in the former case the name may be connected with the Aram. בעלא 'lord.' He also assumed his reputed father's title of Epiphanes (1 Mac 10^{1}). He was set up as a pretender to the throne of Demetrius Soter, whose despotism had alienated his subjects and offended his neighbours, by the three allied kings, Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, Attalus II. of Pergamum, and Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia. The Romans also supported his claims (Polybius, xxxiii. 14. 16), in accordance with their policy of promoting civil strife within kingdoms that might become formidable. He secured the help of Jonathan (B.C. 153) by nominating him high priest, and after some reverses defeated Demetrius, who fell in the battle. Balas thereupon married Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor (for a fuller account of whose relations with Balas see Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptolemies*, §§ 208–212), and appointed (B.C. 150) Jonathan with special honours (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. iv. 2) στρατηγὸς and μεριδάρχης, military and civil governor of the province, although Syrian commandants were retained in several of the principal fortresses. His kingdom now established, Balas proved himself an incapable ruler, negligent of State affairs, and given up to self-indulgence (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. præf. xvi, n. 19; Liv. *Epit.* 50; Justin. xxxv. 2). Demetrius Nicator, son of Dem. Soter, invaded the country in B.C. 147, and was supported by Apollonius, governor of Cœle-Syria. But Jonathan defeated and slew Apollonius, and was rewarded on the part of Balas by the gift of Ekron. Balas, however, was deserted by his own soldiers and by the people of Antioch. Ptolemy, his father-in-law, entered Syria on the plea that Balas was plotting against him, and took up the cause of Demetrius, to whom he transferred his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. Balas hastened from Cilicia, where he had been trying to quell a revolt, but was defeated by Ptolemy. He was either slain (B.C. 146) in the battle (Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349), or he fled to Abæ, in Arabia, where he was assassinated (Müller, *l.c.*; 1 Mac 11^{17}). The relation of the Jews to Balas, and the consistency of their alliance, appear in 1 Mac 10^{47}, RV 'They were well pleased with Alexander, because he was the first that spake words of peace unto them, and they were confederate with him always.' His necessities and his unconcern made Judæa almost autonomous.

Alexander Epiphanes, 1 Mac 10^{1} = A. Balas.

R. W. Moss.

ALEXANDRIA (ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια), the Hellenic capital of Egypt, was founded by Alexander the Great, B.C. 332. Under the early Ptolemies it

rose to importance, and became the emporium of the commerce of the East and of the West. Oblong in shape and rounded at the extremities,—Strabo compared it to the chlamys or cloak of the Macedonian cavalry,—it occupied the narrow strip of land which lay between the sea and the Lake Mareotis. An artificial mole connected it with the island of Pharos, and on either side of the mole were commodious harbours which received the ships of Europe and Asia. The Lake Mareotis, which was joined by a canal to the Canopic mouth of the Nile, brought to it the commerce of the East. The beauty of the city was proverbial. One-third of its extent was occupied with royal palaces and open public grounds; and it had a system of wide regular streets with noble colonnades. Its population, which amounted to about 800,000 souls in its flourishing period, consisted chiefly of Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews, who occupied separate quarters. The Regio Judæorum, which lay in the north-eastern portion of the city, was surrounded by walls. A special governor, called the Alabarch, presided over it, and the Jews were permitted to live according to their own laws. The Jews—the mercenary race as they were called—were not popular with their fellow-citizens, but they were protected by the rulers, Greek and Roman, who recognised the value of their services to the commercial prosperity of the city. When A. became part of the Roman Empire, B.C. 30, and a granary of Rome, the important corn trade with Italy fell into the hands of Jewish merchants.

The Lagidæ were munificent patrons of learning, and it was their ambition to make their capital a place of intellectual renown. They collected within its walls the largest library of antiquity, part of which was housed in the temple of Serapis in the Egyptian quarter, and another part in the museum which was situated in the Bruchium or Greek quarter. To the museum was attached a staff of professors, who were salaried by the State. It had a banqueting-hall in which the professors dined, corridors for peripatetic lectures, and a theatre for public disputations. The chief subjects of study were grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and geography. The school of philosophical thought which ultimately arose was eclectic, a patchwork of earlier systems, and it closed its career by dethroning philosophy in favour of religious tradition.

For the student of Christian theology, A. occupies an important place in the history of religious development as the cradle of a school of thought in which the earliest attempt was made to bring the teaching of the OT into relation with Hellenic ideas. It was in A. that the Heb. Scriptures were first translated into Greek. This translation, although it afterwards became 'the first apostle to the nations,' was not made with a missionary purpose, being intended to afford a knowledge of the law to the numerous Jews who had grown up in ignorance of the Heb. language. But having opened up their treasures to the curious Greeks, it became necessary for the Jews to explain and to defend them. It was the claim of the Jew that the Scriptures are the sole source of a true knowledge of God and of human duty; but when he became familiar with Greek literature, it was impossible to deny that there also were found noble doctrines and excellent counsels. The Alexandrian Jew offered an Apologia for his exclusive claim, which was repeated by the Christian Fathers, lived through the entire Middle Ages, and almost to our own time. Plato and Pythagoras, he said, and even Homer, borrowed all their wisdom from the OT Scriptures. Aristobulus, a Jewish courtier, who lived about the middle of the second century B.C., writes: 'Plato took our legislation as his model, and it is certain that he knew the whole of it; the same is true of Pythagoras.' In order to gain venerated authority for this assertion, the Jews composed verses in the name of the mystic poets of antiquity, in praise of Moses and of Judaism. In his commentary on the Pentateuch, Aristobulus introduces Orpheus, and makes him say that he cannot reveal the God whom clouds conceal; that the water-born Moses alone of mortals received knowledge from on high on two tables. Another writer of Egypt who was a contemporary of Aristobulus, the author of the third of the Sibylline Books, introduces the Sibyl of Cumæ, who speaks of the Jews as a nation appointed by God to be the guide of all mortals; and she offers the coming Messianic salvation to all nations if they will turn from their idols to serve the living God.

Having thus established to their own satisfaction that Gentile wisdom comes from the Scriptures, the Jews next proceeded to place it there by the help of the magic wand of allegorical interpretation. Thus interpreted, the narratives of Scripture easily yielded up Platonic and Stoic dogmas. The Jewish Alexandrian philosophy, which began with Aristobulus and culminated in Philo, was an elaborate attempt to clothe Greek philosophical ideas in Scripture language, and thus to confer upon them the authority of divine revelation. It was to Platonism and Stoicism that the Jewish scholars most naturally turned; for in the lofty monotheism of the former, and in the moral earnestness of the latter, they seemed to hear echoes of Isaiah and Solomon. It was through the influence of Platonic and Stoic conceptions that the Sophia and the Logos assumed such importance in the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy. In the Heb. Scriptures they had been personified, but they were now hypostatized, and became intermediaries between the creature and the Most High God.

The Jewish philosophy of A., which was not confined to A., but spread through the whole of the Greek-speaking Diaspora, exercised a certain influence upon the Greeks, who were drawn towards Judaism by its accent of certainty about God, which was always wanting even in the loftiest theology of their own philosophers. Its main influence, however, lay in its Hellenizing of the Jews, who were enabled to appropriate Hellenic views of life without conscious apostasy from Judaism. The extent of the influence of Jewish Alexandrian philosophy on the writers of the NT has been variously estimated. There are striking similarities between the terminology and sometimes between the thoughts of St. Paul and of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and those of Philo. But the similarities are probably due to their common knowledge of the current teaching of the Greek-speaking synagogue. On the other hand, the direct practical spirit of the NT writers offers a strong contrast to the dreamy intellectualism of Philo's allegories.

The name of the city of Alexandria does not occur in the NT. Mention is made of a synagogue of the **Alexandrians** in Jerusalem (Ac 6^9). Apollos is described as an 'Alexandrian by race' (Ac 18^{24}). St. Paul sailed on two occasions in Alexandrian ships, which probably belonged to the corn trade (Ac 27^6 28^{11}).

It is remarkable that neither St. Paul nor his companions visited A., in some respects the most promising missionary field in the world. As regards St. Paul, to hazard a conjecture, he may have been deterred by what occurred in Corinth (1 Co 1^{12}), where Apollos followed him, and by his preaching produced an unhappy division without intending it. St. Paul may have felt that his simple presentation of Christ crucified would be unwelcome

among hearers accustomed to the word of wisdom in trope and allegory. If we were to accept the view of those critics who hold that Apollos wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews to the Jewish Christians of A., it would be easy to explain St. Paul's conduct, as it would have been contrary to his custom to visit a Church which a fellow-labourer had already made his own (2 Co 10^{16}).

According to Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 16), St. Mark was the first who was sent to Egypt, where he preached the gospel which he had written, and established churches in A. 'The multitude of believers,' he adds, 'both men and women, lived lives of the most extreme and philosophical asceticism.' The statement of Eusebius about St. Mark, which he introduces with the formula 'they say,' and connects with fanciful legends, has clearly no authority. His description, however, of the character of the early Alexandrian Church is probably correct. During the second and third centuries of our era Alexandria was the intellectual capital of Christendom. In the Alexandrian heretics Basilides and Valentinus, and in the Church Fathers Clement and Origen, we observe how the spirit of Jewish Alexandrian philosophy passed into Christianity. See PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION.

LITERATURE.—Strabo, *Geog.* xvii.; Eusebius, *Præpar, Evang.* 13; *Patr. Gr.* xxi.; *Or. Syb.* iii.; Dähne, *Ges. Darstell. d. Jud.-Alex. Rel.-Philos.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*; Drummond, *Philo-Judæus*; Hausrath, *Times of Apostles.*

J. GIBB.

ALGUM TREES, ALMUG TREES (אַלְגּוּמִּים *'algummim*, 2 Ch 2^{8} $9^{10.\ 11}$; אַלְמֻגִּים *'almuggim*, 1 K $10^{11.\ 12}$, LXX. ξύλα πεύκινα; Vulg. *ligna thyina, ligna pinea*).—Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 173) states that some doubted the identity of the algum and the almug. This doubt, however, is not justified by the transposition of the letters in the two names. Such transposition is extremely common in Heb. proper names (*e.g. Reḥum*, רְחוּם, Neh 12^{3}, is called in v.^{15} of the same chapter *Ḥarim*, חָרִם). We are told that algum trees were brought from Ophir (2 Ch 9^{10}). Almug trees were also brought from Ophir (1 K 10^{11}). These passages are perfectly parallel, and plainly refer to the same tree.

But, in 2 Ch 2^{8}, Solomon instructs Hiram to send 'cedar trees, fir trees, and algum trees (AVm *almuggîm*) out of Lebanon.' Did the term algum in Lebanon signify one tree and in Ophir another? This is possible. Cedar, in Eng., is applied to various species of *Cupressus, Abies, Juniperus*, and *Larix*, as well as to *Cedrus Libani*. Fir, in Eng., is applied to several species of *Abies*, and the Scotch fir is *Pinus sylvestris*, L. Spruce is used in Europe for *Abies excelsa*, L., and in the United States for three species of *Abies: A. Canadensis*, Mich., *A. alba*, Mich., and *A. nigra*, Poir. Instances of this might easily be multiplied. If we accept this supposition, the passage is amply explained. But it affords no clue to the name of the tree growing in Lebanon. If, on the other hand, the tree which Solomon requested Hiram to send was the same as that brought from Ophir, was Lebanon a station for it? This is also possible. We do not know where Ophir was, nor what the tree was. It would be quite rash to say that it could not grow in both localities. The *cedar*, mentioned in the same clause, grows in Lebanon, Amanus, Taurus, the Himalayas, and the Atlas. It is also uncertain what *fir* is alluded to in the passage. There are firs in Lebanon, and also in some, at least, of the localities proposed for Ophir. It is possible that the unknown tree had a range which included Lebanon and Ophir.

The conditions for any candidate for the algum or almug tree, imported from Ophir, are—(1) that it should be a wood of sufficient value to make its importation from so distant a country as Ophir, be it Arabia, India, or the East Coast of Africa, profitable; (2) that it should be suitable for מְסִלּוֹת *terraces* (m. *highways* or *stairs*, more properly a *staircase*, 2 Ch 9^{11}), and סְמָכִים *pillars* (m. *a prop* or *rails*, more properly *balustrade*, 1 K 10^{12}), and for *harps* and *psalteries*. Fifteen different candidates have been proposed, among them *thyine wood, deodar, fir, bukm* (*Cæsalpina Sappan*). The majority of scholars, following the opinion of certain Rabbis, incline to the *red sandal wood* (*Pterocarpus Santalina*, L.), a native of Coromandel and Ceylon. There is not, however, a particle of direct evidence in its favour. Against it is the fact that it occurs now in commerce only in small billets, unsuitable for staircases, balustrades, or even the construction of harps and psalteries. It is, however, possible that larger sticks might have been cut in ancient times.

In the uncertainty which must ever remain as to the identity of the tree intended, and with the probability that a considerable number of trees which grew in Lebanon are now extinct there owing to denudation of forests, and the possibility that the Lebanon algum may have been a different tree with the same name, it is needless to suggest an interpolation of the passage 'out of Lebanon' (2 Ch 2^{8}).

G. E. POST.

ALIAH (עַלְיָה).—A 'duke' of Edom, 1 Ch 1^{51} = Alvah, Gn 36^{40}.

ALIAN (עַלְיָן).—A descendant of Esau, 1 Ch 1^{40} = Alvan, Gn 36^{23}.

ALIEN.—See FOREIGNER.

ALL.—There are few words in the Eng. Bible the precise meaning of which is so often missed as the word 'all.' The foll. examples need special attention. **1.** When joined to a pers. pron. *all* usually follows the pron. in mod. usage, in early Eng. it often precedes it. Is 53^{6} 'All we like sheep have gone astray'; but Is 64^{6} 'We all do fade as a leaf.' **2.** *All* stands for 'all people' in 1 Ti 4^{15} 'that thy profiting may appear to all.' **3.** Following the Gr. (*pâs*), all is used with a freedom which is denied to it in mod. Eng. In He 7^{7}, 'without all contradiction,' all=any whatever. Cf. Shaks. *Macbeth*, III. ii. 11—

'Things without all remedy
Should be without regard.'

In Col 1^{10} 'unto all pleasing' is a literal tr. of the Gr., and means 'in order to please (God) in every way.' Similarly *all* is used for 'every' in Dt 22^{3} 'In like manner shalt thou do . . . with all (RV 'every') lost thing of thy brother's'; Rev 18^{12} 'all manner of vessels of ivory,' and even without the word 'manner' in the same verse, 'all thyine wood.' **4.** *All* means 'altogether' in 1 K 14^{10} 'till it be all gone'; Nah 3^{1} 'Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies.' Cf. Caxton (1483) 'The lady wente oute of her wytte and was al demonyak.' This is the meaning of 'all' in 'All hail,' Mt 28^{9}, literally, 'be altogether whole, or in health.' **5.** *All* appears in some interesting phrases. **All along:** 1 S 28^{20} 'Then Saul fell straightway all along on the earth' (RV 'his full length upon the earth'); Jer 41^{6} 'weeping all along as he went,' *i.e.* throughout the whole way he went; cf. 'I knew that all along,' *i.e.* throughout the whole time. **All in all:** 1 Co 15^{28} 'that God may be all in all' (Gr. *πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, all things in all* [*persons and*] *things*). Cf. Sir 43^{27} 'He (God) is all' (*τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός*). Different is Shaks. (*Ham.* I. ii. 198)

'Take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again,'

where *all in all* is 'altogether.' **All one:** 1 Co 11^{5} 'that is even all one (RV 'one and the same

thing') as if she were shaven'; Job 9^{22} RV 'It is all one' (Heb. אַחַת־הִיא), *i.e.* it is a matter of indifference. **All the whole** occurs in Ps 96^{1} Pr. Bk. 'Sing unto the LORD, all the whole earth' (AV and RV 'all the earth'). This redundancy is found in various forms in old Eng., as 'the whole all,' 'the all whole,' 'all and whole.' **For all:** Jn 21^{11} 'for all (=notwithstanding) there were so many.' Cf. Tindale's tr. of Ac 16^{37} 'for all that we are Romans.' **Once for all:** He 10^{10} (Gr. ἐφάπαξ); this is the only occurrence in AV, and it gives *for all* in ital.; but RV, which omits the italics here, gives the same tr. of this adv. in He 7^{27} 9^{12}, Jude ^{3}, and in marg. of Ro 6^{10}. In 1 Co 15^{6} it is tr. 'at once' in both VSS. **All to brake:** Jg 9^{53} 'And a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech's head, and all to brake (RV 'and brake') his skull.' This is the most interesting of those phrases in which the word 'all' is found. The meaning is not, 'and all in order to break his skull'; the verb is in the past tense. The 'to' is not the sign of the infin., it goes with the verb, like the Ger. *zer*, to signify asunder, or in pieces. So we find to-burst, to-cut, to-rend, to-rive, etc. 'All' was prefixed to this emphatic verb to give it greater emphasis. Hence 'all to-brake' means 'altogether broke in pieces.' Cf. Tindale's tr. of Mt 7^{6} 'lest they tread them under their feet, and the other turn again, and all to rent you.' Sir T. More says (*Works*, 1557, p. 1224) 'She fel in hand with hym . . . and all to rated him.'

J. HASTINGS.

ALLAMMELECH (אַלַּמֶלֶךְ).—Perhaps 'King's oak,' a town of Asher probably near Acco (Jos 19^{26}). The site is not known.

ALLAR (B 'Αλλάρ, A 'Αλάρ, AV **Aalar**), 1 Es 5^{36}. —One of the leaders of those Jews who could not show their pedigree as Isr. at the return from captivity under Zerubbabel. The name seems to correspond to Immer in Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}, one of the *places* from which these Jews returned. In 1 Es Cherub, Addan, and Immer appear as 'Charaathalan leading them and Allar.'

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ALLAY, not found in AV, is introduced by RV into Ec 10^{4} 'yielding allayeth (AV 'pacifieth') great offences.' The meaning seems to be that a spirit of conciliation puts an end to offences more completely than a strong arm. Cf. Shaks. 2 *Henry VI.* IV. i. 60, 'allay this thy abortive pride.'

J. HASTINGS.

ALLEGE occurs but twice, Wis 18^{22} 'a^{ing} (ὑπομνήσας, RV 'bringing to remembrance') the oaths and covenants made with the fathers'; and Ac 17^{3} 'Opening and a^{ing} that Christ must needs have suffered,' where it has the old meaning of adducing proofs (παρατιθέμενος), like Lat. *allegare*, not the mod. sense of asserting. **Allegiance**, not in AV, is given in RV at 1 Ch 12^{29} as tr. of מִשְׁמֶרֶת 'Kept their a. to (AV 'Kept the ward of') the house of Saul.'

J. HASTINGS.

ALLEGORY.—i. HISTORY OF THE WORD.—The substantive ἀλληγορία, with its verb ἀλληγορεύω, is derived from ἄλλο, *something else*, and ἀγορεύω, *I speak*; and is defined by Heraclitus (Heraclides?) —probably of the first century A.D.—as follows: ἄλλα μὲν ἀγορεύων τρόπος ἕτερα δὲ ὧν λέγει σημαίνων ἐπωνύμως ἀλληγορία καλεῖται: 'The mode of speech which says other things (than the mere letter) and hints at different things from what it expresses, is called appropriately *allegory*' (c. 5). Neither substantive nor verb is found in the LXX; and the verb alone, and that only once (Gal 4^{24}), occurs in the NT. The word, whether substantive or verb, appears to be altogether late Greek. Plutarch (flourished 80–120 A.D.) tells us (*De Aud. Poet.* 19 E) that it was the equivalent in his day for the more old-fashioned ὑπόνοια, the *deeper sense* (or the figure expressing it), which was a special feature in the Stoic philosophy, with its θεραπεία (*treatment, manipulation*); and Cicero had not long before introduced *allegoria*, in its Greek form, in two or three passages in his works (*e.g. Orator* 27; *Ad Attic.* ii. 20); while Philo had freely used substantive and verb early in the first century; and the verb is used in Josephus (*Ant.* Procem. 4) of some of the writings of Moses.

ii. DISTINCTIVE MEANING.—The provinces of allegory, type, symbol, parable, fable, metaphor, analogy, mystery, may all trench upon one another; but each has its speciality, and the same thing can only receive the different names as it is viewed from the different points. Allegory differs *essentially* from type in that it is not a premonition of future development, and that there is no necessary historical and real correspondence in the main idea of the original to the new application of it: from symbol, in that it is not a lower grade naturally shadowing forth a higher; from parable, in that it is not a picture of a single compact truth, but a transparency through which the different details are seen as different truths, and in that it is not necessarily ethical in its aim; from fable, in that its lessons are not confined to the sphere of practical worldly prudence; from metaphor, in that its interpretation is not immediate and obvious, but has to be sought out through the medium of verbal or phenomenal parallels; from analogy, because it is not addressed to the reason so much as to the imagination; and from mystery, in that it does not await a new order of things to be specially manifested and truly discerned. All these tropes may indeed be classed under the allegorical or the figurative, so far as they all point to a sense different from that contained in the mere letter. But, conventionally and in practice, allegory has a sphere of its own. In the *non-specific* sense, it has to do with the general relations of life in its external resemblances, one thing being mirrored in another according to outward appearance, so that the appearance of the one can serve as the figure of the other. In other words, the thing put before the eye or ear represents, not itself, but something else *in some way like it*. Thus the fish was early used as an allegory of Christ; it was not, strictly speaking, a symbol, or a type, or a parable, or any of the figures above compared. The resemblance was both far-fetched and outward, being evolved from the several letters of the word ἰχθύς as the initials of Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Θεοῦ, Υἱός, Σωτήρ. Of allegory proper, more or less elaborated, we have within the bounds of the sacred books very little. In the OT may be instanced the allegory of the Vine in the 80th Psalm, and in the NT those of the Door, the Shepherd (Jn 10), and the Vine (Jn 15). In the more confined, the *technical* and *historical* sense, it denoted, especially for Alexandrian Greeks and Jews, the *system of interpretation* by which the most ancient Greek literature, in the one case, and the OT writings (and subsequently the NT), in the other, were assigned their value in proportion as they meant, not what they said, but something else, and could be made the clothing of cosmological, philosophical, moral, or religious ideas. This leads us to the third and final division.

iii. ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION.—The tendency to allegorize has its foundations in human nature. Constantly and unconsciously we read into the creations of other men, as, for example, into a painting or a poem, our own thoughts, conceptions, and emotions, and are scarcely to be persuaded that they were not the original thoughts, conceptions, and emotions of the creator. Or,

again, when any literature has so deeply inwrought itself into the hearts and lives of a people as to have become a sacred and inseparable constituent of their nature, and when time has nevertheless so far changed the current of thought as to make that literature apparently inconsistent with the new idea, or inadequate to express it,—then the choice for the people lies between a ruinous breach with what is, by this time, part and parcel of themselves, and, on the other hand, forcing the old language to be a vehicle for the new thought. Hence the tendency to allegory, which is *indigenous* to human nature, becomes, in the absence of historical criticism, also *inevitable*, except to the indifferent iconoclast, if such there be. Allegory proved the safety-valve for Greek, Jew, and Christian. During and, perhaps, owing to the intellectual movement of the fifth century B.C.,—in spite of the severe critical deprecation of Plato, whose mind was set on higher things,—Homer, the 'Bible of the Greeks,' was saved for the educated by allegory; with the stories he told of the gods, if he was not allegorical, he was impious, or they were immoral. Hence, from Anaxagoras onwards, the actions of the Homeric gods and heroes are allegories of the forces of nature; and, in Heraclitus (first century A.D.), the 'story of Ares and Aphrodite and Hephæstus is a picture of iron subdued by fire, and restored to its original hardness by Poseidon, that is, by water.' Or else they are the movements of mental powers and moral virtues; and so, in Cornutus (also first cent. A.D.), when Odysseus filled his ears that he might be deaf to the song of the Sirens, it is an allegory of the righteous filling their senses and powers of mind with divine words and actions that the passions and pleasures which tempt all men on the sea of life might knock at their doors in vain (Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1888, pp. 62, 64).

But allegorizing was Jewish as well as Greek, and Palestinian as well as Hellenistic. Both sections of Jews used allegory for apologetic purposes, but not with identical aims. The Pal. Jews allegorized the OT, finding a hidden sense in sentences, words, letters, and (in the centuries after Christ) even vowel-points, in order to satisfy their consciences for the non-observance of laws that had become impracticable, or to justify traditional and often trivial increment, or to defend God against apparent inconsistency, or the writers or historical characters against impiety or immorality; or, generally, for homiletical purposes. Thus Akiba (first and second centuries A.D.) claimed to have saved by allegory the *Song of Songs* from rejection. Allegory was a considerable element in the Pal. Haggada (or *interpretation*), and there were definite canons regulating its use. The Hellenistic Jews, whose metropolis of culture was Alexandria, and who, in the neighbourhood of NT times, constituted the majority of Jews, directed their apologetic towards educated Greeks, for philosophical purposes, and allegorized the OT to prove that their sacred books were neither barbarous nor immoral nor impious, that their religion had the same rationale as Greek philosophy, and that Moses had been the teacher, or, at all events, the anticipator, of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. The Hellenistic thinkers desired to be Greek philosophers without ceasing to be Jewish religionists. Thus the Alexandrian Aristobulus (second cent. B.C.), reputed to be the earliest known Hellenistic allegorizer, in his commentary on the Pent. addressed to Ptolemy Philometor, sought (as Clement of Alexandria says) to 'bring Peripatetic philosophy out of Moses and the Prophets.' But the representative Alexandrian allegorizer was Philo (early in first century A.D.): he reduced allegory to a system of his own, with canons similar to those of the Pal. Haggadists, but freely used, and adapted to philosophical ends by means of the Platonic doctrine of ideas. Professing to retain the literal sense as carrying in itself moral teaching, he nevertheless made the allegorical so transcendently significant (as the soul in the body) that both literal and moral were continually overwhelmed: before the writer's determination to extract the allegorical at all costs and in any sense that at the time suited his mood, the facts often disappeared, the narrative was turned upside down, and, in the handling of the characters of OT story, the unities were entirely ignored. So, when it is said that Jacob took a stone for his pillow, what he did, as the archetype of a self-disciplining soul, was to put one of the incorporeal intelligences of that holy ground close to his mind; and, under the pretext of going to sleep, he, in reality, found repose in the intelligence which he had chosen that on it he might lay the burden of his life. Again, Joseph is made, in one aspect, the type of the sensual mind, and, in another, of a conqueror victorious over pleasure.

We find the Alexandrian method employed upon the OT as early as the *Book of Wisdom* and its allegorical interpretation of the manna in the Pent. ($16^{20ff.}$), and of the high priest's robe as the image of the whole world (18^{24}).

The early *Christians* therefore found this current and acknowledged method of interpretation to their hand in the arguments they drew from the OT against the unbelieving Jews; and, in particular, St. Paul and the Paulinists, in their efforts to turn the law itself against the law-worshipping Judaisers. But not till post-apostolic times, culminating in the times of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, does the allegorical method show itself in any luxuriance. The method of Jesus and the speakers and writers in NT is typical rather than allegorical, and Palestinian rather than Alexandrian; and, in any case, is self-restrained and free from the characteristic extravagance of rabbi and philosopher. St. Paul, in his application of the method to the command as to oxen threshing (1 Co $9^{9f.}$), to the rock (1 Co 10^{4}), and to the veil of Moses (2 Co $3^{13ff.}$), is both Palestinian and Alexandrian in disregarding the original drift of the passages and incidents, treating it as nothing (1 Co 9^{10}) in comparison with the typico-allegorical interpretation; but he is Pal. in being homiletical in his aim and not philosophical, and in having persons and events in his perspective rather than abstract truth. In Gal $4^{21ff.}$ he openly affirms that Hagar and Sarah, Ishmael and Isaac, ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα, *i.e.* are (1) spoken or written of in the Scriptures allegorically, or (2) interpreted allegorically (with his approval) in his own day; and, in treating them (somewhat after Philo's manner upon the same subject) as representing two different covenants, one of the present and the other of the future Jerusalem, he approximates to the Alexandrian philosophical practice of allegorizing concrete things, persons, and events into abstract ideas: but only approximates; for not only is he clearly historical and typical in his basis, and homiletical in his aim, but, if συστοιχεῖ refers (as some think) to the numerical value of the letters according to the Rabbinic Gematria, he is, even here, Palestinian rather than Alexandrian in his method of interpretation. In the *Ep. to the Hebrews* the influence of Philo and Alexandria comes out more definitely. The writer is an 'idealist whose heaven is the home of all transcendental realities, whose earth is full of their symbols, and these are most abundant where earth is most sacred—in the temple (or tabernacle) and worship of his people.' He is Alexandrian in his frequent contrasts between

the invisible (11^{1}), imperishable (8^{5} 9^{23} 12^{28}), archetypal world (8^{2}), and the visible (11^{3}), perishable (12^{27}) world of appearance (11^{3}), the imperfect copy (*ὑπόδειγμα*) of the former (9^{23} 8^{5}); or, again, between Judaism as the shadow (*σκία*) and Christianity as the nearest earthly approximation (*εἰκών*) to the heavenly substance (*τὰ ἐπουράνια*) (8^{5} 10^{1}); and the allegory of Melchizedek, based not on the historical personage so much as on the nature of the two passing allusions to him, combined with the significance of the great silence elsewhere in the OT as to his birth and descent, as well as of the two names Melchizedek and Salem,—all these together being made the foundation of a logical construction of the person and work of Christ as an embodiment of the preconceived idea,—can hardly be considered without regard to Philo's treatment of Melchizedek as an allegory of his apparently impersonal Logos. And yet, with the expression in the 110th Psalm before us, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,' we must allow Dr. Westcott a certain margin of justification when he maintains that the treatment of Melchizedek is typical rather than allegorical; though he appears to be too sweeping when he affirms, 'There is no allegory in this epistle.' J. MASSIE.

ALLEMETH (עַלֶּמֶת), AV **Alemeth**, 1 Ch 6^{60}; **Almon** (עַלְמֹן), Jos 21^{18}.—A Levitical city of Benjamin. It is noticed with Anathoth, and is the present *'Almît* on the hills N. of Anathoth. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

ALLIANCE.—The attitude of the Israelites to foreign nations varied greatly at different periods in their history. In early times alliances were entered into and treaties concluded without the slightest scruple. Even intermixture with alien races was so far from being tabooed, that it was one of the principal means by which the land west of the Jordan was secured. Thus we are told that Judah married and had children by the daughter of a Canaanite (Gn 38^{2}), the tradition embodying the history of the clan in a personal narrative. Again, the condemnation of Simeon and Levi (Gn 34^{30}) is evidently due to the violation of a treaty previously entered into with Shechem (cf. the story of the Gibeonites, Jos 9^{3}, 2 S 21^{1}).

For the earliest period, then, it may be held that treaties with Canaanitish clans were frequent and general. On the other hand, they played an important part in the internal history of the Hebrews. Israel was by no means at first so homogeneous as is often supposed: the tribes, practically independent of each other, were gradually knit together by circumstances. Common dangers led to common action on the part of two or more of them: the leaders conferred together, or the chief of the strongest clan, or of the one most immediately threatened, assumed the headship, and the way was prepared for a close confederation. The times of the Judges furnish ample evidence of this, and the monarchy had no other foundation. A very curious alliance, and one that proves both the looseness of the Heb. confederacy and the readiness with which relations were entered into with foreigners, is that between David and Achish, king of Gath (1 S 27^{2}). Under it, David was prepared to fight, on behalf of the traditional enemies of his race, against the Benjamite kingdom of Saul. That he did not, was apparently due solely to the suspicions of his fidelity entertained by the lords of the Philistines.

When the monarchy became settled and comparatively powerful under Solomon, treaties with foreigners, in the stricter sense, became frequent. Solomon himself formed an alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre (1 K 5), and it is most probable that some of his marriages, and especially that with the daughter of Pharaoh, cemented a political union. The frequency with which rebels and outlaws sought a refuge in Egypt made such a union desirable. On the other hand, the memorials of the capture of Jerus. by Shishak of Egypt disprove the conjecture that his attack on Rehoboam was made in support of Jeroboam. After the secession of the ten tribes, Israel and Judah both sought foreign assistance against each other. Asa, on being attacked by Baasha, bribed Benhadad of Syria to dissolve the alliance he had previously formed with Israel, and to join him in his war with that country. It was not until the reigns of Jehoshaphat and Ahab that the two countries found themselves in accord, and fought side by side against the heathen. Their union was, of course, purely political: it had nothing to do with religious or sentimental considerations. Ahab could also form, or maintain, an alliance with the king of Phœnicia, and build an altar to Baal as the guardian and avenger of the treaty (1 K 16^{31}). With the entrance of the Assyrians on the scene, a new series of alliances is begun. Jehu's tribute to Shalmaneser was that of a vassal rather than an ally, and Menahem seems to have bribed Tiglath-pileser to aid him against his own subjects (2 K 15^{19}). At this point, however, the prophets begin to inveigh against these alliances (cf. especially Hos 8^{9}, Is 30^{15}), and the national exclusiveness is finally perfected by Ezra and his school. J. MILLAR.

ALLIED (Neh 13^{4} only) has the special meaning of connected by marriage. So Rob. of Glouc.—

> 'And saide, that it was to hym great prow and honour
> To be in such mariage alied to the emperour.'

J. HASTINGS.

ALLON.—**1.** (B Ἀλλών, A Ἀδλών, AV **Allom**), 1 Es 5^{34}.—His descendants are the last named among the children of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel. He may be the same as Ami (Ἀμί Ἠμέλ), the last named in the parallel list in Ezr 2^{57}, or Amon (Ἀμών Ἠμείμ), Neh 7^{59}; but the eight preceding names in 1 Es have no parallels in the canonical books, so that the identification is doubtful. Fritzsche conjectures *υἱοὶ ἄλλων*, meaning 'etc.' **2.** A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch 4^{37}. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ALLON BACUTH (אַלּוֹן בָּכוּת, AV **A. Bachuth**, 'oak of weeping'), where Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried, was at Bethel (Gn 35^{8}). See BETHEL, OAK. C. R. CONDER.

ALLOW.—Two distinct Lat. words, *allaudare*, to praise, approve, and *allocare*, to place (the latter through the French *alouer*), assumed in Eng. the same form 'allow.' Consequently in the five occurrences of this word in AV there are two distinct meanings. **1.** To *approve*: Ro 7^{15} 'For that which I do, I a. not' (Gr. *γινώσκω*, hence RV 'know not'); Ro 14^{22} 'Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he a^{eth}' (RV 'approveth'); 1 Th 2^{4}; and Lk 11^{48} 'Ye a. the deeds (RV 'consent unto the works') of your fathers.' Cf. Ps 11^{5} Pr. Bk. 'The Lord a^{eth} (AV and RV 'trieth') the righteous.' **2.** To place before one so as to see and admit it, to acknowledge, accept: Ac 24^{15} 'Which they themselves also a.' (Gr. *προσδέχομαι*, RV 'look for,' m. 'accept'). **Allowable** (not in AV or RV) is found in Pref. of AV='worthy of approval.' **Allowance** is also in Pref. AV=approval, and has been introduced by RV at Jer 52^{34} in the mod. sense of 'portion' (AV 'diet'). Cf. 1 Es 1^{7}.

J. HASTINGS.

ALMIGHTY is used in OT as tr. of שַׁדַּי 48 times (all the occurrences of that word) of wh. 31 are

in Job. In NT it is used as tr. of παντοκράτωρ 10 times (all the occurrences of that word), of wh. 9 are in Rev. It is also freq. in Apocr. See GOD.

J. HASTINGS.

AL MODAD (אַלְמוֹדָד), the first-named son of Joktan, Gn 10^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{20}. The context seems to imply that some tribe or district of S. Arabia is meant, but the name has not hitherto been identified with certainty. The first element has been variously explained as the Arab. article (this is perhaps intended by the Massoretic punctuation; so Dillmann on Gn 10^{26}), as the Sem. *Él* ('God'; so Halévy), and as the Arab. *âl* ('family'; so Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 425). The second element seems clearly to be a derivative of the verb *wadd* (to love), of the same stem as the name Wadd, a god of the Minæans and other Arabian races. As a word that can be read *Maudad* is applied in inscriptions to the Gebanites in their relation to the kings of Ma'în, Glaser suggests that the name should be rendered 'the family to whom the office of Maudad,' *i.e.* some priesthood of Wadd, 'was assigned,' and that the tribe should be identified with the Gebanites, whom he places in the S.W. corner of Arabia. Others have supposed the word to be corrupt, and have corrected it *Al-Murad*, the well-known name of a tribe of Yemen.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ALMON.—See ALLEMETH.

ALMON-DIBLATHAIM (עַלְמֹן דִּבְלָתָיְמָה, Nu $33^{46.47}$). —A station in the journeyings, prob. identical with Beth-diblathaim, Jer 48^{22}. The meaning of the word Diblathaim is a double cake of figs; its application to a town may indicate the appearance of the place or neighbourhood. Conder suggests 'two discs' with reference to some altar-stone or dolmen (cf. *Heth and Moab*, p. 262).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

ALMOND (שָׁקֵד *shâkêd*). *Shâkêd* is, like many names of plants, used for both the plant and its fruit. Thus in Ec 12^{5} and Jer 1^{11}, the reference is to the tree, while in Gn 43^{11}, Ex $25^{33.34}$ $37^{19.20}$, Nu 17^{8}, the reference is to the fruit. The Arab. name for the almond is *lauz*. The same word occurs once in OT (Gn 30^{37}), where it is wrongly translated in AV **Hazel**. The Heb. equivalent, לוּז, is undoubtedly another name for the almond, probably the more ancient one.

The almond, *Amygdalus communis*, L., belongs to the order Rosaceæ, tribe Amygdaleæ, and is a tree with an oblong or spherical comus, from fifteen to thirty feet high. The branches are somewhat straggling, especially in the wild state. The leaves are lanceolate, serrate, acute, three to four inches long, and most of them fall during the winter. About midwinter the bare tree is suddenly covered with blossoms, an inch to an inch and a half broad. Although the petals are pale pink toward their base, they are usually whitish toward their tips, and the general effect of an almond tree in blossom is white. As there are no leaves on the tree when the blossoms come out, the whole tree appears a mass of white, and the effect of a large number of them, interspersed among the dark-green foliage and golden fruit of the lemon and orange, and the feathery tops of the palms, is to give an indescribable charm to the January and February landscapes in the orchards of the large cities of Pal. and Syria. Soon after blossoming, the delicate petals begin to fall in soft, snowy showers on the ground under and around the trees, and their place is taken by the young fruit; and, at the same time, the young leaves begin to open, and the tree is covered with foliage in March. The young fruit consists of an oblong, flattened, downy pod, which often attains a length of two and a half to three inches, and a thickness of two-thirds of an inch. This pod is called in Arab. *kur'aun-el-lauz*, and just before ripening it has a crisp, cucumber-like consistence, and a pleasant acid taste, which are greatly liked by the people. It is hawked about the streets during the months of April and May, and eaten with great relish, especially by children. At this stage the shell of the nut is yet soft, and the kernel juicy, with a slight smack of peach-stone flavour. Very soon, however, the succulent flesh of the outer envelope loses its juice, and dries around the hardening shell, to which it forms a shrunken, leathery envelope. The kernel acquires firmness, and in early summer the nut is ripe. It is then from an inch to an inch and a half long. Almonds are, and always have been, a favourite luxury of the Orientals (Gn 43^{11}). They make a delicious confection of the hulled kernels, by beating them into a paste with sugar in a mortar. This paste, moulded into various shapes, is called *harîset-el-lauz*. The half kernels are spread over several sorts of blancmange, called *maḥallibîyeh*, and *nashawîyeh*, and *mughli*. Almonds are also sugared as with us.

There are several species of wild almond in Pal. and Syria. (1) The wild state of *Amygdalus communis*, L., a stunted tree, with smaller blossoms and pods, and small bitter nuts. Some of the varieties of this have leaves less than an inch long. (2) *A. Orientalis*, Ait., a shrub with spinescent branches, small silvery leaves, and bitter nuts, three-quarters of an inch long. (3) *A. lycioides*, Spach, a shrub with intricate, stiff, spiny branches, linear-lanceolate, green leaves, and a bitter nut half an inch long. (4) *A. spartioides*, Spach, a shrub with few linear-lanceolate leaves, and bitter nuts, a little over half an inch long. All of these share more or less the peculiarities of flowering and fruiting which belong to the cultivated almond.

The Heb. word for almond signifies the 'waker,' in allusion to its being the first tree to wake to life in the winter. The word also contains the signification of 'watching' and 'hastening.' In Jer 1^{11} the word for 'almond tree' is *shâkêd*, and the word for 'I will hasten' (v.^{12}), *shôkêd*, from the same root. The almond was the emblem of the divine forwardness in bringing God's promises to pass. A similar instance in the name of another rosaceous plant is the *apricot*, which was named from *præcocia* (*early*) on account of its blossoms appearing early in the spring, and its fruit ripening earlier than its congener the peach (Pliny, xv. 11).

The usual interpretation of Ec 12^{5} 'the almond tree shall flourish,' is that the old man's hair shall turn white like the almond tree. To this Gesenius objects, that the blossom of the almond is pink, not white. He prefers to translate the word for flourish by *spurn* or *reject*, making the old man *reject* the almond because he has no teeth to eat it. But this objection has no force. The pink colour of the almond blossom is very light, usually mainly at the base of the petals, and fades as they open, and the general effect of the tree as seen at a distance is snowy-white. The state of the teeth has already been alluded to (v.^{3}), 'and the grinders cease because they are few,' and 'the sound of the grinding is low.' We may therefore retain the beautiful imagery which brings to mind the silver hair of the aged, and draw from the snowy blossom the promise of the coming fruit.

G. E. POST.

ALMSGIVING.—i. *The History of the Word.*—This is interesting and instructive. The Gr. word ἐλεημοσύνη, from which *alms* is derived, is one of those words which owe their origin to the use of the Gr. language by Jews imbued with the religious and ethical ideas of OT. The LXX (including the

Apocr.) supplies the greatest variety of examples of the senses given to it. In some passages it appears impossible to distinguish its meaning from that of ἔλεος; but ἐλεημοσύνη, as derived from the adj. ἐλεήμων, which describes a merciful man, who is himself as it were a concrete example of mercy, properly denotes the exhibition of the quality, rather than the inward feeling. It is used of God both in the sing. (Is 1^{27} 28^{17}, Sir 17^{29}, Bar 4^{22}) and in plur. [Ps 103 (Sept 102) ^{6}, To 3^{2}]. A deep sense that God's goodness had been and would be proved in deeds, is specially characteristic of revealed religion; and the need for expressing this may, in part at least, have been the motive for coining the unclassical term which we are considering. It is used of men, also, to signify (1) the showing of kindness, the practice of works of mercy (Gn 47^{29}, Pr 19^{22} 20^{28} 21^{21}, Sir 7^{10} etc.); and (2) particular works of mercy (Pr 3^{3}, Dn 4^{24} [Eng. 4^{27}], Sir 35^{2} [Sept. 32^{4}], To $1^{3,16}$ etc.). By the time at least that the books of Sir and To were written, it had come to be a quite specific description of deeds of compassion to the poor. The importance which this class of actions had acquired for religious minds is thus marked by the adoption of a special word to denote them. The LXX, however, does not supply any clear instance of the transference of the word to the actual gifts bestowed.

The LXX employs it as an equivalent not only for חֶסֶד (mercy), but sometimes for words denoting righteousness, צֶדֶק, צְדָקָה (Dn 4^{24}). The thought may suggest itself that we have here signs of a tendency to regard A., after the manner of the Talm., as the chief and most typical of the works whereby that righteousness may be acquired which makes man acceptable with God. But this is more than doubtful. It occurs several times where righteousness is predicated of God (Is 1^{27} 28^{17} 59^{16}). In one or more of the following passages, where words for righteousness are tr. in LXX by ἐλεημοσύνη, a human quality may be in view (Ps 33 [Sept. 32]^{5}, Dt 6^{25} 24^{13}, Ps 24 [Sept. 23]^{5}). But in each case a different interpretation, at least of the LXX, is possible. The conception of righteousness in OT is a large one, and not wholly definite. Under one aspect it wears almost the character of mercy. And it may have been from a more or less clear consciousness of this that the renderings just referred to were adopted. Neither in the Apocr. nor in the LXX of the canon. books do there appear to be examples of the use of δικαιοσύνη for 'almsgiving,' though it is true that ἐλεημοσύνη and δικαιοσύνη are coupled at To 2^{14} $12^{8,9}$ in a manner which shows a strong association of ideas between them. We have, however, an indication of this Rabbinic usage in the best supported reading of Mt 6^{1}.

In NT the word is used in Mt and Lk and in Ac, but always in the sense either of A. or of alms—the actual gift (for the latter see Ac $3^{2,3}$).

The Lat. Fathers, from Tertullian and Cyprian onwards, and the Old Lat. and Vulg. VSS employ the word *eleemosyna*, transliterated from the Gr.; only, however, in those cases where they had no exact or convenient Lat. equivalent. From Lat. eccles. usage come the various derivatives in the languages of modern Europe (Eng. *alms*, Fr. *aumône*, Germ. *Almosen*, Ital. *limosina*).

ii. *Jewish Teaching.*—Some consideration of this is necessary, if we would rightly appreciate the teaching of NT on the subject. Evidence of the importance which A. had acquired for religious minds among the Jews of the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C. has already come before us in the fact that a special name was assigned to this class of actions. They had become one of the common and acknowledged observances of the religious life, a matter to be attended to by the religious man in the same regular and careful manner as prayer and fasting, with which we find A. joined (see To 12^{8}, Sir 7^{10}, and cf. the conduct of the earnest proselyte Cornelius, Ac $10^{2,4}$). It is regarded as a specially efficacious means of making atonement for sin (Sir $3^{14,30}$ 16^{14}), and obtaining divine protection from calamity (Sir 29^{12} 40^{24}, To $14^{10,11}$); the merit thereof is an unfailing possession (Sir 40^{17}); the religious reputation to be won thereby is held out as an inducement to the practice of it (Sir 31 [LXX 34]^{11}).

Such features in the estimate of A. are, if possible, still more marked in the Talm., where צְדָקָה, righteousness, is a recognised name for A. The performance of works of mercy is set forth as a means whereby man may be accounted righteous in the sight of God, like the fulfilment of the commandments of the Law. It is even more meritorious than the latter, because it is not exactly prescribed, but left, as to its extent and amount at least, to the individual. It must not, however, be supposed that all the Rabbinic teaching on A. tends to self-righteousness. It has a better side. The superiority of those deeds of kindness in which personal sympathy is shown, and which involve the taking of trouble, over the mere bestowal of gifts, is clearly insisted on, and there are sayings which strikingly enjoin consideration for the self-respect of the recipients of bounty. (See F. Weber, *System d. altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, p. 273f., and A. Wünsche, *Neue Beitr. z. Erläut. d. Evang. aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, on Mt 6^{1-4}, Lk 11^{41} 12^{33}.)

iii. *The Teaching of the NT.*—In the Sermon on the Mount (as recorded in Mt), our Lord, after setting forth His New Law as a true fulfilment of the Ancient Law (5^{17-48}), proceeds to treat of certain chief religious observances from a similar point of view (6^{1-18}); and, in full accordance with the Jewish thought of the time, that one which He takes first is A. It may seem strange that He does not more directly correct the erroneous notions of merit and justification which had already become associated, in more or less definite form, with such works; and that He speaks of a divine reward for them without adding any warning against misunderstanding. He contents Himself with requiring purity of motive, indifference to and even avoidance of human praise, and self-forgetfulness. But, in truth, if we learn to test the quality of the motive for, and the manner of performing, each deed, with reference only to the judgment which God will pronounce upon it, that temper of mind, that faith and humility and sense of personal failure and sin, which alone are consistent with the principles of the gospel, will be secured. Another very significant saying of our Lord on A. is given Lk 11^{41}. He there enjoins it as the true means of purifying material objects for our use; it is a counterpart to the ceremonial washings of the Pharisees. Lk 12^{33} is the only other passage in the Gospels where the word ἐλεημοσύνη is used. But liberality in giving is frequently inculcated or commended (Mt 5^{42} 19^{21}, Mk 10^{21}, Lk $6^{30,38}$ 14^{13} 16^{9} 18^{22}). In the Acts the Jewish use of the term is illustrated; it does not occur there in any Christian precept. But that feature of the life of the Christian community at Jerus. in the first days, as there pictured, which has been called communism, is more properly an example of abounding charity.

In Christendom during many centuries the duty of A. (primarily, no doubt, from a desire of obeying the commands of Christ) received great, and sometimes exaggerated, attention. The danger now is rather that, through fear of the ill-effects of indiscriminate A., the disposition to give and the habit of doing so should be discouraged. A practice, however, enjoined as this one is, must permanently hold a

high place in the Christian rule of life. It is the function of modern economic and social knowledge only to make its exercise more wise and beneficial. V. H. STANTON.

ALMUG.—See ALGUM.

ALOES, LIGN-ALOES (אֲהָלִים *'ahâlîm*, אֲהָלוֹת *'ahâloth*).—The word Aloes is used four times in the OT and once in the NT. In Nu 24^6 the Heb. word is אֲהָלִים, the LXX σκηναι, and the AV *Lign-Aloes=Lignum Aloes*. In Ps 45^8 the Heb. is אֲהָלוֹת, the LXX στακτή, and the AV *Aloes*. In Pr 7^{17} the Heb. is אֲהָלִים, the LXX τὸν δὲ οἶκον, and the AV *Aloes*. In Ca 4^{14} the Heb. is אֲהָלוֹת, the LXX ἀλώθ, and the AV *Aloes* (RV agrees with AV in all).

It is clear that in the passages in Nu and Pr the LXX has followed a different reading from the MT, and has arbitrarily translated the same word *stacte* in the Ps and *aloth* (*aloe*) in Ca. In face of the practical identity of the words *'ahâlîm* and *'ahâlôth*, it is fair to reject the various capricious renderings of the LXX, and assume that the word has the same meaning in all the four OT passages. In the last three of these passages, and in the NT (Jn 19^{39}), the reference is plainly to the aromatic.

Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 135) argues that this substance is the *Aquilaria Agallocha*, the *Lignum Aloes* or *Aloes Wood* of commerce. This wood was well known to the ancients, and is described under its Arab. name *'ûd* in considerable detail by Avicenna (ii. 231), in brief as follows: 'Wood and woody roots are brought from China and India and Arabia; and some of it is dotted and blackish; and it is aromatic, styptic, and slightly bitter; and it is covered with a leathery bark. The best variety is from Mandalay, and comes from the interior of India. The next best is that which is called Indian, which comes from the mountains; and it has this advantage over the Mandalay variety, that it does not breed maggots. Some persons do not distinguish between the Mandalay and the better kinds of Indian. Among the good kinds of *'ûd* are the Samandury, which comes from China on the borders of India, and the ḳomary from India, and the ḳakilly, and the ḳadmury, and of inferior species the Hillay and the Mabiṭay, and the Lawâfy and the Raḅtâfy. To sum up, the best *'ûd* is that which sinks in water, and that which floats is bad. It is said that the trunks and roots of the *'ûd* are buried until the woody fibre decays, leaving only the aromatic substance.' Avicenna follows this description with a detailed account of the medicinal and other properties of the aloes wood. He alludes to the wood also under the heading Aghâlûji, which is undoubtedly the ἀγάλλοχον of the Greeks, and the Agallochum of the Romans. The substance is now known to the Arabs by the names *'ûd-es-ṣalîb*, *'ûd-en-nadd*, *'ûd-el-bakhûr*, and *el-'ûd-el-ḳomâri*.

The order Aquilariaceæ supplies several trees, which produce commercial aloes wood. The most noted of these is *Aquilaria Agallocha*, Roxb., a native of Northern India, which grows to a height of 120 ft. *Aquilaria secundaria*, of China, produces some of the varieties alluded to by Avicenna. It is a well-known fact that the fragrance of the wood of the species of *Aquilaria* is developed by decay, a process which is hastened by burying the wood, as above alluded to by Avicenna. While we have no positive proof that the aloes wood is the aromatic intended by the Heb. original, there is no good reason why it should not be. The similarity of *'ahâlôth* to ἀγάλλοχον is sufficient to establish a strong probability in its favour, and in the absence of any other probable candidate it may be received with a fair measure of confidence.

It must be understood that the above-mentioned plant has no connexion philologically or botanically with *Excœcaria agallocha*, D.C., of the order of Euphorbiaceæ, an acrid, poisonous, non-aromatic plant. Nor has it anything to do with the officinal *Aloes*, of the order Liliaceæ, a plant not alluded to in the Bible.

There remains the difficulty of the passage in Nu 24^6 'as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign-aloes (אֲהָלִים) which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar trees (אֲרָזִים) beside the waters.' The LXX has rendered the word σκηναι as if written אֳהָלִים, which means *tents*; but besides the irregularity and inconsistency of the LXX in the translation of the word in the other passages in the OT, it would be strange that, in a triple parallelism of the intensive and climacteric order, beginning with gardens and ending with the prince of trees, the royal cedar, the word *tents*, instead of a kind of trees, should be interjected. We may dismiss this as wholly improbable.

We have also to remember that the same names may be used for more than one object in nature. This is pointed out in detail in our article on the *Algum*. In the Eng. name *Aloe*, for the plant now under consideration, and for the officinal Aloes, we have an instance of two very different plants, of widely diverse properties, bearing the same name. It is then quite possible that the *tree* of Numbers might be totally different from the *aromatic substance* of the other passages. In Eng. the labiate genus *Melissa* is called *balm*. *Impatiens* is called *balsam*. *Populus balsamifera*, L., var. *candicans*, is called *balm of Gilead*, a very different plant from the balm of Gilead of Scripture, and the word *balm* is applied to many diverse substances. There is nothing, however, to prevent the supposition that the tree of Numbers is that which produced the substance of the other passages. It is true that the tree is one of tropical Arabia, India, or China. But Balaam's prophecy was uttered in full view of the tropical valley of the Jordan, where the climate would have made it quite possible to cultivate these trees. There is nothing to forbid the idea that this and other trees not now known in Pal. were cultivated in the then wealthy and populous Jordan Valley. At least twenty-five distinctly tropical wild plants are indigenous in this valley. In describing his bride, Solomon compares her with a garden in which were pomegranates, camphire (henna), spikenard, saffron, calamus, cinnamon, with all kinds of frankincense, myrrh, and all the chief spices (Ca $4^{13.\ 14}$). Balaam might have looked over such a plantation when he made his tristich.

On the other hand, it is not necessary to assume that he saw the trees to which he alludes, or that either he or the Israelites were familiar with them. In the climax he mentions the *cedar*, doubtless the cedar of Lebanon. It is unlikely that he had ever seen one. It is certain that the Israelites had not. But it was a well-known tree, and suitable for the comparison. The allusion to the 'cedar trees beside the waters' shows that the picture is ideal and poetical, as cedars grow in dry places on the lofty mountain sides, and never by water-courses. The aloe tree might have been equally well known by reputation, although unfamiliar both to Balaam and the Israelites personally. It is quite certain that the spice trade was very active through the Syrian and Arabian deserts in ancient times, and the spices and aromatics therefore far more familiar to the people of the border lands of Pal. and Syria than now. So that whether the plants of Nu 24^6 and Ca $4^{13.\ 14}$ were cultivated or not, they

were well known, and comparisons based on them well understood. G. E. Post.

ALOFT is found only in 1 Es 8^{92} 'and now is all Israel a.'; RVm '*exalted*,' with a ref. to Dt 28^{13} 'thou shalt be above (same Gr. word in LXX ἐπάνω) only, and thou shalt not be beneath.'

J. Hastings.

ALONG.—In Jg 7^{12} we read 'all the children of the east, lay a. in the valley like grasshoppers (RV "locusts") for multitude,' and in v.^{13} 'the tent lay a.' The same verb (=to fall) is used in Heb., and the Eng. phrase was prob. intended to have the same meaning in both phrases, *andlang* (Ger. *entlang*), at length, all the length. Cf. Jth 13^{2}.

J. Hastings.

ALPHA AND OMEGA.—This phrase is found in Rev 1^{8} 21^{6} 22^{13}. In the first passage it is used of God the Father, in the other two of the Son. In the TR it wrongly appears in Rev 1^{11}. This phrase calls for treatment in two respects: (1) as to its *form*, (2) as to its *meaning*.

1. That the form of the phrase was familiar, or, at all events, easily intelligible from the outset, is clear from later Heb. analogies. But before we touch on these it is worth observing that a kindred idiom is found in contemporary Latin literature. Thus in Martial v. 26 we find:

> Quod alpha dixi, Codre, pænulatorum
> Te nuper, aliqua cum jocarer in charta;
> Si forte bilem movit hic tibi versus,
> Dicas licebit beta me togatorum.

Cf. also ii. 57, and Theodoret, *HE* iv. 8, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐχρησάμεθα τῷ ἄλφα μέχρι τοῦ ω. Amongst the later Jews the whole extent of a thing was often expressed by the first and last letters of the alphabet. Thus (Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. in loc.*) את was a name of the Shechinah, because it embraced all the letters. Acc. to the *Jalkut Rub.* fol. 17. 4 Adam transgressed the whole law מא' ועד ת from *aleph* to *tau*: acc. to fol. 48. 4 Abraham observed the whole law from *aleph* to *tau*; and, fol. 128. 3, when God blesses Israel He does it from *aleph* to *tau* (*i.e.* the initial and closing letters of Lv 26^{3-13}, in which the blessings on Israel are pronounced), but when He curses Israel He does so from *vav* to *mem* (see Lv 26^{14-43}). We may therefore reasonably infer that the title 'Alpha and Omega' is a Gr. rendering of a corresponding Heb. expression.

2. The thought conveyed in this title is essentially that of Is 44^{6}, אני ראשון ואני אחרון 'I am the first and I am the last' (cf. 41^{4} 43^{10}). The phrase thus signifies 'the Eternal One.' It is thus expounded by Aretas (see Cramer's *Catenæ Græcæ in NT* on Rev 1^{8}: Ἄλφα διὰ τὸ ἀρχὴν εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἄλφα ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐν γράμματι στοιχείων· ω διὰ τὸ τέλος τῶν αὐτῶν. ἀρχὴν δὲ καὶ τέλος τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐννοήσοι τὸ πρῶτος σημαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἔσχατος; διὰ τοῦ πρῶτος δέ, τὸ ἀναρχος ἐννοεῖται, ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐσχάτου τὸ ἀτελεύτητος. In Tertullian, *Monog.* 5, there is the following interesting exposition: Sic et duas Græciæ litteras, summam et ultimam, sibi induit dominus, initii et finis concurrentium in se figuras, uti, quemadmodum A ad Ω usque volvitur et rursus Ω ad A replicatur, ita ostenderet in se esse et initii decursum ad finem et finis recursum ad initium, ut omnis dispositio in eum desinens per quem coepta est, per sermonem scilicet dei qui caro factus est, proinde desinat quemadmodum et coepit.

Cf. also Cyprian, *Testim.* ii. 1, 6, 22; iii. 100; Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 19. 645; 30. 89; Prudentius, *Cathem.* ix. 10–12.

> Corde natus ex Parentis, ante mundi exordium
> Alpha et Ω cognominatus, Ipse fons et clausula
> Omnium quæ sunt fuerunt quæque post futura sunt.

Although in Rev 1^{8} this title is used of God the Father, it seems to be confined to the Son in Patristic and subsequent literature.

R. H. Charles.

ALPHABET is a word derived from *alpha* and *beta*, the names of the first two letters in Greek, in which they are meaningless, being adaptations of the corresponding Sem. letter-names *aleph*, an ox, and *beth*, a house. This etymology discloses much of the history of the A., which originated among a Sem. people, by whom it was transmitted to the Greeks and by them to the Romans, whose A., with a few trifling modifications, we still use.

It is now known that all the alphabets in the world, some 200 in number, are descended from a primitive Sem. A., usually styled the Phœn. A., or the A. of Israel.

The universal belief, or possibly the tradition of the ancient world, as reported by Plato, Tacitus, Plutarch, and other writers, was that the Phœnicians had obtained the A. from Egypt. This seemed so probable that after the hieroglyphic writing had been recovered and deciphered, repeated attempts were made to show how the transmission might have been effected. This, however, proved to be no easy task. At the time of the Heb. Exodus, the hieroglyphic picture-writing was already a venerable system of vast antiquity. Existing inscriptions make it possible to trace it back to the time of the 2nd dynasty, some 6000 years ago, when it already appears in great perfection, arguing a prolonged period of antecedent development. Setting aside a multitude of ideographic picture-signs, there are about 400 pictorial phonograms, of which 45 had emerged out of the syllabic stage, and had attained a sort of alphabetic character; that is, they either denoted vowels, or were capable of being associated with more than one vowel sound. Of these, 25 were in more universal use than the rest, and it was mainly out of these, as we shall see, that the letters of the A. were developed.

To a French Egyptologist, Emanuel de Rougé, belongs the honour of having discovered the probable method by which the Sem. A. was evolved out of the Egyp. writing. De Rougé pointed out that the immediate prototypes of the Phœn. letters were not to be found, as had been supposed, in the pictorial Hieroglyphs of the monuments, or in the well-known cursive Hieratic of the Middle Empire, but in an older and more deformed Hieratic script which prevailed in the time of the Early Empire, —a form of writing so ancient that it had already fallen into disuse before the Heb. Exodus. This obscure and difficult script is chiefly known to us from a single MS., now in the National Library at Paris. It goes by the name of the Papyrus Prisse, having been presented to the Library by M. Prisse d'Avennes, who obtained it at Thebes, where it was found in a tomb as old as the 11th dynasty. It is therefore older by many centuries than the time of Moses, older than the invasion of the Shepherd kings, and older probably than the date usually assigned to Abraham.

Forty-five of the Egyp. Hieroglyphics had acquired, as we have seen, a semi-alphabetic character, and De Rougé contended that the Hieratic representatives of 21 of the most suitable of these Hieroglyphs were selected, and employed by some Sem. people as the prototypes of the A. they constructed, only one of the 22 letters being due to a non-Egyptian source. These Hieratic characters, traced from the Papyrus Prisse, are given in col. 2 of the table, and the corresponding Hieroglyphs, which face the other way, will be found in col. 1.

The oldest Sem. forms with which we are acquainted are shown in col. 3. In comparing them with their assumed Hieratic prototypes it must be remembered that they are not contem-

EVOLUTION OF THE HEBREW ALPHABETS.

	EGYPTIAN.		ISRAELITIC.	ARAMÆAN.	HEBREW.				Names.	Values.
1									'Aleph	*'a*
2									Beth	*b*
3									Gimel	*g*
4									Daleth	*d*
5									He	*h*
6									Vau	*v*
7									Zayin	*z*
8									Ḥeth	*ḥ*
9									Ṭeth	*ṭ*
10									Yod	*y*
11									Kaph	*k*
12									Lamed	*l*
13									Mem	*m*
14									Nun	*n*
15									Ṣamekh	*ṣ*
16									'Ayin	*'a*
17									Pe	*p*
18									Ẓade	*ẓ*
19									Ḳoph	*ḳ*
20									Resh	*r*
21									Shin	*sh*
22									Tau	*t*
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.		

EXPLANATION OF THE TABLE.

Col. I. Egyptian Hieroglyphics, facing to the left. Col. II. Hieratic Characters, facing to the right. Col. III. Oldest Israelite or Phœnician Letters, from the Baal Lebanon and Moabite inscriptions (sec. XI. to IX. B.C.). Col. IV. Aramæan, right to left, from the coins of the Satrapies and Egyp. inscriptions and papyri (sec. V. to I. B.C.). Col. V. Oldest Square Hebrew, from inscriptions near Jerusalem (Herodian period). Col. VI. Square Hebrew, from Babylonian bowls (sec. IV. to VII. A.D.). Col. VII. Square Hebrew, from Codex Babylonicus at St. Petersburg (916 A.D.). Col. VIII. Modern Square Hebrew.

porary forms, but are separated by at least ten, or more probably by twelve centuries, a period during which considerable differences of form must almost necessarily have arisen, in addition to which the Hieratic forms are cursive, freely traced on papyrus with a brush, while the Sem. letters are lapidary types, engraved with a chisel upon stone or bronze, which would entail differences of form similar to those which exist between our printed capitals A, B, E and the script forms *a*, *b*, *e* of our modern handwriting. This alone would account for the alterations in the shapes of such letters as *daleth*, *ḥeth*, *resh*, or *mem*, the change from a cursive to a lapidary type causing the characters to become more regular in size and inclination, bold curves being simplified, closed ovals becoming triangles or squares, and the curved sweeping tails becoming straight and rigid lines.

For 21 of the 22 letters of the Sem. alphabet De Rougé has found a prob. Hieratic prototype, in 18 cases taking the normal Egyp. equivalent of the Sem. sound, and in 3 instances only, *aleph*, *beth*, and *zayin*, having recourse to a less usual homophone. In one case he fails. The peculiar guttural breathing denoted by the Sem. letter *'ayin* did not exist in Egyp. speech. For this letter no Egyp. prototype has been discovered, and it is supposed that it was an invention of the Semites, the symbol ○ being regarded, as the name suggests, as the picture of an 'eye.' (See No. 16, col. 3.)

How, when, or by whom the Sem. A. was thus evolved from the Egyp. Hieratic it is impossible to say with precision. The possible limits of date are believed to lie between the 23rd and the 17th centuries B.C. It seems probable that the development was effected by some Sem. people who were in commercial intercourse with the Egyptians,—possibly, it has been conjectured, the Semites of S. Arabia, possibly the Hyksos, if these Shepherd kings were Semites, and not, as is now supposed, of Mongolian race, hardly the Hebrews, who seem to be excluded by the limits of date, but most probably a Phœn. trading colony settled on the shores of Lake Menzaleh in the Delta. On the Egyp. monuments they are called Fenekh (Phœnicians), and also Char or Chal, a name used to designate the coast tribes of Syria. The native land of the Char was called Kaft, whence part of the Delta was called Caphtor, or the 'greater Kaft.' If the A. arose in Caphtor it would easily spread to Phœnicia, and then to the kindred and neighbouring races.

The art of writing must, however, have been known to the Hebrews at an early period of their history. Hiram, we are told, wrote a letter to Solomon, and David wrote a letter to Joab. From the lists of the kings and dukes of Edom, preserved in Gn 36 and 1 Ch 1, we gather that the Edomites, at the time when their capital was taken by Joab in the reign of David, possessed state annals, going back to a remote period. The list of the encampments of the Israelites in the Desert, given in Nu 33, cannot have been handed down by oral tradition; while it is the only incorporated document in the Pent. which we are expressly told was written down by Moses, and its geogr. correctness has been curiously confirmed by recent researches. The census of the congregation preserved in Nu 1–4 and 26 is also manifestly a very ancient written record which has been incorporated in the text. All these documents were presumably written in the primitive Sem. A. But the discoveries of the last few years have led scholars to believe that non-alphabetic writing of another kind was used in Pal. long before the Exodus, as early as the reign of Khu-n-Aten, the recent excavations at Lachish and the discoveries at Tel el-Amarna proving that the governors of the Syrian cities corresponded with the Egyp. kings in a cursive form of the Babylonian cuneiform.

The oldest known forms of the Sem. letters are shown in col. 3 of the table, where their names and their approximate phonetic values may also be found.

Thirteen may be represented by letters in our own Alphabet. These are *beth*, *gimel*, *daleth*, *he*, *zayin*, *ḳaph*, *lamed*, *mem*, *nun*, *ṣamekh*, *pe*, *resh*, and *tau*, which correspond to our letters *b*, *g*, *d*, *h*, *z*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*, *p*, *r*, and *t*. The other nine letters represent sounds which we do not exactly possess. Of these, two are called 'linguals,' or 'emphatics,' namely, *ṭeth*, a gutturalised *t*, which is called the emphatic dental, and *ṣade*, a gutturalised *s*, called the emphatic sibilant. The letter *ḳoph* was not our *q*, but a *k* formed farther back in the throat, and here represented by *ḳ*. There are also four 'faucal breaths,' *'aleph*, *he*, *ḥeth*, and *'ayin*, of which *'aleph*, the lightest, was a slightly explosive consonant, heard in English after the word No! when uttered abruptly, and nearly equivalent to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks; *'ayin* was a sound of the same kind, but harder than *'aleph*, approaching a *g* rolled in the throat; *ḥeth*, called the 'fricative faucal,' was a continuous guttural, resembling the *ch* in the Scotch *loch*; and *he* was a fainter sound of the same kind, approaching our *h*. The primitive sound of *shin* was probably that of our *sh*, but was subject to dialectic variation. *Yod* and *vau* were semi-consonants, or rather consonantal vowels, usually equivalent to *y* and *v*, but passing readily into *i* and *u*.

None of the Sem. A.s have possessed symbols for the true vowels, which are now denoted, not by letters, but by diacritical points, a notation essentially non-alphabetic, and not of any great antiquity. The vowels in non-Semitic A.s, such as Greek, Zend, Armenian, Georgian, Sanskrit, and Mongolian, have been developed out of characters representing the Sem. breaths and semi-consonants. Thus the Gr. *alpha*, whence our A, was obtained from *'aleph*, the *spiritus lenis*; *epsilon*, whence our E, is from *he*, an aspirate; *eta* and our H from *ḥeth*, the fricative faucal; *iota* and our I and J from *yod*, a semi-consonant; *omicron* and *omega*, and our O, from *'ayin*, the *spiritus asper*; while *upsilon* and our U, V, W, Y, and F, came from *vau*, a semi-consonant.

Besides the absence of symbols for the vowels, most of the Sem. scripts, Heb., Syr., and Arab., agree in being written from right to left, the direction following the example of the prototype, the Hieratic of the Papyrus Prisse, whereas in the non-Sem. scripts the direction has mostly been changed. The Sem. A.s have also adhered to the primitive 22 letters, none of which have fallen into disuse, any additional notation required being effected by diacritical points, whereas in other scripts new forms have been evolved by differentiation, as in the case of our own letters V, U, W, Y, and F, which are all differentiated forms of the same symbol.

The pictorial character of the Hieroglyphs had disappeared in the Hieratic of the Papyrus Prisse, and hence it is no matter for surprise to find that the Egyp. symbols were renamed by the Semites, on the acrologic principle, by words significant in Sem. speech, the new names being due to a resemblance, real or fanciful, between the form assumed by the letter and some object whose name began with the letter in question, as in our nursery picture-books, in which O is an orange, S a swan, and B a butterfly. Thus the first symbol was no longer *ahom*, the 'eagle,' as in Egyp., but became *'aleph*, the 'ox,' from the resemblance to the front view of the head and horns of that animal; and the 13th, instead of being *mulak*, the 'owl,' became *mem*, the 'waters,' what had been the ears and beak of

the owl coming to resemble the undulations of waves (see col. 2 and 3). The Sem. names are sometimes more easily explained by the Egyp. forms of the Papyrus Prisse than by those in the oldest Sem. inscriptions. The Sem. names are usually interpreted as follows: *'aleph* means an 'ox'; *beth* signifies a 'house'; and *gimel*, a 'camel,' the Hieratic form resembling a recumbent camel, with the head, neck, body, tail, and saddle, of which only the head and neck are preserved in the oldest Sem. letter; *daleth* means a 'door,' not a house door, but the curtain forming the entrance to an Eastern tent; *he* signifies a 'window'; *vau* is a nail, peg, or hook for hanging things on; *zayin* probably denotes 'weapons'; *ḥeth*, a fence or 'palisade'; *ṭeth*, from a root meaning curvature, is supposed to have been a picture of a coiled snake; *yod* is the 'hand'; *kaph* the 'palm' of the hand, or the bent hand; *lamed* is an 'ox-goad'; *mem*, the 'waters'; *nun*, a 'fish'; *ṣamekh* is probably a prop or support; *'ayin* is the 'eye'; *pe*, the 'mouth'; *ṣade* is probably a 'javelin,' or perhaps a hook; *koph* is usually supposed to mean a 'knot'; *resh* is the 'head'; *shin*, the 'teeth'; *tau*, a 'cross,' or sign for marking beasts. It will be noticed that six of these names, *gimel*, *he*, *yod*, *nun*, *pe*, and *ṣamekh*, must be very ancient, being most easily explained by reference to the Hieratic forms.

The early history of the A. has to be reconstructed from inscriptions, many of which have only been discovered in recent years. Among the monuments of the older stage of the Phœn. A. the great inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, ranks first in importance. In 1868 Mr. Klein, of the C. M. S., visited the site of Dibon, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Moab. Here he was shown a block of basalt, with an inscription in 34 lines of writing. The interest excited by this discovery, and the rival efforts of the European consuls to secure the treasure, unfortunately aroused the jealousy of the Arabs, by whom the stone was broken into fragments, some forty of which have been recovered, enough to lay the foundation of early Sem. palæography. In this inscription, which must be referred to the middle of the 9th cent. B.C., Mesha, in language closely akin to Bibl. Hebrew, gives an account of the wars between Israel and Moab, narrating more esp. those events in his own reign which took place after the death of Ahab in 853 B.C. The year 850 B.C. has been generally accepted by scholars as an approximate date for the record. Somewhat earlier, though of less historical importance, are some inscribed fragments of bronze vessels, obtained from Cyprus in 1876, which proved to be portions of two bowls containing dedications to Baal Lebanon. They must have been carried off to Cyprus as a part of the spoils from a temple on Lebanon. The writing on one of the bowls proves on palæographical grounds to be nearly of the same date as the Moabite inscription, while that on the other bowl exhibits more archaic forms of several letters, and may probably be older by a century, belonging to the close of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th cent. B.C. It is from these bowls, supplemented by the evidence of the Moabite Stone, that the A. in col. 3 has been constructed.

It is called the Israelitic A. in order to avoid confusion with a much later A., which, having been first known to scholars, usurped the name of the Heb. A. It cannot be too carefully remembered that at successive periods in their history the Hebrews employed two A.s, identical in all essential particulars, but wholly unlike in the external appearance of the letters. From the earliest period of which we possess any knowledge, down to the captivity in Babylon, this Phœn. A., of which the oldest monuments are the Moabite Stone and the Baal Lebanon bowls, must also have been the contemporary A. of the Hebrews. This was ingeniously proved by Gesenius, long before these monuments were discovered. He contended that the earlier books of the OT could not have been written, as was formerly supposed, in what is now known as the Heb. A., since many obvious corruptions in the text could only have arisen from the errors of copyists, who confounded letters which are much alike in the old Phœn., but are quite dissimilar in the square Hebrew. For example, in the list of David's mighty men, recorded in 2 S 23^{29}, we have the name Heleb, which in the parallel passage in 1 Ch 11^{30} appears as Heled. One of these readings is obviously corrupt, and the corruption can only be due to the original record having been written in the older or Phœn. A., in which the letters *beth* and *daleth* differ so slightly as often to be hardly distinguishable, whereas in the later or square Heb. A. the letters ב and ד are unmistakably distinct. Hence, he argued, the record must be prior to the Captivity, when, according to the Rabbinic tradition, the new A. was introduced. When Gesenius wrote, the evidence as to the nature of the older Heb. A. was scanty in the extreme, being limited to a few engraved gems in the Phœn. A., supposed to be Heb. because of their bearing names apparently Jewish. Now, however, all doubts have been set at rest by the accidental discovery in 1880 of the famous Siloam inscription, engraved in a recess of the tunnel which pierces the ridge of Ophel, and brings water from the Pool of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam. The inscription which records the construction of the tunnel is in six lines of writing, manifestly later in date than the Moabite inscription, though of the same type. On palæographical grounds it has been assigned to the reign of Manasseh, B.C. 685–641, though it is possible that it may be as early as the reign of Hezekiah, and may refer to the conduit constructed by him at the end of the 8th cent., as recorded in 2 K 20^{20} and 2 Ch 32^{30}. This A. is of special interest, as in it most of the writings of the Jewish prophets must have been composed. This older A. lingered long, being employed on the coins of the Maccabees and on those of the Hasmonæan princes. It survives as the sacred script of the few Samaritan families at Nablûs, who still worship in their temple on Mt. Gerizim, and keep the Passover with the ancient rites. With this exception, the old Phœn. A., the parent of all existing A.s, has become extinct.

This earliest type of the Sem. A. gradually passes into another, somewhat more cursive, which goes by the name of the Sidonian, its chief representative being the great inscription on the magnificent basalt sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, now in the Louvre, which is assigned to the end of the 5th cent. B.C. Out of this Sidonian type was evolved the Aramæan A., which was destined to replace the Phœn. after the decadence of the Phœn. power. The great trade route from the Red Sea and Egypt to Babylon passed through Damascus, Hamath, and Carchemish, and the trade fell into the hands of the Aramæans, the people of N. Syria. Hence, on the political decline of the Phœn. cities, the Aramæan language and A. became the medium of commercial intercourse throughout W. Asia. At Nineveh in the 7th cent. B.C., and at Babylon in the 6th, the Sidonian type begins to be replaced by the Aramæan, whose continuous development may be traced from the 5th to the 1st cent. B.C., first on the coins struck by Persian satraps of Asia Minor, and then by the aid of mortuary inscriptions and papyri from Egypt, which carry on the record after the conquests of Alexander had put an end to the Persian satrapies. An inspection of col. 4 in the table will

show that the chief characteristics of the Aramæan A.—due evidently to the free use of the reed pen and papyrus—are a progressive opening of the closed loops of the letters *beth*, *daleth*, *ṭeth*, *'ayin*, *ḳoph*, and *resh*; while *he*, *vau*, *zayin*, *ḥeth*, and *tau* tend to lose their distinctive bars. At the same time the script continually becomes more cursive in character, the tails of the letters curving more and more to the left, while the introduction of ligatures led to a distinction between the final and the medial or initial forms of certain letters. These changes, while they made writing easier and more rapid, at the same time made it less legible.

On the return of the Jews from the Bab. exile, the ancient A. of Israel, though retained on the Maccabæan coins, and possibly in copies of the law, was gradually abandoned for the more cursive but far inferior Aramæan, which had become the mercantile script of the W. provinces of Persia. A Jewish tradition, preserved in the Talm., attributed this change to Ezra; but there can be no doubt that both scripts were for a time employed concurrently —the Aramæan by the mercantile classes and the returning exiles, and the older A. by those who, like the Samaritans, had been left behind in the land.

The older Phœn. style had fortunately been transmitted to the Greeks before the Aramæan deformation had taken place. Consequently the Rom. A. which we have inherited, being a Western form of the Greek A., has retained in such letters as B, D, O, Q, R, E, F, H those loops and bars whose disappearance in the Heb., Syr., Arab., and other A.s descended from the Aramæan, has contributed to make them so illegible. Our own capitals are, in fact, much nearer to the primitive Phœn. or Isr. A. than any of the existing Sem. A.s, and it is to this retention of the archaic forms that they owe their excellence and general superiority. The closed loop of D and R and the upper loop of B reproduce the closed triangles of the earlier Sem. script, which were lost by the Aramæan deformation, and are consequently much superior to the formless shapes ב ר ד which we have in modern Hebrew.

When the Seleucidan empire had come to a close, the Aramæan broke up into national scripts, the A. of Eastern Syria developing at Bozra, Petra, and the Hauran into the Nabatæan, which was the parent of Arabic, while the Aramæan of N. Syria developed at Edessa into Syriac, and that of S. Syria, at Jerus. and Bab., into what is called Hebrew. The early form of square Heb. used at Jerus. in the time of our Lord, with which He must Himself have been familiar, and in which probably the roll was written which He read in the synagogue (Lk 4^{17}), is given in col. 5 of the table. This A. has been obtained from monuments of the Herodian period found in Galilee or at Jerus., all of which must be anterior to the siege by Titus. These inscriptions are chiefly from tombs; but one of them, of special interest, is a fragment of one of the notices, enjoining silence and reverent behaviour, set up, as we learn from Josephus, when the temple was rebuilt by Herod.

The materials for the history of the Heb. A. during the period of the dispersion, from the 1st cent. to the 10th, when it practically assumed its present form, have been gathered from regions curiously remote. Some are from the Jewish Catacombs at Rome, many from the Crimea, others from the Jewish cemeteries at Vienne, Arles, and Narbonne in Gaul, at Tortosa in Spain, Venosa in Italy, from Prag, Aden, Tiflis, and Derbend, and, not least in importance, the writing on some cabalistic bowls found at Babylon, dating from the 4th to the 7th cent. A.D. (see col. 6). The earliest existing codex, the A. of which is given in col. 7, dates from the beginning of the 10th cent., when the letters had practically assumed their modern forms though not their modern aspect, the useless ornamental apices in our printed books (col. 8) being due to the schools of Heb. caligraphy which arose in the 12th cent. The square Heb. of our printed Bibles is thus one of the most modern of existing A.s, and was not, as was formerly believed, the most ancient of all. The forms of these letters are thus neither legible nor venerable. Their adoption was almost a matter of accident. There were two styles, the Spanish and the German, and the latter was used in the Münster printed Bible, the types being imitated from those in MSS. then in fashion. The result is that our eyes are fatigued with the fantastic and vicious caligraphy of the 14th cent., a period when the odious black letter was developed out of the beautiful Caroline minuscule, to which in our printed books we have now fortunately reverted. So in Heb. it would have been much better to have reverted to the far superior forms of earlier times, such, for instance, as those in use in the 8th cent. The earlier forms are better, because the letters are free from useless ornamental flourishes which are so trying to the eyes of students and compositors, and are more legible and more distinct. As in the case of our own vicious black letter, some characters are assimilated so as to be difficult to distinguish—in particular ב *beth*, כ *kaph*; נ *nun*, ג *gimel*; ר *daleth*, ד *resh*; ך *kaph* final, ן *nun* final; ו *vau*, ז *zayin*; or of ם *ṣamekh*, and ם *mem* final; while ה ח and ת stand for *h*, *ḥ*, and *t*.

Six of the Heb. letters gradually acquired an alternative softer aspirated sound, and the harder primitive sounds are now denoted by an internal point (*Dagesh lene*) ת פ כ ד ג ב, representing the sounds *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, *t*, the same forms without the *Dagesh*, or with a superscript line called *Raphe*, standing for *bh*, *gh*, *dh*, *kh*, *ph*, *th*. The letter *shin* also split up into two sounds, distinguished by diacritical points, שׂ approaching the sound of our *s*, and שׁ that of our *sh*.

The vowel points are late and of little authority. The Greek transliterations of Heb. names in the Sept. and in Josephus suffice to prove that there were no vowel points in the copies of the Heb. Scriptures then in use, and as late as the time of St. Jerome the Heb. vocalisation was only known by oral teaching. The Heb. points were suggested by those which had been introduced into Syriac in the 5th and 6th cent. A.D. They merely represent the traditional pronunciation used in the synagogues of Tiberias in the 7th cent. A.D. (See art. LANGUAGE OF OT.) ISAAC TAYLOR.

ALPHÆUS, Ἀλφαῖος (Westcott and Hort, *Introd.* § 408, assuming that the name is a transliteration of the Aramaic חַלְפַי, write it with the rough breathing, Ἁλφαῖος), occurs four times in the Gospels and once in Acts. As thus used it is the name of two different men.

1. The father of the Apostle Matthew or Levi (Mk 2^{14}), not elsewhere named or otherwise known.

2. All the other references are evidently to another man (Mt 10^{3}, Mk 3^{18}, Lk 6^{15}, Ac 1^{13}), who is represented as father of James the apostle, second of that name in the list.

A considerable controversy has long been carried on as to whether this A. may be identified with the Clopas of Jn 19^{25} and the Cleopas of Lk 24^{18}. This question has been of special interest as involved in the discussion regarding James and the Brethren of the Lord (wh. see). Ewald boldly assumes that the Clopas of John and the Cleopas of Luke are one, but maintains that the identification with Alphæus is an unreasonable confounding of a purely Greek with a purely Hebrew name (*Hist. of Israel*, vi. 305, note 4). Meyer affirms the identity of the

Clopas of John with the Aramaic חַלְפִי, the Alphæus of the Synoptics. And Alford (on Mt 10^3) regards the two Greek names as simply two different ways of expressing the Hebrew name חַלְפִי. It seems better to distinguish the Cleopas of Luke from the Clopas of John. It is quite evident that Cleopas is simply a shortened form of Cleopater (Κλεόπατρος), like Antipas for Antipater. Lightfoot, indeed, while admitting this, still favours the identification of the two names. On the other hand, Clopas may with the highest probability be regarded as a simple transliteration of the Aramaic Ḥalphai. Clopas (as in the Greek text and RV, not Cleopas as in the AV) is represented in Jn 19^{25} as the husband of one of the Marys who stood beside the cross. If we assume that four women are there referred to, there is no indication of any relationship between the wife of Clopas and the mother of Jesus. The synoptic passages, however, all mention among the women at the cross this same Mary as the mother of James. There is no reason for supposing that this James, son of Mary, is any other than James the son of Alphæus. But the assumption that Clopas was husband of Mary and brother of Joseph, and the usual assumption that Mary was the sister of our Lord's mother, are equally groundless, and have no support whatever from any statement in our Gospels. There seems no reason for supposing that James the little and James the brother of the Lord are one and the same person. Eusebius, indeed, mentions, on the authority of Hegesippus, that Symeon, who succeeded James in the bishopric of Jerusalem, was son of Clopas the brother of Joseph; but Symeon is evidently regarded, not as a brother, but only as a relative, probably a cousin, of his predecessor James.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works referred to in the text, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 10th ed. London, 1890, p. 267; Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 1892, p. xvi f. See also an interesting and clever but perverse note in Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iii. 276.

J. MACPHERSON.

ALTAR.—i. ALTAR is the invariable rendering in the OT of מִזְבֵּחַ* (Aram. מַדְבְּחָא Ezr 7^{17}), and in the NT of *θυσιαστήριον*. In AV it also occurs as the rendering of הַרְאֵל (Ezk 43^{15a}), RV 'upper a.', and of אֲרִיאֵל (Ezk $43^{15b.\ 16}$ — Kethib אראיל), RV 'a. hearth.' In the NT *βωμός* is found *once* (Ac 17^{23}) in the sense of a heathen a. This distinction is very clearly brought out in 1 Mac 1^{59} 'they did sacrifice upon the idol altar (*ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν*) which was upon the altar of God (*τ. θυσιαστηρίου*).' Similarly the Vulg. and early Lat. Fathers avoid the use of *ara*, preferring *altaria* and *altare*. Another designation is met with, viz. שֻׁלְחָן, prop. 'table,' Ezk 41^{22} 44^{16}, Mal $1^{7.\ 12}$. It would also seem that the appellation בָּמָה, prop. 'high place,' may in some cases be used to express 'a.,' as Jer 7^{31} (LXX *τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Τάφεθ*), 2 K 23^8 (but here text is doubtful), etc. לְבֵנִים Is 65^3 is wrongly rendered in AV 'a[s] of brick'; RV 'upon the bricks.' In one or two places in the OT מִזְבֵּחַ of the present MT seems an alteration from an original מַצֵּבָה. So clearly Gn 33^{20}, and most probably 2 K 12^{10}. On the other hand, מזבח should perhaps be restored in 2 K 10^{26} (Stade in *ZATW*. v. pp. 278, 289 f.).

ii. ALTARS IN PREHISTORIC TIMES.—According to the primitive conceptions of the nomad Semites, the presence of a deity was implied in every spot that attracted them by its water or shade, and in every imposing landmark that guided them in their wanderings. Every well and grove, every mountain and rock, had its presiding deity. The humble offering of the worshipper could be cast into the well, exposed upon the rock, or hung upon the sacred tree. It was thus brought into immediate contact with the *numen* therein residing. A great step in advance was taken when it was conceived that the deity could not only reside in such objects of nature's own creation as those above specified, but could be persuaded 'to come and take for his embodiment a structure set up for him by the worshipper' (W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* p. 189). The consideration of this all-important advance belongs elsewhere; it is sufficient to note here that recent researches, esp. those of Wellhausen and W. R. Smith, have abundantly proved that the heathen Semite regarded the stone or cairn which he had himself erected, as a dwelling-place of a deity, a Beth-el (בֵּית־אֵל, cf. Gn 28^{18}; for the significance of this passage, see PILLAR), a name which passed, through the Phœnicians as intermediaries, to the Greeks (*βαιτύλιον*) and Romans (*bœtulus*). Such a stone was termed by the Arabs, in the days before Islam, *nuṣb* (pl. *anṣāb*), a word identical in origin and signification with the Heb. מַצֵּבָה (AV 'pillar'). Beside it the victim was slaughtered; the blood was either poured over the stone, or with part of it the stone was smeared, while the rest was poured out at its base, the essential idea in this primitive rite being that in this way the blood was brought into immediate contact with the deity who, for the time being, had taken up his abode in the stone.

Now there can be no doubt that the same primitive ideas were shared by the ancestors of the Hebrews. Among them, too, the *nuṣb* or *mazzeba* must have been the prototype of the sacrificial a. 'The rude Arabian usage is the primitive type out of which all the elaborate a. ceremonies of the more cultivated Semites grew' (*Rel. of Sem.* 1st ed. p. 184. See also SACRIFICE). Even in hist. times we find among the Hebrews a survival of the primitive ritual above described. In the narrative of the battle of Michmash, Saul is shocked at the unseemly haste of his warriors in eating flesh 'with the blood,' and orders a great stone to be brought at which the beasts might be duly slain and their blood poured out at the extemporised altar.

The next important step, the advance from the a. as a sacred stone to receive the blood of the victim to the a. as a hearth on which the flesh of the victim was burned in whole or in part, belongs to the history of SACRIFICE (which see, and cf. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* p. 358 ff.).

If the above is a correct account of the evolution of the a. among the western Semites, the differentiation of pillar and a. must, as regards the inhabitants of Pal., have taken place in the prehistoric period. This seems the obvious conclusion from the existence, even at the present day, of immense numbers of megalithic monuments, the so-called menhirs and dolmens. These characteristic remains of antiquity, so numerous in Moab and in the W. Hauran, must undoubtedly have played an important part in the religious rites of those who reared them, and whom, for the present, we may assume to have been of a Sem. stock. The 'cup-hollows" on the table-stone of the dolmens, connected in many cases by a network of channels, must have been destined to receive the blood of the victim.*

iii. PRE-DEUTERONOMIC ALTARS. — A very marked distinction, as is well known, exists between the attitude to sacrifice of the prophetic and priestly narratives respectively in our present Pent. The latter (P) limits sacrifice to the great central a.,† while the former (JE) relates numerous in-

* Lit. 'place of slaughter.'

* See Conder's report on the dolmen-fields of Moab in *P.E.F. Qu. St.* 1882, p. 75 ff.; also in *Heth and Moab*, chs. vii. and viii.; *Syr. Stone Lore*, pp. 42, 43, 70. Another rich field has been described by Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, p. 123 ff.; *Across Jordan*, p. 62 ff. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, iv. p. 375 ff.

† The difficult section (Jos $22^{10\text{-}34}$) seems best explained as an endeavour to reduce a narrative originally written from the standpoint of JE to an apparent harmony with the fundamental postulate of P.

stances of sacrifice being offered and aˢ erected from the earliest times, and in many different places. Noah is represented as building an a. on quitting the ark (Gn 8[20]); Abraham erected several, viz. at Shechem (12[7]), Bethel (12[8]), Hebron (13[18]), and on a special occasion in 'the land of Moriah' (22[9]). Isaac (26[25]) and Jacob (35[7]) do likewise. Even Moses, according to this source, erects an altar at Rephidim (Ex 17[15]), and another, accompanied by twelve pillars (מַצֵּבוֹת), at Horeb (24[4]). JE therefore clearly knows nothing in its narrative parts of the exclusive legitimacy of a central a. With this position the law-code which it contains, the so-called Book of the Covenant (see Driver, *LOT* 28 ff.), is in complete accord. In the *locus classicus* (Ex 20[24]) a plurality of aˢ is clearly sanctioned: '*in every place* (RV) where I record My name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.' And the same holds good throughout the history of the Hebrews until the time of Josiah. Again and again do we find aˢ built, up and down the country, either by the recognised religious leaders themselves, or with their express sanction. Thus, to mention but a few, Joshua builds an a. on Mt. Ebal (Jos 8[30]) in accordance with the injunction of Moses himself (Dt 27[6]), Gideon at Ophrah (Jg 6[24]), and Samuel at Ramah (1 S 7[17]). Saul, we have already seen, extemporised an a. at Michmash, which the historian informs us was the *first* that Saul built, implying that this monarch had the merit of erecting several. David erected an a., by express divine command, 'in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite' (2 S 24[18. 25]). Elijah, too, complains of the destruction of the altars of J″ as an act of sacrilege (1 K 19[10. 14]), and had, but a little before, repaired, with his own hand, the a. of the Lord upon Mt. Carmel. These examples are sufficient to show that in pre-Deut. Israel a plurality of aˢ was regarded as a matter of course, there being not the slightest hint of disapproval on the part of the narrators, or of any idea in the minds of the actors in the history that they were guilty of the violation of any divine command.

From the oldest hist. records of the Hebrews, therefore, it is evident that local sanctuaries abounded throughout the country (see HIGH PLACE, and esp. 1 Sam. *passim*), the most essential feature of which was undoubtedly the a. on which sacrifice was offered to the national God, J″. Of the form of these pre-Deut. altars we have no precise information. No doubt, as wealth and culture increased, the aˢ, esp. at Bethel and the other great sanctuaries, would become more and more elaborate; but in more primitive times they were simple in the extreme. A heap of earth, either by itself (2 K 5[17]) or with a casing of turf (see Dillmann on Ex 20[24]), a few stones piled upon each other, are all that was required. *Simplicity* is the dominant note of the law in the fundamental passage, Ex 20[24ff.]. It is there enjoined, moreover, that no tool shall be lifted to hew or dress the stone (cf. Dt 27[5], Jos 8[31], 1 Mac 4[47]). In this many modern investigators have seen a survival of the primitive idea, already explained, of a *numen* inhabiting the altar-stone, who would be driven out or perhaps injured by the process of dressing (Nowack, *Archäol.* ii. 17; Benzinger, *Archäol.* 379). Another injunction, that the worshipper (for the command is not addressed to the priests) should not ascend by steps (*loc. cit.*), is also a plea for simplicity. The a. must not be of such a height as to prevent the worshipper standing on the ground from manipulating his offering.* The evasion of the injunction by a sloping ascent was an afterthought.

* Cf. the early narrative 1 K 2[28ff.] where Joab is represented as grasping the horns of the a. (see below, v.), and at the same time standing by the side of the a. Also 2 K 5[17] '*two* mules' burden.'

To what extent the still existing dolmens (see above) may have been used as aˢ in this period it is impossible to say. In the older narratives, however, there are not a few instances of the earlier usage of a single stone (1 S 6[14]—v.[15] is a later insertion—14[33]) or of the native rock as an a. (Jg 6[20] and esp. 13[19. 20] where הַצּוּר v.[19] is identified with הַסֶּלַע v.[20]). The site of David's a., we can scarcely doubt, was the *Sakhrah* rock, now enclosed in the so-called mosque of Omar. The 'stone Zoheleth which is by En-Rogel' was also an ancient altar-stone (1 K 1[9]). Solomon, finally, at the dedication of the temple, is said to have converted the 'middle of the court' into a huge a. (1 K 8[64]). For Solomon's brazen a., see TEMPLE.* This a. was removed by Ahaz (2 K 16[10-16]) to make way for the *stone* a. (note אֶבֶן v.[11]) which he caused to be built after the model of the great a. of Damascus (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, cf. v.[10] in RV). Ahaz' a., rather than the brazen a. of Solomon, was in its turn the model for the a. of Ezekiel (cf. 43[13-17]).

Of the other aˢ made by Ahaz we know nothing, nor of those set up by later kings (2 K 23[12] *loc. cit.*). As to the a. to Baal which Ahab erected in Samaria (1 K 16[32]), we may assume that it resembled the aˢ erected by his Phœn. neighbours to the same deity (cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiq.* iii. fig. 192 and *passim*).

iv. POST-DEUTERONOMIC ALTARS.—The sanctuaries and aˢ, sanctioned, as we have seen, by the oldest law-code, ceased to be legitimate on the adoption of the code of Deut. (Dt 12 ff.). The centralisation of the cultus, which was the chief aim of the Deut. legislation, seems to have been attempted under Hezekiah (2 K 18[22]), but it must be admitted that the complete abandonment of the local *bāmōth* was never *un fait accompli* until after the discipline of the Exile (1 K 22[43], 2 K 15[35]). In theory, however, the aˢ, whether 'upon the hills and under every green tree,' or at places which had been seats of worship since the conquest, were no longer legitimate; for sacrifice, as now for the first time officially distinguished from slaughter (Dt 12[15]), could only be offered with acceptance on the a. of the central sanctuary at Jerusalem. It is not impossible that, as Conder has suggested (see ref. above), it is to the reforming zeal of Josiah that we owe the fact that not a single dolmen has been met with in S. Pal. (cf. Cheyne, *Jeremiah*, p. 60). The history of the a., therefore, from this time forward is merged in the history of the temple. It must suffice here to note that, as soon as practicable, the returned exiles built the a. on its former site (Ezr 3[2]), which a. continued in use until its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 1[54]). Having by this act of sacrilege been rendered unfit for further use, it was taken down and another built in its stead (1 Mac 4[44ff.]). The a. of Herod's temple was the last built on Jewish soil. According to Jos. (*Wars*, v. v. 6) it was built, in harmony with the ancient prescription, of unhewn stones. One other a. meets us in the history of the Jews; this is the a. erected by Onias IV. in his temple at Leontopolis in Egypt (Jos. *Wars*, VII. x. 3; *Ant.* XIII. iii. 31), founding on a mistaken interpretation of Is 19[19].

The a. of burnt-offering and the a. of incense, which play so important a part in the ritual legislation of the Priests' Code (P), will be discussed in detail in the article TABERNACLE. See also TEMPLE.

v. THE ALTAR AS ASYLUM. — An important function of the a. among the Hebrews remains to be

* W. R. Smith's view, that 'it is very doubtful whether there was in the first temple any other brazen a. than the two brazen pillars, Jachin and Boaz,' is not supported by sufficient evidence. It is, besides, difficult to see why only one of the two pillars should have had, on this theory, the functions of an a. assigned to it (*Rel. Sem.* i. pp. 358–359, and Note I., 466 ff.).

noticed. The earliest legislation presupposes and confirms the sanctity of the a. as an asylum. The right of asylum, however, is there limited to cases of accidental homicide (Ex 21[13. 14]). This use of the a., which is not confined to the Sem. peoples, is also a survival of the primitive idea of the a. as the temporary abode of a deity. In clasping the a., the fugitive was placing himself under the immediate protection of the deity in question. In this connexion, as well as in regard to an important part of the fully-developed a. ritual (cf. Lv 4[7ff.]), the **horns** of the a. are esteemed the most sacred part of the whole. It is difficult, however, to see how these could have formed part of the more ancient a. as prescribed in the Book of the Covenant (see above); yet their presence is amply attested in later times (cf. Am 3[14], Jer 17[1], and the incidents recorded in 1 K 1[50f.] 2[28]). The origin and primary significance of the horns are still obscure. Most recent writers seek to trace a connexion between them and the worship of J" in the form of a young bull (Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* i. 326; Stade, Benzinger, Nowack). In any case they are not to be regarded as mere appendages, but as an integral part of the a. (see Dillmann on Ex 27[2]). The view that they were originally projections to which the victims were bound, has no better support than the corrupt passage, Ps 118[27] (for which see Comm.). The comparison of the 'horns' of the Heb. with those of the Greek a. (*εὐκέραος βωμός*) seems misleading, since the latter rather resembled the volutes of the Ionic capital (cf. art. *ara* in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire etc.*, figs. 410, 418, 422). The famous stele of Teima, on the other hand, shows the 'horns' rising from the corners of the a., and curved like those of an ox (see Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.* tome iv. p. 392, Eng. tr. [see below] vol. i. p. 304).

LITERATURE.—Of the earlier literature the standard work is John Spencer's *De legibus Heb. ritualibus*, etc. 1685. Of the modern works the most important are the works on Hebrew antiquities by De Wette, Ewald (Eng. tr. 1876), Nowack (*Hebräische Archäologie*, 1894, Band ii. Sacralalterthümer, § 73 ff.), and Benzinger (*Heb. Archäologie*, 1894, § 52, Die altisrael. Heiligthümer, etc.), and the more general treatises of Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iii., *Reste arab. Heidenthums*, 1887), and, in particular, W. R. Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, 1889 (2nd ed. 1895). The student should also consult the standard work of Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, tome iii. *Phénicie*, iv. *Judée*, etc. (Eng. tr. *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia*, 2 vols. 1885, *Hist. of A. in Judea etc.*, 2 vols. 1890).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

AL-TASHHETH (אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת, AV **Al-taschith**), Pss 57. 58. 59. 65 (titles). See PSALMS.

ALTOGETHER is now only an adv., but was at first an adj., being simply a stronger 'all.' As an adj. it is found in Ps 39[5] 'Verily every man at his best state is a. vanity'; Is 10[8] 'Are not my princes a. (RV 'all of them') kings,' and perhaps Nu 16[13]. Of its use as an adv. noticeable examples are Jer 30[11], where 'I will not leave thee a. unpunished' is given in RV 'I will in no wise leave thee unpunished'; Ac 26[29], where 'both almost and a.' is in RV 'whether with little or with much' after the Gr.; and 1 Co 5[10], where 'not a.' (Gr. *οὐ πάντως*) is taken by commentators in two directly opp. senses, either 'not wholly,' or 'not at all'; RV gives the first in text, the second in marg.

J. HASTINGS.

ALUSH (אָלוּשׁ).—A station in the journeyings, occurs only Nu 33[13. 14]. (See SINAI.)

ALVAN (עַלְוָן).—Son of Shobal, a Horite (Gn 36[23]). The name appears in 1 Ch 1[40] as Alian (עַלְיָן). It is clearly the same as **Alvah** (עַלְוָה) in Gn 36[40], which appears in 1 Ch 1[51] as Aliah (עַלְיָה), one of the 'dukes' of Edom. Knobel compares the name with that of a Bedawin clan *Alawin*, said by Burckhardt to be dwelling north of the Gulf of Akabah. See Dillm. *in loc.*

H. E. RYLE.

ALWAY, ALWAYS.—Alway (*i.e.* 'all the way') is originally the accus. of duration, 'all the time'; while always is the genit. of occurrence, 'at all times.' And although by 1611 this distinction was vanishing, there are some undoubted instances in AV. Cf. Mt 28[20] 'Lo, I am with you alway,' with Ro 1[9] 'I make mention of you always in my prayers.' RV gives alway for always at Ac 24[16], 2 Th 1[3]; and always for alway at Col 4[6] apparently capriciously, for these changes obliterate the distinction noticed above. When the distinction was lost, always drove alway out of use.

J. HASTINGS.

AMAD (עַמְעָד), Jos 19[26] only.—A city of Asher. The site is doubtful; there are several ruins called *'Amûd* in this region.

AMADATHUS, Ad. Est 12[6] 16[10. 17]. See HAMMEDATHA.

AMAIN only in 2 Mac 12[22] 'the enemies . . . fled a.' (so RV, Gr. *εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν*). The meaning is 'at once, precipitately.'

AMAL (עָמָל).—A descendant of Asher, 1 Ch 7[35]. See GENEALOGY.

AMALEK, AMALEKITES (עֲמָלֵק, עֲמָלֵקִי). — A nomadic Arabian tribe, occupying the wide desert region between Sinai on the south and the southern borders of Palestine on the north. This district corresponds to what is now called the wilderness of Et-Tih. The Amalekites are represented as perpetually at feud with the Israelites, though such closely connected tribes as the Kenites and Kenizzites appear from the first as friendly, and ultimately as peaceful settlers in the midst of the possessions of Israel.

References to the Amalekites appear very early in the OT history. In the account of the campaigns of Chedorlaomer of Elam and his confederates in Gn 14, 'the country of the Amalekites' near Kadesh is described as the scene of one of those desolating wars. Hengstenberg, followed by Kurtz, maintains that this does not imply that the Amalekites were in existence in the days of Abraham, but only that this country, lying between Kadesh and the land of the Amorites, afterwards known as 'the fields of the Amalekites,' was at that early period overrun and destroyed by Chedorlaomer. Had there been no other hints of the extreme antiquity of the Amalekites, this explanation might perhaps be accepted. But we find again in the chant of Balaam (Nu 24[20]) that Amalek is described as 'the first of the nations,' which seems almost certainly to mean a primitive people to be reckoned among the very oldest of the nations. Most recent scholars are agreed in assigning to the Amalekites a high antiquity. This is the conclusion to which such passages as those referred to would naturally lead. The only reason why an attempt should be made to put any other interpretation upon these words is the idea that, in Gn 36[12], the descent of the Amalekites is traced from Amalek, the grandson of Esau, and their origin thus brought down to a later period than that of Abraham. It is exceedingly hazardous to build any argument of this sort on an occasional statement in a genealogical table reproduced from some unknown source, seeing that it is impossible to determine what the point of view of the original compiler may have been. In many cases such genealogical lists seem intended to set forth simply certain interrelations of tribes, so that, though terms indicating personal and family relationships are

used, the names do not always belong to persons historically real. All that we need understand by this introduction of an Amalek, son of Eliphaz by a concubine, is that Timna the Horite, the concubine referred to, represents the importation or incorporation of a foreign and inferior, probably a servile, element into the pure Edomite stock, the Horites being one of the tribes forming that federation, embracing the Amalekites, conquered by Chedorlaomer.

The region in which the Amalekites first appear in history, near Kadesh, lies just about a day's journey south of Hebron, on the undulating slopes and plain at the foot of the mountains held by the Amorites. It may be supposed that a branch of the tribe had settled there, or had begun to engage in agricultural pursuits. When driven forth from their possessions by the conqueror, they no doubt returned to their old wandering modes of life, and rejoined their brethren who moved about through the wide extent of the great desert.

The first meeting of the Israelites and the Amalekites took place in the southern part of the Sinaitic peninsula. At Rephidim, a broad plain to the north-west of Mount Sinai, the Amalekites came out against the Israelites, and a battle ensued which lasted throughout the whole day. Joshua commanded in the fight, and Moses on the hill top held up his rod in the sight of the people as the sign from God that they would conquer by His might (Ex 17^{8-16}). The Amalekites had at this time acted in a peculiarly bitter and exasperating manner towards the Israelites, harassing them on their rear, and cutting off the weak and the weary (Dt 25^{17-19}). In consequence, the Amalekites, to a greater extent than any of the other Can. and neighbouring tribes, were placed under the ban, so that J″ Himself, as well as His people, is represented as solemnly swearing eternal feud against them.

The defeat of the Amalekites evidently put the fear of the Israelites upon the robber nomad tribes of the desert for a time, so that they were unmolested during their advance to Sinai, and during their year's encampment there, as well as during their subsequent march northward to the southern border of Palestine at Kadesh. It was the intention of the Israelites to enter Palestine from the south, and so from this point, just outside of the southern boundary of Palestine, spies were sent to examine the land, and to bring back a report as to whether an entrance from that point was possible, and if so, how best the invading forces might conduct the campaign. These spies on their return reported that the Amalekites dwelt in the land of the south in the valley, *i.e.* in the southern portions of the region afterwards occupied by Judah and Simeon (Nu 13^{29} 14^{25}), in the neighbourhood of the lowland Canaanites and the highland Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites. The Amalekites are represented as the leaders of the confederate Canaanites who resisted the entrance of the Israelites into the south of Palestine (Nu 14^{43-45}). They were evidently at that time of considerable importance, and must have been for a long period in possession of those territories only a little way north of the district in which we find their ancestors, or, at least, a branch of the same great nation, settled in the days of Abraham.

The bitter opposition shown by the Amalekites to the Israelites at Sinai and in Southern Palestine was distinguished from that of the other tribes by this, that they were really at the head of the confederated clans already in possession of the land, and the struggle between them and the invaders was to determine the whole future of the rivals, the success of the one necessarily meaning the utter destruction of the other. 'It was the hatred,' says Ewald (*History of Israel*, i. 250), 'of two rivals disputing a splendid prize which the one had previously possessed and still partially possessed, and the other was trying to get for himself by ousting him.' The bitterness must have been intensified by the secession to the ranks of Israel of such branches or families of the Amalekite stem as the Kenites and Kenizzites. These two families, with Jethro and Caleb respectively at their head, were the ancient allies of Israel, and ultimately settlers in the land. The defeat of the Israelites may have secured for the Amalekites and their immediate neighbours peace and prosperity throughout a whole generation. When they were again attacked it was by a people already in possession of the northern regions, now pressing southward. How far they were interfered with by Judah and Simeon is not recorded, but it would appear that even after the Israelitish occupation of the country the Amalekites in considerable numbers maintained possession of the plateau and hilly regions in the extreme south.

In the time of the Judges, however, we meet with the Amalekites in the company of the Midianites, as nomad tribes roaming about among their old desert haunts, and pursuing their old tactics of harassing peaceful agriculturists. When the crops sown by the Israelites were ripening, the Amalekite marauders descended and reaped the harvest, so that the unfortunate inhabitants were impoverished and discouraged (Jg 6^{3}). They, along with the Ammonites, were allies of the Moabites in their conflict with Israel, and no doubt suffered in the defeat of the Moabites at the hand of Ehud (Jg 3^{13}).

During this same period, it would seem that a branch of the Amalekite tribe had secured a settlement in Mount Ephraim. Pirathon, the residence of the judge Abdon, some 15 miles south-west of Shechem, bore the name of 'the Mount of the Amalekites,' or had in it a hill so called (Jg 12^{15}). The settlers who had thus given their name to the hill belonged in all probability to a branch of the Amalekites, who, about the time that some of their brethren settled in the south of Palestine, in what was afterward assigned to Judah, pressed farther to the north, and secured possessions among other Canaanite tribes in the very centre of the land. This is more likely than the suggestion of Bertheau, that these Amalekites of Ephraim were remnants of those expelled by the men of Judah from their southern settlements in the days of Joshua. They had evidently been some considerable time in possession before localities came to be popularly known by their name. This view is further confirmed by the words of Deborah in her song (Jg 5^{14}), 'out of Ephraim came they down whose root is *in* (not *against*, as in AV) Amalek.' The land of Ephraim was the territory once possessed by the Amalekites.

In the early years of his reign, Saul was commissioned to carry on a war of extermination against the Amalekites and their king Agag (1 S 15). This was intended to be the execution of the sentence passed upon them in the days of Moses (Ex 17^{16}, Nu 24^{20}, Dt 25^{17-19}). No living thing belonging to the Amalekites was to be spared. This great battle was evidently fought in the south of Judah, as the pursuit is described as extending from Havilah in Arabia, far to the east, to Shur in the west of the desert on the border of Egypt. When worsted in battle they evidently passed over the southern boundary of Palestine, and betook themselves to their ancestral haunts in the wild desert. During the period of their residence as a settled people in Southern Judah, they had a capital city, Ir-Amalek, 'the city of Amalek' (1 S 15^{5}). Robber bands of the yet unsubdued nomad Amalek-

ites of the desert, during the time of David's stay among the Philistines, sacked Ziklag, in the territory of Simeon, outside of the southern boundary of Judah (1 S 30). These were overtaken by David, and only 400 young men on swift camels succeeded in making their escape. The reference to the Amalekites in 2 S 8[12], in the list of spoils dedicated to God by David, is probably to this same incident. From this time onward the Amalekites seem to have been regarded as no longer formidable; and even as raiders from the desert we find no further trace of them. The last mention of them in the OT occurs in 1 Ch 4[43], in the days of Hezekiah. There it is said that 'the remnant of the Amalekites that escaped,' and who had continued till that day in Mount Seir, were smitten by 500 of the Simeonites, who took possession of their land. That the Amalekites are not mentioned in Gn 10 is regarded by Dillmann as proof that before the time of the writer they had sunk into insignificance.

Outside of the OT we have no reliable accounts of the Amalekites. In the works of the Arabian historians very extensive and detailed reports are given of the progress and achievements of the Amalekites; but these, as Nöldeke has convincingly shown, are credible only in so far as they are based on the statements of the historical books of our own canonical Scriptures.

LITERATURE.—A very admirable and comprehensive sketch is given by Bertheau in Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, Leipz. 1869, vol. i. 111–114. See also Dillmann, *Com. on Genesis*, on chs. x. and xxxvi.; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, Eng. tr. 1876, vol. i. 109 f., 250 f.; Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, Eng. tr. 1859, iii. 48–50; Nöldeke, *Ueber die Amalekiter und einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israeliter*, 1864.

J. MACPHERSON.

AMAM (אָמָם), Jos 15[26] only.—An unknown city of Judah, in the desert south of Beersheba.

AMAN.—**1.** ('Αμάν A) Is mentioned in Tobit's dying words as the persecutor of Achiacharus, To 14[10]. Cod. B, however, has 'Αδάμ; ℵ Ναδάβ; Itala, Nabad; Syr. Ahab. Possibly the allusion is to Haman and Mordecai. **2.** Est 12[6] 16[10. 17]. See HAMAN.

J. T. MARSHALL.

AMANA (אֲמָנָה), Ca 4[8]. Probably the mountains near the river Abana or Amana, being connected with Hermon and Lebanon; or else Mount Amanus in the north of Syria.

C. R. CONDER.

AMARIAH (אֲמַרְיָה, אֲמַרְיָהוּ 'J" hath promised').—**1.** 2 Ch 19[11], high priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat, appointed by him chief justice 'in all matters of the Lord,' as Zebadiah, 'the ruler of the house of Judah,' was 'in all the king's matters.' (Is this a precedent for the joint rule in later times of Zerubbabel and Joshua?) **2, 3.** In a genealogy in 1 Ch 6[3-15. 50-52], Ezr 7[1-5], beginning with Aaron and ending with Jehozadak at the Captivity, which seems as much intended to be a list of the high priests as 1 Ch 3[10-14] is of the kings of Judah, and which appears to be the basis of Josephus' very corrupt lists (*Ant.* VIII. i. 3, x. viii. 6), the name A. occurs twice—(*α*) 1 Ch 6[7. 52] grandfather of Zadok, and therefore a younger contemporary of Eli. Of this man we have no other record; see ABIATHAR. (*β*) 1 Ch 6[11], Ezr 7[3], 1 Es 8[2], 2 Es 1[2] (Amarias in Apocr.), son to the Azariah who is said to have ministered in Solomon's temple. If, as is probable, this remark applies to the previous Azariah, then this Amariah may be the same as No. 1. But great uncertainty hangs over these lists. In Ezr 7[1-5] six names are omitted, perhaps by homoioteleuton; in the full list important names (*e.g.* Jehoiada, Zechariah, the Azariahs contemporary with Uzziah and Hezekiah respectively, Urijah) are omitted; the succession 'Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok' occurs twice; only three high priests are given between Amariah under Jehoshaphat, and Hilkiah under Josiah. **4.** A priest clan, fourth in the list of 22 in Neh 12 (v.[2]), who 'went up with Zerubbabel' 'in the days of Jeshua,' and in the list of 21 (v.[13]), 'in the days of Joiakim,' and fifth in the list of those who sealed to the covenant under Nehemiah (Neh 10[8]). This clan is probably identical with that of 'Immer,' the sixteenth course in David's time (1 Ch 24[14]), and one of the four families of priests mentioned in 'the book of the genealogy of them which came up at the first' (Ezr 2[37] Neh 7[40], Meruth 1 Es 5[24], A 'Εμμηρουθ), and in the time of Ezra (Ezr 10[20]); see ABIJAH, No. 4. **5.** 1 Ch 23[19] 24[23], a Kohathite Levite in David's time. **6.** 2 Ch 31[15], a Levite in Hezekiah's time, one of the six assistants to Kore, 'the porter at the east gate, who was over the freewill offerings of God.' **7.** Ezr 10[42], a man of Judah of the sons of Bani (1 Ch 9[4]), one of those who 'had taken strange wives.' **8.** Neh 11[4], a man of Judah, ancestor to Athaiah, who was one of those 'that willingly offered themselves to dwell in Jerus.' **9.** Zeph 1[1], great-grandfather of the prophet, son to Hezekiah, perhaps the king.

N. J. D. WHITE.

AMARIAS (A 'Αμαρίας, B 'Αμαρθείας), 1 Es 8[2].—An ancestor of Ezra in the line of high priests, father of Ahitub. Called Amariah, Ezr 7[3].

AMASA (עֲמָשָׂא 'burden' or 'burden bearer').—**1.** The son of Ithra an Ishmaelite, and of Abigail the sister of king David. The first mention of him is in connexion with the rebellion of Absalom (2 S 17[25]), who made him leader of his army. Joab, at the head of the king's troops, completely routed him in the forest of Ephraim (2 S 18[6-8]). David not only pardoned him, but gave him the command of the army in place of Joab (2 S 19[13]). When he came to lead the royal forces against Sheba and his rebel host, he was treacherously slain by Joab at 'the great stone of Gibeon' (2 S 20[9-12]). **2.** An Ephraimite who opposed the bringing into Samaria of the Jewish prisoners, whom Pekah, king of Israel, had taken in his campaign against Ahaz (2 Ch 28[12]).

R. M. BOYD.

AMASAI (עֲמָשַׂי).—**1.** A Kohathite, 1 Ch 6[25. 35], the eponym of a family, 2 Ch 29[12]. **2.** One of the priests who blew trumpets on the occasion of David's bringing the ark to Jerus., 1 Ch 15[24]. **3.** One of David's officers at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12[18], possibly to be identified with **Amasa**, No. 1.

J. A. SELBIE.

AMASHSAI (עַמַשְׁסַי, perhaps a combination of the reading עמשי, עמסי).—AV **Amashai**, Neh 11[13]. A priest of the family of Immer.

AMASIAH (עֲמַסְיָה).—One of Jehoshaphat's commanders, 2 Ch 17[16].

AMAZED.—Amaze has a much wider range of meaning in old Eng. than in modern. In conformity with its derivation (*a-maze*) it expresses confusion or perplexity, the result of the unexpected; but this may give rise to a variety of emotions. **1.** FEAR: Jg 20[41] 'When the men of Israel turned again, the men of Benjamin were a.' **2.** AWE: Mk 10[32] 'And they were in the way going up to Jerus.'; and Jesus went before them, and they were a.'; and as they followed they were afraid.' **3.** EXCITED WONDER: Lk 5[26] 'they were all a.' (Gr. ἔκστασις ἔλαβεν ἅπαντας; RV 'amazement took hold on all'). **4.** DEPRESSION: Mk 14[33] '(Jesus) began to be sore a., and to be very heavy.' **Amazement** occurs twice in AV, the expression in Ac 3[10] of great joy; in 1 P 3[6] of great fear.

J. HASTINGS.

AMAZIAH (אֲמַצְיָה, אֲמַצְיָהוּ).—**1.** The name of a king of Judah who succeeded his father Jehoash upon the assassination of the latter (*c.* 800. B.C.). The chief interest of his reign centres in his wars with Edom and with Israel (2 K 14, 2 Ch 25). In the first of these campaigns, Edom, which had revolted from Judah during the reign of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, suffered a severe defeat in the Valley of Salt, and the capital Sela or Petra fell into the hands of the enemy (2 K 14[7]). Elated by this success, Amaziah challenged to a conflict his neighbour Jehoash, the grandson of Jehu. This powerful monarch showed no anxiety to try conclusions with his presumptuous rival, to whom he addressed the well-known parable of the thistle and the cedar (vv.[8-10]). Amaziah, however, stung by the moral of this parable, refused to listen to the well-meant advice, and rushed blindly upon his fate. At the battle of Beth-shemesh the forces of Judah were utterly routed, and the king himself taken prisoner. Jehoash followed up his victory by capturing Jerusalem, partially destroying its walls, pillaging the temple and the palace, and carrying back hostages to Samaria (vv.[11-14]). How long Amaziah survived this humiliating defeat, it is not easy to decide. The statement (2 K 14[17]) that he outlived Jehoash fifteen years can hardly be correct, and there seem to be sufficient reasons for considerably reducing the number of years (twenty-nine) assigned to his reign by the chronological system adopted in the Books of Kings. His reign appears to have synchronised almost exactly with that of Jehoash, as that of his successor did with the reign of Jeroboam II. There is not a little plausibility in the conjecture of Wellhausen, that the conspiracy which issued in the murder of Amaziah at Lachish had its origin in the popular dissatisfaction with his wanton attack upon Israel which cost Judah so dear. The death of Amaziah should probably be dated *c.* 780 B.C., the year when there is reason to believe his son Azariah or Uzziah ascended the throne.

Besides the strictly historical details which he borrows from 2 Kings, the Chronicler adds certain particulars, the purpose of whose insertion is evident (2 Ch 25[6ff. 14-16]). (On these additions see Graf *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des A.T.* p. 157 ff., and Driver, *LOT*, p. 494.)

2. The priest of Jeroboam II. who opposed and attempted to silence the prophet Amos when the latter delivered his message at the sanctuary of Bethel (Am 7[10-17]. See AMOS). **3.** A man of the tribe of Simeon (1 Ch 4[34]). **4.** A descendant of Merari (1 Ch 6[45]).

J. A. SELBIE.

AMBASSADOR.—Three Heb. words are sometimes tr. 'ambassador' in RV of OT: **1.** מַלְאָךְ, a general term for messenger, used for (*a*) messengers of private men (2 K 5[10]); (*b*) messengers of God = angels (see ANGEL); (*c*) messengers of kings or rulers = ambassadors (2 K 19[9], 2 Ch 35[21]), though sometimes tr. 'messengers' in RV (Dt 2[26], Nu 20[14]). **2.** צִיר, apparently a synonym of 1 (Pr 13[17]; cf. 25[13]), hence = herald or messenger from court (Is 18[2] 57[9]), and metaphorically an 'ambassador' of J" (Jer 49[14]; cf. Ob v.[1]). In Jos 9[4] the reading of RVm is to be preferred. **3.** מֵלִיץ, properly an interpreter, and so used in Gn 42[23]; cf. Job 33[23] (?); hence tr[d] in Is 43[27] (in theocratic sense) 'interpreters' RV text, 'ambassadors' marg.; in 2 Ch 32[31] 'ambassadors' text, 'interpreters' marg.

Ambassadors were not permanent officials, but were chosen from attendants at court for special occasions (see 2 K 19[9]). Their evil treatment was regarded then as now as a grave insult to king and people (2 S 10[1-6]). In the Apocr. the general term ἄγγελος, 'messenger,' is often used even in dealings with courts (Jth 1[11] 3[1], 1 Mac 1[44] 7[10]), but during the Maccabæan period, when embassies were frequently sent, the ordinary Gr. words for 'ambassadors' are employed: πρεσβευτής (1 Mac 13[21] 14[21. 22]), πρεσβεύς (1 Mac 9[70] 11[9] 13[14]), and πρεσβῦται (2 Mac 11[34]). The word πρεσβεία, 'ambassage' (RV Apocr.), occurs in 2 Mac 4[11]. In NT (Lk 14[32], 2 Co 5[20], Eph 6[20]) the use is metaphorical.

G. W. THATCHER.

AMBASSAGE, mod. *embassy*; in AV only Lk 14[32], but RV adds Lk 19[14] (AV 'message') where the same Gr. word (πρεσβεία) is used. The meaning is not a message sent by ambassadors, but the ambassadors themselves. In 1 Mac 14[23] the meaning is 'message' (Gr. λόγοι, RV 'words').

J. HASTINGS.

AMBER.—See MINERALS.

AMBUSH, from *in* (which becomes *im* before *b*, whence *am*) and *boscus*, a bush, wood, thicket, is used in various shades of meaning. **1.** The abstract state of lying in wait in order to attack an enemy secretly. Jos 8[12] '(Joshua) set them to lie in a. between Bethel and Ai.' **2.** The place where the a. is set, or the position thus assumed. Jos 8[7] 'Ye shall rise up from the a.'; 1 Mac 9[40] RV 'And they rose up against them from their a.' **3.** The men that form the a. Jos 8[19] 'the a. arose quickly out of their place'; Jer 51[12] 'prepare the ambushes' (m. 'liers in wait'). The mod. military term is ambuscade. **Ambushment**, meaning a body of troops disposed in ambush, is used in 2 Ch 13[13 bis]; also *ambushments* in 2 Ch 20[22] (RV 'liers in wait'; but RV gives ambushment in Jos 8[9] for 'lie in ambush,' and in Jg 9[35] for 'lying in wait').

J. HASTINGS.

AMEN.—This word found its way bodily from the Heb. (אָמֵן) into the Hellenistic idiom through the LXX, and strengthened its hold later on by its more copious use in the version of Symmachus. It is derived from אָמַן *he propped*, in Niphal (reflexive) *he was firm*. So the adverb אָמֵן, *firmly*, came to be used, like our *surely*, for confirmation, in various ways.

(1) It is used for the purpose of *adopting as one's own what has just been said* (this *answering* sense being apparently the orig. one, Nu 5[22]) = 'so is it,' or 'so shall it be,' rather than the less comprehensive 'so be it,' though 'so be it' is occasionally the prominent meaning (Jer 28[6]). The word is limited to the religious atmosphere, being, on human lips, an expression of faith that God holds the thing true, or will or can make it true. Thus after the 'oath of cursing,' recited in Nu 5[22], there is added, both in the orig. Hebrew and in the Greek of Sym., 'The woman shall say, Amen, Amen,' the word being doubled for emphasis; where the LXX, however, has the inadequate γένοιτο, γένοιτο, *so be it*, as is the case in nineteen out of the twenty-three passages where the Heb. word occurs in this connexion: of the rest, three have ἀμήν, and the fourth ἀληθῶς. It is put also into the mouth of the people at the end of each *curse* uttered on Mount Ebal (Dt 27). At the close, likewise, of *public prayers, thanksgivings, benedictions, or doxologies* the people used to say *Amen* (Neh 8[6], Amen, Amen); not, apparently, however in the services of the temple, where the response was different (Edersheim, *Temple Service*, p. 127), but certainly in the services of the synagogue (Ps 41[13], *e.g.*, and Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 78, 82). That this custom passed over from the synagogue to the Christian assemblies we gather from 1 Co 14[16], where St. Paul speaks of τὸ ἀμήν, *the* (customary) *amen* uttered by the listeners at the close of the extempore thanksgiving.

(2) It is used in confirmation of *one's own* prayers, thanksgivings, benedictions, doxologies. Before

NT the word occurs only at the end of a private prayer in To 8^8, and at the end of a personal ascription in the last verses of 3 and 4 Mac. The personal doxological or ascriptional usage is much more frequent in NT (*e.g.* Ro 1^{25} 9^5), and, outside St. Paul and the Apoc., it is the only NT usage. In St. Paul's Epistles the word sometimes concludes a prayer for, or a benediction upon, his readers; but, except in Ro 15^{33} and Gal 6^{18}, it is a later addition. Sometimes, as in Rev 7^{12}, it is apparently *introductory* to a doxology, but is, in reality, confirmatory of a previous doxology. So also in Rev 22^{20} it is a believing acceptance of the previous divine affirmation.

(3*a*) It is used once *at the close* of an *affirmation of one's own*, to confirm it solemnly in faith: Rev 1^7, where it is the trustful climax of the more limited *ναί, yea* (the bare personal confirmation): 'Yea, verily [He shall so come].' (3*b*) The use of *Amen* to *introduce* one's own words and clothe them with solemn affirmation may be called an idiom of Christ: it is a use confined entirely to Him in sacred literature. But the practice of the evangelists in this matter is not uniform. The Synoptists give invariably ἀμὴν λέγω, the Fourth Gospel as invariably ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω. Again, Matthew is richest in the phrase, using it thirty times; Mark less rich, using it thirteen times; Luke least so, using it only six times; elsewhere he gives narrower substitutes (ἀληθῶς thrice, ἐπ' ἀληθείας once, ναί once), or more usually the simple λέγω. The signal difference in Luke may be due partly to the non-Hebraic stamp of his readers. The double *amen* of *introduction* in John has its parallel elsewhere in the double *amen* of *conclusion*, instances of which have already been cited. But the invariableness of the doubling, as opposed to the invariableness of the single *amen* in the Synoptists, can be put down only to an idiosyncrasy of the writer, though he need not be unhistorical in all or even in many of his instances; for it is worthy of notice that all the sayings in question are peculiar to John except 13^{21} (‖ Mt Lk) and ^{38} (‖ all Synopp., but Lk λέγω only). See Hogg in *JQR* Oct. 1896.

But Christ's uniqueness in using it as a word of *introduction* runs parallel with the uniqueness of its connotation when He does use it. (*a*) It is never the expression of His own (accepting or expectant) faith; it is rather an expression calling for faith: this view is supported by the invariable accompaniment λέγω ὑμῖν. 'He makes good the word, not the word Him' (Cremer, *Wörterbuch*, 8th ed. pp. 145, 146). (*β*) Consequently, in His mouth, it has generally to do with *His own person*, either (*α*) as Messiah, or (*b*) as demanding faith in His Messiahship in spite of outward appearances and mistaken views: it points not merely to intellectual or eventual verity, but to the fact that either the thing is true *in Him* or *He* will make it or keep it true. So it is the *amen* of *fulfilment* in Him or by Him, or the *amen* of *paradox*, or both (cf. Mt 5^{18} 16^{28} 21^{31} 26^{13}, and other passages cited in Cremer). It is intelligible, therefore, how the evangelists preferred to leave ἀμὴν untranslated; for Luke's occasional ἀληθῶς, like LXX γένοιτο, is but a partial equivalent for what Christ meant by the word. See Nestle in *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) 190.

(4) In close relation to Christ's usage, so understood, is the use of *amen* as a *name or description* of Christ and of God: of *Christ*, Rev 3^{14}, 'the Amen, the faithful and true witness' (cf. 2 Co 1^{20}, where the *yea*, the promise, is in Christ, and the *Amen*, the ratification, is through Him): of *God*, Is 65^{16} (twice), 'the God of the amen,' *i.e.* of faithfulness and truth (if the Heb. adverbial points be correct: see *Cheyne* on the passage); LXX (inadequately): τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν (cf. ἀληθινός and ἀμήν, Rev $3^{7.\ 14}$).

J. MASSIE.

AMERCE. — Dt 22^{19} 'They shall a. him in (Driver, 'they shall fine him') an hundred shekels of silver'; and 2 Ch 36^3 RV 'and a[d] (AV 'condemned') the land in an hundred talents of silver.' In Ex 21^{22}, Am 2^8 RV translates the same verb (עָנַשׁ) 'fine.'

J. HASTINGS.

AMETHYST.—See STONES, (PRECIOUS).

AMI (אָמִי=אָמֹן Neh 7^{59}).—The head of a family of 'Solomon's servants,' Ezr 2^{57}.

AMIABLE (=*lovely*, and now used only of persons) is applied to God's dwelling-place in Ps 84^1 'How a. are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts' (RVm 'lovely'; as at Ph 4^8 Rheims Bible has 'whatsoever amiable,' AV 'whatsoever things are lovely'). Cf. Howell (1644) 'They keep their churches so cleanly and amiable.'

J. HASTINGS.

AMITTAI (אֲמִתַּי 'true').—Father of the prophet Jonah, 2 K 14^{25}, Jon 1^1.

AMITY, *friendly relations* between two nations, 1 Mac 12^{16} (RV 'friendship'). See ALLIANCE.

AMMAH (אַמָּה), 2 S 2^{24} only.—A hill near Giah, in the wilderness of Gibeon. It was probably to the east of Gibeon above the Jordan Valley, but the name has not been recovered.

C. R. CONDER.

AMMI (עַמִּי='my people,'* LXX λαός μου).—The name which is to be applicable to Israel in the time of restoration; Lo-ammi (=not my people), the name given in the first instance by Hosea to Gomer's third child, but in the prophetic fragment, Hos 1^{9-11} [in Heb. 2^{1-3}], referred to the people of Israel, is, according to the author of the fragment, to be replaced by the name Ammi of exactly opposite import, in sign of the changed relation of the people to J". See LO-AMMI.

G. B. GRAY.

AMMIDIOI (B Ἀμμίδιοι, A, Ἀμμίδαιοι; in Swete's text with the hard, but in Fritzsche's with the soft breathing; AV **Ammidoi**).—Of the three parallel lists (Ezr 2=Neh 7=1 Es 5) which give the families which returned with Zerubbabel from captivity, that in 1 Es (5^{20}) alone mentions the Ammidioi. It has been suggested that they are the men of Humtah (Jos 15^{54} חַקֹּקָה, A Χαμματά). It may be questioned whether either the Chadiasai or Ammidioi were mentioned in the original Heb. lists, for it is to be noticed that in the case of these alone is the gentilic form used; otherwise throughout the list we have equivalent expressions of the Heb. . . . בְּנֵי, . . . אַנְשֵׁי, *e.g.* υἱοὶ Φόρος (v.[9]), οἱ ἐκ Βετολιώ.

G. B. GRAY.

AMMIEL (עַמִּיאֵל 'kinsman is God').—**1.** Son of Gemalli, and spy of the tribe of Dan (Nu 13^{12} P). **2.** Father of Machir (see art.), 2 S $9^{4f.}$ 17^{27}. **3.** According to the Chronicler, the sixth son of Obed-edom, who with his family constituted one of the courses of doorkeepers in the time of David; to them was allotted charge of the S. gate (of the temple) and the storehouse (1 Ch 26, esp. vv.[5. 15]). Presumably, therefore, Ammiel was the name of a division of the doorkeepers in the time of the Chronicler—*c.* B.C. 300. Cf. Driver, *LOT* 500 f.; Graf, *Die Geschicht. Büch. d. A.T.* 213–247, esp. 242 f., 246 f.; Gray, *Stud. in Heb. Proper Names*, ch. iii. p. 49 ff. **4.** 1 Ch 3^5. See ELIAM.

G. B. GRAY.

AMMIHUD (עַמִּיהוּד 'kinsman is majesty').—**1.** An Ephraimite, father of Elishama (see art.), Nu 1^{10} 2^{18} $7^{48.\ 53}$ 10^{22} (P). Presumably identical with A.

* For fuller discussion of the meaning of this name, and the following names beginning with Ammi, see NAMES, PROPER.

son of Ladan, 1 Ch 7^{26}. 2. A Simeonite, father of Shemuel (see art.), Nu 34^{20} (P). 3. A Naphtalite, father of Pedahel (see art.), Nu 34^{28} (P). 4. According to the *Kerê* of 2 S 13^{37} and the AV, A. was the name of the father of David's contemporary, the Geshurite king Talmai. The *Kethibh*, followed by RV, reads עמיחור—the closely similar letters ח and ר replacing ה and ר. Between the two readings it is difficult to decide; for while the *Kerê* is better supported, the *Kethibh*, as a name occurring nowhere else in OT, is the harder reading. 5. Son of Omri, father of Uthai (1 Ch 9^{4}).

G. B. GRAY.

AMMIHUR (עַמִּיחוּר).—See AMMIHUD, No. 4.

AMMINADAB (עַמִּינָדָב 'kinsman is generous,' or perhaps 'my people is generous,' B 'Αμεινασδάβ, A 'Αμιναδάβ; in NT Mt 1^{4} (and Lk 3^{33} ?) 'Αμιναδάβ, whence the name in AV of NT is spelt **Aminadab**). —1. According to the genealogy in Ruth, which gives David's ancestry, Amminadab was son of Ram and father of Nahshon (Ru $4^{19f.}$=1 Ch 2^{10}, Mt 1^{4}); as father of Nahshon he is also mentioned in Nu 1^{7} 2^{3} 7^{12} 10^{14} (P). Through his daughter Elisheba he became father-in-law of Aaron, Ex 6^{23} (P). 2. According to 1 Ch 6^{22} A. was son of Kohath and father of Korah; but in other statements about Kohath's children (*e.g.* Ex 6^{18}, Nu 3^{19}, 1 Ch 6^{2}) A. is not mentioned; moreover, elsewhere Izhar appears as son of Kohath and father of Korah (Ex $6^{18.\ 21}$, 1 Ch 6^{18}). There can be little doubt, therefore, that A. has accidentally replaced Izhar in 1 Ch 6^{22}; this may have arisen in compiling the list from a fuller list of the Kohathites which mentioned the connexion of A. (No. 1) with them. 3. According to the Chronicler (1 Ch $15^{10.\ 11}$) another A. was chief of a Levitical house in the days of David; he is described as a son of Uzziel, who was one of the sons of Kohath (1 Ch 6^{2}).

G. B. GRAY.

AMMINADIB (עַמִּי נָדִיב) occurs in AV and RVm of a very obscure passage, Ca 6^{12} 'my soul made me *like* the chariots of Amminadib.' RV and AVm do not regard the term as a pr. name, but render 'my soul set me on (RV *among*) the chariots of my willing (RV princely) people.' In Kautzsch's tr. of OT the passage is omitted from the text, and is rendered in a footnote, 'Mein Verlangen [ver-] setzste mich auf die Wagen meines Volkes, eines Edlen,' with the remark that it is quite unintelligible in its present context. The great variety of interpretation and exegesis of the words will be found exhibited in Reuss' *AT*, v. 391 ff.; cf. Hitzig, *d. Hohe Lied*, 82 f., and comm. of Delitzsch, Ewald, Böttcher, Zöckler, Oettli, etc. See SONG OF SONGS.

J. A. SELBIE.

AMMISHADDAI (עַמִּישַׁדַּי 'kinsman is Shaddai,' see GOD).—A Danite, father of Ahiezer (see art.), Nu 1^{12} 2^{25} $7^{66.\ 71}$ 10^{25} (P).

AMMIZABAD (עַמִּיזָבָד 'kinsman (or, my people) has made a present').—Son of Benaiah, for whom he appears at times to have officiated; but the statement in the only passage (1 Ch 27^{6}) where he is mentioned is obscure. G. B. GRAY.

AMMON, AMMONITES (בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן, בֶּן־עַמִּי; in the inscriptions, Bît-Ammân). — A people occupying territory east of the Jordan, between the Arnon on the south and the Jabbok on the north. The land lying farther to the south, separated from them by the Arnon, was the possession of the Moabites. Before the arrival of the Israelites at the plains of Moab, the Ammonites had been driven back from the Jordan banks by an Amorite tribe from the west under Sihon. These Amorites established a kingdom, carved out of the Ammonite territories, with Heshbon as their capital. In this way a strip of land along the eastern bank of the river, varying in breadth from 20 to 30 miles, ceased to be regarded as belonging to the Ammonites, and was assigned to the transjordanic tribes of Reuben and Gad. The original territories of the Ammonites, extending from the Arnon to the Jabbok, and reaching to the eastern bank of the Jordan, had in earlier years been held by a giant race called Zamzummim (Dt 2^{19-21}), to whom it seems that Og, king of Bashan, also belonged (Dt 3^{11}).

As to the origin of the children of Ammon, an account is given in Gn 19^{38}, which has been interpreted by some as genuinely historical, and by others as a reminiscence of a certain family relationship, coloured by bitter hostility and national hatred. The latter position is maintained by such distinguished and moderate exegetes as Dillmann and Bertheau; but by them the myth is regarded as historically justified, and indeed suggested, by the lustful character and irregular habits of the Ammonites. On the other hand, Delitzsch pertinently asks how such an origin can be assigned to the narrative, seeing that their supposed descent from Lot is made the one ground for exceptional treatment of the Ammonites and Moabites (Dt $2^{9.\ 19}$). The story of their origin certainly does not afford occasion for contemptuous or hostile treatment. This can be accounted for only by their unbrotherly conduct towards Israel, which caused such delay and hardship on the eve of the entrance into the promised land (Dt 23^{4}). It appears to Delitzsch that the lewdness and moral corruption which characterized their later history resulted from their tainted origin, rather than suggested the story of that origin as given in our Scriptures. In any case, we must regard this notice as indicating a close relationship between the Ammonites and the Israelites. That such a family connexion really did subsist between the two nations is confirmed by the fact that almost all the names of Moabite and Ammonite persons and places that have come down to us are easily understood by the use of a Hebrew lexicon. From this circumstance Kautzsch quite fairly concludes that these nations cannot be reckoned among the Arab tribes, but must have a place given them among the races allied to the Hebrews.

The name by which they were first known was 'children of Ammon.' Only in the literature of very late ages do we find the name Ammon used as the designation of the people (Ps 83^{7}). In this very late, probably Maccabæan, psalm * (the only place in OT outside the Pent. in which Lot's name is found), a list is given of ten tribes confederated in open and violent opposition to Israel at the re-dedication of the temple, in which the names of Ammon and Moab occur. It is then said of all these confederates that 'they have holpen the children of Lot.' This latter designation is no doubt intended to apply to the Ammonites and Moabites. The meaning of the name Benê-Ammi, literally 'sons of my people,' points to derivation from parents both of whom were of one race.

The statement in Nu 21^{24}, that 'the border of the children of Ammon was strong,' † coming after a description of the destruction of the Amorites by the Israelites as reaching to that border, is understood by Kautzsch and others as indicating the reason why the Israelites did not carry their conquests farther east, and as therefore opposed to Dt 2^{19}, which makes Israel avoid conflict with the Ammonites in consequence of a divine command. The earlier passage, however, may be read as giving the reason why Sihon and his

* See Ewald, *History of Israel*, i. 312, and Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, p. 97.

† Dillmann and many others read here יְעֻזֵּר 'Ja'zer' for עָז 'strong.'

Amorites had not pushed their conquests beyond this strip of land, with the possession of which they had rested satisfied. The Ammonites had retreated before the Amorites within the natural fortresses of their inland mountain region. But though they had thus under compulsion abandoned the fruitful Jordan Valley, the Ammonites never ceased to look upon the whole sweep of country down to the river banks as rightfully theirs. Some 300 years after the conquest of the land by the Isr., the king of the Ammonites made the unreasonable claim that they should restore to him the country that had been taken so long before, not from his forefathers, but from their Amorite conquerors (Jg 11^{13}). This the Israelites, under the brave Gileadite chief Jephthah, refused to do, inflicting upon the Ammonites and their allies a most humiliating and crushing defeat.* Previous to this, for eighteen years, the Ammonites had harassed those who occupied the coveted district; and so successful had they been in this that they were encouraged to venture across the Jordan, and there held in terror the warlike tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim. While this is reported primarily and mainly to show the depth to which the Israelites had sunk, it also affords proof of the prowess and military importance of the Ammonites.

When we next hear of them, in the early years of king Saul, the children of Ammon form a powerful nation under a capable ruler, king Nahash. One of the first distinctions in battle gained by Saul was his defeat of Nahash and the Ammonites, and the deliverance of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead, to whose city they had laid siege (1 S 11). The LXX text here reads that this conflict took place about a month after Saul had ascended the throne. During the earlier part of the reign of David, hostilities between Israel and Ammon ceased, because in the time of his trouble, Nahash, either this same monarch or perhaps his successor, 'showed kindness to David' (2 S 10^{2}). On the death of David's friend, messengers were sent to condole with his son Hanun, who, suspecting that they were spies, treated them infamously, so that David was obliged to enter upon a war to wipe out the insult that had been put upon his ambassadors. The senseless conduct of the Ammonite monarch evidently awakened among the Israelites all the old bitterness, so that in the hour of victory David and his men lost all control of themselves, and inflicted upon the vanquished children of Ammon the most cruel and revolting barbarities (2 S 12^{26-31}). Their capital, Rabbath-Ammon, was taken by Joab, David's commander-in-chief, though he gave the honour to the king. This city (in Maccabæan times known by the name of Philadelphia), one of the cities of the Decapolis, lay about 20 miles east of the Jordan, just outside the eastern border of the territory of Gad, at the southern spring of the Jabbok.

After the division of the kingdom, the country that had been taken from the Ammonites naturally fell with the rest of the transjordanic territory to the nation of the ten tribes. The Ammonites, however, soon took advantage of the weakness of the divided kingdom to assert again their independence. They also joined eagerly with the Assyrians in their attack on Gilead, obtaining increase of territory as the reward of their service; and subsequently, when Tiglath-pileser defeated the Reubenites and Gadites, the Ammonites seem to have been allowed to reoccupy parts, at least, of their old territory on the banks of the Jordan (2 K 15^{29}, 1 Ch 5^{26}). The cruelty which they practised in the war against Gilead as allies of the Syrians is described as having been committed with the object of getting their borders enlarged; and for this, and for their malignant exultation over Israel's fall, they are denounced by the prophets (Am 1^{13}, Zeph $2^{8.9}$, Jer 49^{1-7}, Ezk 21^{28-32}). We have a detailed account (2 Ch 20) of hostilities between the Ammonites, at the head of a powerful confederacy, and the southern kingdom of Judah under Jehoshaphat. Great preparations had been made for this campaign, which was intended to be decisive; but suspicions of treachery among the allies turned the arms of the panic-stricken hosts against one another in a great slaughter, so that the children of Judah did not require to draw a sword.

After nearly 150 years we again find the Ammonites at war with Judah (2 Ch 27^{5}), when they were thoroughly beaten by Jotham, and laid under a heavy tribute. During the years in which Judah was tottering on the verge of overthrow, the Ammonites appear among the vassal tribes used by Babylon to harass and plunder those that had revolted from her sway (2 K 24^{2}). After the overthrow of Judah, Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, entertaining still the old unconquerable enmity towards the Jews, sent Ishmael, a man remotely connected with the royal family of Judah, who had been resident in the country of Ammon, to murder the popular and successful governor Gedaliah, under whom the Jewish colony, consisting of those who remained in the land of Judah, had begun to prosper (2 K 25^{22-26}, Jer 40^{14}). In the days of Nehemiah, the Ammonites were active in their opposition to the Jews, maliciously endeavouring to hinder the building of the walls of the city and the restoration of the temple (Neh 4). Three hundred years later, in the time of Judas Maccabæus, the Ammonites joined the Syrians against the Jews. The Jewish leader went through Gilead and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Ammonites and their confederates under their commander Timotheus (1 Mac 5^{6}). The Ammonites are referred to by Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second Christian cent., as even then a numerous people; but not more than a century later Origen speaks vaguely of them, as of Moabites and Edomites, classing them all with the Arab tribes; and with this doubtful allusion they pass altogether out of history.

The Ammonites seem to have been notorious among the nations for their cruelty. Their religion was a genuine reflection of this infamous national characteristic. Their chief deity was Molech or Milcom (1 K $11^{7.33}$).

Ammonitess (עַמֳּנִית), woman of Ammon, 1 K $14^{21.31}$, 2 Ch 12^{13} 24^{26}.

LITERATURE. — Kautzsch in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1884, pp. 55, 56—an admirable and comprehensive sketch. See Dillmann and Delitzsch on Gn 19^{38} in their Commentaries; Ewald, *History of Israel*, ii. London, 1876, pp. 295, 336, 393 ff.; iii. 1878, p. 24, etc.; Ebrard, *Apologetics*, Edin. 1887, ii. 349–351.

J. MACPHERSON.

AMNON (אַמְנוֹן). — **1.** Eldest son of David by Ahinoam the Jezreelitess. He dishonoured his half-sister Tamar, and was, on that account, slain by her brother Absalom (2 S 3^{2} $13^{1ff.}$). In 2 S 13^{20} he is called Aminon (אֲמִינוֹן), supposed by many (on the analogy of Arabic) to be a diminutive form, purposely used by Absalom to express contempt; possibly it is only a clerical error. **2.** Son of Shimon (1 Ch 4^{20}).

J. F. STENNING.

AMOK (עָמוֹק 'deep').—A priestly family in the time of Zerubbabel and of Joiakim, Neh $12^{7.20}$. See GENEALOGY.

AMON (אָמוֹן, אָמֹן 'a skilled, or master workman,' Pr 8^{30} RV).—**1.** One of the kings of Judah, son and successor of Manasseh. Two parallel accounts of his reign are given in 2 K 21^{18-26} and 2 Ch 33^{20-25}.

* Acc. to some modern critics, however, Jg 11^{12-28} is a late interpolation (Moore, *Judges*, p. 283).

His name occurs in the genealogical list of the house of David, 1 Ch 3^{14}, and in that of the ancestry of our Lord, Mt 1^{10}. It is also mentioned in connexion with his son Josiah in Jer 1^2 25^3, Zeph 1^1.

A. came to the throne at the age of twenty-two, and his reign lasted two years (641–639 B.C.). It has been supposed that his name may have had some connexion with the Egyp. divinity Amon (see THEBES), and may thus be an illustration of the extent of his father's heathen sympathies. There is, however, no other evidence that in his cultivation of foreign forms of worship Manasseh was definitely influenced by Egypt, and the name A. may quite well be Hebrew.

All that we know of A. is that during his short reign he repeated all the idolatrous practices of his father's earlier years. He had been unaffected by Manasseh's tardy repentance and futile attempts at reform, and when he came into power he gave full scope to the heathen proclivities with which his youthful training had imbued him. The state of matters under A. may be inferred partly from the fact that 'he walked in all the way that his father walked in, and served the idols that his father served, and worshipped them' (2 K 21^{21}), partly from the evils that were found rampant at the time of Josiah's reformation (2 K $23^{4\text{-}14}$, 2 Ch $34^{3\text{-}5}$), and partly from the description which the prophets Zephaniah and Jeremiah give of the religious condition of Judah in the beginning of Josiah's reign (Zeph $1^{4\text{-}6\ 8\text{-}9}$ $3^{1\text{-}5}$, Jer 2–6). An Asherah stood in the house of the Lord; incense was burned to Baal; the sun, moon, and stars were worshipped; idolatrous priests were maintained; and the name of Malcam was held as sacred as that of J". Perhaps even human sacrifice was not discontinued. Idolatry in religion was accompanied by lawless luxury, and by the corruption of morals in every part of society. The rulers were violent, the judges rapacious, the prophets treacherous, and the priests profane.

A. was slain by conspirators, and was buried in the new burial-place in the garden of Uzza, where his father also lay. He was not the victim of a popular revolt, but of a palace intrigue; for the people slew his murderers, and set his son Josiah on the throne. It is possible that the plot against A. may have been connected with some attempt at religious reform, like the revolt of Jehu against Jehoram of Israel. If this was so, the attempt was a failure, and the popular reaction in favour of idolatry was strong enough to delay the revival of J"'s worship for nearly twenty years. But the record is so meagre that this must remain mere matter of conjecture.

LITERATURE.—For the last point, see Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 378 f. There is a reading by one of the hands in the Alex. MS of the LXX which gives twelve years instead of two as the length of A.'s reign. This has been defended as authentic by George, Duke of Manchester (*The Times of Daniel*, London, 1845), on grounds of prophetical chronology, in which he is partly supported by Ebrard (*SK*, 1847, iii. 652 ff.). For the other side, see Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige*, *in loc.*, and the note in Ewald (*Geschichte*, B. 3. S. 715; Eng. tr. iv. 206).

2. A governor of Samaria in the days of Ahab, mentioned in 1 K 22^{26} (אָמֹן) and 2 Ch 18^{25} (אָמוֹן). The prophet Micaiah was given into his custody when Ahab set out with Jehoshaphat on his fatal attempt against Ramoth-gilead. The LXX has some singular variations on this name. In 1 K he appears as Σεμὴρ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς πόλεως (or acc. to another reading Ἀμμὼν τὸν ἄρχοντα). In 2 Ch he is Ἐμὴρ (also Σεμμὴρ) ἄρχοντα. Josephus calls him Ἀχάμων. (See *ZATW*, 1885, S. 173 ff.) **3.** 'The children of Amon' (אָמֹן) are mentioned in Neh 7^{59} among 'the children of Solomon's servants,' in the list of those who returned from the Bab. Exile with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. In the parallel list in Ezr (2^{57}) the name appears as Ami (אָמִי). **4.** Amon (god). See THEBES.

JAMES PATRICK.

AMORITES (הָאֱמֹרִי 'the Amorite').—The name has been supposed to signify 'mountaineer'; but the two Heb. words *'êmer* and *'âmîr*, by which the signification is supported, mean 'summit' and 'tower,' not 'mountain.' In the Bab. and Assyr. texts, as well as in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the name is written Amurrâ, 'the Amorite,' the country being Amurri; the Egyp. form is Amur, 'Amorite.' Syria and Pal. were known to the Semites of Babylonia as 'the land of the Amorite' as far back as the time of Sargon of Akkad (B.C. 3800), and the Sumerian name Martu (which has been connected with that of the Phœn. city Marathus and mountain Brathy) is probably a modification of Amurrâ. According to an early Bab. geographical list (*WAI* ii. 50. 50), Sanir (the Senir of Dt 3^9) was a synonym of Subartum or northern Syria. In Sumerian times 'the land of the Amorites' was also known as Tidnim or Tidanu.

In the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400) and of the Nineteenth Egyp. Dynasty (B.C. 1300) 'the land of the Amorites' denoted the inland region immediately to the north of the Pal. of later days. In many passages of the OT, however, the Amorites appear as the predominant population of Canaan, and accordingly (as in the cuneiform inscriptions) give their name to the inhabitants of the whole country (see 2 S 21^2, Am $2^{9.\ 10}$). The Hivites of Gn 34^2, Jos 9^7 11^{19} are Amorites in Gn 48^{22}, 2 S 21^2; the Jebusites of Jos 15^{63} 18^{28}, Jg 1^{21} 19^{11}, 2 S 5^6 24^{18} are Amorites in Jos $10^{5.\ 6}$ (cf. Ezk 16^3); and the Hittites of Hebron in Gn 23 take the place of the Amorites of Mamre in Gn 14^{13}. Strictly speaking, however, according to Nu 13^{29}, while the Amalekites, or Bedawin, dwell in the desert to the south, and the Canaanites in the coastlands of Phœnicia and the valley of the Jordan, 'the Hittites and the Jebusites and the Amorites dwell in the mountains.'

Amorite kingdoms also existed to the south and east of Palestine. In early days we hear of Amorites to the south-west of the Dead Sea (Gn 14^7, cf. Dt $1^{7.\ 44}$), but at the time of the Exodus their two chief kingdoms were those of Sihon and Og, on the eastern side of the Jordan (Dt 31^4, Jos 2^{10}). Og ruled in Bashan, Sihon more to the south, where he had driven the Moabites from the fertile lands between the Jabbok and the Arnon (Nu $21^{13.\ 26}$). The overthrow of Sihon and Og, and the occupation of their territories, were among the first achievements of the Israelitish invaders of Canaan (Nu $21^{21\text{-}35}$). A fragment of an Amorite song of triumph over the conquered Moabites is given in Nu $21^{27\text{-}30}$, where it is turned against the conquerors themselves.

Whether the Amorite kingdoms were the result of conquest, or whether the Amorites represented the original population of the country east of the Jordan, we do not know. A still more difficult problem is the relation between the Amorites and Hittites in southern Palestine. That the two peoples were interlocked there, we know from the statement of Ezk (16^3) in regard to the double parentage (Amorite and Hittite) of Jerusalem. In the north, in 'the land of the Amorites' of the cuneiform and Egyp. inscriptions, the interlocking was due to Hittite conquest. Before the reign of Tahutmes III. of the Eighteenth Egyp. Dynasty (B.C. 1504–1449), the Amorite stronghold of Kadesh on the Orontes had been captured by the Hittites, and had become their southern capital. The Hittites, however, were intruders from the north.

On the Egyp. monuments the Amorites are depicted as a tall race, with fair skins, light (also

black) hair, and blue eyes (Tomkins, *Jrl. of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. 3, p. 224). They thus resembled the Libyans (the Berbers of to-day), and belonged to the white race. The same type, with profiles resembling those of the Amorites on the Egyp. monuments, is still met with in Pal., especially in the extreme south. The tall stature of the Amorites impressed the Israelites (Nu $13^{28.33}$, Dt $2^{10.11}$ 9^{2}, if the Anakim are to be regarded as Amorites). Amorites from time to time settled in Egypt, and became naturalised subjects of the Pharaoh. Thus, in the reign of Tahutmes III., the sword-bearer of the king and his brother, a priest, were sons of an 'Amorite' and his wife Karuna.

In the age of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, the Egyp. governor of the 'land of the Amorites' was Abd-Asherah (written Abd-Asirti and Abd-Asratu), who, with his son Ezer (Aziru), made successful war against Rib-hadad, the governor of Phœnicia, eventually driving him from his cities of Zemar and Gebal. Aziru seems to have been assisted by the forces of Babylon and Aram-naharaim (Mitanni). In some of his despatches to the Pharaoh he describes the Hittites as advancing southward, and as having captured Tunip and other Egyp. towns in northern Syria. The kingdoms of Og and (probably) Sihon did not as yet exist, 'the field of Bashan' (Ziri-Basana) being under the Egyp. governor Artama-Samas. One of the letters is from the king to the governor of 'the city of the Amorites,' and orders certain Amorite rebels to be sent in chains to the Pharaoh, whose names are Sarru, Tuya, Lêya, Yisyari (or Pisyari), the son-in-law of Manya, Dâsartî, Palûma, and Nimmakhê. About a century and a half later, Merenptah, the son and successor of Ramses II., built a town in the land of the Amorites (Anast. iii. *Rev.* 5), and one of the chief officials at his court was Ben-Mazana, the son of Yupa'a or Yau 'the great,' from Ziri-Basana. But we do not know whether Bashan was at the time under Amorite rule.

LITERATURE.—Sayce, 'The White Race of Ancient Palestine,' in the *Expos.* July 1888; *Races of the OT* (1891).

A. H. SAYCE.

AMOS (עָמוֹס).—

I. The Prophet.
II. The Prophecy.
1. Authenticity.
2. Contents.
3. Theology.
4. Style.
III. Literature.

I. THE PROPHET.—This is the name of the prophet whose book in our Bibles* occupies the third place amongst the Minor Prophets.† The Gr. and Lat. Fathers, being for the most part unacquainted with Heb., frequently confounded his name with the quite different one of Isaiah's father, *Amoz*. Our prophet has no namesake in the OT.* It is almost certain that he was a Judæan by birth: Am 1^{1} is not absolutely decisive, but taken in conjunction with 7^{12} it seems to prove that he was a citizen of the southern kingdom. The attempts which have been made to prove his northern origin from the spelling of certain words (4^{10} 5^{11} $6^{8.10}$ 8^{3}) must be pronounced failures. He owned a small flock of a peculiar breed of sheep, ugly and short-footed, but valuable for their excellent wool [cf. 2 K 3^{4}, the only other passage where the word *nôḳêd* (Am 1^{1}) occurs]. These he pastured in the neighbourhood of Tekoa, in the wilderness of Judah. (See TEKOA.) Part of his livelihood was derived from the lightly-esteemed fruit of a few sycomore trees (7^{14}). His own account of himself ($7^{14.15}$) gives us the impression that, though poor, he was independent, and able, when occasion demanded, to leave his flock for a while. This is more probable than the supposition that he brought his sheep with him from Tekoa to Bethel. It is extremely likely that his father had followed the same occupation, for in the East avocations are hereditary. The omission of the father's name in the superscription of the prophecy would seem to indicate that he did not belong to a distinguished family (contrast Is 1^{1}, Jer 1^{1}, Ezk 1^{3}, Hos 1^{1}, Joel 1^{1} etc.). A worthless Jewish tradition makes the wise woman of Tekoa (2 S 14) to have been his grandmother.

In his day it was still common for those who appeared as prophets to come forth from circles where the practices and influences cherished were of such a nature as to prepare men for this high office. But he was doing his ordinary work when the impulse came which brought him to Bethel, the ecclesiastical capital of the N. kingdom, there to denounce the sins of Israel. God called him, without any intermediary (7^{15}; cf. Gal 1^{1}), and the call came with a constraining force which left no choice but to follow (3^{8}). External events, no doubt, had their influence. It is impossible to read the book without feeling how deeply A. had been impressed by the westward movement of the Assyr. colossus, and we may reasonably believe that the campaigns prosecuted in this direction by Salmanassar III. (783–773 B.C.), or by Assurdanil (773–755 B.C.), had excited his alarm. The note of time 1^{1}, 'two years before the earthquake,' does not afford much help in dating his mission. Zec 14^{5} assigns this earthquake to the reign of Uzziah of Judah; and Jerome, on Am 1^{1}, makes bold to identify it with the one which Josephus (*Ant.* IX. x. 4) asserts to have occurred as a punishment of Uzziah's sacrilege: 'quando iram Domini non solum pœna ejus, qui sacrilegus fuit, sed et terræ motus ostendit, quem Hebræi tunc accidisse commemorant.' Am 1^{1} fixes the prophet's activity in the period when Jeroboam II. of Israel was contemporaneous with Uzziah. This period extended from 775 to 750 B.C. The tone of the prophecy leaves little doubt that, when it was delivered, the bulk of Jeroboam's

* The same order is observed in our editions of the Heb. Bible, but in the LXX Amos follows Hosea. The same is the case in the Syriac Lives of the Prophets. Greg. Naz. says—

> Μίαν μὲν εἰσιν εἰς γραφὴν οἱ δώδεκα
> Ὡσῆε, κ' ἀμώς, καὶ μιχαίας ὁ τρίτος.

† The name has been very variously explained. Jerome, in his preface to Joel, understands it as meaning *one who bears a load*, but in the preface to Amos he makes it equivalent to *the people that is torn asunder*. Eusebius gives the alternatives *strong, faithful, tearing the people asunder*. A Rabbinical tradition asserts that 'the prophet was called Amos because he was heavy (=Heb. *'amas*) of tongue,' and represents the Lord as saying, 'I sent Amos, and they called him *stammerer*.' The Rabbis ascribed the same physical infirmity to Moses, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Gesenius (*Thes.* 1044) was disposed to seek an Egyp. etymology, comparing such familiar Egyp. forms as *Amosis, Amasis*. But the most probable view is that which traces it to the verb *'amas* (=to bear), and looks on it as meaning *burden-bearer* or *burdened*. The attempt at explanation is carried too far when it is suggested that the name was imposed by the child's parents because of the heavy load of poverty which he was doomed to carry.

* Our English Bibles, agreeing in this with the majority of modern VSS, mention a second Amos. This is in St. Luke's account of the genealogy of Joseph, the putative father of our Lord, Lk 3^{25}. There is, however, some uncertainty as to whether the correct form is not Amoz. The Gr. Ἀμώς is not decisive, since it is used in the LXX indifferently for אמוץ (Is 1^{1}) and עמוס (Am 1^{1}), precisely as Jerome has *Amos* in both cases. The Peshiṭta also fails to help us. Whereas it transliterates the prophet's name ܥܡܘܣ and that of Isaiah's father ܐܡܘܨ, at Lk 3^{25} it combines the two forms ܥܡܘܨ. Delitzsch and Salkinson, in their *Heb. New Testaments*, decide in favour of Amoz, both giving אמוץ. The question is not important. In any case we know nothing concerning the person named, and it is not possible to do more than state the negative conclusion that he cannot have been either the prophet of Tekoa or the father of Isaiah, seeing he is removed from Joseph by an interval of only seven generations.

splendid achievements had already been wrought. The ministry of Amos should therefore be dated about 760 B.C. An attempt has recently been made, on the ground of internal evidence, to bring it down a quarter of a century, and date it about 734. This, however, would require us to set aside Am 7^{10-17}, a section which bears every mark of verisimilitude.

Bethel was the principal scene of his preaching, perhaps the only one. When he had delivered several addresses there, Amaziah, the chief priest of the royal sanctuary, sent a message to the king, who does not seem to have been present, accusing the preacher of treason, and at the same time ordered the latter to quit the realm. Evidently there was some reason to fear that the oppressed poor might be stirred up to revolt against their lords and masters. The threats of coming judgment would disturb many hearers. The denunciation of cruelty and injustice would awake many echoes. Yet the priest's language evinces all the contempt which a highly-placed official feels towards an interfering nobody, a fellow who, as he thinks, gains a precarious livelihood by prophesying. Jeroboam does not seem to have paid much heed. In the Bab. Talm. *Pesachim*, fol. 87*b*, it is said: 'How is it proved that Jeroboam did not receive the accusation brought against Amos? . . . The king answered [in reply to Amaziah], God forbid that that righteous man should have said this; and if he hath said it, what can I do to him? The Shechinah hath said it to him.' The conversation is fictitious; but Amos doubtless withdrew unmolested, after disclaiming any official and permanent standing as a prophet, predicting Amaziah's utter destruction because of his impious hindrance of the divine word (7^{14-17}), and completing the delivery of his own message to Israel (8. 9). On reaching home he doubtless put into writing the substance of his speeches, and the roll thus written is the earliest book of prophecy that has come down to us.

Concerning his subsequent fortunes we are entirely in the dark. A late Christian tradition, originating probably in the 6th century of our era, affirms that Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, struck him frequently, and treacherously abused him, and finally Amaziah's son killed him, striking him on the forehead with a club, because he had rebuked him for the apostasy of worshipping the two golden calves. The prophet survived long enough to reach his own land [another version adds, 'at the end of two days'], and was buried with his fathers. It is much more likely that he reached Tekoa in peace, resumed his shepherd life, and eventually was gathered to his fathers. Jerome and Eusebius affirm that his sepulchre was still shown at Tekoa in their days. When Maundrell was in the neighbourhood in 1737 he was told that the tomb was in the village on the mountain. The Roman Church places Amos amongst the martyrs, and commemorates him on the 31st March, the Gr. Church on the 15th June. Amongst the Jews his freedom of speech gave offence even after his death, for the *Koh. Rab.* blames Amos, Jeremiah, and Ecclesiastes for their fault-finding, and states that this is the reason why the superscriptions to their books run, 'The words of Amos,' etc., and not, 'The words of God.'

II. THE PROPHECY.

1. The *Authenticity* of the writing which bears his name has never been seriously questioned. As to its *integrity* there is good ground for thinking that the following passages are later additions: $1^{1.\,2}$ $2^{4.\,5}$ 4^{13} $5^{8.\,9}$ 6^{2} $9^{5.\,8\text{-}15}$. Emendations of the *Massoretic text* have been suggested for the undermentioned passages, and most of them merit careful consideration: $1^{11.\,13}$ 2^{13} $3^{5.\,9.\,11.\,12.\,14}$ $4^{1.\,2.\,3}$ $5^{6.\,9.\,11.\,12.\,16.\,26}$ $6^{2.\,8.\,10.\,12}$ $7^{1.\,2.\,4.\,14.\,17}$ 8^{6} $9^{6.\,10.\,11}$.

2. The *Contents* may be summarised thus:—Chs. 1 and 2: THE INTRODUCTION, which touches on the sins, first of the neighbouring nations and then of Israel, and announces their imminent punishment. Chs. 3–6: THE FIRST MAIN DIVISION OF THE BOOK; $3\text{–}4^{3}$ *A Minatory Discourse*, addressed chiefly to the ruling classes; $4^{4\text{-}13}$ *A Continuation of the same Speech*, now directed to the people in general, detailing the judgments by which God had sought to bring them back to Himself, and sharply pointing out that a more decisive stroke was at hand; 5: *A Second Address*, in which are contained lamentations, reproofs, exhortations to true religion as opposed to false, threats of ruin and captivity; 6: *A Woe upon the Luxurious, the Self-Confident, and the Proud.* Chs. 7–9: THE SECOND MAIN DIVISION OF THE BOOK; $7^{1\text{-}9}$ *Three Visions*; $^{10\text{-}17}$ *The Narrative of the Expulsion of Amos*; $8^{1\text{-}2}$ *A Fourth Vision*, the rest of the chapter being occupied with denunciations of the extortionate traders, the self-indulgent rich, the superstitious pilgrims; 9: *The Concluding Vision: The Inevitable Punishment of Wrong-doers: The Messianic Future.*

3. The distinguishing characteristics of this prophet's *Theology* are quite unmistakable:—

(1) *His Idea of God.*—Amos was an uncompromising monotheist. There is not a verse in his writings that admits the existence of other deities. But his conviction of the divine unity was not the result of philosophic thought and argument. It was an immediate certainty springing out of his deep sense of J″'s righteousness, nearness, greatness. So near and so mighty did He seem that there was no room for other gods, and hence there is no discussion of their claims. J″ is all-powerful in Heaven and Sheol, on Carmel and in the depths of the sea, in Caphtor and Kir, and Edom and Tyre. His might is shown in the control of human history (chs. 1 and 2, *passim*; 5^{21} 6^{14} 9^{7}), and esp. in His guidance of the fortunes of Israel. Every movement of the national life, spiritual and external, has been under His hand ($2^{9\text{-}11}$). In all the affairs of men there is no such thing as chance; it is His purposes that are constantly being wrought out: calamity, as well as prosperity, comes from Him ($3^{3\text{-}8}$). This implies His dominion over Nature, the completeness of which comes out in such sections as $4^{6\text{-}10}$, where every natural calamity and scourge, dearth, drought, mildew, locust, pestilence, is traced to the direct exercise of His will. It scarcely need be added that the personality of God was clear to the prophet's mind. Hence it is that he does not shrink from anthropomorphism: J″ steps forth against the house of Jeroboam like an armed warrior (7^{9}); in pity for His people He changes His purposes (7^{3} etc.).

(2) *The relation between J″ and Israel.* — In common with all his countrymen, Amos believed that J″ was in a peculiar sense their God, and they His people. But they regarded the bond as a natural and indissoluble one, like that which was conceived to exist between other nations and their deities, so that, provided they paid His dues in the form of sacrifices, He was bound in honour, and for His own sake, to protect and bless them. The prophet, on the contrary, insisted that the relation was a moral one, not merely dissoluble, but certain to be dissolved if they fell below His standard of moral requirements. It is in the insistence on this, and in the statement of these moral requirements, that the splendid originality of Amos is most clearly evinced. Ceremonial worship has no intrinsic value ($5^{21\text{-}22}$): the only genuine service of God consists in justice and righteousness (5^{24}); when immorality and oppression are practised by His worshippers, God shrinks from contact with them as from a defilement: inhumanity and

unbrotherliness, nay even the failure to respect the sentiments of others (1^{3}–2^{4}), are hateful to Him when heathens are guilty of them, and much more so when Israel is (3^{2}). As to the illegitimate methods of worshipping the Lord, he has but little to say; 3^{14} 4^{4} 8^{14} show the scorn with which he regarded them. But it is the spirit, not the method, which finds in him so stern an antagonist. His main contention is that ritual, *as a substitute for the social virtues*, is an abomination. True religion consists in doing good and abstaining from harm. As in the Epistle of St. James, ethical considerations are paramount. Righteousness is the keynote of the prophecy. The word Love does not occur. This bent was due primarily to his apprehension of the divine character. God, to him, was the God of Righteousness rather than of Love. Not, of course, that the sense of the Divine Love is absent; ch. $7^{1\text{-}6}$ is a picture of the placableness which yields to the prophet's intercession, even at the moment when the stroke of punishment is falling. But in this particular Amos stands far below Hosea. The circumstances of the time helped to fix his view. Jeroboam's victories had brought wealth and power to the upper classes, but had left the poor worse off than of old. The basest advantage was taken of this; the wicked meanness of the powerful provoked Amos to contempt (2^{6}). Without being what is now called a socialist—for, indeed, he was in no respect a theorist—he felt deeply the rottenness of the social state; the dignity of man was being trampled on; the prevalent luxury was founded on oppression, and was sapping the life of those who practised it. He attacks this luxury unsparingly ($6^{4\text{-}6}$); even the custom of reclining at meals, recently introduced from the farther East, is twice rebuked (3^{12} 6^{4}). The peasant, as well as the prophet, may be felt here.

(3) *The Coming Judgment.*—The Book of Amos is the earliest writing in which the term 'The Day of J"' is used. Most probably it was current on the people's lips. They imagined that when the Lord arose in judgment it would be, not only for the establishment of His rule over the whole world, but also to their great benefit; all their sufferings would come to a perpetual end; dominion as large as David's would be restored to Israel. Amos saw that this 'Day' threatened to be one of judgment on Israel itself ($5^{18\text{-}20}$), and its coming appeared so inevitable that he speaks of it as already present. Unlike his predecessors, he looks on the result as totally destructive of the commonwealth ($2^{14\text{-}16}$ $3^{12\text{-}15}$ $4^{2.\ 3.\ 12}$ 5^{27} 6 *passim*, 7^{8} $9^{1\text{-}4.\ 7}$). Repentance would have averted this (4), but the opportunity has passed. The great world-power which will serve as God's instrument is doubtless Assyria, but the prophet stops short of the mention of its name (5^{27} 6^{14}). Perhaps he was aware of the weakness under which the Eastern colossus then laboured, but believed that it would stand firmly on its feet again.

(4) *The Messianic picture in* $9^{8\text{-}15}$.—One of the weightiest reasons for regarding this as a later addition is its incongruousness with the Visions of Judgment which have preceded. It shows us the land entirely purged of the sinners, the rich officials who had abused their power. The Davidic kingdom is restored, no stress, however, being laid on the person or character of the prince at its head. The ancient bounds of the empire are re-established, foreigners, especially the hated Edomites, being reduced anew to subjection. The Israelite exiles have been brought home, and have rebuilt the waste cities. Agriculture and vine-growing flourish to a miraculous degree on a soil of immensely increased fertility. Israel has reached an earthly paradise, and will never be dispossessed. This is a picture which would have commended itself to the men who heard Amos, as his genuine predictions did not. One point there is in common: everything is human and earthly, there is no trace of expectation of a future life.

In so early a writer as Amos it is surprising to meet with so few signs of sympathy with the modes of thought and expression which were afterwards abandoned by the higher religion of the OT. At 7^{17} he appears to share in the common idea that other lands are unclean to an Israelite. At 9^{3} he adopts the widespread myth of a dangerous serpent inhabiting the sea, the creature, perhaps, which the dwellers on the Mediterranean coast-lands conceived of as swallowing, each evening, the setting sun. At 5^{8} (a disputed passage) there is probably a mythical idea involved in the mention of the constellation of 'The Fool.' (See art. ORION.) At 6^{10} (another disputed passage) the superstitious dread of pronouncing the divine name amidst inauspicious surroundings is referred to without reproof.

4. There was a time when Jerome's verdict on the *Style* of Amos, *imperitus sermone, sed non scientiâ*, was generally acquiesced in. Now, however, it is seen that the Christian Father was prejudiced by his Jewish teacher, and that the prophet was as little deficient in style as in knowledge. In point of fact, he is very little inferior to the best OT writers. His language is clear and vigorous; his sentences are well rounded. His imagery, mainly drawn, as was to be expected, from rural life (threshing-sledges, waggon, harvests, grasshoppers, cattle, birds, lions, fishing), is vivid and telling. He knows how to use the refrain (4), and the poetic lament (5^{2}); he is skilful in working up to a climax. Two or three solecisms in spelling may well be set down to transcribers. An Eastern shepherd is not necessarily uncultivated, though his culture be not derived from books. This shepherd's outlook was a wide one (1. 2. 9^{7}); his apprehension of the meaning of events uncommonly clear; his knowledge born of reflection and the touch of the Divine Spirit.

The boldness of his style was an expression of the boldness of the man and his thoughts. It required no small courage for a Judæan to enter Israelite territory for the express purpose of interfering in the religious and social life of the nation, denouncing everything as corrupt, threatening swift and utter ruin. Nor is that all. No speaker ever ran counter to the most cherished convictions of his auditors more daringly than the prophet who told them that the destinies of other nations are as really guided by God as those of His chosen people; 9^{7} is almost a contradiction of 3^{2}. His courage was derived from his conviction of the reality and dignity of his mission. When the Lord God hath spoken, the man who hears Him cannot but prophesy. And whoever else may fail to hear, the prophet does not; he is of the Privy Council ($3^{7.\ 8}$, cf. Gn 18^{17}). That is the starting-point of Hebrew prophecy.

LITERATURE.—Calvin, *Prælect. in Duod. Proph. Min.* 1610; J. Gerhardi, *Adn. Posth. in Proph. Amos et Jon.* 1676; J. C. Harenberg, *Amos Proph. Exposit.* 1763; L. J. Uhland, *Annot. ad loc. quæd. Am.* 1779; J. S. Vater, *Amos übers. u. erklärt*, 1810; Juynboll, *Disputatio de Amoso*, 1828; Ewald, *Die Proph. des Alten Bundes*, 1840; Henderson, *Minor Prophets*, 1845, 1858; Baur, *Der Proph. Amos*, 1847; Gandell in *The Speaker's Commentary*, 1876; Hitzig-Steiner, *Die Zwölf Kl. Proph.* 1881; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*², 1896; Hoffmann, 'Versuche zu Amos,' in *ZATW*, 1883; Gunning, *De Godspraken van Amos*, 1885; Davidson, *Expositor*, Mar. and Sept. 1887; Keil, *Die Kl. Proph.* 1888; Orelli, *Die Zwölf Kl. Proph.* 1888 (tr. by Banks); Bachmann, *Præparationen zu den Kl. Pr.* Heft 3, 1890; Farrar, *The Minor Prophets*; Wellhausen, *Die Kl. Proph.* 1892; Reuss, *Die Propheten*, Bd. ii. of *A.T.* 1892; Michelet, *Amos oversat.* 1893; Billeb, *Die wichtigsten Sätze der n. a. t. Kritik von Standp. der p. Am. u. H. aus betrachtet*, 1893; Guthe in Kautzsch's *A.T.* 1894; Cornill, *Der Isr. Prophet.* 1895; G. A. Smith, *The Bk. of the Twelve Prophets*, 1896; Driver.

Joel and Amos, 1897; last but not least, well deserving to be translated into Eng., Valeton, *Amos en Hosea*, 1894.
J. TAYLOR.

AMOZ (אָמוֹץ), father of the prophet Isaiah (2 K 19^2, Is 1^1, etc.), to be carefully distinguished from Amos (עָמוֹס) the prophet. See AMOS (p. 85[b] n.)

AMPHIPOLIS ('Αμφίπολις). — Amphipolis, mentioned in Ac 17^1 as a stage in St. Paul's mission-journey from Philippi to Thessalonica, was a city of Macedonia. It was situated on the eastern bank of the river Strymon, about 3 miles from the sea, closer to which lay its seaport Eion. The river, on leaving Lake Cercinitis, winds in a semi-circle round the base of a terraced hill, on which the town was built, protected by the river on three sides, and by a wall along the landward chord of the arc. It was, as Thucydides (iv. 102) says, conspicuous (περιφανής) toward sea and land; and this is probably the import of its name, 'the all-around (visible) city' (Classen, *in loc.*, who suggests the parallel of *Umbstadt* in Upper Hesse). Its importance, already marked by its earlier name 'Nine Ways' ('Εννέα ὁδοί), made its possession keenly contested, alike on military and mercantile grounds. The Athenians founded a colony under Hagnon in B.C. 437, which presented a history of chequered fortunes and varied interest, in its surrender to Brasidas, the fight under its walls between Brasidas and Cleon in which both fell, its refusal to submit again to the mother-city, its repeated attempts to assert its independence, till it passed into the possession of the Macedonians under Perdiccas and Philip, and eventually into that of the Romans. By these A. was constituted a free city, and made the capital of the *first* of the four districts into which, in B.C. 167, they divided the province (Liv. xlv. 18. 29). The Via Egnatia passed through it. It was called in the Middle Ages *Popolia* (Tafel, *Thessal.* p. 498 f.), and is now represented by a village called *Neochori*, in Turkish *Jenikoei* (see plan in Leake, *N.G.* ii. 191). Zoilus, the carping critic of Homer, was a native, and wrote a history of it in three books (Suidas, *s.v.*).
WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

AMPLIATUS ('Αμπλιᾶτος, RV correctly with ℵ A B F G, Vulg. Boh. Orig., for TR 'Αμπλιᾶς, D E L P, AV **Amplias**, the abbrev. form).—A Christian greeted by St. Paul (Ro 16^8) as the 'beloved in the Lord.' It is a very common Roman slave name. (Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 172; *CIL* vi. 4899, 5154, etc.)

Some further interest attaches to the name. It occurs in one of the earliest chambers of the Catacomb of St. Domitilla, inscribed in large, bold letters over a cell belonging to the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. A later inscription in the same chamber also contains the same name. The simplicity of the earliest inscription suggests a slave, and the prominence assigned to the name suggests that it belonged to some prominent member of the early Roman Church, perhaps a member of the household of Domitilla.

LITERATURE.—De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Christ.* Ser. III. vol. vi. (1881) pp. 57–74; *Athenæum*, March 4, 1884, p. 289; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 424.
A. C. HEADLAM.

AMRAM. — (עַמְרָם 'the people is exalted'). **1.** A Levite, son of Kohath and grandson of Levi (Nu 3^{17-19}, 1 Ch $6^{2.3.18}$). He married Jochebed his father's sister, by whom he begat Aaron and Moses (Ex 6^{18-20}) and Miriam (Nu 26^{59}, 1 Ch 6^3). **2.** A son of Bani who had contracted a marriage with a 'strange woman' in the time of Ezra (Ezr 10^{34}).

Amramites, The (הָעַמְרָמִי). — A branch of the Kohathite family of the tribe of Levi. The name occurs in the account of the census taken by Moses (Nu 3^{27}), and again in the Chronicler's account of the organisation of the Levites in the time of David (1 Ch 26^{23}).
W. C. ALLEN.

AMRAPHEL (אַמְרָפֶל), mentioned as 'king of Shinar' (Gn 14^1). Schrader, who suggested that the name was a corruption for 'Amraphi' (אַמְרָפִי), was the first to identify this king with Khammurabi, the 6th king in the 1st Dynasty of Babylon. The cuneiform inscriptions inform us that Khammurabi was king of Babylon and N. Babylonia; that he rebelled against the supremacy of Elam; that he overthrew his rival Eri-aku, king of Larsa; and, after conquering Sumer and Accad, was the first to make a united kingdom of Babylonia. He reigned 55 years. Winckler gives the date of his reign as 2264–2210: Sayce (*Patr. Pal.* p. 12) gives 2320 as the date of his uniting Babylonia. But the chron. is uncertain. The name is given by Hommel as Chammurapaltu (*Gesch. d. Morgenlandes*, p. 58), and it has sometimes been transcribed as Chammu-ragas. Mr. Pinches considers Amraphel to be a Sem. name = Amar-apla = Amar-pal ('I see a son'), or Amra-apla = Amrapal ('see a son').

It is clear that the identification is not free from difficulty, so far as the Biblical account is concerned. (1) The date of Khammurabi, according to the reckoning of Winckler and Sayce, etc., is 400 years earlier than the cent. to which Gn 14 is generally ascribed. (2) A. is described as 'king of Shinar'; and Shinar has generally been identified with Shumer, the S. part of Babylonia. Khammurabi, while subject to the suzerainty of Elam, was king of Babylon and N. Babylonia, but not of Shumer or S. Babylonia. This difficulty has been met by the assumption that Shinar is to be understood to denote in Gn all Chaldæa, of which Babylon was the capital. No great exactitude in geog. terms can be expected. Shinar (Sangar), in the inscriptions, seems to be situated in Mesopotamia. Possibly Heb. tradition confused the Shinar of Mesopotamia with the Shumer of S. Babylonia.

It seems best at present to suspend judgment upon this much disputed identification. The results of Assyriological research in illustration of Gn 14 are still much disputed.

Jos. (*Ant.* I. ix.) transcribes the name as 'Αμαραψίδης, although the LXX has 'Αμαρφάλ.
H. E. RYLE.

AMULETS (לְחָשִׁים Is 3^{20}, AV **ear-rings**). — **1.** *Origin.* The connexion with *laḥash*, to mutter as a snake-charmer (Ps 58^5), points to something that has had whispered or chanted over it words of power and protection. Cf. Heb. *ḥarṭom*, magician, and its connexion with *ḥeret*, the graving-pen of the learned writer, and the Arab. 'talisman' similarly associated with the *ṭailasan* or long robe of the sacred dervish. The same idea of power through secret lore and sanctity is exemplified at the present day in Jerus., where crucifixes, pictures of the Virgin, and rosaries are laid on the pavement at the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre so as to give them this holy value in the market.

2. *Meaning.* The central meaning of the a. is something that faith may clasp as a prophylactic against known and unknown dangers. It assumes a connexion between holiness and healing, between piety and prosperity, the first being appreciated for the sake of the second. It is a testimony to the sense of sin, for it is only that which is wanting in holiness that requires to be covered or protected. Hence the Arab. proverb says, 'The eye of the sun needs no veil.' Its light is pure, and therefore no protection is required.

The a. unites the protector and the protected; what lays a duty on divine power lays on human weakness a corresponding devotion. Fulness of consecration makes fulness of claim. Hence to

the Oriental mind familiar with this amulet faith, the words seem very natural, 'Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might.' 'Perfect love casteth out fear.' 'I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me.' Thus the a. has a true word of power, for it teaches, 'When I am devoted, I am endued.' By a similar vehicle the apostle reaches the experience which says, 'When I am weak, then am I strong.'

3. *Classification.* This corresponds with the dangers and the points of contact. There is an a. *for the heart* (illust. 1) worn almost universally in the East. It is a locket suspended over the breast, and consists sometimes of a small metal case of With this may be classed the neck-amulet. See CRESCENT. Similarly, there were a^s for the nose and mouth for the dangers by inhalation; for the ear and the temptations of hearing; for the eye and what meets its vision (illust. 3, 7, 8). And so the veil for the head and face, and the sheet enveloping the whole figure of the Oriental woman, now the formalities of modesty, were doubtless once full of superstitious meaning. See VEIL. Amulet articles among the Jews are chiefly the fringes of large and small tallith: the mezuza; the paper with Ps 121 and certain Abracadabra formulæ, which the Rabbi puts in the room where there is an infant less than eight days old; and the

AMULETS.

1. The 'Shield of David,' or 'Solomon's Seal,' a favourite a. among the Jews. 2. Extract from Jewish Birth-A., which gives, under Ps 121, the names of the Patriarchs and their wives, with a formula at each side forbidding the approach of Lilith or any witch. 3. Breast-a. (*taubeh*). 4. Eye-a., seen in the brass thimble-like ornament on the nose of the Egyptian woman. 5, 6. Cactus, and black or red hand-a^s. 7, 8. A^s for nose and ears, worn by Bedawin women, along with necklace, bracelets, and armlet.

gold or silver, but more freq. of a heart-shaped sheath of cloth ornamented with a design in gold thread. This may contain for the Moslem a few words from the Koran, called a *ḥejab*, covering, protection; and if for a Christian, a picture of the Virgin and Child, called a *ṭaubeh*, 'penitence.' phylacteries of the brow and arm. See PHYLACTERY. Amulets are also used for the protection, not only of animals such as camels and horses, but even for newly-built houses, such protection usually taking the form of a roughly-drawn human hand in black or red, or of a cactus plant or aloe hung

by the roots from the arch of the doorway and kept alive by the moisture of the air (illust. 5 and 6). G. M. MACKIE.

AMZI (אַמְצִי).—**1.** A Merarite, 1 Ch 6^{46}. **2.** A priest in the second temple, Neh 11^{12}. See GENEALOGY.

AN.—**1.** An, called the indef. article, is the old Eng. form of the num. adj. *one*. As early as 1150 the *n* is found dropped before a consonant, and at the date of the AV the usage had become general to employ *a* before a consonantal sound (including *u* and *eu* pronounced *yu*), and *an* before a vowel sound (including silent *h*). Some hesitation is found when the art. precedes a word beginning with *wh*. Thus we find 'an whole' in Nu 10^{2} (ed. of 1611), but 'a whole' in Nu 11^{20}; 'an whore' in Pr 23^{27} (ed. 1611), 2 Es 16^{49} (ed. 1611), but 'a whore' elsewhere. Again, the ed. of 1611 gives 'such an one' in Job 14^{3}, Sir 6^{14} 10^{9} 20^{15}, 2 Mac 6^{27}; but 'such a one' in Gn 41^{38}, Ru 4^{1}, Ps 50^{21} 68^{21}, Sir 26^{28}, 1 Co $5^{5.\ 11}$, 2 Co 10^{11} $12^{2.\ 5}$, Gal 6^{1}, Philem ^{9}. Later edd. give 'such an one' in all these passages.

More varied is the usage when the art. precedes *h*. In the ed. of 1611 (the later edd. have made many changes) we find 'a habitation,' Jer 33^{12}, but 'an hab.' in Ex 15^{2}, Is 22^{16} 34^{13} and other five places; 'a hair' in 1 K 1^{52}, Lk 21^{18}, but 'an hair' in Dn 3^{27}, Mk 21^{18}, Ac 27^{34}; 'a hairy,' Gn 27^{11}, but 'an hairy,' Gn 25^{25}, 2 K 1^{8}; 'a hammer,' Jer 23^{29}, but 'an hammer,' Jg 4^{21}; and so with many other words. The explanation of this inconsistency probably is, not that the usage for *a* or *an* was not fixed, but that there was no fixed pronunciation of *h*. On the whole, *an* is found more frequently than *a* before words beginning with *h*.

2. In 'an hungered' ('a hungered' is not found in AV 1611), which occurs Mt 4^{2} $12^{1.\ 3}$ $25^{35.\ 37.\ 42.\ 44}$, Mk 2^{25}, Lk 6^{3}, the *an* is not the indef. art., but the prep. *an* or *on*. See A^{3}. J. HASTINGS.

ANAB (עֲנָב 'grapes').—A city of Judah in the Negeb hills (Jos 11^{21} 15^{50}), inhabited first by the Anakim. Now the ruin *'Anab* near Debir. It is noticed as still a village in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Anab). *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xxiv. C. R. CONDER.

ANAEL ('Αναήλ, but חנגאל Syr. and Heb., and חמאל Aram.) was brother of Tobit and father of Achiacharus, To 1^{21}.

ANAH (עֲנָה).—**1.** A daughter of Zibeon, and mother of Oholibamah, one of Esau's wives, Gn $36^{2.\ 14.\ 18.\ 25}$ (R). The mention of a *daughter* in this genealogical list has been used to prove that kinship amongst the Horites was traced through women (W. R. Smith in *Journal of Philology*, ix. p. 50). As is pointed out, however, in RVm, some ancient authorities (including LXX. Sam. Pesh.) read *son* instead of daughter, which would identify this A. with **2.** a son of Zibeon, Gn 36^{24} (R), 1 Ch $1^{40.\ 41}$. **3.** A Horite 'duke,' brother of Zibeon, Gn $36^{20.\ 29}$ (R), 1 Ch 1^{38}. If we take A. as an eponym rather than a personal name, and think of relationships between clans rather than individuals, it is quite possible to reduce the above three references to one. This can be done all the more readily by adopting with Kautzsch in Gn 36^{2} the reading חוֹרִי 'the Horite' as in v.^{20} instead of MT חִוִּי 'the Hivite.' In regard to No. 2 the note is appended, 'This is A. who found the hot springs (AV the mules) in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father' (Gn 36^{24}). For the Heb. הַיֵּמִם which is a *ἅπ. λεγ.*, LXX offers the unintelligible *τὸν Ἰαμείν*, Sam. has הָאֵימִים 'the Emim' (an aboriginal race of giants mentioned in Gn 14^{5}, Dt $2^{10.\ 11}$), and is followed by Onk. and Pseud.-Jon. It was simply the context that gave rise to the conjecture accepted by Luther and AV that the word means *mules*. The Vulg. trn. (*aquas calidas*) prob. is correct (so Kautzsch, 'die heissen Quellen'), and 'the hot springs' may possibly be identified with Callirrhoë to the E. of the Dead Sea. The chief difficulty in accepting this interpretation is that no root for the word can be discovered which would suit such a meaning (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*; cf. Dillmann and Delitzsch on Genesis, *l.c.*). J. A. SELBIE.

ANAHARATH (אֲנָחֲרַת), Jos 19^{19}, mentioned with Shion (*'Ayûn Sh'aîn*) and Rabbith (*Râba*) on the east side of the Plain of Esdraelon in Issachar. It is the modern *en-Na'urah* of Jezreel in the Valley of Jezreel. *SWP* vol. ii. sheet ix. C. R. CONDER.

ANAIAH (עֲנָיָה 'J" hath answered'). —**1.** A Levite Neh 8^{4}, called Ananias 1 Es 9^{43}. **2.** One of those who sealed the covenant Neh 10^{22}.

ANAK, ANAKIM (עֲנָק, עֲנָקִים, Ἐνάκ-ιμ).—It is often said that Anak is the name of the person from whom the Anakim were regarded as having their descent. But the name Anak occurs without the article only in the descriptive phrase 'sons of Anak' Dt 9^{2}, Nu 13^{33} 'And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak of the Nephilim.' If we have any account of a person called A., this is the account; and he is said to be one of the ancient Nephilim or demigods. (See NEPHILIM). But probably here, as in all the other places (Jos $15^{13.\ 14}$ 21^{11}, Jg 1^{20}, Nu $13^{22.\ 28}$), we have a descriptive phrase for a race of men, rather than the name of an ancestor. In these other places the article is used. We have 'the Anak,' or 'the Anok,' the word being used collectively, and denoting the race, just as does the plural Anakim. If a progenitor for this race is mentioned, he is Arba (which see), and not Anak.

The Anakim were of the giant race (Nu $13^{32.\ 33}$, Dt 1^{28} $2^{10.\ 11.\ 12.\ 20.\ 21}$ $9^{1.\ 2}$). They had their seat notably at Hebron, but also farther N., and near the Mediter. coast (Jos $14^{12\text{-}15}$ $11^{21.\ 22}$). They seem to have been, however, rather a race of men than an independent people or group of peoples. Politically, they were Amorite or Perizzite or Philistine, as the case might be. The wars in which Joshua and Caleb conquered them were not separate from their wars against the Can. peoples. Presumably the Anakim were relatively unintellectual, were subordinate to the Amorite, and were for that very reason the more formidable as fighters against a common enemy. For additional particulars see GIANT and REPHAIM. W. J. BEECHER.

ANAMIM.—The Anamim (עֲנָמִים, Ἐνεμετιείμ, *Alvemετιείμ*) are stated in the ethnographical list Gn 10^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{11}, to have been descendants, or a tribe, of Mizraim, *i.e.* Egypt. They have not yet been identified. The attempts to discover this people in one or other of the races represented on the Egyp. monuments have been based on some more or less striking similarity in the name. Ebers identifies them with the Aamu or Naamu (Anamaima), *i.e.* cowherds, who are included among the tribes ruled by the Pharaohs 15th or 14th cent. B.C. They occupy the second place in the procession (after the Rutu or Lutu), and are represented as reddish men of Sem. type, as is shown by the head of the man who represents them in the grave of Seti I. They immigrated into Egypt before the Hyksos from Asia. Their capital was on the Bucolic arm of the Nile, and, in addition to being cattle rearers, they were importers of Asiatic products to Egypt (see Riehm, *HWB*). J. MILLAR.

ANAMMELECH (עַנַמֶּלֶךְ).—A god worshipped along with Adrammelech with rites like those of Molech by the foreign settlers brought by the Assyrians to Samaria (2 K 17[31], cf. v.[24]). The worshippers are said to have come from Sepharvaim = Sabara'in, a Syrian city destroyed by Shalmaneser (Bab. Chronicle, col. i. line 28, in Winckler, *Keilinschr. Textbuch.* Cf. Halévy, *ZA*, ii. 401, 402). Winckler (*AT Untersuchungen*, p. 97 ff.), doubting that *Syrians* would be settled in Samaria, a district so near their own land, takes Sepharvaim as a false reading, or false editorial correction, introduced from 2 K 18[34], for Sipar (Sippar), the well-known city of Northern Babylonia.

The first part of the word Anammelech contains perhaps the name of the Bab. god of the sky, or of a third of the sky, Anu. The whole name is taken by Schrader (*KAT*[2], 1883, p. 284) to mean 'Anu is prince,' but the meaning is doubtful. Possibly the writer of Kings meant by the name to identify the Bab. Anu with the Ammonite Molech —Anu-Molech. W. E. BARNES.

ANAN (עָנָן, cf. Sabean ענן).—1. One of those who sealed the covenant, Neh 10[26]. 2. 1 Es 5[30] = Hanan, Ezr 2[46], Neh 7[49].

ANANI (עֲנָנִי = עֲנָנִיָה).—A son of Elioenai, 1 Ch 3[24].

ANANIAH (עֲנָנְיָה, 'J" hath covered'), Neh 3[23].—The father of Maaseiah, and grandfather of Azariah, who took part in rebuilding the walls of Jerus. He was probably a priest. Cf. v.[22].

ANANIAH (עֲנָנְיָה Neh 11[32]).—A town inhabited by Benjamites after the Captivity. According to Robinson, the present *Beit Hanina*, a village 2 miles N. of Jerusalem. The position near Nob and Anathoth, and east of Gibeon, renders this identification probable. See ELON; and *SWP* vol. iii. sh. xiv.
C. R. CONDER.

ANANIAS.—A 'disciple' who lived in Damascus, and to whom the Lord appeared in a vision, bidding him go and baptize Saul of Tarsus. Saul had been prepared for his coming by a vision. A. hesitated at first, knowing Saul's reputation as a persecutor; but, being encouraged by the Lord, went and laid his hands upon Saul, who received his sight, arose, and was baptized. Such is the account in Ac 9[10-18]. In St. Paul's speech to the multitude at Jerus. (Ac 22[12-16]) we are told that A. was a man 'devout according to the law' and one 'to whom witness was borne by all the Jews that dwelt' at Damascus; and some further words of his to St. Paul are given in which he speaks of Christ as 'the Just One.' He is not mentioned in St. Paul's speech to Agrippa.

The traditions about him are not of a primitive kind. In Pseudo-Dorotheus' list of the 72 disciples (and also in the Hippolytean list) he occurs fifth in order, after Thaddæus and before Stephen, and is represented as Bishop of Damascus In the Bk of the Bee by Solomon of Basra (1222), (c. xlix. ed. Wallis Budge), A. is numbered among the seventy. He was the disciple of the Baptist, and taught in Damascus and Arbêl. He was slain by Pôl, the general of the army of Aretas, and was laid in the church which he built at Arbêl. The Gr. *Menæa* (Oct. 1) say that he did many cures in Damascus and Eleutheropolis (being bishop of the former place), and was tormented with scourging and burning by Lucian the Prefect (Rom. Mart. Licinius), and was finally cast out of the city and stoned. The Basilian Menology adds that he was ordained by Peter and Andrew, and gives a picture of him being stoned by two men. The Abyssinian Calendar commemorates him on the 6th of Tekemt. In the Rom. Martyrology he occurs on Jan. 25; in the Armenian on Oct. 15.

The full Gr. acts of his martyrdom have never been printed, but the Bollandists, under Jan. 25, give a Lat. VS of them, in which the scene of his preaching is said to have been Bethagaure or Betagabra, near Eleutheropolis. He is likely to have been among the personal disciples of the Lord, and has a better claim to stand in the list of the seventy disciples than most of those who appear in the work of Pseudo-Dorotheus.
M. R. JAMES.

ANANIAS ('Ανανίας = Heb. חֲנַנְיָה 'J" hath been gracious').—1. A son of Emmer (1 Es 9[21]) = Hanani of Ezr 10[20]. 2. A son of Bebai (1 Es 9[29]) = Hananiah of Ezr 10[28]. 3. One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand at the reading of the law (1 Es 9[43]) = Anaiah of Neh 8[4]. 4. A Levite (1 Es 9[43]) = Hanan of Neh 8[7]. 5. The name which the angel Raphael gave as that of his father, when he introduced himself to Tobit under the assumed name of Azarias (To 5[12. 13]). 6. An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8[1]). 7. The husband of Sapphira. He fell down dead at the rebuke of St. Peter, and the same fate, three hours afterwards, befell his wife (Ac 5[1ff.]). The intention of this narrative is sometimes misunderstood as regards both the offence of these persons and the cause of their death. It is quite a mistake to suppose that a rigid system of communism was enforced in the Jerusalem Church, and that A. and Sapphira by 'keeping back part of the price' violated a rule they had pledged themselves to obey. St. Peter's words suffice to refute this notion: 'Whiles it remained, *did it not remain thine own?* and after it was sold, *was it not in thy power?*' But it was inexcusable hypocrisy to retain part of the price and pretend to surrender the whole. 'They wished to serve two masters, but to appear to serve only one' (Meyer). As to the *fact* of their sudden death, even Baur and Weizsäcker admit that a genuine tradition underlies the narrative. As to its *cause*, whatever this may have been from a secondary point of view, there can be no doubt that in Acts it is traced to *the deliberate will and intention of St. Peter.* (Note esp. v.[9] and cf. the parallel case of St. Paul and Elymas in Ac 13[11].)

LITERATURE.—Baur, *Paulus*, i. 28 ff.; Neander, *Planting of Christianity*, Bohn's tr. i. 27 ff.; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age*, i. 24, 55 f.; Comm. of Alford, Meyer, etc.

8. See preceding article. 9. The high priest before whom St. Paul was brought by Claudius Lysias (Ac 23[1ff.]), and whose outrageous conduct upon this occasion provoked the apostle to apply to him the contemptuous epithet of 'whited wall.' The same A. shortly afterwards appeared at Cæsarea amongst St. Paul's accusers before Felix (Ac 24[1ff.]). He was the son of Nedebæus, and held the high priesthood from *c.* 47–59 A.D. He owed his appointment to the office to Herod of Chalcis. During his administration there were bitter quarrels between the Jews and the Samaritans, and these seemed on one occasion likely to lead to his deposition. On account of a massacre of some Galilæans by the Samaritans, the latter had been attacked and many of their villages plundered by the Jews. A. was accused of complicity in these acts of violence, and was sent by Quadratus, the governor of Syria, to stand his trial at Rome. Powerful influence was at work at the imperial court on the side both of the Samaritans and the Jews; but, thanks to the efforts of the younger Agrippa, Claudius gave his decision in favour of the high priest, and A. returned to discharge the functions of an office which he disgraced by his rapacity and violence. It was no uncommon thing for him to send his servants to the threshing-floors to take the tithes by force, while he defrauded the inferior priests of their dues, and left some of them to die of starvation. His own end was a miserable one. His sympathies had always been with the Romans, and he had thus incurred the hatred of the nationalist party. When the great rebellion broke out which ended in the siege and destruction of Jerus., A. concealed himself, but was discovered, and murdered by the fanatical populace.

LITERATURE.—Jos. *Ant.* xx. v. 2, vi ii. 3, ix. ii. 3; *Wars* ii xvii. 9; Schürer, *HJP* i. ii. 173, 188 f., 211, ii. i. 182, 200 ff.
J. A. SELBIE.

ANANIEL (Ἀνανιήλ), one of the ancestors of Tobit, To 1[1]. A Gr. form of חֲנַנְאֵל.

ANATH (עֲנָת), the father of Shamgar, Jg 3[31] 5[6]. 'Anât is the name of a goddess worshipped in Pal., cf. Jg 1[33], Jos 15[59], Is 10[30]; it is found on Egyptian monuments from the 18th dynasty.

G. A. COOKE.

ANATHEMA. See ACCURSED.

ANATHOTH (עֲנָתוֹת).—**1.** A town in Benjamin assigned to the Levites (Jos 21[18], 1 Ch 6[60]), named from (possibly plural of) 'Anâth or 'Anât, a Chaldæan deity worshipped among the Canaanites (Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* pp. 187–189; Vogüé, *Mel.* 41 ff.), now called *'Anâta*. It is situated 2½ miles north-east of Jerusalem over the shoulder of Scopas. There are still twelve or fifteen houses on the spot, and the remains of what was apparently a handsome church. From its commanding position it has a fine view northward and also eastward over the broken hills of the wilderness, stretching down towards the north end of the Salt Sea. It was the home of Abiathar, 1 K 2[26]; of Abiezer, one of David's thirty captains, 2 S 23[27]; of Jehu, one of his mighty men, 1 Ch 12[3], and of Jeremiah the prophet, Jer 1[1]. It was reoccupied after the Exile (Ezr 2[23], Neh 7[27], 1 Es 5[18]). A quarry at 'Anâta still supplies building stone to Jerusalem. The vision of the dreary wilderness to the east, and the scorching of its dry winds which Jeremiah was familiar with in his native town, have imprinted themselves on his prophecies. To one standing upon Scopas, Anathoth is lying at his feet, Is 10[30].

2. A personal name—(*a*) the son of Becher a Benjamite, 1 Ch 7[8]. Possibly this and Alemeth following are names of towns in which sons of Becher dwelt. (*b*) Neh 10[19], possibly stands for 'men of Anathoth' (7[27]).

Anathothite (הָעֲנָתֹתִי) is the uniform designation in RV of an inhabitant of Anathoth. AV offers such variants as **Anetothite, Anethothite, Antothite.**

A. HENDERSON.

ANCHOR.—See SHIP.

ANCIENT has now a narrow range of usage. In AV it is freely applied to men, as Ezk 9[6] 'then they began at the a. men'; Ezr 3[12] 'many of the priests and Levites . . . a. (RV 'old') men.' Cf. Luttrell (1704), 'Sir Samuel Astry (being very antient) has resigned his place of clerk'; and Penn, *Life* (1718), 'This A.M.C. aforeseid, is an Ancient Maid.' Following the Heb. (and LXX) a. is used as a subst., as Is 3[2] 'the judge and the prophet and the prudent and the a.'; but esp. in the plur., as Ps 119[100] 'I understand more than the a[s]' (RV 'aged'). In these places 'the ancients' are mostly a definite class, the Elders of Israel, or of some tribe or city. See ELDER IN OT.

Wright (*Word Book*[2] p. 36) points out that 'the ancient' is used for the plur. in the Pref. of 1611; it is probable that in Job 12[12] we have an instance of the same: 'With the ancient (RV 'with aged men') is wisdom'; while Sir 39[1] is unmistakable, 'seek out the wisdom of all the ancient' (*πάντων ἀρχαίων*, RV 'ancients').

J. HASTINGS.

ANCIENT OF DAYS (עַתִּיק יוֹמִין). — A common Syriac expression, used three times of the Divine Being in Daniel (7[9. 13. 22]), at first without the article (wrongly inserted by AV in v.[9]), and meaning simply 'old,' 'aged,' (see RV). The expression has no reference to the *eternity* of God, and does not bear upon the question of the date of the book, as if it carried a contrast to the *New Divinities* introduced by Antiochus Epiphanes. It is a representation natural to the fearless anthropomorphism of the Bible, which never hesitates to attribute to the Deity the form and features of man. The object is to convey the impression of a venerable and majestic aspect.

עַתִּיק, *ancient*, is properly an Aram. word: in Heb. it occurs once only, in the late passage 1 Ch 4[22].

A. S. AGLEN.

ANCLE (Ezk 47[3]) **and ancle-bones** (Ac 3[7]).—This is the spelling of AV after Coverdale and Tindale. Camb. Bible and RV spell *ankle*. In old Eng. the spelling is indifferent. Shaks. has even *anckle*. Besides the above, RV gives 'ankle chains' in Nu 31[50] (AV 'chains'), and in Is 3[20] (AV 'ornaments of the legs').

J. HASTINGS.

AND is used in AV both as a copulative and as a conditional conjunction. **1.** As a copul. conj., the Oxf. Dict. points out the use of *and* to express the *consequence*, as Gn 1[3] 'God said, Let there be light; and there was light'; Lk 7[8] 'I say unto one, Go, and he goeth'; Mt 8[8] 'Speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed'; Lk 10[28] 'This do, and thou shalt live.' Cf. Scottish Paraphrases 35[3]—

> 'My broken body thus I give
> For you, for all; take, eat, and live.

Thus *and* is often more than a mere copula. It even has an adversative force in 'he answered and said, I go, sir: *and* went not' (Mt 21[30]). **2.** In middle Eng. *and* was used conditionally (=*if*), a usage which Skeat and others believe to have been borrowed from Iceland. Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 'It is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their egges.' Of this use of *and* Wright points to Gn 44[30], Nu 5[30] as examples. When *and* meant *if*, it was often spelt *an*, and was often strengthened by adding *if*. Hence we find *and, an, an if, and if*, all=*if*. In AV we have Mt 24[48] (Lk 12[45]) 'But and if (RV 'But if') that evil servant shall say in his heart'; Lk 20[6] 'But and if (RV 'But if') we say'; 1 Co 7[28] 'But and if (RV 'But if') thou marry'; 1 P 3[14] 'But and if (so RV) ye suffer.' Except 1 P 3[14] (ἀλλ' *εἰ καί*), the Gr. is always *ἐὰν δέ*.

J. HASTINGS.

ANDREW.—The first-called apostle, brother of Simon Peter: their father's name was Jonas or John, and their native city was Bethsaida of Galilee. Their mother's name is traditionally Joanna.

NAME.—The name Andreas ('Ανδρέας) is Greek. It is usually believed to occur first in Herodotus (vi. 126), where it is the name of the great-grandfather of Cleisthenes of Sicyon. It occurs also in Dio Cassius (lxviii. 32), in the form 'Ανδρείας, as the name of a rebel Jew in Crete in Trajan's reign. There are other instances of the name, but it is not very common.

REFERENCES TO HIM IN NT.—In the Synoptists the call of Peter and A. while they were fishing is narrated by Mt 4[18-22] and Mk 1[16-20]. It took place at the Sea of Galilee. The narrative in no way implies that this was their first meeting with the Lord. The name of A. next occurs in Mk 1[29], where Jesus enters the house of Simon and A. and heals the mother-in-law of Peter. Next in the list of the Twelve, where Mt and Lk place him after Peter and before James and John, while Mk's order is Peter, James and John, Andrew. In Mk 13[3] he is coupled with Peter, James, and John in the question put to our Lord about the time of the End. His name does not elsewhere occur in the Synoptists. In St. John's Gospel he is much more prominent. In ch.1 A. is a disciple of John the Baptist. He hears the words, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' follows Christ, and spends a day with Him. He then brings his brother Peter to Christ, and may probably have had to do also with the

call of Philip, who was of the same city. In ch. 6 it is A. who volunteers information about the lad with the loaves and fishes, on the occasion of the feeding of the five thousand. In ch. 12 the Greeks who desire to see Jesus apply to Philip; Philip tells A.; and the two tell Jesus. In Ac 1 A. occurs for the last time, in the list of the apostles, following James and John, and preceding Philip (as in St. Mark).

SUBSEQUENT TRADITIONS.—In the 2nd cent. A. was the hero of one of the romances attributed to Leucius, a Docetic writer. We have a fairly comprehensive abridgment of this book in the *Miracula Andreae* of Gregory of Tours, besides some episodes and fragments of the original Gr., in part yet unedited. The fullest discussion of the literature is in Lipsius, *Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (i. 543–622): see also Bonnet's ed. of some late Gr. *Encomia*, based on the Leucian Acts, in *Analecta Bollandiana* (xiii., and separately).

Briefly summarised, the literature consists of :—

(1) *Acta Andreae et Matthaei* (or *Matthiae*), ed. by Tischendorf, *Act. Apost. Apocr.* Matthew or Matthias is a captive in the land of the Anthropophagi. Christ sends A. to rescue him: and then assumes the guise of a seaman and takes A. and his disciples (who seem to be Alexander and Rufus) to the country in question. Matthew is rescued, and A. is tormented by the savage natives for several days. He then causes a flood to overwhelm the city; the result is a general conversion. The most interesting part of the story is perhaps the account of a miracle done by our Lord, which A. narrates during the voyage. We have this legend in Ethiopic, Syriac, and Anglo-Saxon: the last-named is a poetical version by Cynewulf, the Northumbrian poet, preserved in the famous Vercelli Codex.

(2) *Acta Petri et Andreae*, ed. Tischendorf in *Apocalypses Apocryphae*. Imperfect in Gr.; extant (as Acts of St. Jude) in Ethiopic, and complete in Old Slavonic. It contains a realisation of our Lord's saying about the camel passing through a needle's eye. It is exceedingly doubtful whether this belonged to the original Leucian novel.

(3) *Miracula Andreae*, by Gregory of Tours, ed. Bonnet, in the 2nd vol. of Gregory's works in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. This must be coupled with the Gr. *Encomia*, which cover much the same ground.

The scene of A.'s preaching is laid in the land of the Anthropophagi (Myrmidonia), then in Amasea, Sinope, Nicæa, Nicomedia, Byzantium, Thrace, Macedonia, and Patræ in Achaia, where the martyrdom takes place.

The traditions of the martyrdom at Patræ are fairly constant. A. is crucified by the pro-consul Aegeas or Aegeates, because by his preaching he has induced the pro-consul's wife Maximilla to leave her husband. Until recently the best authority for the martyrdom was taken to be a certain Epistle of the priests and deacons of Achaia, first published by Woog in 1749, and then by Tischendorf. However, M. Max Bonnet has proved in an article in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1894) that this is a tr. from Lat. into Gr. The nearest approach which we as yet possess to the Gr. original is in the *Miracula* and *Encomia*, coupled with some quotations made by Augustine and others.

So much for our knowledge of the Leucian Acts.

We possess Acts of A. in Coptic (fragmentary) and Ethiopic, some of which couple this apostle with Bartholomew and with Paul. The Acts of A. and Bartholomew seem to be modelled on those of A. and Matthew. Those of A. and Paul, which are incomplete, and exist only in Coptic, give an account of Paul's descent into Hades by way of the sea, of his return, and of how a Scarabæus (*δίκαιρον*) was employed by the two apostles to obtain entrance for them into a city which the Jews had shut against them. The Egyp. Acts of A. assign crucifixion and stoning as the manner of his death.

Other traditions may be mentioned. Origen (*ap. Eus. HE* iii. 1) makes A. preach among the Scythians, that is, on the Black Sea; cf. the Leucian Acts. At Sinope an image of A., said to have been made in his lifetime, was long preserved; and also the seat where he taught, which was of white marble. He was regarded as the apostle of Byzantium, where he ordained Stachys as first bishop.

Lipsius believes that the legend of the preaching in Achaia arose from a confusion between the Tauric branch of the Achæans on the E. shore of the Black Sea, and the Achæans in the N. of the Peloponnese.

A. appears as the author of a gospel condemned in the so-called Gelasian Decree. No trace of it is to be found elsewhere. There are references to him in the Clementine Recognitions (i. 56, where he answers the Sadducees; ii. 62 *sqq.*). He appears as legislator in the *Ὅροι καὶ κανόνες*, and in the Apostolic Constitutions. He also figures in the Acts of Polyxena and Xanthippe. His relics were rediscovered in Justinian's time at Constantinople; and remained there until 1210, when Cardinal Peter of Capua brought them to Amalfi. They are said to have been brought from Patrae to Constantinople in 357 or 358 by Artemius. His cross, or part of it, is in St. Peter's at Rome, enclosed in one of the four great piers of the dome.

The appropriation of the decussate or saltire cross to St. Andrew is of very late date. In the 13th cent. (*e.g.* in a statue at Amiens) he commonly holds the upright cross.

Documents relating to the translation of the arm of St. Andrew into Scotland by St. Regulus (who is variously placed, in the 4th, 5th, and 9th cent.) may be seen in the Bollandists under Oct. 17.

His festival in the Lat. and Gr. Churches is on Nov. 30; it occurs in the Lat. *Martyrium*, and in the Kalendar of Carthage.

LITERATURE. — Lipsius, Bonnet, Tischendorf, *ll.cc.*; Malan, *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*; von Lemm, *Kopt. Apokr. Apostelacten*.

M. R. JAMES.

ANDRONICUS (Ἀνδρόνικος).—A Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16[7] together with Junias. They are described as being (1) 'kinsmen of St. Paul,' probably implying 'fellow-countrymen.' The word is used in this sense in Ro 9[3]. It would be unlikely that so many as are mentioned in this chapter (vv.[7. 11. 21]) should be kinsmen in a more literal sense. (2) They are called by St. Paul his 'fellow-prisoners.' They may have shared with the apostle some unrecorded imprisonment (cf. 2 Co 11[23], Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* v.), or, like him, been imprisoned for Christ's sake. It is unlikely that the term is used in a metaphorical sense. (3) They were 'distinguished among the apostles,' a phrase which probably means that they were distinguished members of the apostolic body, the word APOSTLE (which see) being used in its wider sense. (4) They were Christians before St. Paul, so that they belonged to the earliest days of the Christian community. The name is Greek, and like most others in this chapter was borne by members of the imperial household (*CIL* vi. 5325, 5326, 11,626). It would have been common in the East. (See the Commentaries, *ad loc.* For later traditions, which add nothing historical, see *Acta Sanctorum*, May, iv. 4.)

A. C. HEADLAM.

ANEM (עָנֵם), 1 Ch 6[73] only.—A town of Issachar, noticed with Ramoth. It appears to answer to Engannim (which see) in the parallel list (Jos 21[29]), but might perhaps represent the village of *'Anîn* on the hills west of the plain of Esdraelon. This place, which is well watered—whence perhaps its name, 'two springs'—is the Anea of the fourth century A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Aniel and Bethana), which had good baths, lying 15 Roman miles from Cæsarea. Eusebius, however, identifies this site with Aner. *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii.

C. R. CONDER.

ANER (עָנֵר, LXX Αἰνάν, Sam. עֲנֵרָם).—One of the three Amorite chieftains, the other two being Mamre and Eshcol, who were bound, in virtue of their 'covenant' with Abraham, to render him assistance, when he was sojourning at Hebron (Gn 14[13. 24]). As Mamre is an old name for Hebron (Gn 23[2]) and Eshcol is the name of a valley not far from Hebron (Nu 13[23]), it is natural to suppose that Aner also was the name of a locality which gave its name to a clan. Dillmann (*in loc.*) compares *Ne'ir*, which is the name of a range of hills in the vicinity.

H. E. RYLE.

ANER (עָנֵר), 1 Ch 6[70] only.—A town of Manasseh, west of Jordan (not noticed in the parallel passage Jos 21[25]). The site is doubtful. Possibly *'Ellâr*, north-west of Shechem. *SWP* vol. ii. sh. xi.

C. R. CONDER.

ANGEL (מַלְאָךְ *mal'āk*, Sept. ἄγγελος and otherwise).—i. The word is frequently used of men in the sense of 'messenger,' especially in the plur. Gn 32[3], Nu 21[21], Dt 2[26], Jos 6[17]. In the sense of 'angel' the term is chiefly used in the sing. in earlier writings, but plur. Gn 19[1. 15] (J), and 'angels of God,' Gn 28[12] 32[1] (E). In later books, particularly the poetical, the plur. occurs oftener, Job 4[18], Ps 78[49] 91[11] 103[20] 104[4] 148[2], and in such books as

Zec and Dn plurality is implied. So in Job 1^6 2^1; in Gn 32^2 they are a 'camp' or host, and in Dt 33^2 'myriads'; cf. Ps 68^{17}. In the writing P (Priests' Code) no mention is made of angels. Like the existence of God, the existence of angels is presupposed in OT, not asserted. They are not said to have been created, rather they are alluded to as existing prior to the creation of the earth, Job 38^7 (Gn 1^{26}?, cf. 3^{22} 11^7). When they appear, it is in human form: they are called 'men,' Gn $18^{2.\ 16.\ 22}$ 32^{24}, Jos 5^{13}, Ezk $9^{2.\ 3.\ 11}$, Dn 3^{25} $10^{16.\ 18}$; the 'man Gabriel,' Dn 9^{21} (cf. Lk 24^4, Ac 1^{10}), and apart from the seraphim (Is 6^2) are nowhere in OT represented as winged (Rev 8^{13} 14^6), though Philo so describes them (*πτεροφυοῦσι*). In NT they are called 'spirits' (He 1^{14}), but not so in OT, where even God is not yet called spirit (Jn 4^{24}). To Mohammed the angel Gabriel was the 'holy spirit.' When they appear they speak, walk, touch men (1 K 19^5), take hold of them by the hand (Gn 19^{16}), and also eat with them (Gn 18^8, though, on the other hand, cf. Jg 6^{20} 13^{16}). The statement Ps 78^{25} that 'men did eat the food of angels' (lit. the mighty, Ps 103^{20}, Jl 3^{11}), a statement repeated in Wis 16^{20}, 2 Es 1^{19}, can hardly be more than poetical colouring of the fact that the manna came down from heaven, as the parallelism both in Ps 78^{24} and Wis. shows; cf. Jg 9^{13}, Ps 104^{15}.

ii. In a number of passages, *e.g.* Gn $16^{7\text{-}14}$ $22^{11.\ 14.\ 15}$, Ex 3^2, Jg $2^{1.\ 4}$ 5^{23} $6^{11\text{-}24}$ 13^3, mention is made of '**the angel of Jehovah**,' AV the 'LORD' (J); and in others, *e.g.* Gn $21^{17\text{-}19}$ $31^{11\text{-}13}$, of '**the angel of God**' (E). Similar passages are Gn 18. $32^{24\text{-}30}$ compared with Hos 12^4, Gn $48^{15.\ 16}$. According to the general grammatical rule the rendering 'an angel of the Lord' is inaccurate, though some instances may be doubtful; so 'the angel of God' necessarily Gn 31^{11}, and even 21^{17}, cf. v.^{19}. The angel of the Lord appears in human form, Gn 18, or in a flame of fire, Ex 3^2, or speaks to men out of heaven in a dream, Gn $31^{11.\ 13}$. It has been disputed whether 'the angel of the Lord' be one of the angels or J″ Himself in self-manifestation. The manner in which he speaks leaves little room to doubt that the latter view is the right one: the angel of the Lord is a theophany, a self-manifestation of God. In Gn $31^{11.\ 13}$ the angel of God says, 'I am the God of Bethel'; in Ex $3^{2.\ 6}$ the angel of the Lord says, 'I am the God of thy father' . . . 'and Moses was afraid to look upon God'; cf. Jg 13^{22}. In Gn 16^{10} the angel of the Lord says to Hagar, 'I will greatly multiply thy seed,' and 21^{18} 'the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven . . . lift up the lad; for I will make him a great nation.' The angel identifies himself with God, and claims to exercise all the prerogatives of God. Those also to whom the angel appears identify him with God: Gn 16^{13} Hagar 'called the name of J″ that had spoken to her, thou art a God that seest' (all-seeing); Gn 18 the angel is called 'the Lord'; Jg 6^{11} it is said 'the angel of the Lord came,' but in vv.$^{14.\ 16}$ he is called directly 'the Lord'; Jg 13^{22} Manoah says, 'We shall surely die, for we have seen God.' And to name but one other passage, Gn $48^{15.\ 16}$, Jacob says, 'The God before whom my fathers did walk, the God who hath fed me all my life long, the angel which hath redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads.' On the other hand, the angel of the Lord distinguishes between himself and the Lord, just as the Lord distinguishes between Himself and the angel. The latter says to Hagar, Gn 16^{11} 'J″ hath heard thy affliction'; cf. Gn 22^{15}. Nu 22^{31} 'The Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord'; and in Mal 3^1 the 'angel of the covenant' is different from J″, and yet he is J″ who cometh to His temple. So, on the other hand, the Lord says, Ex $23^{20.\ 23}$ 'I send an angel before thee,' and 'Mine angel shall go before thee' (Ex 32^{34} 33^2). But how these last passages are to be interpreted appears from Ex $33^{14.\ 15}$ (14^{19}) 'My face (I myself) shall go with thee' . . . 'if thy face (thou thyself) go not with us, carry us not up hence.' The 'angel of His face' (presence) is not an angel who sees His face or stands before it, but one in whom His face (presence) is reflected and seen; cf. Ex 23^{21} 'My name (fulness of revealed Being, Is 30^{27}) is in him.' The Sept. rendering of Is 63^9 'not an ambassador' (reading ישׁ), 'nor an angel, but Himself (Heb. His face) saved them,' is scarcely the meaning of the original. The mere manifestation of J″ creates a distinction between it and J″, though the identity remains. The form of manifestation is, so to speak, something unreal (Dt $4^{12.\ 15}$), a condescension for the purpose of assuring those to whom it is granted that J″ in His fulness is present with them. As the manifestation called the angel of the Lord occurred chiefly in redemptive history, older theologians regarded it as an adumbration or premonition of the incarnation of the second Person. This idea was just in so far as the angel of the Lord was a manifestation of J″ on the earth in human form, and in so far as such temporary manifestations might seem the prelude to a permanent redemptive self-revelation in this form (Mal $3^{1.\ 2}$); but it was to go beyond the OT, or at any rate beyond the understanding of OT writers, to found on the manifestation distinctions in the Godhead. The only distinction implied is that between J″, and J″ in manifestation. The angel of the Lord so fully represented or expressed J″ that men had the assurance that when he spoke or acted among them J″ was speaking or acting.

iii. As 'messengers' (*mal'akim*) sent to men, angels usually appear singly, but in Gn 19 two visit Lot; Gn 28^{12} 'the angels of God' ascend and descend upon the ladder, and Gn 32^1 'the angels of God' meet Jacob, who says, 'this is God's host' (lit. camp); 'and he called the name of the place Mahanaim' (two camps, or as RVm plur., companies). In Job 1^6 2^1 the 'sons of God' who present themselves to report upon their ministrations are numerous. Sometimes the plur. is used indefinitely, as Ps 78^{49} 'evil angels,' 91^{11} 'He shall give His angels charge over thee,' Job 33^{22} 'the destroyers'; cf. 2 S $24^{16.\ 17}$. Angels do not usually, at least in early writings, mediate the phenomena of the physical world, they operate in the moral and redemptive sphere; but the angel of the Lord smites with pestilence, 2 S 24; and with death, 2 K 19^{35}; and Satan, on special permission of God, sets the lightning and whirlwind in motion against Job, and smites him with sore boils, $1^{16.\ 19}$ 2^7. It is perhaps rather a poetical and realistic conception of the special providence of God, though with reminiscences of early history, when it is said that the angel of the Lord encamps round about those that fear him, Ps 34^7, and thrusts down their enemies, Ps $35^{5.\ 6}$, and that the angels bear up in their hands the righteous, Ps 91^{11}, cf. Nu 20^{16}. More literal is the statement that they interpret to the individual the meaning of God's afflictive providences in his life, Job 33^{23}; and so Job 5^1 the idea is hazarded that they might interest themselves in the afflictions of men and hear an appeal from them, or perhaps intercede or mediate in their behalf. In Ezk and Zec the angels interpret divine visions given to men; but see under § v. Passages referring to the intervention of angels are such as these: 2 S 24^{16}, 1 K $19^{5.\ 7}$, 2 K 1^{15} 19^{35}, Ezk 9^2. In some of these cases it may be difficult to decide whether the angelic manifestation be not the angel of the Lord. The passages 1 S 29^9, 2 S $14^{17.\ 20}$ 19^{27} are also somewhat obscure. The first passage, where Achish says that David is good in his sight, might be rendered 'as an angel

of God,' that is, probably in valour (Zec 12[8]), wisdom (2 S 14[17. 20]), and moral rectitude; in the others the natural rendering is 'as the angel of God.' The art., however, in comparisons often designates the class, while our idiom uses the indef. art. 'an angel,' or the plur. 'the angels' of God. The point in the comparison is the penetration and wisdom of the angel, and reference might be to some such ideal being as is spoken of Job 15[7. 8]. If allusion were to the historical 'angel of the Lord,' the original features of the phenomenon would have somewhat faded and the conception been generalised.

iv. It belongs less to the sphere of redemptive history than to the conception of the majesty of J" the King (Is 6[5]), when God is represented as surrounded by a court in heaven, by multitudes of ministers that do His pleasure, and armies that execute His commands. He has a 'council' (סוֹד Ps 89[7], cf. the four and twenty elders, Rev 4[4]); a 'congregation' (עֲדָה Ps 82[1], קָהָל Ps 89[5]) surrounds Him, 'hosts' who are His ministers (Is 6[2], 1 K 22[19], Ps 103[20. 21] 148[2]). These superhuman beings are called 'sons of Elohim' (Job 1[6] 2[1], cf. Dn 3[25]), or 'sons of Elim,' Ps 29[1. 9] 89[6], but possibly simply 'Elohim,' Ps 8[5] 97[9], and 'Elim,' Ex 15[11]. The rendering 'sons of God' is possible, and Ps 82[6] 'sons of the Most High,' if said of angels, would be in favour of it; but, on the other hand, the word Elim (אֵלִים) seems nowhere an honorary plur. applicable to a single being, but always denotes strict plurality. The probability, therefore, is that the right rendering is not 'sons of God,' but 'sons of the Elohim,' 'sons of the Elim,' that is, members of the class of beings called Elohim and Elim, just as 'sons of the prophets' means members of the prophetic order or guilds (cf. *sing.* Dn 3[25]). The names Elohim and El are prehistoric, and their etymology is quite unknown; they are also the names for 'God,' and these beings around God's throne are no doubt conceived of in contrast with men as sharing in an inferior way something of divine majesty. They are also called 'Holy Ones' (קְדֹשִׁים), though the term 'holy,' originally at least, did not describe moral character, but merely expressed close relation to God. Cf. Dt 33[2], Zec 14[5], Ps 89[7], Job 5[1], and often. The OT assumes the existence of these beings, and the belief goes back beyond the historic period. Interesting attempts have been made to explain the origin of the idea. It has been suggested that these beings, subordinate to J" and His servants, are the gods of the nations now degraded and reduced to a secondary place by the increasing prevalence of the monotheistic conception in Israel (Kosters, *ThT*, 1876). There is little or nothing in OT to support this theory. Israel probably speculated little on the gods of the nations, except of those, such as Egypt and Babylon, with whom they came into contact; and though J" be greater than all gods (Ex 18[11]), He nowhere regards them as His ministers, but manifests the strongest hostility to them, *e.g.* those of Egypt Ex 12[12], Is 19[1], Ezk 30[13], of Babylon Is 21[9] 46[1. 2], and generally Zeph 2[11]. The monotheism of Israel did not subordinate the gods to J" as His ministers, but rather denied their existence, and described them as vanities (nonentities), Ps 96[4. 5], Jer 10[5. 11]. The fact that J" is compared or contrasted with the sons of Elohim in heaven, Ps 89[6-8], and also with the Elohim or gods of the nations, Ps 86[8] 96[4. 5] 97[9], is certainly remarkable, but scarcely sufficient to establish the identity of the two; and if in later times the idea finds expression that God had subjected the nations to the rule of angels, while the rule of Israel was reserved for Himself (Dt 32[8. 9] in Sept., Sir 17[17], Dn 10[13. 20] 12[1], cf. Dt 4[19] 29[26], Is 24[21]), this is hardly an old idea that the angels were the gods of the nations reappearing in an inverted form, but a new idea suggested to Israel by its own religious superiority to the nations, and perhaps its way of explaining heathenism. Another view goes back to what was presumably the oldest phase of Shemitic religion for an explanation. Men, conscious of being under the influence of a multitude of external forces, peopled the world with spirits, whose place of abode they thought to be great stones, umbrageous trees, fountains, and the like. Gradually these varied spirits came to be regarded as possessing a certain unity of will and action, and by a further concentration they became the servants of one supreme will, and formed the host of heaven. Such speculations regarding possible processes of thought among the family out of which Israel sprang, in periods which precede the dawn of history, are not without interest; they lie, however, outside OT, which, as has been said, assumes the existence of J"'s heavenly retinue. The God of Israel is above all things a living God, who influences the affairs of the world and men, and rules them. If He uses agents, they are supplied by the 'ministers' that surround Him. This is true (though denied by Kosters) even in the oldest period of the literature, Gn 28 and 32, Jos 5[13] and Is 6, where one of the seraphim ministers purification and forgiveness to the prophet; and the same appears in the scene depicted in 1 K 22[19]. The idea is even more common in the later literature: Ps 103[20. 21]. J"'s hosts are also ministers who do His pleasure, Ps 148[2]. In Job 1[6] 2[1] it is the sons of the Elohim who present themselves to report upon the condition of the earth and men; in 33[23] the interpreting angel is one among a thousand (5[1]), and 4[18] his 'servants' are also his 'angels' (messengers). Naturally, however, as the idea of ministering hosts belongs to the conception of J" as sovereign, some of the breadth with which the idea is expressed may be due to the poetical religious imagination, as when God's warriors are represented as mighty in strength, Ps 103[20]; as 'heroes' with whom He descends to do battle with the nations, Jl 3[11], Zec 14[5]; as myriads of chariots, Ps 68[17]; and as chariots and horsemen of fire, 2 K 6[16. 17], Is 66[15], Dt 33[2], Dn 7[10]. (On the other hand, Hab 3[8], God's chariots and horses are the storm clouds.) In particular, these hosts accompany J" in His self-revelation for judgment and salvation, Dt 33[2], Zec 14[5], Jl 3[11], and in NT this trait is transferred to the *parousia* of Christ (Mt 25[31]). It is less certain whether the divine name **J" (God) of hosts** be connected with these angelic hosts; it is, at any rate, a title correlative, expressing the majesty and omnipotence of J" (Sept. often παντοκράτωρ). Finally, to men's eyes the myriads of stars, clothed in light and moving across the heavens, seemed animated, and there was a tendency to identify them with the angelic host—an identification made easier by the belief that man's life was greatly under the influence of the stars (Job 38[33]). In Job 38[7] the morning stars are identical with the sons of the Elohim. Cf. Jg 5[20], Is 14[12] 24[21] 40[26], and on 'host of heaven' 2 K 17[16] 21[3], Jer 19[13], Zeph 1[5]. The idea that the stars are angels receives large development in the Book of Enoch, *e.g.* 18[13-16], and even Rev 9[1. 11] a star and the angel of the abyss are identified.

v. About the time of the Exile and after the Return a manner of thinking appears which, though from the phraseology used it might seem a development in angelology, is really rather a movement in the direction of hypostatising the Spirit of God. In the older period, as that of the Judges, J" rules His people through His Spirit, which inspires the leaders who judge and save Israel. And in the older prophets the Spirit

operates within the prophet, who is enabled to conceive J"'s purposes and operations in thought and express them in language. But in Ezk 40 seq. 'a man' accompanies the prophet and explains to him his vision. This 'man' is the prophetic spirit objectivised. Even before this time, in Micah's vision, 1 K 22^{21}, 'the spirit' who comes forth is the spirit of prophecy personified. The process is carried a step further in Zec: not only is the prophetic spirit hypostatised as 'the angel that spake with me' ($1^{13.19}$ 2^{3}), but the operations of J" among the nations are personified as horsemen and chariots. That which in the older prophets was an inward spirit and *thoughts*, has become an 'angel,' and symbolical agencies which the 'angel' interprets. But that much of this at least is more religious symbolism than strict angelology appears from the visions in 1^{18} $5^{1.5}$. It is, however, the Spirit of God—not only as spirit of prophecy, but in general, as God in operation, controlling the destinies of the nations and of His people—that is chiefly symbolised in Zec. This is most broadly seen in ch. 4, which is strangely misread when the seven lamps are supposed to represent the light shed by God's people, their spiritual life. The seven lamps are the seven eyes of the Lord (4^{10}), and the seven eyes are the seven spirits (the manifold spirit) of God. To be compared is Rev 1^{4}, where the salutation comes from God and Christ and the seven spirits; Rev 4^{5} 'there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God'; and Rev 5^{6} 'a lamb having seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.' Zec 4 is an expansion of 3^{9}, and its purpose is to symbolise that Spirit of God which goes out over all the earth, controls the history of the nations in the interest of His people, and secures the completion of the temple, which the Lord shall enter and abide in, when He removes the iniquity of the land in one day (3^{9})—not by might nor by power, but by My Spirit (4^{6}). The two olive trees, 'sons of oil' (cf. Is 5^{1} a hill, the son of oil = an 'oily' hill), stand beside the Lord of the whole earth, *i.e.* in heaven, cf. 6^{5}, and cannot be Joshua and Zerubbabel. Whether the duality of the trees expresses some idea in the prophet's mind obscure to us, or whether it be merely part of the symmetry of the symbol, may remain undecided. Other writings of this period give prominence to the Spirit of God, Jl 2^{28}, and show a tendency to hypostatise it, Is $63^{10.11}$ 48^{16}, Gn 1^{2}, Ezk 2^{2} 8^{3}, Ps 139^{7}. The 'angel of the Lord' in Zec. has the same double aspect as elsewhere, and as the angel of the covenant in Mal, cf. 1^{11} with 3^{1-4}.

vi. Two further developments complete what is said in OT of angels—(1) a moral distinction appears among the angels; and (2) a distinction of rank. The first distinction is not carried far, and the second naturally follows from the idea of an army or host. In the earliest period angels seem morally neutral, they are so much the messengers of God and the medium of His relation to the world that their own character does not come into question. They have always something of the meaning of an impersonal phenomenon, Jehovah's operations or providence made visible and sensible. Of course the angel of the Lord being Jehovah's 'face,' and embodying His 'name,' exhibits also His moral nature, Ex 23^{20-22}. But 'evil' angels are angels who execute judgment, Ps 78^{49}, Job 33^{22}. The spirit from God who troubled Saul is called 'evil' merely from the effects which he produces, 1 S 16^{14}. In 1 K 22 even the personified spirit of prophecy becomes 'a lying spirit,' just as elsewhere J" Himself deceives the prophets, Ezk 14^{9}. In writings of the age of the Captivity, and later, however, a being appears called the Satan (opposer, accuser), one of the sons of the Elohim, who displays hostility to the saints and people of God, Job 1^{6} 2^{1}, Zec 3. Even in these books he has as yet little personal reality. He is a voice 'bringing sin to remembrance' before God. The scene Zec 3 is greatly symbolical. The evil conscience of the people and their fear, suggested by their miserable condition, that their sins still lay on them, and that God's favour had not yet returned to them, are symbolised by the accusing Satan; while the angel of the Lord is God's own voice assuring them of His gracious favour. There is perhaps an advance on the idea of Satan in Job, though even there he finds no place in the dénouement of the drama. In two ways, perhaps, the conception of evil angels became clearer: first, it was natural that the accusing angel should take on something of the nature of his office, and appear as the enemy of the saints and of Israel. This step seems already taken in Job. And, secondly, there was always a greater disinclination to ascribe moral evil in men to God. In no part of OT is God represented as the primary author of evil thoughts or actions in men; if He instigate them to evil, it is in punishment or aggravation of evil they have already committed. But at a later time the instigation to evil freely ascribed in earlier times to God (1 S 26^{19}, 1 K 22^{20}) is attributed to Satan, cf. 2 S 24^{1} with 1 Ch 21^{1}. Further development hardly appears in OT. The 'serpent' of Gn 3 is identified with Satan in Wis 2^{24} and in NT. In Dt 32^{17}, Ps 106^{37} mention is made of 'demons' (שֵׁדִים), which, however, appear to be the false gods to which children were sacrificed, 1 Co 10^{20}. In Assyr. *shidu* is the name given to the inferior deities represented by the bull-colossus. Popular imagination peopled the desert with demons, Is 13^{21} 34^{14}, among which was a night-spectre, Lilith; and to the same category possibly belongs Azazel (AV scapegoat), to whom the live goat was consigned on the Day of Atonement (cf. Zec 5^{11}), Lv $16^{8.10.26}$ (Enoch 10^{4}), although this is by no means certain. These demons, however, do not belong to the angelic host, and lie outside the moral world. Relatively to God, the angels, though the purest beings, are imperfect, Job 4^{18} 15^{15} 25^{5}.

In Dn $10^{13.20.21}$ the various countries have their guardian or patron angels, Michael being the prince of Israel (Jude ^{9}, Rev 12^{7}); later theology reckoned seventy of these angels (Dt 32^{8}, Gn 46^{27}). And in Is 24 the universal wickedness of the world appears laid at the door of its rulers, whether angelic or human, and the judgment of God falls on 'the host of the high ones on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth' (vv.$^{21.22}$); and many interpret Ps 58. 82 of the same angelic rulers. Apart from the idea suggested in § iv., several things led to this conception of patron and ruling angels. First, there was a tendency towards removing God far from any immediate contact with the earth and men, and to introduce intermediaries between them who mediated His rule. In Dn He no longer speaks to men directly, but only by the intervention of angels, who even interpret His written word to men ($9^{20\ seq.}$). And, secondly, there was a tendency to personify abstract conceptions such as the 'spirit' of a nation, and a further tendency to locate these personified forces in the supersensible world, from whence they ruled the destinies of men. The issues of the conflicts of the kingdoms of Persia, Greece, and Judah with one another on earth are all determined by the relations of their 'princes' in heaven; and this idea is a ruling one in the Apoc. It belongs to a different class of conceptions when conflicts are referred to between God and other powerful beings. Such beings are 'the Sea,' 'Rahab,' 'Tannin' or the Dragon, the 'Serpent,' 'Leviathan,' etc., comp. Is $51^{9.10}$, Ps 89^{10-15}, Job 9^{13} $26^{12.13}$ (Ps

87[4], Is 30[7]), Ps 74[12-19], Is 27[1] (Job 40[25-29], Ps 68[31]), Job 7[12], Am 9[2. 3] (Ezk 29[3-6] 32[2-8]); also Job 25[2] 'He maketh peace in His high places.' These passages contain reminiscences of Cosmic or Creation myths, victories of God, the principle of light and order, over the primeval darkness and raging watery chaos. They are referred to in order to magnify the power of God, and to invoke it against some foe of His people, which in its rebellion and menacing attitude recalls God's ancient enemies, and may be described under their names (Is 27[1]). In Gn 6[1-4] 'the sons of the Elohim' can hardly be anything but a part of the heavenly host, who fell through love of the daughters of men, as was already understood by Josephus (cf. To 3[8] 6[14]). The passage has no other points of contact in OT, but is greatly amplified in Enoch 6–15, etc.; and there, as well as in NT, the idea of the fallen angels appears combined with what is said of the imprisonment of angelic rulers, Is 24[22] (2 P 2[4], Jude [6]).

Ranks among the angels appear in Dn, and there for the first time some of them receive names. In OT and NT only two are named—Michael, prince of Israel (10[13. 21] 12[1], Jude [9], Rev 12[7]), and Gabriel (Dn 8[16] 9[21], Lk 1[19. 26]). Michael is named 'the archangel,' Jude [9], and 1 Th 4[16] 'the arch.' is spoken of, though not named. Seven such angelic princes are spoken of, To 12[15] 'I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels'; in Enoch and 2 Es 5[20] Uriel is named as fourth. The number seven already appears in Ezk 9[2], and there is no necessity to refer it to Pers. influence. In Bab. writings, grades among the celestial beings are referred to (Schrader, *Höllenfahrt der Istar*, pp. 102, 103), one class of whom Lenormant calls *archanges célestes*. According to Jewish tradition the names of the angels came from Babylon.

vii. There is little advance over Daniel in the angelology of the Apocrypha. Raphael accompanies Tobias as a guide. As one of the seven holy angels he 'presents the prayers of the saints' (To 12[15], cf. Rev 8[4]), and says, 'I did bring the memorial of your prayer before the Holy One' (12[12]). A 'good' angel is spoken of, To 5[21], 2 Mac 11[6]. Raphael binds the demon Asmodæus, To 8[3], and the sentence of judgment on those who bring false accusations against the innocent is received and executed by the angel of God (Sus [55. 59]); the angels are 'blessed,' and are called on to praise God, 'Let all Thy angels and Thine elect bless Thee' (To 8[15]); and the sins of men cannot be hidden before God and His angels (2 Es 16[66]). Neither is there in principle any great development in NT. (1) The angels form an innumerable host, Lk 2[9. 13], Mt 26[53], He 12[22], Rev 5[11]; they are the armies of heaven, Rev 12[7] 19[11-14]. (2) They are beings glorious in appearance, Lk 2[9], Mt 28[3], Ac 12[7], and in rank are 'glories,' Jude [8]. (3) They minister to the saints, He 1[14], Mt 2[13] 4[11], Lk 22[43], Ac 5[19] 8[26] 12[7]; they are the medium of revelation, Rev 1[1] 22[16], and carry the saints into paradise, Lk 16[22], cf. 2 K 2[11]. (4) As in OT theophany God was surrounded by angels, so they accompany the Son of Man at His *parousia*, Mt 16[27] 25[31], 1 Th 4[16], 2 Th 1[7] (Mt 13[41. 49] 24[31]). In two or three points there seems an advance over OT. (*a*) The angels are spirits, He 1[14]. (*b*) Satan is no longer isolated, but has a retinue of angels, Mt 25[41], Rev 12[7]. (*c*) Ranks in the angelic host are more distinctly suggested, Col 2[10], Eph 3[10] (1 Co 15[24], Eph 1[21]). (*d*) In the Apoc. angels are associated with cosmic or elemental forces, as fire and water, which they direct or into which they are changed, Rev 14[18] 16[5], cf. Ps 104[4]. Christians are made along with Christ better than the angels, whom they shall judge, He 2[5], 1 Co 6[3]. Angel worship is condemned, Col 2[18], Rev 19[10] 22[8. 9], cf. Dt 6[13], Mt 4[10]. The second Nicene Council decreed that λατρεία ought not to be offered to angels, but allowed δουλεία. The sense in which the Sadducees denied angels and spirits (Ac 23[8]) is not quite clear. The Sadducees received the written Scriptures, but disallowed the oral developments upheld by the Pharisees and scribes; and it is possible that they repudiated only that more modern luxuriant angelology current in their day, without questioning the ancient angelophanies. The great historical and ritual writing P contains no reference to angels: the *Torah* contained the revelation of God's whole will, and expressed all His relations to the world and men: special intervention of God was not now needed. And this may have been the position of the Sadducees. On the other hand, from the Sadducean inclination to freethinking, inherited from the pre-Maccabæan Gr. period, it is possible that they interpreted the angelophanies of the written Scriptures received by them in a rationalistic way as personified natural forces.

LITERATURE.—Kosters, 'Het ontstaan der Angelologie onder Israel,' *ThT*, 1876, etc.; Kohut, *Die Jüdische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*, Leipz. 1866; Weber, *System der Altsynagogalen Paläst. Theologie*, Leipz. 1880. See also Fuller, Excursus on *Angelology and Demonology*; Speaker's *Apocr.* vol. i. p. 171 ff.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES.—If these angels are men, they cannot be less than bishops ruling their several churches. In favour of this we have—(1) Mal 2[7] 3[1], where the words may be used of men; (2) the שְׁלִיחֵי צִבּוּר, who, however, was not an officer of the synagogue, but one of the congregation called up for the occasion to pronounce the prayer; (3) the settled character of episcopacy in Asia in the time of Ignatius. Against it are—(1) ἄγγελος, never used of men in NT, except Lk 9[52], Ja 2[25] of ordinary messengers; (2) the figurative character of the Apoc. generally, and of this part in particular. There are seven angels for seven churches; and from the Saviour walking in a figurative tabernacle each of them receives a letter in figurative form, and full of figurative promises and threats. Whatever be said of the 'Nicolaitans,' 'that woman Jezebel' (2[20]) can hardly be other than figurative. Even if the allusion is to a living prophetess, its form is figurative; esp. if we read *τὴν γυναῖκά σου*—thy wife Jezebel; (3) the relation of the angels to the churches is one of close identification in praise and blame, to an extent for which no human ruler can be responsible; (4) *settled* monarchical government of churches in Asia can hardly date back to the Neronian persecution, or even to Domitian's.

The imagery is suggested by the later Jewish belief in angels as guardians of nations (*e.g.* Dn 12[1]) and of men (Ac 12[15]), like the *genii* of paganism. As, however, this belief is nowhere definitely confirmed by Scripture, the angels are best regarded as personifications of their churches.

H. M. GWATKIN.

ANGER, as a verb, occurs Ps 106[32] 'They a[ed] him also (וַיַּקְצִיפוּ) at the waters of strife,' and Ro 10[19] 'by a foolish nation I will a. (*παροργιῶ*) you.' And twice in Apocr.: Sir 3[16] 'And he that a[eth] (RV 'provoketh') his mother is cursed of God'; 19[21] 'he a[eth] him that nourisheth him'; to which RV adds Wis 5[22] 'The water of the sea shall be a[ed] (AV 'rage') against them.' J. HASTINGS.

ANGER (WRATH) OF GOD. — Anthropopathically described in OT by terms derived from the physical manifestations of human anger, אַף, חֵמָה, קֶרֶן, עֶבְרָה, קֶצֶף, etc.; in NT by the terms *ὀργή*, *θυμός*, anger or wrath may be defined generally as an energy of the divine nature called forth by the presence of daring or presumptuous transgression, and expressing the reaction of the divine holiness against it in the punishment or destruction

of the transgressor. It is the 'zeal' (קִנְאָה) of God for the maintenance of His holiness and honour, and of the ends of His righteousness and love, when these are threatened by the ingratitude, rebellion, and wilful disobedience or temerity of the creature. In this light it appears both in the OT (*passim*) and in the NT (Mt 3^{7}, Jn 3^{36}, Ro 1^{18}, Eph 5^{6}, Rev 19^{15} etc.), and is uniformly represented as something very terrible in its effects. It is spoken of as 'kindled' by the sins and provocations of men (Ex 4^{14}, Nu $11^{1\text{-}10}$, Dt 29^{27}, 2 S 6^{7}, Is 5^{25} etc.), as 'poured out' on men (Ps 79^{6}, Is 42^{25}, Jer 44^{6} etc.); its 'fierceness' is dwelt upon by psalmists and prophets (Ps 78^{49} 88^{16}, Is 13^{9}, Jer $25^{37.\ 38}$ etc.); it burns down to the lowest Sheol (Dt 32^{22}). Similarly, in NT, God is represented as 'a consuming fire' (He 12^{29}; cf. Mt 3^{12} 13^{42}, 2 Th 1^{8} 2^{8}). At the same time, this a. is not pictured, as in heathen religions, as the mere outburst of capricious passion, but always appears in union with the idea of the divine holiness (that principle, as Martensen says, 'which guards the eternal distinction between Creator and creature, between God and man, in the union effected between them, and preserves the divine dignity and majesty from being infringed on,' and which on its positive side is in God the inflexible determination to uphold at all costs the interests of righteousness and truth); and as directed to the maintenance of the moral order in the world, and specially to the upholding of the covenant relation with Israel, an aspect of it which manifests its close alliance with righteousness and *love*. As in the human sphere, so in the divine, the keenest provocation to a. is that which lies in wounded or frustrated love, or in injury done to the objects of love (Nu $32^{14.\ 15}$, 2 K $17^{13\text{-}18}$, Ezk 23, Am 3^{2}, Ps 7^{11} etc.). A. in God has thus always an ethical connotation, and manifests itself in subserviency to ends of righteousness and mercy, by which also its measure or limit is prescribed (Jer 10^{24}). In its action in providence, it uses as its instruments the agencies of nature, as well as the passions and ambitious designs of men (cf. Is 10^{5} 'O Assyrian, the rod of mine a.'), and afflicts the disobedient and rebellious with the calamities of war, famine, pestilence, and with evils generally (Dt $28^{15\text{-}68}$, Am $4^{6\text{-}12}$ etc. See analysis in Ritschl, *Recht. und Ver.*^{3} ii. p. 125).

So far, accordingly, as the Biblical representations are concerned, the divine a. or wrath is not to be weakened down, or explained away, as is the fashion among theologians (*e.g.* Origen, Augustine, Turretin), into a mere 'anthropomorphism,' or general expression for God's aversion to sin, and His determination to punish it; but is rather to be regarded as a very real and awful affection of the divine nature, fitted to awaken fear in the minds of men (Ps $2^{11.\ 12}$, He 10^{31}). When we look to the historical development of this doctrine in Scripture, we find nothing to modify materially the representations just given. No real distinction can be predicated between the earlier and later descriptions of the divine wrath in OT, except that, as Ritschl points out (*Recht. und Ver.* ii. p. 127), they tend in the prophets to become more eschatological (see DAY OF THE LORD; cf. Ro 2^{5}, Rev 6^{17}). This, however, is not to be understood as if the divine wrath were not also manifested continuously through history in the punishment of those whose evil-doing calls it forth (Ps 7^{11}). The later representations in the Scripture are every whit as strongly conceived as those of an earlier date. When H. Schultz speaks of 'the impression of the terrible God of the Semites' in the earlier ages, and says, 'the ancient Hebrews, too, tremble before a mysterious wrath of God' (*O.T. Theology*, ii. p. 175, Eng. tr.), he strangely forgets that the passages he cites are, on his own hypothesis, from the very latest parts of the Pent. (Lv 10^{6}, Nu 1^{53} 18^{5}; cf. Ex 12^{12} 30^{12}, Nu 8^{19}—all from P). The Book of Genesis, remarkably enough, has no mention of the wrath of God, though its equivalent is there in repeated manifestations of God's judgment on sin (expulsion from Eden, cursing of the ground, flaming sword, the Flood, Sodom and Gomorrah, etc.). Ritschl's view of the Biblical development has features of its own. He rightly conceives of wrath as connected with the divine holiness, but would interpret the latter attribute as expressing originally only the notion of God as the exalted, powerful, unapproachable One, to draw near to whom would mean instant destruction for the creature; and sees the peculiar manifestation of wrath, accordingly, under OT conditions, in a sudden, unexpected, and violent destruction of the life of those who had violated the obligations of the covenant (*Recht. und Ver.* ii. pp. 93, 125, 135, 136). We can only urge in reply that there is no stage in the OT revelation in which the ideas of transcendence over the world, and of moral perfection, are not already united in the conception of holiness. The instances which most readily suggest an outburst of destructive energy apart from moral considerations, are those in which individuals or companies are smitten for what may seem very slight faults, or acts of inadvertence (*e.g.* 1 S $4^{19.\ 20}$, 2 S 2^{7}). But even in these instances a careful examination will show that it is the *moral* sanctity of the divine character which is the ground of the special awfulness with which it is invested.

When, finally, we pass from the OT to the NT, we find that the notion of God's wrath is not essentially altered, though the revelation of love and grace which now fills the vision places it comparatively in the background. The Marcionite view, which would represent the contrast between the God of the OT and the God of the NT as that between a wrathful avenging Deity and a loving Father who is incapable of anger, is, on the face of it, incorrect. The pitying, fatherly character of God is not absent from OT (Ex $34^{6.\ 7}$, Ps 103^{13}), but, even there, is rather the primary basis of God's self-revelation, to which the manifestation of wrath and judgment is subordinate. He is 'slow to a.' (Ps 103^{8} *et al.*), and 'fury (w.) is not in' Him (Is 27^{4}). On the other hand, the fatherly love of God in NT does not exclude the aspect of Him as 'Judge' (1 P 1^{17}), and 'a consuming fire' (He 12^{29}), whose wrath is a terrible reality, from which Christ alone can save us (Jn 3^{36}, Ro $1^{16\text{-}18}$ 5^{9}, 1 Th 1^{10} etc.). In this connexion Ritschl labours hard to show that 'wrath' in NT has (as in OT prophets) uniformly an eschatological reference, and does not apply to the present condition. He goes even further, and challenges its right to a place in the Christian system at all. 'The notion of the affection of wrath in God,' he says, 'has no religious worth for Christians, but is an unfixed and formless theologoumenon' (*Recht. und Ver.* ii. p. 154). It is no doubt true that the eschatological aspect of wrath is prominent in NT; and that for the reason already given the wrath of God throughout recedes into the background, and becomes, as it were, an attribute in reserve (Ro 2^{5}, 3^{25}); but many indications warn us that it is *only* in reserve, and is still there in its unchanged character, and rests with its heavy weight upon the disobedient (Jn 3^{36}, Eph $2^{2.\ 3}$); nay, that in a most real sense its effects are manifest in the terrible retributions for sin exacted from men even here (Mt $23^{35.\ 36}$, Ro $1^{21\text{-}32}$, Ac $5^{1\text{-}11}$ etc.). And if the objection is urged, as it will be by many, that the attribution of wrath or anger to God (otherwise than as the reflection of the sinner's distrustful thoughts regarding Him) is an unworthy mode of conception, and derogates from the divine perfection,

it may at least with equal justice be replied that a Ruler of the universe who was incapable of being moved with an intense moral indignation at sin, and of putting forth, when occasion required, a destroying energy against it, would be lacking in an essential element of moral perfection; nor would either the righteousness or the mercy of such a Being have any longer a substantive value.

LITERATURE.—Weber *Vom Zorne Gottes*, 1862; Ritschl *De Ira Dei*, 1859, *Recht. und Ver.* ii. pp. 89–148; Oehler *Theology of O.T.* i. pp. 154–168 (Eng. tr.); Schultz *O.T. Theology*, ii. pp. 167–179; D. W. Simon *The Redemption of Man*—ch. v. 'The Anger of God'; Dale *The Atonement*, Lect. VIII.; *Lux Mundi*, pp. 285–288. J. ORR.

ANGLE occurs only as a subst., Is 19[8] 'all they that cast a. into the brooks'; Hab 1[15] 'They take up all of them with the a.' In Job 41[1], the only other occurrence of the Heb. word (חַכָּה), the tr. is 'hook' (RV 'fish-hook'). See FISHING.

J. HASTINGS.

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION.—See VERSIONS.

ANIAM (אֲנִיעָם 'lament of people').—A man of Manasseh (1 Ch 7[19]). See GENEALOGY.

ANIM (עֲנִים), Jos 15[50] only.—A town of Judah, in the mountains near Eshtemoh. It seems probable that it is the present double ruin of *Ghuwein*, west of Eshtemoh. The Heb. and Arab. guttural letters are equivalent. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Anab and Astemœ) Anea or Anem is noticed as a large town near Eshtemoh; and there were two places so called. It is identified (*s.v.* Anim) with the town now in question. All the inhabitants were then Christians. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv. C. R. CONDER.

ANIMAL KINGDOM.—See NATURAL HISTORY.

ANISE (*ἄνηθον*, *anethum*).—There can be no reasonable doubt that *ἄνηθον* is the classical name of *Anethum graveolens*, L., which is translated in EV (Mt 23[23]) *anise*. There is the direct evidence of Rabbi Eliezer (Tract. Maaseroth, c. iv. 5) that the seeds, leaves, and the stem of *dill* are 'subject to tithe.' Dill is in the Talm. *shabath*. It is known in Arab. by the cognate name *shibith*, and is much cultivated in Pal. and Syria. The seeds of it are used in cookery as a condiment, esp. with beans and other seeds of the pulse kind, and their flavour is greatly liked by the natives of Egypt, Pal., Syria, and the East generally. It is also used by the natives as a carminative. Avicenna speaks thus of its virtues (ii. 258): 'calmant for griping, carminative diminishes swelling, and its infusion is beneficial as a wash to indolent ulcers. Its oil is useful in joint affections and neuralgias, and also as a hypnotic. Its juice calms pain in the ear. Eaten for a long time it injures the sight. The plant and its seed are galactogogues, but are esp. useful in over-distension of the stomach and flatulency. Its oil is also beneficial in hæmorrhoids.'

Dill is an annual or biennial herb, of the order Umbelliferæ, with a stem one to three feet high, much dissected leaves, small yellow flowers, and flattened oval fruits about one-fifth of an inch long, of a brownish colour, with a lighter-coloured wing-like border, and a pungent, aromatic odour and taste. It is found wild in cornfields in central and southern Europe and Egypt, perhaps escaped from cultivation. It has been cultivated from remote antiquity.

The opinion of the translators of AV, in favour of anise (*Pimpinella anisum*, L.), is hardly to be weighed against the direct evidence above adduced for the identity of dill with *ἄνηθον*. RV gives dill in the margin. G. E. POST.

ANKLE-CHAINS (צְעָדוֹת, Arab. *salásil*, AV 'ornaments of the legs,' Is 3[20]).—The prophet refers to the practice of joining the anklets by a short chain, to produce a stilted, affected gait in walking.

G. M. MACKIE.

ANKLETS (עֲכָסִים, Arab. *khalakhil*, Is 3[18], AV 'tinkling ornaments.')—The ref. is to the metal twists and bangles of bracelet-like design worn on the ankles of Oriental women, esp. of the Bedawin and fellahin class. The musical clink of the anklets and their ornaments, which to the wearied

ANKLETS.

peasant on the rough mountain path has the refreshment of the bells to the baggage animals, is here alluded to as a social vulgarism when affected by the ladies of the upper classes, and as one of the marks of an artificial and unhealthy tone of life. G. M. MACKIE.

ANNA (*Ἄννα*, the same name as the Heb. חַנָּה Hannah, from a root meaning 'grace').—**1.** The wife of Tobit: 'I took to wife A. of the seed of our own family' (To 1[9ff.]). See TOBIT. **2.** A prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (Lk 2[36-38]). This genealogical notice makes it clear that, though Asher was not one of the ten tribes which returned to Palestine after the Babylonian Captivity, individual members of the tribe had done so; and further, that Anna belonged to a family of sufficient distinction to have preserved its genealogy. In the same connexion it is interesting to notice that the tribe of Asher alone is celebrated in tradition for the beauty of its women, and their fitness to be wedded to the high priest or king (for authorities, see Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i. p. 200). Of Anna's personal history all that we know is contained in the brief statement of St. Luke. She had been married for seven years, and at the time spoken of was not merely, as the AV suggests, eighty-four years old, but, according to the more correct rendering of the RV, 'had been a widow even for fourscore and four years'; so that, supposing her to have been married at fourteen, she would now be about a hundred and five. Throughout her long widowhood she had 'departed not from the temple,' not in the sense of actually living there—for that would have been impossible, most of all for a woman—but as taking part in all the temple services, 'worshipping, with fastings and supplications night and day.' It was thus that she sought to give expression to the longing which was filling her heart for the coming of the promised Messiah, and at length her faith and patience were rewarded. In the child Jesus she was allowed to see the fulfilment of God's promise to His ancient people, and henceforth was able to announce to all like-minded with herself the 'redemption,' as distinguished from the political deliverance of Jerusalem. G. MILLIGAN.

ANNAS (*Ἅννας*, חָנָן 'merciful,' Josephus *Ἀνανος*).

—**1.** Son of Seth, appointed high priest A.D. 6 or 7 by the legate Quirinius, and deposed A.D. 15 by the procurator Valerius Gratus (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1, 2). He thus lost office, but not power. 'They say that this elder Ananus was most fortunate; for he had five sons, and it happened that they all held the office of high priest to God, and he had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests' (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 1). We learn also from St. John (18[13]) that Joseph Caiaphas, high priest A.D. 18–36, was his son-in-law. The immense wealth of these Sadducean aristocrats was, in part at least, derived from 'the booths of the sons of Annas,' which monopolised the sale of all kinds of materials for sacrifice. These booths, according to Edersheim (*Life and Times of the Messiah*, iii. 5), occupied part of the temple court; Dérenbourg (*Essai sur l'histoire, etc., de la Palestine*, p. 465 sqq.) with more probability identifies them with four booths on the Mount of Olives, a branch establishment of which might have been beneath the temple porches. It was the sons of Annas who made God's house 'a den of robbers'; and the Talmudic curse, 'Woe to the house of Annas! woe to their serpent-like hissings!' (or whisperings) (Pes. 57*a*), almost re-echoes the Saviour's denunciations. Josephus, too (*Ant.* XX. ix. 2–4), gives a vivid picture of the insolent rapacity and violence of the younger Ananus. Moreover, 'forty years before the destruction of the temple the Sanhedrin banished itself from the chamber of hewn stone (לִשְׁכַּת הַגָּזִית), and established itself in the booths' (חֲנֻיּוֹת) (Dérenbourg, p. 465), subsequently moving 'from the booths to Jerusalem' (Rosh ha-Sh. 31*a*), perhaps when the booths were destroyed, three years before the destruction of the temple, in the same year in which the younger Ananus was murdered. Such and so powerful was the faction of which Annas was the head. The NT consistently reflects this state of things. Jesus, when arrested, is brought to Annas first (Jn 18[13]). He takes the leading part in the trial of the apostles (Ac 4[6]). That Annas is styled 'the high priest' (Ac 4[6], and probably Jn 18[19. 22]) is not remarkable, since it is quite in accordance with the usage of Josephus, who applies the title, not only to the actual holder of the office, but also to all his living predecessors (*Vit.* 38; *BJ* II. xii. 6; IV. iii. 7, 9, 10; IV. iv. 3). And in both Josephus and NT the more influential members of those families from which high priests were chosen are all called ἀρχιερεῖς. But the phrase 'ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, in the high priesthood of A. and C.' (Lk 3[2]), seems unparalleled. Ewald (*H.I.* vol. vi. p. 430, n. 3) conjectures that it is due to the fact that when the author wrote, 'they had become memorable in this association through the history of Christ's death.' The chief interest in Annas centres in the notice of him in Jn 18, which is complementary to the narrative of St. Luke, and corrects an apparent mistake made by St. Matthew and St. Mark. The first two evangelists obscurely indicate two stages in the trial of Jesus (Mt 26[57] 27[1], Mk 14[53] 15[1]), but they transfer the events of the morning meeting of the Sanhedrin to the previous night. St. Luke avoids this apparent mistake, and leaves room (22[54]) for such an informal inquiry as that of Annas really was.

When we bear in mind the predominant influence of the man, and the unscrupulousness of the whole proceeding, it seems unnecessary to suppose that Annas was either deputy (sagan) of the high priest (Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, v. 1) or president (נשׂיא) of the Sanhedrin (Baronius, *Annals*, followed by Selden, *de Succes. Pontif.* i. 12) or chief examining judge, אַב בֵּית דִּין (Ewald, *H.I.* vol. vi. p. 430).

The interview of Jesus with Annas is described Jn 18[19-23]. It could have only one issue. Jesus was sent as a condemned prisoner for a more formal trial before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin, as described by the Synoptists, but merely implied by St. John. (This is obscured in the Received text of v.[24], and still more in the AV, which renders the aorist as a pluperfect; οὖν is read by B C* L X 1. 33.) We have seen that the Sanhedrin at this time met in the headquarters of the Annas faction, so that it may have been when passing through the court from the apartments of Annas to the council chamber that 'the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter,' Lk 22[61] (Westcott on Jn 18[25]). **2.** 1 Es 9[32], see HARIM.

N. J. D. WHITE.

ANNIS (Ἀννεὶς B, Ἀννιὰς A, AV **Ananias**, RVm **Annias**).—The eponym of a family that returned with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5[16]). Omitted in parallel passages of Ezr and Neh.

J. A. SELBIE.

ANNUS (A Ἄννους, B Ἀννιούθ, AV **Anus**).—A Levite, 1 Es 9[48] = Neh 8[7] [Bani].

ANNUUS (A Ἀννουυος, B omits), 1 Es 8[48] (47, LXX).—The name does not occur in Ezr 8[19]; it may be due to reading וְאִתּוֹ (AV 'and with him)' there as וְאִנּוֹ.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ANOINTING.—**1.** The application of unguents to the skin and hair as an act of the toilet is an ancient custom; the oldest prescription extant is for this purpose, and professes to date from about B.C. 4200. Among the Jews a. was a daily practice (Mt 6[17]), the oil being applied to exposed parts (Ps 104[15]), soothing the skin burnt by the sun. The effects of oil are more enduring than those of water, hence a. was practised after bathing (Ru 3[3], Ezk 16[9]). It was a mark of luxury to use specially scented oils (Am 6[6]), such as those Hezekiah kept in his treasure-house (2 K 20[13]). As a. was a sign of joy (Pr 27[9]), it was discontinued during the time of mourning (Dn 10[3]); so Joab instructed the woman of Tekoa to appear unanointed before David (2 S 14[2]). On the death of Bathsheba's child, David anointed himself to show that his mourning had ended (2 S 12[20]). The cessation of a. was to be a mark of God's displeasure if Israel proved rebellious (Dt 28[40], Mic 6[15]), and the restoration of the custom was to be a sign of God's returning favour (Is 61[3]). Anointing is used as a symbol of prosperity in Ps 92[10], Ec 9[8].

2. Before paying visits of ceremony the head was anointed; so Naomi bade Ruth anoint herself before visiting Boaz (3[3]). Oil of myrrh was used for this purpose in the harem of Ahasuerus (Est 2[12]). On monuments in Egypt the host is seen anointing his guest on his arrival; and the same must have been customary in Pal., as Simon's failure of hospitality in this respect is commented upon by our Lord (Lk 7[46]). This custom is referred to in Ps 23[5]. The Isr. showed their goodwill to the captives of Judah by anointing them before sending them back at the command of Oded (2 Ch 28[15]). Mary's anointing of our Lord was according to this custom.

3. Before battle, shields were oiled, that their surfaces might be slippery and shining (Is 21[5], 2 S 1[21] RV). This practice is referred to several times by classical authors, and is in use to this day among some African tribes.

4. As a remedial agent a. was in use among the Jews in pre-Christian times; it was practised by the apostles (Mk 6[13]), recommended by St. James (5[14]), mentioned in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10[34]), and used as a type of God's forgiving grace healing the sin-sick soul (Is 1[6], Ezk 16[9], Rev 3[18]). In post-apost. times the oil was supposed to owe its virtue to its consecration by prayer, which might be done by any Christian; thus

Proculus anointed Severus, and healed him (Tertull. *ad Scap.* iv.). By the 3rd cent. consecration of the oil could only be done by the bishop (Innocent, *Decentio*, viii.); although any Christian might apply the holy oil, and the oil from the church lamps was often taken for this purpose (Chrysostom *in Mt* 32). Oil was also consecrated by being taken from the tombs of martyrs (*ib. Homil. in Martyr.* iii.). By the 5th cent. the priest alone could anoint (Labbe & Cossart, *Concilia*, ix. 419, § 10). This a. was intended as a means of cure even as late as the days of Bede (*in Marci*, i. c. 24). The a. of the dying was a heretical practice of the Marcosians (Irenæus, i. 21. 5) and the Heracleonites (Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* xxxvi. 2) for purposes of exorcism. Theodoret says that the Archontici also use oil and water, but apparently in a different way (ἐπιβάλλουσι, see *Hær. Fab. Compend.* i. 11). In the Rom. Church by the 12th cent. the idea of healing had become obsolete, and the a. was restricted to the dying (Council of Florence, 1439) and applied before the Viaticum (1st Council of Mainz, Can. xxvi.). It is called extreme unction by Hugo de St. Victore (*Summa Sententiar.* vi. 15), and its place as one of the seven sacraments of the Rom. Church was decided by the Council of Trent. Calvin calls it *histrionica hypocrisis* (*Inst.* vi. 19, § 18).

The ceremonial of anointing the leper when cleansed was not remedial, but a sign of reconsecration. In Scripture the application of any soft material, as moistened clay, to a blind man's eyes, is called anointing (Jn 9^{6}).

5. As in Egypt, the application of ointments and spices to the dead body was customary in Pal. (Mk 16^{1}, Lk 23^{56}, Jn 19^{40}); but they were only externally applied, and did not prevent decomposition (Jn 11^{39}). In later times the a. of the dead with holy oil is recommended (Dionys. Areopag. *de Eccles. Hierarch.* vii. § 8).

6. Holy things were by a. dedicated to God even in ancient times. Thus Jacob consecrated the stones at Bethel (Gn 28^{18}, 35^{14}); and God recognised the action (31^{13}). In Greece, Egypt, and other countries dedication by oil was practised, and is continued in the Rom. and Gr. rituals for the consecration of churches. The tabernacle and its furniture were thus consecrated (Ex 30^{26} 40^{10}, Lv 8^{11}), and the altar of burnt-offering was reconsecrated after the sin-offering (Ex 29^{36}). Some periodic *hostia honoraria* were anointed with oil (Lv 2^{1} etc.); but no oil was to be poured on the sin-offering (Lv 5^{11}, Nu 5^{15}). It is not said that the temple was consecrated by a., but there was holy oil in the priests' charge at the time (1 K 1^{39}), as there was in the days of the second temple (1 Ch 9^{29}).

7. Priests were set apart by a. In the case of Aaron, and probably all high priests, this was done twice: first by pouring the holy oil on his head after his robing, but before the sacrifice of consecration (Lv 8^{12}, Ps 133^{2}); and next by sprinkling after the sacrifice (Lv 8^{30}). The ordinary priests were only sprinkled with oil after the application of the blood of the sacrifice. Hence the high priest is called the anointed priest (Lv $4^{3.\ 5}$ and 6^{22}). The holy oil for this purpose was made of olive oil, cinnamon, cassia, flowing myrrh, and the root of the sweet cane (*Acorus Calamus*). It was to be used only for these ceremonials, and its unauthorised compounding was strictly forbidden (Ex 30^{33}). In Egypt there were nine sacred oils for ceremonial use. A. in the ordination of presbyters and deacons came into use in the 8th cent., but was not practised in the early Church.

8. Of designation to kingship by a. we have examples in Saul (1 S 10^{1}) and David (1 S 16^{13}). This act was accompanied by the gift of the Spirit; so, when David was anointed, the Spirit descended on him, and departed from Saul; and Hazael was anointed over Syria by God's command (1 K 19^{15}). Kings thus designated were called the Lord's anointed. David thus speaks of Saul (1 S 26^{11}) and of himself (Ps 2^{2}). This passage is used by the apostles as prophetic of Christ (Ac 4^{26}).

9. By a. kings were installed in office. David was again anointed when made king of Judah, and a third time when made king of united Israel (2 S 2^{4} 5^{3}). Solomon was anointed in David's lifetime, and he refers to the a. in his dedication prayer. It is not said that those who succeeded by right of primogeniture were anointed; but when the succession was disputed, Jehoiada anointed Joash (2 K 11^{12}). Jehoahaz the younger son of Josiah was anointed (2 K 23^{30}) in place of his elder brother Jehoiakim (see $23^{31.\ 36}$). Kings of other lands were anointed. This was early known to the Israelites, as we learn from Jotham's parable (Jg 9^{8}). The kings of Egypt were anointed, and the a. is said to have been done by the gods (Dümichen, *Hist. Inschrift*, i. 12); hence they are called the 'anointed of the gods.' The king of Tyre is also called the 'anointed' (Ezk 28^{14}). Jehu was anointed as beginning a new dynasty (2 K 9^{12}). Zedekiah is referred to as anointed (La 4^{20}). British kings were anointed in pre-Saxon days (Gildas, *de excidio Brit.* i. 19), as were the Christianised Saxons; but the first mention of a. at coronation elsewhere in Europe is in A.D. 636 in the Acts of the 6th Council of Toledo. Charlemagne, A.D. 800, was the first emperor anointed (by Pope Leo III.). A. is now a part of the ceremonial of coronation in most Christian kingdoms.

10. A. is used metaphorically to mean setting apart to the prophetic office; so Elijah is told to anoint Elisha. This does not appear to have been literally done (1 K 19^{16}). In Ps 105^{15} the words *anointed* and *prophets* are used as synonyms. The Servant of the Lord calls himself anointed to preach (Is 61^{1}), and Christ tells the people of Nazareth that this prophecy is fulfilled in Him (Lk 4^{18}).

11. Similarly in a metaphorical sense any one chosen of God is called an anointed one; thus the patriarchs are called God's Messiahs (Ps 105^{15}), and Israel as a nation (Ps 84^{9}, Hab 3^{13}, Ps $89^{38.\ 51}$), being promised deliverance on this account (Is 10^{27}, 1 S 2^{10}). Cyrus is also called a Messiah (Is 45^{1}). The name *Christ* is the Gr. equivalent of the Heb. *Messiah* = 'anointed.' The anointing of Ps 45^{7} is taken in He 1^{9} as prophetic of the Saviour's anointing.

In this sense, as a chosen people, believers are said to be God's anointed (2 Co 1^{21}, 1 Jn $2^{20.\ 27}$), the unction being the gift of the Holy Spirit. In post-apost. times these words gave rise to the practice of anointing with oil at baptism. This was done by way of exorcism before the washing in the E. Church in the days of Cyril (*Catech. Mystag.* ii. D), as it seems from St. Augustine to have been the practice in Africa (see Tr. 44 *in Joannis*, § 2, referring to anointing the blind man's eyes before the washing). But Tertullian puts the a. after the washing (*De resurr. Carnis*, § viii.), as does Optatus, who says that Christ was anointed by the dove after baptism (*de Schism. Donat.* iv. 76). Upon these texts, quoted above, coupled with the 'sealing' mentioned in Eph 1^{13} 4^{30} and 2 Co 1^{22}, the post-apostolic Church based the ceremony of confirmation, in connexion with which in the W. Church another anointing became customary in the 5th cent.

LITERATURE.—Besides the references given above, see for fuller details concerning the above sections—1. *Papyrus Ebers*, p. 66; Erman, *Ægypten*, 1885, p. 316. 4. Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, Rouen, 1700, i. 7; Dallæus, *de duobus Latinorum Sacramentis*, Geneva, 1659; *Decretum Eugenii IV. de Sept. Eccl. Sacram.*, Louvain, 1557. 6. Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* i. 319; Fabricius, *de Templ. Christ.*, Helmstadt, 1704; Pausanias, vii. 22.

7. Theodulfus, *Episc. Aurel. Capit. de Presb.*, ed. Migne, 193; Ivo Carnotensis, *Decret.* vi. 121. A. MACALISTER.

ANON, a contraction for 'in one,' is used in AV for 'in one moment' (RV 'straightway'). Mt 13^{20} 'a. with joy receiveth it'; Mk 1^{30} 'a. they tell him of her'; Jth 13^{9} 'a. after she went forth' (RV 'after a little while she went forth'). J. HASTINGS.

ANOS ("Ανως), 1 Es 9^{34}.—One of the descendants of Baani, who agreed to put away his 'strange' wife: corresponding to Vaniah (יָנִיחַ), Ezr 10^{36}.

ANOTHER.—A. is 'one other,' but sometimes the idea is 'a *different* one,' of which there is a fine instance in Gal 1^{6} 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto a. gospel' (Gr. ἕτερον, RV 'a different gospel,' but v.^{7} 'which is not a.' Gr. ἄλλο; cf. 2 Co 11^{4}). In 2 Ch 20^{23} 'every one helped to destroy a.'; mod. Eng. would say 'the other'; so RV in Gn 15^{10}, Ex 21^{18} 37^{19} etc., but not in Zec 11^{9}. J. HASTINGS.

ANSWER.—**1.** As a subst. a. is used in the sense of apology or defence (Gr. ἀπολογία) in 1 Co 9^{3} 'mine a. (RV 'my defence') to them that do examine me'; 2 Ti 4^{16} 'At my first a. (RV 'defence') no man stood by me'; 1 P 3^{15} 'Ready always to give an a. (RV 'give a.') to every man.' Compare the use of a. as a verb in Ac 24^{10} 'I do the more cheerfully a. for myself' (RV 'I do cheerfully make my defence'), Ac $25^{8.\ 16}$ $26^{1.\ 2}$, Lk 12^{11} 21^{14}. **2.** In Ro 11^{4} 'what saith the a. of God unto him?' a. means oracle or divine response (Gr. χρηματισμός, the only occurrence of the word in NT, but it is found in 2 Mac 2^{4} χρηματισμοῦ γενηθέντος, 'being warned of God' AV and RV; see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 173, 313). **3.** In 1 P 3^{21} 'the a. of a good conscience toward God,' a. is prob. intended to mean defence, as above; but the Gr. is not ἀπολογία but ἐπερώτημα, and in what precise sense the apostle uses that word is disputed; RV gives 'interrogation,' with two alternatives in the marg. 'inquiry' and 'appeal.' See Thayer, *N.T. Lex. s.v.* **4.** As a verb a. is often used when no question has been asked. The most striking instance is Ac 5^{8}, where St. Peter 'answers' Sapphira, not only before she had opened her mouth, but by asking her a question. **5.** In Gal 4^{25} 'For this Agar is Mt. Sinai in Arabia, and a$^{\text{eth}}$ to Jerus.,' a$^{\text{eth}}$ to = corresponds with (Gr. συνστοιχεῖ—lit. 'belongs to the same row or column with'). **Answerable** occurs in AV only Ex 38^{18} 'a. to the hangings of the court,' *i.e.* 'corresponding to'; but RV adds Ezk 40^{18} 'a. unto (AV 'over against') the length of the gates,' 45^{7} $48^{18.\ 18bis}$. Cf Bunyan, *Holy War* (Clar. Press ed. p. 92), 'This famous town of *Mansoul* had five Gates, in at which to come, out at which to go; and these were made likewise answerable to the Walls.' J. HASTINGS.

ANT (נְמָלָה *nĕmâlâh*, μύρμηξ, *formica*). The ant is mentioned only twice in the Bible. Once (Pr 6^{6}) with reference to the *industry* of this insect, and again (Pr 30^{25}) with reference to its *wisdom* and *foresight*. There has never been any dispute as to the industry of the ant. Sir John Lubbock (*Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, p. 27) says, 'They work all day, and in warm weather, if need be, at night too. I once watched an ant from six in the morning, and she worked without intermission till a quarter to ten at night. I had put her to a saucer containing larvæ, and in this time she had carried off no less than 187 to their nests. I had another ant, which I employed in my experiments under continuous observation several days. When I started for London in the morning, and again when I went to bed at night, I used to put her into a small bottle, but the moment she was let out she began to work again. On one occasion I was away from home for a week. On my return I took her out of the bottle, placing her on a little heap of larvæ, about three feet from her nest. Under these circumstances I certainly did not expect her to return. However, though she had been six days in confinement, the brave little creature immediately picked up a larva, carried it to her nest, and after half an hour's rest returned for another.'

With reference to the wisdom and foresight of the ant there has been much discussion. Although not expressly stated that the 'meat' which the ant 'prepares' in the summer is for winter use, it is generally agreed that such is the meaning of the passage. The Greeks, Romans, Arabian naturalists, and Jewish rabbis confirm this opinion. Yet many naturalists and commentators have disputed this fact, and say that the writer adopted a popular error, and that the ant does not store the seeds which it takes in such quantities to its nest as food, but only as a lining to its burrows, or for some other unknown reason. They argue from two considerations—(1) that the ant is carnivorous, and has no use for the seeds which it accumulates in its nest; (2) that the ant hybernates, and therefore does not need food in winter. Both of these propositions are partially true and partially false. All ants eat flesh greedily, but they are all passionately fond of many things besides. Sir John Lubbock has shown that ants derive a very important part of their sustenance from the sweet juice secreted by aphides, a product hardly to be called animal food more than honey. In the words of Linnæus, 'the aphis is the cow of ants.' Other kinds of insects are utilised in the same manner. Many ants keep flocks and herds of aphides. The aphides retain the secretion until the ants are ready to receive it, and the ants stroke and caress them with their antennæ, until they emit the sweet excretion. The ants collect the eggs and larvæ of these aphides, store them with their own during the long winter sleep, that they may be hatched in the spring, and supply them again with their favourite food. Here then, says Lubbock, 'our ants may not perhaps lay up food for the winter, but they do more, for they keep during six months the eggs which will enable them to procure food during the following summer—a case of prudence unexampled in the animal kingdom.' But it is also true that ants eat many articles of purely vegetable food. Those of Palestine and Syria certainly eat all kinds of cake, sweetmeats, more or less fruit, bread, meal, and seeds. In the neighbourhood of every threshing-floor and granary, and of stables, there are always immense numbers of ants, which abstract surprising quantities of grain, and store them in their nests. They often carry the grains many feet or yards away, along well-beaten roads, which cross each other in every direction from the heaps of grain. Similar facts have been observed in the warmer parts of Europe and in India. The Mishna lays down rules in regard to the ownership of grain so stored. Maimonides has discussed the question as to whether it belongs to the owners of the land or to gleaners, deciding in favour of the latter. The ants, however, differ from him, and are of opinion that the store belongs to themselves. I am assured by native peasants, well qualified to know, that the ants eat the grain during the season of non-production. After the first rains, the ants bring out their larvæ and the stored grains to be sunned. Indian ants do the same. Many of these grains are more or less gnawed, or the edible parts entirely consumed. It was the opinion of Aldrovandus and others of the ancients, confirmed by the French Academy

(Addison's *Guardian*, 156, 157) and of N. Pluche (*Nature displ.* i. 128), that the ants systematically bit off the head of the grain to prevent its germination. I think it unnecessary to ascribe to the ants so much intelligence as would be implied in this extraordinary measure, but it is no way improbable that the head would be the first part attacked, as it is the softest portion of the grain, and the most accessible, being uncovered by the silicious envelope, as well as the sweetest morsel of the whole. Lubbock tells us of a Texan ant that clears disks, 10 or 12 feet in diameter, round the entrance to its nest, to allow certain grains known as ant-rice, and no others, to grow there.

Thus the ants 'are exceeding wise.' Many of their nests also are marvels of construction, some composed of galleries and chambers underground, some built in the form of mounds or huts above the surface. These are grouped in towns, connected by surface roads, sometimes arched over at places, and by underground tunnels. No less than 584 species of insects are found in association with ants, serving them in various ways, some obvious, others not clear. But that they are tolerated by the ants for reasons known to themselves is shown by the fact that ants will immediately attack and drive out or kill any living creatures which they do not like. Many of the insects furnish some form of food, as in the case of the aphides. Others rid the ants of parasites. Others seem to be congenial to them for reasons yet to be studied.

In addition to these insects, not of their own family, ants make slaves of other ants. This is not done by the capture of adult prisoners, but by raids organised for the purpose of stealing the eggs, larvæ, and pupæ from the nests of other species. These infant captives are taken to the nests of their abductors, and raised as slaves. These slaves do all or most of the domestic work of their masters, who reserve themselves for the noble art of war.

Ants also have accurate methods of division of labour. To the younger ones are assigned some of the lighter tasks, while the older ones engage in the more serious and laborious work. In some cases individuals are appointed to collect honey and store it in large sacs in their bodies, to be distributed to their idle masters, who do not trouble themselves to leave their nests.

Lubbock thus sums up the evidence that ants 'are exceeding wise': 'The anthropoid apes no doubt approach nearer to man in bodily structure than do other animals, but when we consider the habits of ants, their social organisation, their large communities and elaborate habitations, their roadways, their possession of domestic animals, and even, in some cases, of slaves, it must be admitted that they have a fair claim to rank next to man in the scale of intelligence.' G. E. POST.

ANTELOPE.—See OX.

ANTHOTHIJAH (עַנְתֹתִיָּה, AV **Antothijah**).—A man of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{24}). See GENEALOGY.

ANTHROPOLOGY.—See MAN.

ANTICHRIST.—See MAN OF SIN. **ANTILIBANUS.**—See LEBANON.

ANTIOCH (Ἀντιόχεια).—In Syria, under the Seleucids, there appear to have been at least five places which at one time or another enjoyed this title: Hippos on the hills above the E. shore of the Lake of Galilee (Ἀ. ἡ πρὸς Ἵππῳ), Gadara (cf. Stephanus, *De Urbibus*; Reland, *Pal.* 774), Gerasa in E. Gilead (Ἀ. ἡ πρὸς τῷ Χρυσορόᾳ), all of them in the Decapolis, and perhaps also Acco or Ptolemais (Head, *Hist. Num.* 677); but *the* Antioch in Syria was A. on the Orontes, distinguished as Ἀ. ἡ πρός, or ἐπί, Δάφνῃ, and entitled μητρόπολις (*ib.* 656).

Under an Eastern people like the Arabs, the natural capital of Syria is Damascus, on the borders of the Arabian desert. But when the Greeks poured into the land after Alexander, it was inevitable that they should establish the centre of their government nearer the Mediterranean and Asia Minor. Accordingly, when the Seleucid Empire was founded, Seleucus Nikator (Jos. *c. Apion*, ii. 4) selected a site 120 stadia from the sea (Strabo, xvi.), where the Orontes, now El-'Asi, and the great roads from the Euphrates and Cœle-Syria break the long Syrian range and debouch upon the coast. The projected Euphrates-Levant railway is to pass by the same way. The valley is tolerably wide, and both fair and fertile. The city was built partly on an island in the river, but mostly on the N. bank of the latter, and up the slopes of Mt. Silpius. By the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.) it consisted of four quarters (τετράπολις, Strabo), divided by the long columned street which was a feature of every Greek city in Syria, and by a second which cut this obliquely. Temples and other large public buildings were erected from time to time by the Seleucids and their Roman successors. Daphne was a neighbouring grove sacred to Apollo (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. ii. 1; Pliny, *HN* v. 18; 2 Mac 4^{33}). Under the Seleucids the city developed a mixed populace, essentially fickle and turbulent, who frequently rose against their rulers. There were Jews in Antioch from the time of its foundation, for Seleucus Nikator gave them the rights of citizenship (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 1). Many others must have fled or been carried captive to A. during the Maccabæan period (*ib.* XII. XIII. *passim*). The Antiochenes expelled Alexander Balas, and offered the crown to Ptolemy Philometor, who, however, persuaded them to receive Demetrius Nikator (*ib.* XIII. iv. 7; but cf. 1 Mac $11^{13ff.}$). They besieged the latter in his palace; but with the help of Jonathan Maccabæus and 3000 Jews he regained the city, yet soon after was obliged to yield it to Alexander's son Antiochus and his general Tryphon (*Ant.* XIII. v. 3; 1 Mac $11^{38ff.}$). Under the Seleucids A. remained till B.C. 83, when it was taken by Tigranes of Armenia. When Pompey overthrew the latter, he made A. a free city, and it became the seat of the Prefect, and capital of the Rom. province of Syria. M. Antonius ordered the citizens to release all the Jews whom they had enslaved, and restore to them their possessions (*Ant.* XIV. xii. 6). When Pompey fell, A. sided with Cæsar, and after Actium with Augustus. Both of the latter, as well as Herod the Great (*Ant.* XVI. v. 3) and Tiberius, embellished the town with theatres, baths, and streets. The harbour of A. was Seleucia. The population was very vigorous. They revolted several times against Rome; and after the disastrous earthquakes of A.D. 37 and subsequent years they quickly restored the town. Art and literature were cultivated so as to draw the praise of Cicero; but with the energy and brilliance of this people there was ever mixed a notorious insolence and scurrility. A large number of Romans settled in A., and the Jewish community speedily grew in numbers and in influence with the rest of the inhabitants (Jos. *BJ* II. xviii. 5), who protected them in the first Jewish revolt against Rome, but afterwards displayed a bitter hate against them (*ib.* VII. v. 2).

It was when A. was filled with these rich and varied elements of life—Josephus calls her the third city of the Empire, next to Rome and Alex-

andria (*BJ* III. ii. 4)—that she entered the history of Christianity. Antiochean Jews and proselyte Greeks must have come under the influence of the apostles' ministry in Jerus. Nicolas 'a proselyte of A.' was one of the seven deacons (Ac 6^5). Upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, the disciples were scattered as far north as A. (Ac $11^{19ff.}$), and among them some men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who began to preach to Greeks (many ancient authorities give 'Grecian Jews,' but surely Greeks are meant,—for otherwise the distinction made between the Cypriotes and Cyrenians and the other preachers in 11^{20} is meaningless). To them at A. the Church at Jerus. sent Barnabas, who, after seeing the situation, went and fetched Paul thither from Tarsus. For a year they worked together in the church, teaching; 'and the disciples were called Christians first in A.' The wit of the place was always famous for giving names. Prophets arrived from Jerus. predicting a famine; and when this came to pass, the Church of A. proved once more the vigour of the population from which it was drawn, by sending supplies to Jerus. by the hands of Barnabas and Saul (*ib.* $^{27-30}$). These returned to A., and after their ministry 'in the church' they were sent forth by the port of Seleucia to Cyprus on Paul's first great missionary journey (13^1); and from this to A. they returned, with their report of faith among the Gentiles ($14^{26f.}$). When Jews came down to teach the necessity of circumcision for the latter, the Church at A. sent Barnabas and Paul to Jerus. to claim for them freedom from the law ($15^{1ff.}$); and a deputation from Jerus. returned with the two ambassadors ($15^{22ff.}$). After ministering for a time in A., Paul and Barnabas set forth on their second journey by the Cilician gates (Ramsay) to Lystra (15^{36}); Paul returned (18^{22}); and A. was the starting-point of his third journey (*ib.*^{23}), which also was taken into Asia Minor, by the Syrian and Cilician gates, one great line of the advancement of Christianity westward. A. was not only the first Gentile Church, but may be called the mother of all the rest. This pre-eminence she continued to enjoy; for it was probably her missionary originality, rather than the tradition which made Peter her bishop for two years (cf. Gal 2^{11}), that gave her Patriarch precedence of those of Rome, Constantinople, Jerus., and Alexandria. A. was the birthplace of Ammianus Marcellinus, John Chrysostom, and Evagrius. As long as she remained part of an empire with its centre in Europe, A. continued the virtual capital of Syria. When the Arabs came, she, the city of the Levant, yielded to the city of the Desert; and though with the Crusaders she became once more the pivot of the West in its bearing on Syria, and the centre of the Principality of A. (from Taurus to Nahr-el-Kebir), she fell away again when they left, and gave up to Damascus even her Christian Patriarch. Now Antaki (Turkish), or Antakiyeh (Arab.), she is a meagre town of 6000 inhabitants. Besides the ruins of Justinian's wall there are no ancient remains of importance.

LITERATURE.—(Besides the ancient authorities already cited), Reland, *Palæstina*, 119 ff., where Jerome's error, that A. was Hamath (*Comm.* on Amos 6), or Riblah (*Comm.* on Ezek. 47), is stated and opposed; C. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenæ* (Göttingen, 1839); Noris, *Annus et Epochæ Syromacedonum*; Gibbon and Mommsen, *passim*; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 437, II. *passim*; various lives of St. Paul, esp. Conybeare and Howson's; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, *passim*; Ramsay, *Church in the Rom. Emp.* chs. ii.–vii., xvi. On A. under the Moslems, see the extracts from Arab. geographers in Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, esp. 367-377. On the A. of the Crusaders, Rey, *Colonies Franques de Syrie aux* 12*me et* 13*me siècles*; cf. also Benjamin of Tudela's *Travels*, A.D. 1163, and Bertrandere de la Brocquière's in 1432; and on the modern city, see Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*; and George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*.

G. A. SMITH.

ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA ('Αντιόχεια Πισιδία, more correctly rendered 'Pisidian Antioch') is defined by Strabo (pp. 569, 557, 577) as a city of Phrygia towards or near Pisidia. It was probably one of the sixteen Antiochs founded by Seleucus Nikator (301–280; Appian, *Syr.* 57), and named after his father. The inhabitants claimed to be colonists from Magnesia on the Mæander; but traditions claiming Greek origin for Phrygian cities were fashionable and untrustworthy. In 190 B.C. it was declared free by the Romans; and its history is unknown until in 39 B.C. it was made by Antony part of the kingdom of Amyntas (as we learn from Appian, *Civ.* v. 75, cf. Strabo, p. 569); on whose death in 25 it passed into Rom. hands as part of the province GALATIA. At some time earlier than 6 B.C. (*CIL* iii. 6974) Augustus made it a *colonia* with Latin rights (*Digest*, 50. 15. 8, 10) with the name Cæsareia Antiocheia, the administrative centre of the southern half of the province, and the military centre of a series of *coloniæ* (Lystra, Parlais, Cremna, Comama, Olbasa) founded to defend the province against the unruly and dangerous Pisidians in the fastnesses of the Taurus mountains. The region or district to which Antioch belonged is called Phrygia by Strabo (and also in Ac 16^6 18^{23}, according to the South-Galatian theory, held by some scholars, disputed by others), Pisidian Phrygia by Ptolemy v., 5. 4, Pisidia by Ptolemy v., 4. 11, and by later authorities, showing that gradually that part of Phrygia, which was included in the province Galatia and separated from the great mass of Phrygia (which was part of the province Asia), was merged in Pisidia. Thus the name Antioch towards Pisidia (Strabo, A.D. 19), or Pisidian Antioch (to distinguish it from Antioch on the Mæander or Carian Antioch), gave place to the name Antioch of Pisidia (Ptolemy v., 4. 11, and some MSS. of Ac 13^{14}). The influence of the preaching of Paul and Barnabas in Antioch radiated over the whole region connected politically with the city (Ac 13^{49}). Antioch (as Arundel discovered) is situated about 2 miles E. from Yalowatch on the skirts of the long ridge called Sultan-Dagh, in a strong situation, about 3600 ft. above sea-level, overlooking a large and fertile plain, which stretches away S.E. to the Limnai (Egerdir Lake), and is drained by the river Anthios. The ruins, which are impressive and of great extent, have never as yet been carefully examined. Antioch was a great seat of the worship of Men Askaênos; but the large estates and numerous temple-slaves ruled by the priests were confiscated by the Romans. Jewish colonists were always favoured by the Seleucid kings, who found them good and trusty supporters; many thousands of Jews were settled in the cities of Phrygia (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. f.; Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 28. 66–8); and a synagogue at Antioch is mentioned Ac 13^{14}. The influence ascribed to the ladies of Antioch (Ac 13^{50}) is characteristic of Phrygia and Asia Minor generally, where women enjoyed great consideration, and often held office in the cities (see Paris, *Quatenus feminæ res publicas attigerint*, 1891).

LITERATURE.—Antioch is described by Arundel, *Discoveries in As. Min.* i. 281 f., and by Hamilton, *Researches in As. Min.* i. 472 f.; see also Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp. 25–35, *St. Paul*, pp. 99–107; inadequate articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclop.*, and other geographical dictionaries: many inscriptions in Sterrett, *Epigraphic Journey in As. Min.* p. 121 ff., *Wolfe Expedition in As. Min.* p. 218 ff.: Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, xxi. p. 468, collects all the earlier accounts of travellers. See the article on GALATIA.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ANTIOCHIANS ('Αντιοχεῖς, 2 Mac $4^{9.19}$). — The efforts of Antiochus Epiphanes to spread Gr. culture and Gr. customs throughout his dominions were diligently furthered by a section of the Jews.

The leader of this Hellenizing party, Jason, brother of the high priest Onias III., offered a large sum of money to Antiochus to induce the king to transfer the high priesthood to himself, and along with certain other favours to allow the inhabitants of Jerusalem 'to be enrolled as Antiochians,' that is, to grant them the titles and privileges of citizens of Antioch. What was the precise nature of the desired privileges we do not know. Antiochus acceded to the proposal of Jason, and shortly afterwards a party of 'Antiochians' from Jerusalem was sent by him as a sacred deputation, to convey a contribution of money for the festival of Heracles at Tyre. H. A. WHITE.

ANTIOCHIS ('Αντιοχίς, 2 Mac 4^{30}), a concubine of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, in accordance with an old Oriental custom, assigned to her for her maintenance the revenues of the two Cilician cities, Tarsus and Mallus. This grant gave rise to disturbances among the inhabitants of the two cities, but we are not told what means were taken by Antiochus to allay their discontent.
H. A. WHITE.

ANTIOCHUS ('Αντίοχος, 1 Mac 12^{16} 14^{22}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 8), the father of Numenius, who was one of the envoys sent (*c.* 144 B.C.) by Jonathan the Maccabee to renew the covenant made by Judas with the Romans, and to enter into friendly relations with the Spartans. H. A. WHITE.

ANTIOCHUS I. ('Αντίοχος, 'the opposer'), surnamed Soter, 'deliverer,' was born B.C. 324, son of of Seleucus Nikator and of Apama, a princess of Sogdiana. He succeeded his father (B.C. 280) on the throne of Syria, but during the nineteen years of his reign was concerned chiefly with the prosecution of his claims to the throne of Macedonia, with the maintenance of his empire against Kelts and eastern revolts, and with the repression of the Gauls who had settled in Asia Minor. He was slain by one of the latter in battle (B.C. 261). The possession of Cœle-Syria was a matter of dispute between him and Ptolemy Philadelphus (1st Syrian War), but it remained under the sovereignty of the latter, and the S. districts do not appear to have been invaded by Antiochus. R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS II. (surnamed Theos, 'a god') succeeded his father, A. I., as king of Syria in B.C. 261. His kingdom was invaded soon after his accession by the generals of Ptolemy Philadelphus (2nd Syrian War), who occupied several of the principal towns on the coast of Asia Minor. Peace was concluded (B.C. 250), probably on condition that A. should put away his wife Laodice, marry Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy, and transfer the succession to her issue (Athen. ii. 45). In a short time either Laodice was recalled, or A. endeavoured to reconcile her; but, in mistrust or revenge for the insult passed upon her, she plotted against A., caused him (B.C. 246) to be poisoned and Berenice's infant to be put to death, and secured the throne for her son Seleucus (App. *Syr.* 65; Justin, xxvii. 1; Val. Max. ix. 14. 1). There are strong evidences that A. conferred upon several cities of Asia Minor a democratic constitution and the rights of autonomy. His surname was given him by the Milesians in gratitude for his victory over their tyrant Timarchus (App. *Syr.* 65). The Jews in these cities, and notably in Ephesus, shared in these rights of citizenship; and this was the case, both in the arrangement of cities rebuilt during the Hellenic age, and in the reorganisation of older cities effected chiefly by A. II. See Arrian, i. 17. 10 and 18. 2; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 2; *Apion.* ii. 4; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Græc.* nn. 166, 171. Dn 11^6 is traditionally interpreted of Antiochus (Jerome, *ad Dan.* 11^6), but the latter part of the verse is almost hopelessly corrupt.
R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS III. ('the Great') was the son of Seleucus Kallinicus (B.C. 246–226), and succeeded to the throne of Syria on the death of his brother, Seleucus Keraunus (B.C. 223). Immediately after his accession he made war upon Egypt; and in two successive campaigns he led his army as far as Dora, a few miles to the N. of Cæsarea. A truce suspended hostilities for a time (Polyb. v. 60; Justin, xxx. 1, 2), during which he put down Molo's rebellion in Media. In B.C. 218 he again drove the Egyp. forces southwards, and himself wintered at Ptolemais; but the next year he was completely defeated at Raphia (Polyb. v. 51–87; Strabo, xvi. 759), near Gaza, and left Ptolemy Philopator in undisputed possession of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. The following years he spent in warfare against Achæus, whom he took in B.C. 214, and in Parthia and Bactria, where his successes gained for him his surname. But on Ptolemy's death, in B.C. 204, he formed an alliance with Philip of Macedon for the partition of Egypt between the two powers (Liv. xxxi. 14). In Judæa he found a party among the Jews alienated from Egypt, and with their help he extended his kingdom to the Sinaitic peninsula. But an invasion of his dominions by Attalus, king of Pergamus, checked his further progress; and in his absence Scopas, an Egyp. general, overran Judæa, and recovered the lost territories. A. hastened to oppose him, and at Paneas (Πάνειον, a grotto of Pan, which gave its name to the district), near the source of the Jordan, gained a decisive victory (B.C. 198), which made him again master of all Pal. (Polyb. xvi. 18, xxviii. 1; Liv. xxx. 19; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3). Judæa was thus finally connected with the Seleucid dynasty. Syrian στρατηγοί, or military governors, were appointed; and regular taxes were imposed, and leased to contractors in the several towns. A. further guaranteed the inviolability of the temple, and provided by ample grants for the performance of its services (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 4). With a view to pacify Lydia and Phrygia, he sent there 2000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia with grants of land and immunity from taxation. The intervention of the Romans prevented any further expedition against Egypt: and a treaty was made by which Ptolemy Epiphanes took in marriage A.'s daughter Cleopatra, who was promised as her dower the three provinces of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Pal. (Polyb. xxviii. 17; App. *Syr.* 5; Liv. xxxv. 13; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1). The transfer of the provinces themselves appears not to have taken place, though the queen for a time shared in their revenue. Judæa was probably occupied by Syrian and Egyp. garrisons side by side; and the people were subjected to a twofold tyranny. A. retained the nominal sovereignty; but in B.C. 196 he left Pal. in order to conduct an expedition against Asia Minor (Liv. xxxiii. 19), and became involved in a long war with Rome. He was finally defeated in the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190), and three years later was killed in an insurrection at Elymais. Dn $11^{10\text{-}19}$ is traditionally interpreted of him, and he is mentioned in 1 Mac 1^{10} $8^{6\text{-}8}$. The statements in the latter passage should be compared with App. *Syr.* 36 and Liv. xxxvii. 44, 56. R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES ('Επιφανής, 'illustrious'; also named ἐπιμανής, 'madman,' Polyb. xxvi. 10; νικηφόρος, 'victorious,' and θεός, on coins and in Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 5), second son of A. the Great, was for 14 years a hostage at Rome, and, after expelling Heliodorus, succeeded his own brother Seleucus Philopator in B.C. 175 His

policy was to spread Greek culture (Tac. *Hist.* v. 8) through his dominions, and so knit the various peoples into a compact and single-purposed unity. Soon after his accession he was called upon to settle a dispute at Jerus. between the high priest Onias III. and his brother Jason, the leader of the Hellenizing party. Onias was driven from Jerus. (2 Mac 4^{1-6}); and Jason secured the high priesthood by the payment to the king of a large sum of money and the promise thoroughly to Hellenize the city (2 Mac 4^{9-16}, 1 Mac 1^{10-15}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1). A. soon after visited the city in person, and was received with every mark of honour (2 Mac 4^{22}). In B.C. 171 Jason was himself supplanted by Menelaus, who offered larger bribes; but the next year he was encouraged by a rumour of the king's death in Egypt to besiege Jerus. (2 Mac 5^{5}). The tidings reached A. as he was in the midst of his second prosperous campaign in Egypt, and at once, 'in a furious mind,' he marched against Jerus. The city was taken, many thousands of the people were massacred, and the temple was robbed of its treasures (1 Mac 1^{20-24}, 2 Mac 5^{11-21}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 3; *Apion.* ii. 7). Philip, a Phrygian of specially barbarous temper (2 Mac 5^{22}), was left behind as governor of Jerus., and A. proceeded with the spoils of the temple to Antioch.

In B.C. 168 A. set out on his last expedition against Egypt, and was approaching Alexandria to besiege it when he received from the Romans peremptory orders to refrain from making war upon the Ptolemies (App. *Syr.* 66; Liv. xlv. 12; Polyb. xxix. 11; Justin, xxxiv. 3) Reluctantly he withdrew from Egypt, and vented his rage upon Jerus. (see Dn 11^{30}). Apollonius, one of the chief officers of revenue, was detached with an army of 22,000 men, with instructions to exterminate the Jewish people and to colonise the city with Greeks (2 Mac 5^{24}, 1 Mac $1^{34.38}$). Availing himself of the Sabbath law, Apollonius chose that day for entrance into Jerus., and met with no effective resistance. The men were killed, except a few who took refuge with Judas Maccabæus in flight, and the women and children sold into slavery. The city was set on fire, its walls thrown down, and their materials used to fortify anew the old city of David, which thenceforth uninterruptedly for 26 years was occupied by a Syrian garrison. Menelaus still remained high priest, but it is difficult to understand what his duties were, as the daily sacrifices are said to have ceased in the month of Sivan (June).

A decree was then promulgated by A. throughout his kingdom that in religion, law, and custom 'all should be one people' (1 Mac 1^{41}; Polyb. xxxviii. 18). In Judæa alone the edict seems to have met with serious opposition. Accordingly the observance of the Sabbath, circumcision, and abstinence from unclean food were specifically forbidden under the penalty of death. Upon the altar of burnt-offering a smaller altar was built, and on the 25th of Chislev (Dec. 168) sacrifice was offered upon it to the Olympic Zeus (1 Mac 1^{54}, 2 Mac 6^{2}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 4: see Dn 11^{31}. The phrase in Dn, שִׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם, may have other reference, and is not without linguistic difficulty; but its oldest interpretation, in the LXX, is *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, which exactly agrees with the expression in 1 Mac 1^{54}). The courts, too, of the temple were polluted by indecent orgies. At the same time the worship of Zeus Xenios was instituted in the Sam. temple on Mt. Gerizim. The festivals of Bacchus were introduced into the various towns, and the Jews compelled to take part in them (2 Mac 6^{7}). A monthly search was made (1 Mac 1^{58}); and the possession of a copy of the book of the law was punishable by death. Similar measures were taken in all the cities frequented by the Jews in the Syrian kingdom, and even in Egypt (2 Mac $6^{8.9}$). The effect upon the better Jews was to arouse a spirit of heroism, which showed itself at first only in an inflexible refusal to renounce Judaism. 'They chose to die . . . and they died' (1 Mac 1^{63}); and 2 Mac 6^{11}–7^{42} records with licence certain instances which are further elaborated in 4 Mac, and of which Philo makes use in *Quod omnis prob. lib.* § 13 (Mang. ii. 459). Open resistance occurred first at Modin (Μωδεΐν or Μωδεείμ), a mountain village E. of Lydda and N.W. of Jerus. When the king's commissioner came to see that the edict was obeyed, Mattathias, the head of the priestly Hasmonæan family, refused compliance, killed the officer, and fled to the hills (1 Mac 2^{15-28}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 2: a tradition ascribes the first rising to an outrage attempted upon a Jewish bride). His example was imitated by many others (1 Mac 2^{29}); but a great slaughter of them took place through their refusal to defend themselves on a Sabbath (1 Mac 2^{32-38}). Mattathias persuaded his followers that the law of the Sabbath did not override the right of defence, and was joined by many of the Asidæans ('Ασιδαῖοι, חֲסִידִים ḤASIDIM). His bands traversed the country, harassing the Syrians with a guerilla warfare, everywhere destroying the symbols of idolatry (1 Mac 2^{45-48}).

Towards the end of B.C. 167 Mattathias died, and was succeeded in the military chieftainship of his party by his son Judas Maccabæus (wh. see). After pursuing for a time with invariable success his father's practice of cutting off small companies of the enemy by surprises, Judas found his followers strong and expert enough to be trusted in larger enterprises. In turn he routed an army of Syrians and Samaritans under the command of Apollonius, and a greater host at Bethhoron under Seron, the general of Cœle-Syria (1 Mac 3^{10-24}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 1). When news of the revolt of Judæa reached A., he himself was obliged to set out upon an expedition into Parthia and Armenia, where insurrection was spreading and the taxes were withheld (Tac. *Hist.* v. 8; App. *Syr.* 45; Müller, *Fragm.* ii. 10). But he left Lysias behind, as regent and guardian of his son, with orders to depopulate Judæa (1 Mac 3^{32-36}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 2). Lysias at once despatched a large body of troops under the command of Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias; and with them came merchants to purchase the expected Jewish slaves (1 Mac 3^{38-41}). At Emmaus ('Εμμαούμ, the modern Amwâs), Judas inflicted so signal a defeat upon Gorgias that the Syrian troops fled out of the country (1 Mac 4^{22}). In B.C. 165 Lysias in person led a still larger army against Judas, but was completely defeated at Bethzur (1 Mac 4^{28-35}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 5). Judas regained possession of the entire country except the citadel in Jerus., and on the 25th of Chislev the daily sacrifices were restored (1 Mac 4^{52}, 2 Mac 10^{5}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 6 and 7; *Middoth*, i. 6; *Megillath Taanith*, §§ 17, 20, 23). Meanwhile A. had been baffled in an attempt to plunder in Elymais (1 Mac 6^{1}) the temple of Nanaia ('the desire of women,' Dn 11^{37}), identified with Artemis, Polyb. xxxi. 11; with Aphrodite, App. *Syr.* 60; or more probably with Adonis or Tammuz). He retired to Babylon, and thence to Tabæ in Persia, where he became mad and died (B.C. 164).

LITERATURE.—Liv. xli.–xlv.; Polyb. xxvi.–xxxi.; App. *Syr.* 45, 66; Justin, xxiv. 3, are the principal classical authorities. Dn 11^{21-45} is generally interpreted of A. IV. (Jerome, *ad Dan.* c. 11), and he is supposed to have been in the thought of the writer of Rev 13^{5}. The *Megillath Antiochus* is legendary, post-Talmudic in date, and of little worth as history. Derenbourg, *Hist.* 59–63, extracts from *Megillath Taanith*, which, with 1 and 2 Mac and Jos. *Ant.* XII. v., is the only Jewish source of value.

R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS V. (Εὐπάτωρ, 'born of a noble father') succeeded his father, A. Epiphanes, in

B.C. 164, at the age of 9 (App. *Syr.* 46, 66) or of 11 (Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 348) years. Epiph. had appointed his foster-brother (2 Mac 9^{29}) Philip as his son's guardian (1 Mac $6^{15.\ 55}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 2); but Lysias, the governor of the provinces from the Euphrates to Egypt, assumed that function (1 Mac 3^{32}). In B.C. 163 Lysias and A. led an expedition to the relief of Jerus., which was being besieged by Judas Maccab. (1 Mac 6^{18-30}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 3). The armies met at Bethzacharias, some 9 miles to the N. of Bethsura (Bethzur), where Judas was defeated (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 4; *Wars*, I. i. 5; 1 Mac 6^{47}). [2 Mac $13^{16.\ 17}$, on the other hand, represents Judas as victorious, but is clearly unhistorical.] A. took Bethsura, and proceeded to lay siege to Jerus. Within the city scarcity of food was soon felt, as the year was a Sabbatical one (1 Mac 6^{53}); and news that Philip was approaching Antioch was received by the besiegers. Peace was made on the condition that the Jews should be left undisturbed in their national customs (1 Mac 6^{59}, 2 Mac 13^{23}); but A. violated this condition by destroying the city fortifications and imprisoning the high priest (1 Mac 6^{62}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7). Philip was conquered with ease at Antioch; but in B.C. 162 A. himself was betrayed into the hands of his cousin, Demetrius Soter, and put to death (1 Mac 7^{4}, 2 Mac 14^{2}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 1; App. *Syr.* 47; Polyb. xxxi. 19; Liv. *Epit.* 46).

R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS VI. (surnamed Ἐπιφανὴς Διόνυσος on coins, but *θεός* in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 1) was a son of Alexander Balas (App. *Syr.* 68) and Cleopatra. In B.C. 145, while still a child, he was brought from Arabia, where he had remained with his father's captor, and set up by Diodotus (Tryphon, wh. see) as a claimant to the throne of Syria, then held by Demetrius Nikator. Tryphon secured the support of the Syrian generals, and of Jonathan (wh. see), who was appointed to the civil and ecclesiastical, Simon to the military, headship of Pal.: and A. was acknowledged as king by the greater part of Syria. The success of Jonathan in subduing the whole country from Tyre and Damascus to Egypt aroused the jealousy or the fear of Tryphon, who, by stratagem, imprisoned and afterwards put him to death (B.C. 143). The next year (or possibly later: see Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 1; 1 Mac 13^{31}; App. *Syr.* 67, 68; Justin, xxxvi. 1; but the evidence of coins is in favour of the earlier date) Tryphon procured the assassination of A. by surgeons (Liv. *Epit.* 55), and assumed the crown of S. Syria in his stead. R. W. MOSS.

ANTIOCHUS VII. (surnamed Σιδήτης, from the place of his education, Side in Pamphylia, Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349; also εὐσεβής in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 2; and εὐεργέτης on coins) was the second son of Demetrius Soter. In B.C. 138 he expelled Tryphon, and without further opposition obtained the throne of Syria. At first he confirmed to Simon immunities granted by former kings, and added the right of coining money (1 Mac 15^{2-9}); but afterwards demanded the surrender of the principal fortresses (1 Mac 15^{28-31}). Simon refused to give them up, and defeated the king's officer Cendebæus (1 Mac 16^{1-10}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 3). In B.C. 135 A. in person led an army into Judæa, and besieged Jerus. The siege lasted for many months, in the course of which A. sent sacrifices into the city at the Feast of Tabernacles (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 2), but allowed no provisions to pass his lines. Peace was at length made on terms which restored the Syrian supremacy (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 3), without unduly provoking the intervention of Rome (*ib.* XIII. ix. 2). In B.C. 129 Hyrcanus (wh. see) accompanied A. in an expedition against the Parthians, but the next year the king fell in battle with Arsaces VII. (*ib.* XIII. viii. 4; App. *Syr.* 68; Justin, xxxviii. 10; Liv. *Epit.* 55). R. W. MOSS.

ANTIPAS (Antipater).—See under HEROD.

ANTIPAS (Ἀντίπας).—Only mentioned in Rev 2^{13}, in the Epistle to the Church of Pergamum, in the following terms: 'I know where thou dwellest, where the throne of Satan is; and thou holdest my name, and didst not deny my faith, even (*or* and) in the days of Antipas (nominative), my witness, (my) faithful one, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.' Some authorities insert *ἐν αἷς* ('in which') after the word 'days'; and two versions take the word Antipas as a verb, *ἀντεῖπας* ('thou didst contradict'); but there is no probability that this is correct. WH think it not unlikely that Ἀντίπα in the gen. should be read.

Various allegorical interpretations of the name are current, one making A. the withstander of all, and identifying him with Timothy; another descending as low as Antipas=Antipapa. But the name must in all likelihood be that of a real man, and is probably a shortened form of Antipater.

Antipas does not occur in the lists of the 70 disciples (Pseud.-Dorotheus, Solomon of Basra), but Andreas and Arethas, the commentators on the Apocalypse, speak of having read the acts of his martyrdom. These are to be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, April 11 (April, tom. ii. pp. 2, 4, and 967). They are rhetorical and late in their present form, and give no particulars of the saint's life. They represent him as being cast into a heated brazen bull in the temple of Artemis, by order of a nameless governor during Domitian's persecution. He was apparently Bishop of Pergamum. According to one form of his Acts (quoted by the Bollandists from a *Synaxarion*), he prayed that those suffering from toothache might be relieved at his tomb. The bull in which he suffered was shown at Constantinople (Cedrenus, 566, ed. Par.). In the Ethiopic calendar his day is the 16th of Miyazia. M. R. JAMES.

ANTIPATER (Ἀντίπατρος).—A., son of Jason, was one of two ambassadors sent by Jonathan to the Romans and to the Spartans to renew 'the friendship and the confederacy' (1 Mac 12^{16} 14^{22}).

J. A. SELBIE.

ANTIPATRIS (Ἀντίπατρις), Ac 23^{31}.—A city at the foot of the Judæan hills, on the road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea: founded by Herod the Great. The various notices of its position, in relation to places near, are fully explained by placing this city at the large ruined mound above the source of the 'Aujah River, north-east of Jaffa. This site is now called *Rûs el 'Ain*, 'the spring-head'; the Greek name having, as is usual in Palestine, been lost. The ruins include the shell of a large mediæval castle, which is probably that called Mirabel in the 12th cent. For a full discussion of this question, see *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiii. Josephus has been wrongly supposed to place Antipatris at Caphar Saba, farther north (*Ant.* XIII. xv. 1, XVI. v. 2; *Wars*, I. xxi. 9). C. R. CONDER.

ANUB (ענוב).—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{8}). See GENEALOGY.

ANVIL (פַּעַם, a stroke, blow).—The word occurs with this meaning only in Is 41^{7}. The anvil of the East is a boot-shaped piece of metal inserted in a section of oak or walnut log. Larger or smaller, it is used by tinsmiths, shoemakers, silversmiths, and blacksmiths. The description of the metal worker in Is $41^{6.\ 7}$ is one that might have been taken from the Arab workshop of the present day. As the Oriental artisan has only a few simple tools at his command, his work lacks the precision and uniformity attained in the West by elaborate machinery. Hence vivacious comment during the process of manufacture, and a feeling of triumph at times when the article turns out according to sample. The act of welding on the anvil, to which the prophet alludes, is esp. a moment of noisy

enthusiasm and mutual encouragement between the smith and his fellow-workman on the other side of the anvil. They then call out to each other to strike more rapidly and vigorously, before the metal cools, crying '*shidd*! *shidd*'! the Arabic equivalent of Isaiah's '*ḥazaḳ*'! 'be of good courage!' Then the term applied to the soldering —'*ṭoḇ*'! Arab. '*ṭayyiḇ*'! that is, 'good'!—is at once a call to cease from further hammering, and a declaration that the work is satisfactory.

G. M. MACKIE.

ANY.—**1.** Being probably composed of *an* one, and dim. ending *y* (old Eng. *ig*), 'any' means 'one at all,' 'one of whatever kind.' Of this orig. meaning good examples are Ps 4[6] 'Who will show us any good?' 2 P 3[9] 'not willing that any should perish.' **2.** Any is not now used in the sing. without 'one,' 'more,' or the like, but we find Jer 23[24] 'Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him?' Ezk 7[13] 'neither shall any strengthen himself'; so Zec 13[3], Jn 2[25] etc. **3. Any thing** as an adverb='at all,' 'in any respect,' is found 2 Ch 9[20] 'it (silver) was not any thing (RV 'was nothing') accounted of'; Gal 5[6] 'neither circumcision availeth any thing' (RV 'anything'); Nu 17[13] 'Whosoever cometh any thing near unto the tabernacle of the Lord shall die' (RV 'Every one that cometh near, that cometh near unto the tab. of the Lord, dieth'); and even (Ac 25[8]) 'neither . . . have I offended any thing at all' (RV 'have I sinned at all'). **4. Any ways**=in any respect, mod. 'anywise,' occurs Lv 20[4] 'if the people of the land do any ways hide their eyes from the man'; Nu 30[15] 'if he shall any ways make them void' (RV 'if he shall make them null and void'); 2 Ch 32[13]. Cf. Pr. Bk. 'All those who are any ways afflicted.'

J. HASTINGS.

APACE.—'Apace meant first of all 'at a foot pace,' *i.e.* slowly. But before 1611 it had acquired the opp. meaning, 'at a quick pace,' and in that sense only is it used in AV. It occurs 2 S 18[25] 'And he came a.' (וַיָּבֹא קָלוֹז); Ps 68[12] 'Kings of armies did flee a.' (יִדֹּדוּן יִדֹּדוּן, RV 'flee, they flee'); Jer 46[5] 'their mighty ones . . . are fled a.' Also in Ps 58[6], Pr. Bk. (and RV, v.[7]) 'like water that runneth a.'; and Sir 43[13] 'He maketh the snow to fall a.' (*κατέσπευσε χιόνα*). Cf. Ps in Metre 92[7]—

> 'When those that lewd and wicked are
> spring quickly up like grass,
> And workers of iniquity
> do flourish all apace.'

> 'Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds.
> Shaks. *Rom. and Jul.* iii. 2. 1.

> 'Small weeds have grace, great weeds do grow apace.'
> *Rich. III.* ii. 4. 13.

J. HASTINGS.

APAME ('Απάμη).—Daughter of Bartacus, and concubine of Darius I. (1 Es 4[29]).

APES (קוֹפִים, *ḳôphîm*, *πίθηκοι*, *simiae*).—Animals of the simian type, imported by the merchant navy of Solomon (1 K 10[22], 2 Ch 9[21]). There is no reason to believe that any one kind, or even family, of apes is intended. Many kinds were known to the ancients, and the ships of Asia and Africa constantly brought then, as they do now, various species of apes and monkeys. Aristotle divides the simians into three groups—the *κῆβοι*, the *πίθηκοι*, and the *κυνοκέφαλοι*. But it is clear that the translators of the LXX did not understand *κῆβοι* to be the equivalent of *ḳôphîm*, for they have translated the latter *πίθηκοι*. As a naturalist, Solomon would no doubt have wished specimens of as many kinds as possible of so curious an animal as the ape, and, *regis ad exemplar*, it would have been fashionable among his courtiers to possess these grotesque mimics of humanity. Hence the steady market for apes as well as peacocks and ivory.

G. E. POST.

APELLES ('Απελλῆς).—The name of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16[10], and described as the 'approved in Christ.' It was the name borne by a distinguished tragic actor, and by members of the household. Most commentators quote also Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 100, *Credat Iudæus Apella, non ego.* See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 172; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 425. For later traditions, which are valueless, see *Acta Sanct.*, April, iii. 4.

A. C. HEADLAM.

APHÆREMA ('Αφαίρεμα), 1 Mac 11[34].—A district taken from Samaria and added to Judæa by Demetrius Soter (*Ant.* XIII. iv. 9), probably that round the city Ephraim.

C. R. CONDER.

APHARSACHITES.—See next article.

APHARSATHCHITES (אֲפַרְסַתְכָיֵא Ezr 4[9], probably the same as the **Apharsachites,*** אֲפַרְסָכָיֵא Ezr 5[6] 6[6]).—A colony of the Assyrians in Samaria; an eastern people subject to the Assyrians. Ewald (*H.I.* iv. 1878, p. 216) identifies them with the Παρητακηνοί (Herod. i. 101), a tribe of the Medes, dwelling on the borderland between Media and Persia.

J. MACPHERSON.

APHARSITES (אֲפַרְסָיֵא Ezr 4[9]).—One of the nations transported to Samaria by the Assyrians. Otherwise unknown. By many (*e.g.* Ewald, *H.I.* iv. 216) supposed to be Persians; פרס with the prosthetic א in the Heb. form. Others have conjecturally identified them with the Parrhasians of E. Media.

J. MACPHERSON.

APHEK (אֲפֵק 'a fortress').—This was the name of at least four places in Palestine.

1. A city whose king was slain by Joshua (Jos 12[18]), where we should read with the LXX, 'the king of Aphek in Sharon.' This is probably the city mentioned in 1 S 4[1]. The Israelites were at Ebenezer, between Mizpeh and Shen. With common consent Mizpeh is located at *Neby Samwîl*, but Shen is unknown, so Ebenezer and Aphek still await identification. *Kakon*, in the plain of Sharon, a strong position commanding the main entrance to Samaria, would suit admirably, but no echo of the ancient name has been heard in the district.

2. A city in the territory of Asher (Jos 13[4] 19[30]) from which the Canaanites were never expelled (Jg 1[31] — where it is written אַפִּיק). Apparently in the vicinity of Achzib, its position is uncertain. A possible identification is '*Afka* on the Adonis, *Nahr Ibrahîm*, but this seems to be too far north.

3. A spot, generally supposed to be in the plain of Esdraelon, whence the Philistines advanced to the battle of Gilboa (1 S 29[1]). Wellhausen and W. R. Smith give reasons for thinking this identical with **1**; and G. A. Smith now agrees (*PEFSt*, 1895, 252). If the identity is established, the Philistines assembled in Sharon, and approached Jezreel by way of Dothan. If, however, they moved from Shunem to Aphek, against Saul, the place must be sought in some 'fortress' westward of Jezreel; the fountain near which Israel was encamped being most likely '*Ain Jalûd*, at the N. base of Gilboa. *Fuḳû'a*, on the mountain itself, is hardly possible.

4. The scene of Benhadad's disastrous defeat (1 K 20[26. 30]). This place was in the *mîshôr*, מִישׁוֹר, the table-land east of the Jordan, and is probably identical with *Fîḳ*, on the lip of the valley eastward

* Kosters thinks that Apharsachites of Ezr 5[6] 6[6] is an official title which the author of 4[9] has mistaken for the name of a tribe or country (*Herstel v. Isr.* 66 f.).

of *Kal'at el-Ḥuṣn*, overlooking the Sea of Galilee. *Fîḳ* is just the Heb. word without the initial aleph; but occasionally one hears the natives call it *'Afîḳ*, when the ancient name appears entire. From the edge of the valley eastward stretches the plain, *mîshôr*, of *Jaulân*, where the great battle was fought. Here the Syrians again suffered defeat at the hands of Joash (2 K $13^{17.25}$).

LITERATURE.—W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] pp. 273, 435; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* p. 254, *Hist.* p. 39; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* Index, and esp. *Crit. Rev.* (1892), p. 409 f. W. EWING.

APHEKAH (אֲפֵקָה).—A city not yet clearly identified. It may have been in the mountains of Judah (Jos 15^{53}), but is probably the same place as Aphek 1. W. EWING.

APHERRA ('Αφερρά), 1 Es 5^{34}.—His descendants were among the 'sons of Solomon's servants' who returned with Zerubbabel. This name, with the five preceding and two succeeding names, has no equivalent in the parallel lists of Ezr and Neh.
H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

APHIAH (אַפִּיָּח).—One of Saul's ancestors (1 S 9^{1}).

APHIK (אֲפִיק).—A city of Asher (Jg 1^{31}), the same as Aphek 2.

APHRAH.—See BETH-LE-APHRAH.

APOCALYPSE.—See REVELATION. **APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.**—See BARUCH.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.—No attempt to study Christianity in its origins can dispense with a knowledge of this literature. If we wish to reconstruct the world of ideas and aspirations which filled the heart of an earnest Jew at the beginning of the Christian era, it is to this literature that we must have recourse for materials. Although in its higher aspects Christianity infinitely transcends the Judaism that preceded it, yet in others it is a genuine historical development from such Judaism. Christianity came forth from the bosom of Pharisaic Judaism, and in Apocalyptic literature this form of Judaism found its essential utterance. The value, therefore, of such literature is obvious. From such writings, further, we see how the great Pharisaic movement arose; how it in its turn had been a transformation and a development of movements already at work in the prophetic period. Thus Jewish Apocalypses not only supply a history of religious beliefs in the two pre-Christian centuries, but they also fill up the otherwise unavoidable gap in the history of Jewish thought, and constitute the living link between the prophetic teachings and ideals of the OT and their fulfilment in Christianity.

Apocalyptic took the place of Prophecy. The Psalmist exclaims with grief: 'We see not our signs: there is no more any prophet: neither is there among us any that knoweth how long' (Ps 74^{9}).

But the immediate successor of Prophecy was not Apocalyptic, but Scribism. The task of the scribes was to study the law and apply it to the altered circumstances of the time. As a result of their study and teaching, Israel was firmly established in its adhesion to the law. But Scribism could not satisfy the aspirations of the nation. In one aspect we might describe it as an unproductive age of criticism following a productive age of prophetic genius. Its chief task was to study, discriminate, and systematise the products of past spiritual genius. For ever engaged in distinguishing and criticising, it acquired the habits of caution and fear as it lost those of courage and love. Its maxims were mainly negative. Its highest service was, not to inspire and lead into new paths of duty and goodness, but to confine every enthusiasm and new spiritual force within the narrow limits of a traditional routine, and to close every avenue of danger with a flaming sword and the unvarying prohibition: 'Thou shalt not.'

But Scribism had another side. In times of oppression especially, its efforts were directed to finding an answer for hearts that were asking in their anguish when God would visit and redeem His people. By ignoring the fact that the prophetic accounts of an ideal future for Israel could not be literally fulfilled after the fall of the ancient State, they easily found materials in the mass of unfulfilled prophecy on which to build their hopes anew. By symbolising what was literal and literalising what was figurative, by various rearrangements and readjustments of the resulting products, they were able to depict the future in a certain chronological sequence, and arrive at this desired consummation. By such means Scribism in some measure kept alive the hopes of the nation.

It was to this side of Scribism that Apocalyptic was naturally related, although at the same time it was to a certain extent a revolt against the other and chief pursuit of Scribism. The higher ideals and larger outlook of Apocalyptic failed in due course to find room within the narrow limits of Scribism; and whereas the anxious scrupulosities of the latter were incompatible with anything but the feeblest inspiration and vigour, the former attested beyond doubt the reappearance of spiritual genius in the field of thought and action.

Our conception of Apocalyptic will become clearer by observing wherein it agrees with, and wherein it differs from, OT prophecy.

1. Prophecy and Apocalyptic agree in this—(1) That they both claim to be a communication through the Divine Spirit of the character and will and purposes of God, and of the laws and nature of His kingdom. This, it is needless to add, man could not attain to by himself.

(2) But Prophecy and Apocalyptic were related, not only in their primary postulate, but, at least in the case of the later prophets, in similarity of materials and method. Thus the eschatological element which later attained its full growth in the writings of Daniel, Enoch, Noah, etc., had already strongly asserted itself in the later prophets, such as Is 24–27, Joel, Zec 12–14. Not only the beginnings, therefore, but a well-defined type of this literature had already established itself in OT prophecy.

2. But Prophecy and Apocalyptic differ in the following respects:—

(1) *Prophecy still believes that this world is God's world, and that in this world His goodness and truth will yet be justified.* Hence the prophet addresses himself chiefly to the present and its concerns, and when he addresses himself to the future his prophecy springs naturally from the present, and the future which he depicts is regarded as in organic connexion with it. *The Apocalyptic writer, on the other hand, almost wholly despairs of the present; his main interests are supramundane.* He cherishes no hope of arousing his contemporaries to faith and duty by direct and personal appeals; for though God spoke in the past, 'there is no more any prophet.' This pessimism and want of faith in the present, alike in the leaders and the led, limited and defined the form in which the religious ardour of the former should manifest itself. They prescribed, in fact, as a necessity of the age and as a condition of successful effort, *the adoption of pseudonymous authorship.* And thus it is that the Apocalyptic writer approaches his countrymen with a work which claims to be the production of some great

figure in the past, such as Enoch, Moses, Isaiah, Daniel, or Baruch.

Thus far two characteristics of Apocalyptic have emerged—the transference of interest from the present to the future, from the mundane to the supra-mundane, and the adoption of pseudonymous authorship.

(2) Another feature of Apocalyptic as distinguished from Prophecy was imposed upon it by the necessities of the time, *i.e. its indefinitely wider view of the world's history.* Thus, whereas ancient Prophecy had to deal with *temporary* reverses at the hands of some heathen power, Apocalyptic arose at a time when Israel had been subject for centuries to the sway of one or another of the great world-powers. Hence, in order to harmonise such difficulties with God's righteousness, it had to take account of the *rôle* of such empires in the counsels of God; to recount the sway and downfall of each in turn, till, finally, the lordship of the world passed into the hands of Israel, or the final judgment arrived. The chief part of these events belonged, it is true, to the past; but the Apocalyptic writer represented them as still in the future, arranged under certain artificial categories of time, and as definitely determined from the beginning in the counsels of God, and revealed by Him to His servants the prophets. *Determinism thus became a leading characteristic of Jewish Apocalyptic; and accordingly its conception of history, as distinguished from that of Prophecy, was mechanical rather than organic.*

(3) Again, Prophecy and Apocalyptic differ in the harsher treatment dealt out to the heathen in the final judgments. Israel's repeated oppressions have at last affected the judgment and insight of its writers. The iron has entered into their soul. No virtue or goodness can belong to their heathen oppressors, and nothing but eternal destruction can await the enemies of Israel in the time to come. The ruthless cruelty they had experienced, inspired them with a like ruthlessness towards the faithless nation and the faithless individual; and expressions descriptive of the future lot of such, which in prophetic writings had been limited in their scope to the present life, or were merely poetical exaggerations, were accepted by Apocalyptic writers as true of the future, and often intensified because insufficient to satisfy their merciless hatred. Thus it was in this period that the doctrine of the future and eternal damnation of the wicked was definitely formulated, and came to possess an unquestioned authority. It is true that in later times, as we discover from the Talmud, the severity of this dogma was considerably moderated, but only in favour of Israelites. No single mitigation of the awful horrors foretold as awaiting the wicked was extended to the hapless Gentile.

The foregoing will make the *object* of Apocalyptic easy of comprehension. This object, in short, was to solve the difficulties connected with a belief in God's righteousness, and the suffering condition of His servants on earth. The righteousness of God postulated the temporal prosperity of the righteous, and this postulate was accepted and enforced by the law. But the expectations of material wellbeing which had thus been authenticated and fostered, had in the centuries immediately preceding been falsified, and thus a grave contradiction had emerged between the old prophetic ideals and the actual experience of the nation, between the promises of God and the bondage and persecution they had daily to endure at the hands of their pagan oppressors. The difficulties thus arising from this conflict between promise and experience may be shortly resolved into two, which concern respectively the position of the righteous as a community and the position of the righteous man as an individual. The OT prophets had concerned themselves chiefly with the former, and pointed in the main to the restoration or 'resurrection' of Israel as a nation, and to Israel's ultimate possession of the earth as a reward of her righteousness. But, later, with the growing claims of the individual, and the acknowledgment of these in the religious and intellectual life, the latter problem pressed itself irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers, and made it impossible for any conception of the divine rule and righteousness to gain acceptance which did not render adequate satisfaction to the claims of the righteous individual. Thus, in order to justify the righteousness of God, there was postulated the resurrection, not only of the righteous nation, but also of the righteous individual. Apocalyptic, therefore, strove to show that, alike in respect of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated; and, in order to justify its contention, it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its course, and the consummation of all things. Thus, in fact, it presented a Semitic philosophy of religion. The righteous as a nation should yet possess the earth either in an eternal or in a temporary Messianic kingdom, and the destiny of the righteous individual should be finally determined according to his works. For though amid the world's disorders he might perish untimely, he would not fail to attain through the resurrection the recompense that was his due, in the Messianic kingdom, or in heaven itself. The conceptions as to the risen life, its duration and character, vary with each writer.

The chief Apocalyptic writings which will be treated of in this Dictionary are—

1. *Apocalypse of Baruch*, a composite work written 50–90 A.D. in Palestine, if not in Jerus., by four Pharisees. Preserved only in Syriac.

2. Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, written originally in Heb. by at least five Ḥasid authors, 200–64 B.C., in Palestine. Preserved in Ethiopic and partly in Greek and Latin.

3. Slavonic *Book of Enoch*, or *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, written by an Alexandrian Jew about the beginning of the Christian era. Preserved only in Slavonic.

4. *Ascension of Isaiah*, a composite work written, 1–100 A.D., by Jewish and Christian authors. Preserved in Ethiopic and partly in Latin.

5. *Book of Jubilees*, written originally in Hebrew by a Pal. Jew, probably 40–10 B.C. Preserved in Ethiopic, and partially in Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin.

6. *Assumption of Moses*, written in Palestine, probably in Heb. or Aram., 14–30 A.D., by a Pharisee. Preserved only in Latin.

7. *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*, a composite work written originally in Hebrew by two Jewish authors belonging to the legalistic and apocalyptic sides of Pharisaism, 130 B.C.–10 A.D., and interpolated by a succession of Christian writers down to the fourth century A.D. Preserved in the ancient Greek and Armenian versions.

8. *Psalms of Solomon*, written originally in Heb. by a Pharisee (or Pharisees), 70–40 B.C.

9. *Sibylline Oracles*, written in Greek hexameters by Jewish and Christian authors, 180 B.C.–350 A.D.

LITERATURE.—Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüdische Apokalyptik*, 1857; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877; Smend, 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in *ZATW* (1885) pp. 222–250; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 44 sqq.

R. H. CHARLES.

APOCRYPHA.—The title 'The Apocrypha,' or 'The Apocrypha of the OT,' is applied by English-

speaking Protestants to the following collection of books and parts of books :—

BOOKS.	ABBREV.
i. 1 Esdras	1 Es
ii. 2 Esdras	2 Es
iii. Tobit	To
iv. Judith	Jth
v. The rest of the chapters of the Book of Esther [*i.e.* 10⁴–16²⁴]	Ad. Est
vi. The Wisdom of Solomon	Wis
vii. The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, *or* Ecclesiasticus	Sir
viii. Baruch	Bar
[Ch. vi. = The Epistle of Jeremy]	Ep. Jer
ix. The Song of the Three Holy Children	Three
[*i.e.* The Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three.]	
x. The History of Susanna	Sus
xi. The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon	Bel
[ix. x. and xi. are the Additions to the Book of Daniel]	Ad. Dn
xii. The Prayer of Manasses	Pr. Man
xiii. 1 Maccabees	1 Mac
xiv. 2 Maccabees	2 Mac

Both the collection, and the use of the word Apocrypha as its title, are distinctively Protestant, though having roots in the history of the OT Canon. The collection consists of the excess of the Lat. Vulg. over the Heb. OT; and this excess is due to the Gr. LXX, from which the old Lat. VS was made. The difference between the Prot. and the Rom. Cath. OT goes back, then, to a difference between Pal. and Alex. Jews. The matter is complicated, however, by the fact that the Vulg. was revised after the Heb. by Jerome, and that the extant MSS of the LXX differ much in contents and order. For clearness and for reference in the later discussion, the following tables are given. They represent the official Vulg. (ed. 1592); the two chief MSS of LXX; the Canon of Cyril, as a representative of the view of the E. Church; and the Hebrew. The books of our A. are printed in italics, other uncan. books, not in the A., in CAPITALS.

these, 1 and 2 Es are not in Luther's Bible, and 2 Es is not in the LXX. On the other hand, 3 and 4 Mac are commonly present in the LXX, but are not found in the Vulg. and A. The same is true of Ps 151. Further, the many more or less significant variations of LXX from Heb. OT, in text and order, do not appear in this comparison, for, owing to Jerome, the Vulg. follows the Heb. in the can. books, the LXX only in the case of books not extant in Heb. The A., then, can be said only in a general way to represent the difference between the Heb. and the Gr. OT. The books of the A. are treated in this Dictionary individually under their titles. Under the heading Apocrypha two matters require consideration: the history of the use of the word '*Apocrypha*' in reference to books; and the history and significance of the collection now so called.* With these the present article will deal in the following order :—

i. The word *Apocrypha*.
  1. The Hidden Books of Judaism.
  2. The words *genuzim* and *hizonim*.
  3. The Hidden Books of Christianity, and the word *Apocrypha*.
ii. The Apocrypha in Judaism.
  1. The Origin of the Collection.
    a. The Work of the Scribes.
    b. The A. in relation to the Hagiographa.
    c. Palestinian and Hellenistic elements in the A.
  2. Its Use and Relation to the Canon.
    a. In Hellenistic Judaism.
    b. In Palestinian Judaism.
  3. Its Relation to the Religious Tendencies and Parties of Judaism.
iii. The Apocrypha in Christianity.
  1. In the New Testament.
  2. In the Eastern Church.
    a. Original Usage.
    b. Scholarly Theory.
    c. Manuscripts.
    d. Versions.
    e. The Later Greek Church.
  3. In the Western Church.
    a. Roman.
    b. Protestant.

VULG.	LXX. *Cod. Vat.* (B).	LXX. *Cod. Alex.* (A).	CYRIL.	HEB.
Pent	Pent	Pent	1–5. Pent	i. 'Torah' (Law)— 1–5. Pent
Jos	Jos	Jos	6. Jos	ii. 'Nebiim' (Prophets)—
Jg	Jg	Jg	7. Jg-Ru	*a*. '*Former*'
Ru	Ru	Ru	8. 1. 2 K	6. Jos
1–4 K	1–4 K	1–4 K	9. 3. 4 K	7. Jg
1. 2 Ch	1. 2 Ch	1. 2 Ch	10. 1. 2 Ch	8. S
1 Es [=Ezr]	1 *Es*	XII	11. 1. 2 Es	9. K
2 Es [=Neh]	2 Es [=Ezr+Neh]	Is	12. Est [*Ad.*†]	*b*. '*Latter*'
To	Ps [151]	Jer [with *Bar* La *Ep. Jer*]	13. Job	10. Is
Jth	Pr	Ezk	14. Ps	11. Jer
Est [*Ad.* 10⁴–16²⁴]	Ec	Dn [*Ad.*]	15. Pr	12. Ezk
Job	Ca	Est [*Ad.**]	16. Ec	13. XII
Ps [150]	Job	*To*	17. Ca	iii. 'Kethubim' (Hagiographa)—
Pr	*Wis*	*Jth*	18. Is	14. Ps
Ec	*Sir*	1 *Es*	19. Jer *Bar* La *Ep. Jer*	15. Pr
Ca	Est [*Ad.**]	2 Es [=Ezr+Neh]	20. Ezk	16. Job
Wis	*Jth*	1. 2 *Mac*	21. Dn [*Ad.*†]	17. Ca }
Sir	*To*	3. 4 Mac		18. Ru }
Is	XII	Ps [151 and 14 Canticles, of which one is *Pr. Man*†]	*i.e.* 12 historical, 5 poetical, and 5 prophetical books. The number of the Heb. Can. is reduced by joining Ru to Jg and La to Jer.	19. La } 'Megilloth'
Jer [La *Bar*]	Is	Job		20. Ec }
Ezk	Jer	Pr		21. Est }
Dn [*Ad.* 3²⁴·⁹⁰ *Three* 13 *Sus* 14 *Bel*]	*Bar*	Ec		22. Dn
XII [*i.e.* Minor Prophets]	La	Ca		23. Ezr-Neh
1. 2 *Mac*	*Ep. Jer*	*Wis*		24. Ch
	Ezk	*Sir*		
	Dn [*Ad.*]			

After the NT, as an Appendix, in small type and with new paging: *Pr. Man* 3 *Esdr* [=1 *Es*] 4 *Esdr* [=2 *Es*].

* The *Ad. Est* are in their original places, viz. 10⁴-11¹ after 10³; 11²–12⁶ before 1¹; 13¹-⁷ after 3¹³; 13⁸-¹⁸ 14¹-¹⁹ 15 ¹-¹⁶ after 4¹⁷; 16¹-²⁴ after 8¹².

After the NT stood originally, PSALMS OF SOLOMON.

† 9 are from OT. The others—*Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, *Benedictus*, and the Morning Hymn.

Some deviations from this order, which is that of the printed edd., are found in the case of the 'latter' prophets and the Hagiographa in Talmudic lists, which may be more original. But the three divisions and the contents of each remain fixed.

It is to be noticed that of our A., 1 and 2 Es and Pr. Man are regarded also by Rome as a[a1]. Of

* In this article Apocrypha (A.) signifies this collection; *Apocrypha* (*A.*) the books originally so called; apocryphal (a[a1]) is used in either sense.

i. THE WORD 'APOCRYPHA.'—The word ἀπόκρυφος, meaning 'hidden,' was no doubt at first applied to books in quite a literal sense, as the designation, whether by those who hid them or by those from whom they were hidden, of books kept from the public. The hiding of a book was easy when copies were few. It might be done upon two opposite grounds. An exclusive sect might hide its sacred books in order to keep from outsiders the secret laws or wisdom which they contained; or the religious authorities of a community might hide books judged by them to be useless or harmful. The two grounds might indeed approach each other in the case of books judged unfit for public use, not because of the error, but because of the depth and difficulty of their contents. Indeed, a book judged wholly erroneous and harmful we should expect the authorities to destroy rather than to hide. A certain value, or at least a certain doubt, should naturally be attached to books hidden in this sense, while their peculiar value is the reason for their being hidden in the former—which is, in all probability, the more original sense of the Greek word.

From the place of secret books in Judaism and in Christianity we may therefore hope to gain a knowledge of the original sense and use of the word; and we shall find its first and proper application to be, not to the books of our A., but to the (chiefly apocalyptical) literature commonly designated *Pseudepigrapha*.

1. THE HIDDEN BOOKS OF JUDAISM.—Esoteric doctrines and books do not belong properly to the Isr. religion. Their home is in heathenism, from which, however, they gained a foothold from time to time in Judaism. The occult lore connected with sorcery and magic lurked beneath the surface of old Israel's religious life, but was condemned by law and prophets (Dt $18^{10f.}$, Lv 19^{31}, Is 8^{19} 19^{3} etc.). No priestly religion, indeed, can be without a partly esoteric priestly tradition respecting rites, their form, and perhaps their meaning. But it was a characteristic of Judaism that it was based upon a priestly law made public and openly adopted by the people (Neh 8–10). Yet Judaism did not escape from the charm which mystery exerts over the human mind. It was esp. in the after developments of OT wisdom literature under Hellenic influence, on the one side, and of OT prophetic literature, under Pers. and Bab. influence, on the other, that the idea of the superior religious value of hidden things, mysteriously disclosed to the favoured few, took possession of the Jewish mind. Even Jesus, son of Sirach, the Palestinian, finds it the chief task of the wise man to discover the 'apocrypha,' the hidden things, of wisdom and of God (14^{21} $39^{3.7}$), and thinks that the hidden things of the world are greater than the manifest (43^{32}). 'Apocrypha' was for him a word of honour (yet see 3^{21-25} and 24^{28-34}). But it was esp. in Hel. circles that the love of hidden things was cultivated. Philo presents the results of his deepest study and reflexion, and of his highest insight, in the form of an exposition of the Pent., making of this a hidden book, which only the initiated could understand.

There was, however, another way in which the love of hidden things and reverence for antiquity could be adjusted. Instead of hidden meanings in openly published books, it was possible to think of private teachings, by the side of the public, committed by patriarch or prophet to the few, and handed on to the present in a secret tradition, or a hidden book. This was the procedure of those Pal. Jews who were interested in the secrets of the future, and in prophecy. The beginnings of the production of hidden books along this line can be easily traced. If a prophet committed the record of openly spoken predictions to the keeping of his disciples, to await the time of their fulfilment (Is 8^{16}), it would not be strange if he should give them fuller knowledge for which the public was not prepared. The Bk of Dan. is represented as having been 'shut up and sealed' by its author, until, long after its writing, the time came for its publication (Dn $12^{4.9}$). This may well be called 'the fundamental passage for the conception of *apocrypha*.'* Daniel appears as the publication of a book hitherto hidden. The justification of the claim lies in the revelation of the mysteries of Israel's future which it contains, and in the mysterious manner in which the revelation is made in visions, through angels. It is indeed, in part, an interpretation of the hidden sense of Jer 25^{11} 29^{10} (Dn 9), but the interpretation is given by an angel. The way was prepared for Daniel by the later prophets, in whom the vision of hidden things plays an increasingly important part. Ezekiel's vision (ch. 1) became the favourite and fruitful study of Jews who loved mysteries. Zec contains similar material. But the chief development of apocalyptical literature followed Daniel. Great numbers of books were put forth during the cent. before and the cent. after Christ, in the name of patriarchs or prophets, as books that had been hidden. They contain esp. disclosures of the mysteries of the spirit world, of the future of Israel, and of the abode and fortunes of the dead. In one of these books the tradition is related that Ezra was inspired to dictate to his scribes the sacred books that had been burned at the destruction of Jerus. 'In forty days they wrote ninety-four books. And when the forty days were ended, the Most High spoke, saying: The earlier books that thou hast written, publish openly, and let the worthy and the unworthy read them; but the last seventy thou shalt keep, that thou mayest deliver them to the wise of thy people; for in them is the spring of understanding and the fountain of wisdom and the stream of knowledge' (2 Es 14^{44-47}). In the 70 esoteric books, valued more highly by the writer than the 24 books of open scripture, we have the original conception of *apocrypha*. The character of these books may be accurately known from those that have survived, *e.g.* Enoch, Assumption of Moses (in part), the Apoc. of Baruch, and 2 Es† itself. Their material is largely foreign to Isr. traditions, and was commonly felt to be so. Yet traditional it must, in the nature of the case, have been, and only in a very limited degree the free invention of the writers. That its source is, in an important measure, to be found in the Bab. and Pers. religions, is highly probable.

If we ask in what circles of Judaism these books, or the writings or traditions that lie behind them, were current, various lines of evidence point toward the obscure sect of the Essenes. They possessed a secret lore and hidden books, and took oath to disclose none of their doctrines to others, and 'to preserve equally both the books of their sect and the names of the angels' (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 7). In regard to the contents of their secret books we are not left wholly in the dark. Jos. says that the Essenes derived from the study of 'the writings of the ancients' (can. ?) a knowledge of the healing properties of plants and stones (§ 6), and that by reading 'the holy books' they were able to foretell future things (§ 12). He also ascribes to them an elaborate doctrine of the pre-

* Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, i. 135, cf. 124 f., who, however, does not put this observation to its natural use.

† Notice the different applications given to the titles, 1 and 2 Es, in LXX, Vulg. and Eng. A. Still other confusions appear in certain MSS. Misunderstanding would be avoided by calling 1 Es [=Vulg. 3 Es; LXX 1 Es] *Greek Ezra*, and 2 *Es* [=Vulg. 4 Es] the Apocalypse of Ezra (*i.e.* properly ch. 3–14), or 4 Ezr.

existence of souls, and of the lot of good and bad souls after death (§ 11). When, therefore, we find in books like Enoch, the Assumptio Mosis, and 4 Ezr, disclosures of the secrets of nature and of history, lists of angels, descriptions of heaven and hell, and of the experiences of the soul after death, beside other Essenic marks, such as the praise of asceticism and the unfavourable estimate of the second temple, the opinion seems not unfounded that 'their secret literature was perhaps in no small degree made use of in the Pseudepigrapha, and has through them been indirectly handed down to us' (Wellhausen). To attribute the apocalyptical literature exclusively to Essenism, however, as Jewish scholars wish to do, is without historical justification. It is true that a relationship of Essenism with Zoroastrianism is probable (Lightfoot, *Colossians*; Cheyne, *Expository Times*, ii. 202–8, 248–53; *Bampton Lect.* pp. 417–21, 445–49); and Zoroastrianism treasured secret books, some of which certain Christian Gnostics claimed to possess. It is probable also that the foreign (heathen) character of these books was felt by many, since Judaism never gave these books official sanction; and no apocalypse after Dn was preserved in Hebrew. Nevertheless, the foreign elements here dominant reach far back into OT literature; and, on the other hand, Essenism was much more closely related to Pharisaism than to Zoroastrianism, being, in the first place, 'only Pharisaism in the superlative' (Schürer). If the Essenes are to be understood historically as simply more consistent protestants against the high-priesthood of the Maccabæan princes than the Pharisees,—carrying their protest to the point of refusing all participation in the temple service,—then in the Hasidæans of 1 Mac 2^{42} $7^{12ff.}$ we have the roots of both Pharisaism and Essenism, and the Book of Dn would stand near the beginning of each. The Messianic hope is the genuinely Jewish element in the apocalypses. That this had a far larger place in the mind of the Pharisee during the two centuries preceding the destruction of Jerus. than it had after that event,—and esp. after Akiba's death,—is evident to all but Jewish scholars, who are apt to judge of the whole post-exilic period by the Talmud. The apocalyptical literature in question was, then, in all probability valued and cultivated by Pharisees, certainly by some circles of Pharisees, as well as by Essenes. Indeed, in spite of its rejection by rabbinical Judaism, germs of it survived, and afterwards came to new life, in the late Jewish Kabbala, or secret philosophy (12th cent.).

It is a striking fact that while official Judaism rejected these hidden books, and declared for the exclusive recognition of the 24 books of the Canon, it yet proceeded to claim for itself the possession of an oral law which Moses delivered to Joshua when he gave the Pent. openly to Israel, and which passed on through the hands of the elders, the prophets, the men of the Great Synagogue, to an unbroken succession of scribes (Pirke Aboth), until it came to writing in the Mishna, and then in the Talmud. By the theory of a secret tradition the scribes sought to give their law the authority of Moses, and yet account for its late appearance.

2. The Words 'Genuzim' and 'Hizonim.'—The designation of these hidden books in Heb. we do not know. A Heb. synonym for ἀπόκρυφοι is גנוזים; but this word and the verb גנז are used in the Talm., not of the secret books just described, but usually of a hiding, by the authorities, of books judged unfit for public use. A possible exception is the reported 'hiding' by Hezekiah of a book of medical lore, in order that the sick might call rather upon God (Mishna Pesach iv. 9). But it was commonly used with reference to some book of the Canon. Thus a worn-out roll of a sacred scripture was 'hidden,' perhaps because, though unfitted for use in the synagogue, it was yet sacred and not to be destroyed (Mishna Sabb. ix. 6; Sanh. x. 6). But the word was commonly used in reference to the question whether some book should be withdrawn from the class of sacred Scriptures. Thus there were Rabbis who wished to 'hide' Pr, because of its contradictions; Ca, because of its secular character; Ec, because of its heresies. But the objections were in every instance met. The case of Est was more serious, and it is not improbable that it was put in the class of *genuzim* for a time among certain circles, though we have only the evidence of some Christian lists of the Canon, which claim (or seem) to follow the instructions of Jews (esp. Melito. See below).

If there existed at any time a class of books called *genuzim*, the Talmudic use of the word would lead us to expect that it would contain the books nearest to the Canon in authority or common esteem: books which once stood within the circle of sacred writings, or made a fair claim to stand there; in other words, books like the *antilegomena* of early Christian use. If there were such a class, Sir and 1 Mac, if not To and Jth, should stand in it; but the word is never applied to these books in extant writings. This is not, indeed, a proof that it was not so used; and the testimony of Origen suggests that it was. He says that the Jews had hidden Sus and other books from the people, while Jth and To, they had told him, they did not possess even among their hidden books, or *apocrypha* (*Ep. ad Afric.*).

For writings that stood wholly outside of the circle of sacred books, esp. for the books of heretics such as the Samaritans, the Sadducees, and Christians (סִפְרֵי מִינִים), the Rabbis had another name, *hizonim* (סְפָרִים חִצוֹנִים), lit. 'external' or 'outside' books. The danger to Judaism of the reading of these books led Akiba, who had himself been attracted by them, to prohibit their use. 'Whoever reads in the *sepharim hizonim* has no part in the world to come. Books, on the other hand, like Sir and other such, which were composed after the age of the prophets had been closed, may be read just as one reads a letter.'* Sir, then, and other such books, are not *hizonim* in Akiba's view, the correctness of which is evident from the free use of Sir by Rabbis in Pal. for a century and a half after Akiba, and in Babylon still later. But it appears that the maintenance of a middle class of books between sacred and profane involved dangers, and it was finally decided that 'he who reads a verse which is not out of the 24 books of sacred scripture, his offence is as if he had read in the *sepharim hizonim*' (Midr. r. Num. § 14, and at Koheleth 12^{12}, cf. Jer. Sabb. 16). It is possible that this practical transfer of books like Sir into the class of *hizonim* may have obscured the evidence of their having once been in the class of *genuzim*.

3. The Hidden Books of Christianity and the Word 'Apocrypha.'—Christianity was at its beginning, even less than Judaism, a religion of mysteries, to be hidden by the few from the many. Christ's words in Lk 10^{21}, Mt 11^{25} ('hidden' from the wise, revealed to babes), were a direct contradiction of esoteric religion. If there are apocrypha, hidden things, they are to be made known (Mk 4^{22}, Lk 8^{17}, cf. Mt 13^{17}).

In Christ the hidden wisdom of God had become manifest, and the mysteries of the coming of His

* For this rendering by Graetz of a corrupt text (Sanh. x. 1, and the Bab. and Jer. Talm.), see Buhl, *Canon and Text of OT*, p. 8; and cf. Hamburger, *Real-Encyc.* ii. 68 ff. The Jer. Talm. gives Sirach as an illustration of the *hizonim*.

kingdom were disclosed by its realisation. Yet this faith gained a slow and hard victory. In two ways the love of mysteries and of the books that contained them was fostered.

(*a*) The Christian religion made its start in the Jewish world in close connexion with the Messianic ideas as they had been developed, esp. in the apocalypses, from Dn onwards. Jewish Christians clung to the Jewish apocalyptic literature, modifying indeed its references to the person of the Messiah, making room for His earthly life and death, but feeling the less need of radical changes because the proper fulfilment of the Messianic hopes was connected, not with the first, but with the second coming of Christ. This led, naturally, less to the production of new Christian revelations than to the keeping and Christian editing of the old. Jewish patriarchs and prophets were in this way made to testify to the truth, and to forecast the future, of Christianity. Thus the Book of Enoch and the Apoc. of Ezra were used as authentic revelations by many Church Fathers. Jewish apocalypses of Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Is, Jer, Baruch, and others in great numbers, in part extant, but chiefly known to us only by name, were treasured by early Christianity.

Even when apocalypses in the names of Christian apostles were put forth, their material was of necessity largely traditional and Jewish in origin.

These books, then, Jewish and Christian, are the earliest *apocrypha* of Christianity (cf. the lists below). They are books usually put forth as having been hidden (the pseudepigraphic form), and always contain accounts of hidden things miraculously disclosed. In the latter sense even the Apoc. of St. John is called 'a^{al}' by Gregory of Nyssa (*Or. de Ordin.* ii. 44) and by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 51). The cultivation of such 'hidden' books by no means belonged at first to heretical sects, but was characteristic of early Christianity in general. It was opposed chiefly by those who fell under Gr. influence; but among them another sort of mystery took the place of the Jewish apocalyptic, namely, the Gr. gnosis.

(*b*) As Jewish Christians made Christianity less the fulfilment than the reaffirmation of Jewish hopes, so Hel. Christians made it less the solution of the mystery of existence than a new, supreme mystery. Christ was made the central figure—in one case in Jewish eschatology, in the other in Greek cosmology.

St. Paul's language in 1 Co 1 and 2 discloses the existence in Corinth of those who valued a hidden wisdom more than his gospel of the crucified Christ. And later, at Colossæ, St. Paul urges, against an essentially Gnostic tendency, as the word of God, 'the mystery which *hath been hidden* from the ages and from the generations, but *now hath been manifested* to his saints' (1^{26}). The mystery of God is 'Christ, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden' (*ἀπόκρυφοι*, 2^{3}). The special Colossian gnosis, with its worship of angels, its asceticism, its visions, and its secret doctrines, reminds us of Essenism. The strongest influence on the development of a secret Christian gnosis came, however, from Alexandria: Gnosticism being indeed 'nothing but a Christian Hellenism' (Harnack).

As the Jewish Apocalypse furnished one way of connecting the new faith with the old, Hel. allegorical interpretation supplied another ready means of finding Christ and Christianity in the OT; thus making of it, as Philo did, a hidden book. But the allegorical method was capable of a further use. The Gr. Christian was less concerned to find Christianity in the OT than to find Gr. philosophy in Christianity. It was not an unnatural effort, after St. Paul, and in apparent connexion with him, to set the OT wholly aside, and to apply allegory to the person and history of Christ. Gnosticism, indeed, based and pushed its claims on the ground of apostolic authority, and, with its rejection of the OT, it was even the first to feel the need of new authoritative scriptures. But it established its position (1) by requiring an allegorical interpretation of the commonly received apostolic writings, making them books of hidden import; (2) by claiming to possess, besides the open apostolic writings, a secret apostolic tradition (Basilides and Valentinus claim to derive their secret gnosis from pupils of St. Paul; the Ophites, from a pupil of St. James, etc.); (3) by the production of great numbers of books, chiefly gospels and acts of the various apostles;* (4) by the claim (like that of Hel. Judaism) to immediate prophetic inspiration, so that prophets and apocalypses played in some Gnostic communities an important part, though few traces of Gnostic apocalypses remain.

Hel. Gnosticism stands as the extreme contrast to the Jewish apocalyptic tendency. It renounced the OT on which the Apocalypse rests, and rejected the coming of Christ, the resurrection, and the earthly kingdom, in which the Apoc. centres. Yet both make of Christianity a mystery, and claim for the books that unfold the mystery especial sanctity. From these two sources came multitudes of a^{al} books into Christian use. They were called *A.* by those who valued them, for the word contained no necessary disparagement, but described the character of the books; and they were by no means condemned at the outset as heretical. The Book of Enoch is directly cited by Jude (vv.$^{14-15}$), who also uses the Assumption of Moses (v.^{9}). From such books may have come other citations and references which are not found in known books (see Origen's view below). The Book of Enoch was used as a genuine and sacred book by the Ep. Barnabas, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alex. Tertullian says, indeed, that it was not received by some Christians. He, however, defends its reception (*i.e.* among the books of sacred Scripture) by appealing to Jude; and explains its absence from the Heb. scriptures by saying that the Jews rejected it, as they did other books, because it spoke of Christ,—an explanation not, indeed, wholly unhistorical.

Clement of Alex. uses Ass. Mos. and 4 Ezr, and also many other prophetic *A.* unknown to us. He was a warm defender of the value of secret traditions, and used not only Jewish, and even heathen, but Christian secret books. He believed in a secret tradition entrusted by Christ to His disciples, and valued it highly (*Strom.* i. 11. 13. 14; v. 60–4). Some of these traditions were preserved in secret books, among which he cites certain a^{al} gospels and acts. Though he knows that heretics make a bad use of such books (*Strom.* iii. 29), yet his view of *A.* as a whole is extremely favourable. Origen is more discriminating. He finds a use for *A.* in NT interpretation. In 1 Co 2^{9}, 2 Ti 3^{8}, He 11^{37}, Mt 23$^{35.\,37}$ 27^{9} he finds references to a^{al} books, and says that 'not all *A.* current in the name of holy men are to be received on account of the Jews, since they perhaps invented some for the destruction of our true Scriptures and the confirmation of false doctrines; but not all are to be rejected, since some pertain to the demonstration of our Scriptures' (Comment. on Mt 23^{38}). Origen seems, however, to have been influenced in his use of the word by the Jewish *genuzim*, for in his *Epist. ad Afric.* he speaks of Sus as made a^{al} by Jewish authorities, though the Christian Church did not so regard it. Jth and To, he says, the Jews do not possess even among their *A.*

* See Lipsius in Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, arts. 'Gospels' and 'Acts of Apostles.'

These books are not 'secret' in the proper sense, and can be called *A.* only in the sense of being withdrawn from publicity, and so from canonicity.

The defence of *A.* proper became more and more a mark of heresy. Even Origen in *Prol. in Cant.* argues for their exclusion, because of the corrupt traditions, contrary to true faith, which they contain. They were long current in Gr., but found no permanent place in the LXX, though the Oriental VSS received some of them, and one became current in Lat., though Vulg. did not give it recognition (4 Ezr).

Philaster of Brescia (on Heresies, *c.* 383–391 A.D.) condemns the 'heresy which accepts only *A.*, *i.e.* secrets of prophets and apostles, not can. scriptures'; but he would allow *A.* to be read 'for the sake of manners by the perfect,' not in the church, and not by all.

Priscillianus (tract iii.) argues, from the generally accepted account of the restoration of the can. books by Ezra in 4 Ezr 14, for the value of the 70 secret books also, including 4 Ezr itself. *Epiphanius* also justifies by the same reference the use of various a^{al} books, which he thinks were translated by the Seventy in addition to the canonical.

The conviction, however, gradually prevailed that the cultivation of secret books was dangerous, both because of the errors they contained and because of the sectarianism they fostered. There could be no Catholic Church so long as sects could claim to possess either new revelations or a secret apostolic tradition.

Secret doctrines and books were cut off by the two principles, that valid inspiration was limited to the apostolic age, and that only the books generally received in the churches were genuinely apostolic. No doubt a sense of the unchristian character of the books in question worked, together with the growing conviction that their possession was uncatholic, to bring about their condemnation. The gradually prevailing Catholic principle (*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*) would give to the very word *apocryphus* the meanings: false, spurious, heretical.

The principle that only what the churches generally receive is apostolic is found in the *Muratorian Fragment* (2nd cent.). *Irenæus* stands early in the line of this growing Catholicism. He opposes the theory, which Clem. Alex. defends, of the existence and value of secret traditions (ii. 27. 2, iii. 2. 1, 3. 1, 14. 2, 15. 1), and condemns the 'countless multitude of a^{al} and spurious writings' which the Marcosians, appealing to Dn 12^{9}, claim to possess, but which they really fabricate for themselves. *Hegesippus* also speaks of 'the so-called *A.*' (*i.e.* so called by the heretics themselves), and says that 'some of them were written in his own time by certain heretics' (Eus. *HE* iv. 22. 8). *Tertullian* charges the heretics with adding to Scripture 'secrets of *A.*, blasphemous fables' (*Resur. Carnis* 63); and writes a vigorous polemic against the Gnostic claim to possess a secret tradition (*præscr.* 22–27). He applies the word *apocryphus* to an apoc. which he regards as spurious (Shepherd), but not to Enoch, which he (as well as Irenæus) regards as genuine (*de pudic.* 10, *de anima*, 2). *Cyril* of Jerus., in his Catechetics (iv. 33–6, ab. 348 A.D.), uses the word of all Jewish books except the 22 which are openly read in the churches. Cyril's insistence that the *A.*, *i.e.* the books not read in the churches, are not to be read even in private, is evidently aimed against the distinction of three classes of books —those read in church, those read privately, and those wholly rejected. This distinction is as old as the Muratorian Fragment, which puts the Shepherd in such a middle class. It is implied by Origen, in his discrimination among *A.* It is definitely formulated by *Athanasius*, who, in his 39th Easter Letter (367 A.D.), gives the name *A.* only to the third class of books written by heretics as pleased their fancy, and put forth as old, to lead astray the simple. Athanasius gives no list of these *A.*, but later lists teach us the current understanding of the word.

The *Chronography of Nicephorus* (patriarch of Constantinople 806–815), in a revised form which originated in Jerus. about 850, contains a stichometric list of Biblical books which has inner marks of a much earlier date (Zahn, 'perhaps before 500'). It contains (1) the can. books of OT and of NT; (2) the antilegomena of OT and of NT; (3) *A.* of OT and of NT. Under the last heading the following list is given:—*Apocrypha of OT*: (1) Enoch, (2) Patriarchs, (3) Prayer of Joseph, (4) Testament of Moses, (5) Assumption of Moses, (6) Abram, (7) Eldad and Modad, (8) Elijah, the prophet, (9) Zephaniah, the prophet, (10) Zachariah, father of John, [11] Pseudepigrapha of Baruch, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, and Daniel. *Apocrypha of NT*: (1) Itinerary of Paul, (2) Itin. of Peter, (3) Itin. of John, (4) Itin. of Thomas, (5) Gospel according to Thomas, (6) Teaching of the Apostles, (7, 8) Clement's [two Epistles], (9) [Epistles] of Ignatius, of Polycarp, and of Hermas.

Of the *A.* of OT, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 are, in whole or in part, extant; Nos. 3, 7, 8, 9 are cited as genuine 'by Origen or some still older Church Father.' They are all Jewish apocalypses, *i.e. A.* in the earliest sense, but the word now carries an adverse judgment. This list is repeated in the so-called *Synopsis of Athanasius*. Similar, but in some degree independent, is the summary of *A.* in the anonymous '*List of sixty*' can. books, which may represent the views of the Eastern Church in the 7th cent. After the can. books follows the intermediate class of '*those outside of the sixty*'; and then '*apocrypha*' as follows:—(1) Adam, (2) Enoch, (3) Lamech, (4) Patriarchs, (5) Prayer of Joseph (6) Eldad and Modad, (7) Testament of Moses, (8) Assumption of Moses, (9) Psalms of Solomon, (10) Apoc. of Elijah, (11) Vision of Isaiah, (12) Apoc. of Zephaniah, (13) Apoc. of Zachariah, (14) Apoc. of Ezra, (15) History of James, (16) Apoc. of Peter, (17) Itinerary and Teachings of the Apostles, (18) Epistle of Barnabas, (19) Acts of Paul, (20) Apoc. of Paul, (21) Didascalia of Clement, (22) Didascalia of Ignatius, (23) Didascalia of Polycarp, (24) Gospel acc. to Barnabas, (25) Gospel acc. to Matthew.

With reference to these lists, it is to be noticed that they contain in general just those books, Jewish and Christian, which were put forth in the first place as *A.* in the proper sense. Not the application but the interpretation of the word is changed, in accordance with a changed estimate of the books. Once valued by some as even super-can., they are now set apart not only from the Canon, but from the class of books that are good for private reading. Nevertheless, they still stand in a recognised class by themselves under the old title *Apocrypha*, and are distinct not only from secular or heathen books, but from later heretical literature. The great part they played in early Church history has so much recognition.

The Latin Church was further removed from the traditional use of the word, and it is not strange that we find there various novelties in its application. The greatest extension of its use is found in the *Decretum Gelasii*, which presents a list of Bibl. books that may be regarded as that of the Rom. Synod of 382, under Damasus. After lists of OT and NT, and a list of patristic works approved by the Church, follows, under the heading *Notitia librorum apocryphorum qui non recipiuntur*, a list of some 60 titles. Only NT *A.* are given, and to these are added (perhaps in later revisions of the work) a miscellaneous collection of books condemned by the Church, including even the works of Eusebius, Tertullian, Clement of Alex., etc., to each of which, as to the earlier list, the adjective *apocryphus* is added.

Almost equally novel in Christian usage is *Jerome's* extension of the word in the opposite direction to cover the books of our A., though this rests upon Heb. usage, as we know it from Origen. 'Quidquid extra hos [the 22 books of Heb. Can.] est, inter ἀπόκρυφα esse ponendum' (*Prologus Galeatus*). Jerome, *in practice*, however, gives to our A. an intermediate position (see below), in substantial harmony with *Rufinus*, who attempted to introduce the Eastern threefold division into the West, and gave the name *apocrypha* to the third class.

The Western Church, however, did not adopt the threefold division. Against Jerome's theory, it included the second division in the first. Neither did it extend the word *apocrypha* to heretical books in general, but retained practically its original application. Another Western novelty, however, maintained itself through the middle ages, namely, the interpretation of the word *apocryphus* as meaning *obscurity* of origin or authorship. According to Augustine, the *A.* were so called 'because their obscure origin was not clear to the Fathers' (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23), and he opposes this explanation to the idea of heretics, that they 'are to be held in a certain secret authority' (*c. Faust*, xi. 2). This brought confusion, for the word had come to mean practically non-can., but obscurity of origin was not a corresponding conception. So, during the middle ages, it was variously modified by extending the idea of obscurity or uncertainty from the authorship to the truth of a book, or to its reception by common consent of the Church. Jth, a^{al} in the sense that its author is unknown, was received (can.) because its truth is evident (Hugo de St. Caro, 1240). Job, a^{al} in the same sense, is in the Canon because not uncertainly confirmed by the authority of the Church (Hugo de St. Victore, d. 1141).

The usage of Protestantism is prepared by Carlstadt in his *De canonicis scripturis*, 1520. He reviews the opinions of Augustine and Jerome, and sides with the latter in respect both to the interpretation of the word and its application to our A. Not uncertainty of authorship, but simply non-canonicity, is the meaning of the word *apocry-*

phal. He applies the word to the books of our A. as an adjective, not as a title. Through Protestant edd. of the Bible, beginning with Luther, the word came, by a natural misunderstanding, to be regarded as the title of this particular collection, and the word 'pseudepigrapha' was used of the *A.* proper, which neither Jerome, Carlstadt, nor Luther thought of depriving of their old name.

On the other hand, the name 'Apocrypha,' to which a bad sense adhered, contributed to a gradually diminishing regard for the books now so called.

Conclusions.—(1) The word *apocryphal* was used before the Reformation quite consistently of a certain class of books, namely, the Jewish and Jewish-Christian Apocalypses, which we call Pseudepigrapha, and the Apocrypha of the NT, still so called, made up largely of the books of Gnostic and other sects. These are properly secret or hidden books in their formal claim and in their contents, if not originally in their actual use.

(2) Jewish Rabbis applied a synonymous word, *genuzim*, to books 'hidden,' *i.e.* withdrawn and withheld from public (synagogue) use by the Jewish authorities, and so made uncanonical. This 'hiding' (the verb is used more often than the adjective) might happen to books in no sense of hidden origin or meaning. Through Origen and Jerome, the Jewish word seems to have had some influence upon the Christian.

(3) The Catholic Church, however, did not first make books a^{al} by excluding them from the Canon (the verb is not used), but it decided that the *A.* already existing under that name were not to be regarded as sacred scriptures, since publicity and universality were marks of genuineness and truth. The secret books of sects were, as such, spurious and false.

(4) It was therefore easy to forget that *A.* was the original name of these books, and to regard it as expressing the judgment of the Church concerning them. Those books were hidden which belonged to sects, which lacked common, open usage by the Church. A^{al} meant, not received by the Church. But since books which the Church received were thereby proved apostolic, a non-apostolic and obscure origin was a mark of *A.*

(5) Protestantism went over to the Jewish usage, applying the word to the books withdrawn by it from the commonly accepted Canon, though this no longer meant withdrawn from public reading and common use, but only from full authority for doctrine. Protestants thus came to apply the word to books used with the canon in church service, not disapproved but recommended as good and useful, not secret or hidden in origin, meaning, or use. The evil name, however, helped to lower the first estimate of the books.

ii. THE APOCRYPHA IN JUDAISM.—1. ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION.—In order to understand the origin and historical significance of the collection of books which we call the A., it is necessary to survey the work of the Jewish scribe, for in the scribe the literary history of Judaism centres.

(*a*) *The Work of the Jewish Scribes.*—This can, in a general way, be divided into (A) the collecting and editing of the sacred books, (B) the production of new books. The transition between the two was made by the tr. or paraphrasing, and the interpretation of the sacred books. More particularly, (A) the scribes collected and edited (1) the Law; (2) the Prophets, 'former' and 'latter'; (3) the rest of the religious literature of the nation, the so-called Hagiographa. (B 1) In connexion with this 3rd Canon, which contains some independent work of the scribes, the production of other books of similar character was encouraged (*e.g.* the A.); (2) with the Maccabæan crisis came a revival of prophecy, and the production of books interpreting and imitating those of the 2nd Canon (apocalypses, or *apocrypha* proper); (3) the interpretation of the 1st Canon, the Law; always a chief task of the scribes, was especially stimulated after the destruction of Jerus., and resulted in the Mishna and Talmud.

The synagogue was the centre of the scribe's literary activity; and the centre of the synagogue service was the Law. The religious instruction of the people in the religion of the law was his aim. His collection of other sacred books was for the sake of their public reading in the synagogue service, in exposition and enforcement of the Law. Such public reading was the mark and meaning of canonicity. The translations (Targumim) and commentaries (Midrashim) that accompanied the reading were for the same end, the religious teaching of the community, and were free and oral before they were fixed in writing.

The order of the independent work of the scribes sketched above (B) reverses the order of their work as editors (A). This sequence is not to be overpressed. The editing of the scribes involved, especially at first, independent work, in the way of comment as well as selection and arrangement; on the other hand, their independent writing was always based on tradition. Perhaps in the case of none of the books of the scribes have we original works in the proper sense. The stories of haggadists and the visions of seers are revisions and elaborations of traditional material. Further, the three lines of independent work outlined existed side by side, and the order given is only that of the first prevalence of each kind of work. Gr. influence favoured the first, the Maccabæan reaction the second, and the fall of the nation the third. Of the products of the first kind, some gained admission into the 3rd Canon (Hagiographa), and so became the common property of Pal. and Alex. Judaism and Christianity. But as they were especially congenial to Jews who fell most under Gr. influence, some of them were preserved, others contributed, by Alex. Jews. So far as they gained a place in the Gr. Bible, these, too, passed over to Christianity (the A.). Products of the 2nd class we have considered under i. 1. Writings of the first and second kinds are called by Jews **Haggada**, while the third, the elaboration and definition of the Law, is called **Halacha**. The A., then, are to be viewed in close connexion, on the one side, with the Hagiographa, and, on the other, with later developments of the Jewish Haggada.

(*b*) *The Apocrypha in relation to the Hagiographa.*—That the three divisions of the Jewish Canon (compare the list at the beginning of this article) represent three successive collections, widely separated in time, and that they stood originally, in the Jewish view, in a decreasing order of authority and importance, are ascertained facts in the history of OT Canon. The Hagiographa is, then, a relatively late collection of books on the whole late in origin, and, according to the Jewish view, inferior in authority to Law and Prophets. The order of books composing it is variously given, and the limits of the collection were open to dispute long after the Law and Prophets were closed. In regard to Ca, Ec, and Est, there were still differences of opinion up to the time of Akiba (*c.* 110–135 A.D.).

The Bk of Ps owes its place here to the fact that its use was in the temple, not in the synagogue. Apart from Ps and La, the Hagiographa consists of (1) history, in continuation of that told in Kings (Ezr–Neh); (2) history retold with a view to instruction (Ch)*; (3) stories, based on history

* In the Midrashic treatment of history, Ch follows still older attempts (see 2 Ch 24^{27} 13^{22}).

or tradition, told to illustrate religious truth (Ru, Est, Ca (?), Dn). In Job the transition is made from story to (4) ethical and philosophical books (Pr, Ec).

Under similar headings fall the contents of the A. (1) History proper is found in 1 Mac. (2) History and story are retold with edifying embellishments. 1 Es is made up of extracts from 2 Ch (35. 36), Ezr, and Neh, with an additional story of the wisdom of Zorobabel (3–5[6]). This Midrash perhaps preceded the literal tr. of Ch, Ezr, Neh, into Greek. Such an Haggadic addition to history was Pr. Man (suggested by 2 Ch 33[12. 13]). Est appears in the LXX only in the form of a midrash, in which, among other things, are supplied the letter referred to in 3[13], prayers of Mordecai and Esther at 4[17], the decree mentioned in 8[12]. Dn is similarly enlarged by a prayer and song at 3[23], and the new stories of Daniel's wisdom, Sus and Bel. Even the late Maccabæan history is treated in the Haggadic way in 2 Mac, an epitome of a larger work by Jason of Cyrene, which adorns the history with legendary elements to make of it a sermon on the Pharisaic religion. 3 and 4 Mac are found usually in the LXX, though not in the A. 3 Mac is a poor example of moralising under the form of history; and 4 Mac makes an incident in the Maccabæan story the text for a philosophical treatise on the lordship of the religious reason over the passions. (3) Of new stories the A. contains two famous examples, To and Jth; Tobit teaching the reward for the individual of a faithful life of Pharisaic righteousness; Judith connecting a patriotism like Esther's with regard for a ceremonially correct life. (4) Direct moral and religious instruction ('ethical Haggada') is represented by Sir and Wis, the one a Pal. continuation, the other a Hel. development of the earlier wisdom books. As in the Hagiographa one book, Dn, makes the transition from story to prophecy, so in the A., Bar and the Ep. of Jeremy are prophetic in character. It is not, however, with prophecy nor with law, but with history and story, that both Hagiographa and A. have chiefly to do (cf. the use made of Dn by Hellenists [LXX] and by later Palestinians [Enoch, etc.]. The line between history and story is in both an uncertain one, as history, too, is told for religious, not for scientific purposes. With stories and with proverbial sayings the Jewish Rabbis long continued to occupy themselves. The value of these forms of religious instruction no one will question in view of the gospels. As to the relative worth of their use in the Hagiographa and the A., a fair judgment, apart from doctrinal considerations, will strongly justify the choice of the Palestinians, taking the two collections as wholes. A relation between them is, however, not to be denied, and is grounded in their history.

(*c*) *Palestinian and Hellenistic Elements in the Apocrypha.*—The a[al] books of the LXX were in part translations of Pal. (Heb.) books, in part original writings of Greek Jews; but it is not possible to draw the line between the two with security. As the LXX was recognised as a tr., one would expect that translations would more readily find their way into it. Yet the Hel. scribes were busy writers, especially in the lines which the A. follows (history, story, wisdom). Sir contains its own testimony that it was written in Heb. and tr. by the writer's grandson into Greek. 1 Mac was undoubtedly a Heb. book, and Jerome (if not Origen) knew it in the original. Jth and To, Jerome knew in 'Chaldee,' and a Heb. original is almost certain. The Ad. Est may be Heb., or at least similar additions may have arisen in Pal. in connexion with the yearly celebration of Purim. Pr. Man may have been Heb., and even 1 Es, if it preceded the LXX 2 Es [Ezr–Neh], may have had a Heb. precursor. Of the Ad. Dn, Sus turns on a Gr. play on words. Wis and 2, 3, and 4 Mac were certainly Greek.

2. USE OF THE APOCRYPHA AND ITS RELATION TO THE CANON.—(*a*) *In Hellenistic Judaism.*—The a[al] books are found in all MSS of the LXX, scattered among the books of the Heb. Canon without discrimination. These MSS are, indeed, all of Christian origin, and some of them even contain Christian songs; but, apart from these, they undoubtedly represent the OT which was current among the Gr. Jews and used in Gr. synagogues in the apostolic and early post-apostolic age. The additions to the Heb. Canon are not only of Jewish origin, but are, as a whole, books which would interest Gr. Jews, but would not specially interest Christians, since the prophetic element in them is conspicuously small. The addition of these books by Christians would be inexplicable. The preservation of this longer OT by Christians only, is naturally explained by the fact that soon after 70 A.D. Hel. Judaism in the distinct sense ceased to exist, giving place either to rabbinical Judaism or to Christianity; so that the earlier difference regarding the limits of sacred Scriptures between Pal. and Alex. Jews survived only as a difference between Jews and Christians.

We must not, however, conclude that the A. had been in the strict sense canonized by Alex. Judaism. Their place among Scriptures is rather due, in part, to the supreme dignity of the Law; in part to the broad view of inspiration current among Hellenists. In a more exclusive way than in later Pal. Judaism, the Pent. was to Alexandrians the sacred Scripture, the Canon by pre-eminence. It was such to Philo. In this respect the Alexandrians perhaps remained at the standpoint of the earlier Palestinians of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. When Alex. Judaism was founded, the Law was the Canon of Judaism. The work of the 70 concerned it alone (Aristeas). The tr. of the other books into Greek in Egypt went on, in part, side by side with the formation of the 2nd and 3rd Canons in Pal. That the succeeding translators disregarded the Pal. distinction of Prophets and Hagiographa, and arranged the books, after the Law, topically, though in no fixed order, indicates their different view of these books. The relatively freer tr. points in the same direction; and this freedom passes over by natural degrees into the incorporation of explanatory and illustrative additions of less or greater extent. For this procedure the Pal. translators of OT into Aram. (Targumim) had perhaps already set the example. That, finally, Sir and Wis should be put in connexion with the Solomonic books, making, with Ps and Job, a volume of poetry, or that, in connexion with Est, Jth and To should be inserted, cannot seem strange. This was made easier by the Hel. view of inspiration. While Palestinians inclined to limit inspiration to the age of the prophets, long ended, the Alexandrians regarded the divine spirit as still active, and viewed as inspiration the experience of the thinker and writer in moments of special clearness of insight and exaltation of feeling.

Against the evidence that the LXX contained a[al] books, Philo's silence is inconclusive. Philo's text is the Pent. It is true that he cites none of the A., but in the prophetic Canon he passes by Ezk and all the minor prophets except Hos and Zec; and of the Hagiographa, except Ps, he makes almost no use, citing Pr twice, Job and Ch once, and Dn and the five Megilloth not at all.

(*b*) *In Palestinian Judaism.*—Here, too, the Law, long the only Canon, remained supreme. The

Jewish scribes regarded the prophets as those who gave an authoritative interpretation of the Law, handing on the Mosaic tradition from the elders to the scribes. The Law has always had the chief place in the synagogue service, the prophets an important secondary place, the Hagiographa a place altogether subordinate. For a long time these different collections could not be written on the same roll. As they did not form one volume, it was the easier to keep them distinct in use and estimation. The books of the 2nd and 3rd Canons were, however, according to the Jewish view, *inspired*, and this in the end distinguished them from all later books. Jos. (*c. Ap.* i. 8) says that the prophets 'learned the earliest and most ancient events by inspiration of God, and wrote down the events of their own times plainly, as they occurred.' 'But from Artaxerxes [Est] to our times all events have indeed been written down; but these late books are not deemed worthy of the same credit, because the exact succession of the prophets was wanting.' By the use of the formal principle that with Malachi prophecy ceased (cf. Mal $4^{5.6}$, Zec 13^{3}, 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} 14^{41}), though they could use the test only uncritically, the scribes drew the line between Hagiographa and A., or justified the line already drawn by the popular religious sense. All the Hagiographa could be regarded as meeting this test,* but Sir and 1 Mac, which were the most valued books of the A., could not.

It is true that Jesus Sirach himself does not share this (later) view of inspiration. He may represent the earlier Pal. standpoint, from which Alexandrianism took its start. For him the Law is supreme. It is the embodied Wisdom of God (24^{23}). In some sense his knowledge is all derived from it ($39^{1.8}$ 24^{30}). On the other hand, between the prophets and the high priest of his own time he makes no sharp distinction (44–49); and for himself he claims an inspiration like that of the prophet (cf. $39^{6ff.}$ with 48^{24}, and see 1^{10} $24^{31.32}$ $51^{13ff.}$).

The step from Sir to the Hellenistic Wis is not great. Here, too, the Law is the supreme revelation (*e.g.* 18^{4}),† and here, too, in answer to prayer (cf. Sir 39^{5}), the spirit of wisdom is given to men, that spirit which is the life and reason of the world, and which 'generation after generation enters into holy souls and makes friends of God and prophets' (7^{27}, cf. chs. 1. 6 ff.).

Apart from 4 Ezr, which, not being in the LXX, does not deserve consideration at this point, the other books of the A. make no claim to be reckoned among sacred Scriptures.

It is not easy to estimate the significance of the fact that we have no evidence in Jewish books that they were ever so regarded. Disputes are recorded regarding the exclusion of books of the Canon, but none regarding the admission of a[al] books. Yet it should be said that the Jewish Rabbis usually covered up the tracks of past wanderings from the straight path that led to their own position. That additions to Dn and Est, and books like To and Jth, were once current among the Hagiographa in Pal. is not impossible. Josephus uses 1 Mac, 1 Es, and Ad. Est, without distinction from can. books as historical sources, and even says that he has written his whole history 'as the sacred books record it' (*Ant.* xx. xi. 2, cf. Pro. § 3). Yet he counts 22 books, and excludes from the first rank all later than Est. In his time, then, the line had been drawn.

In the rabbinical writings there are many citations from Sir; Zunz * counts 40, among them some 'in a manner usual only of Scripture passages,' and some as late as the 4th cent., which speak of it as one of the Kethubhim. Some doubt, at least, regarding its canonicity is probable. Of Ad. Est some traces exist in Heb. literature. Haggadic stories concerning Dn, among them traces of Bel, are found. The Maccabæan legend of the mother and seven sons (2 Mac, 4 Mac) was a favourite theme of rabbinical Midrashim. Yet 1 Mac, which Jerome knew in Heb., seems to have left no trace in rabbinical books. The legend of Judith is found, though in a form very different from the LXX, and Tobit is still extant in Heb. Jerome says the Jews had Jth and To, and regarded them as historical but not as canonical; while Origen says they did not possess them even among their *A.*

3. The Relation of the Apocrypha to the Religious Tendencies and Parties of Judaism.—Of a theology of the A. it is unhistorical to speak. The collection presents the ideas of no one man or party, of no one period or place. The theology, or the religious ideas of each book, may be treated (see separate articles), or a history of the religious ideas and movements in Judaism in a given period (*e.g.* 200 B.C.–100 A.D.) may be undertaken, in which these books will be important sources; but the historian of theology cannot separate the A. from the later can. books on the one side, and from Philo and Josephus, the Pseudepigrapha and the early rabbinical literature, on the other.

A few suggestions may, however, be made regarding the relation of these books to the chief religious tendencies and parties of Judaism.

The main distinction in the post-exilic Jewish religion was that between the priest, whose sphere was the temple and its cultus, and the scribe, whose activity centred in the synagogue and the law. The centre of gravity seems to have shifted gradually from the temple to the synagogue, from priestly ritual to the legalism of the scribes, whose work made it possible for Jews in the Dispersion, out of reach of the temple, to live religious lives, and prepared Judaism to survive the loss of its temple. The Hagiographa stands, as a whole, at the earlier stage, beginning with the Ps, the book of temple devotion, and ending with the great temple history of Ch, Ezr, Neh. The five Megilloth also came into connexion with the cultus by their use at the national feasts, though it is not known how early this happened. On the other hand, there is no early evidence of the regular use of Hagiographa in the synagogue service, and of the scribes' legalism they contain little. Only Dn, perhaps the latest book in this collection, can be called Pharisaic in tendency.

In the A., on the other hand, the legal predominates over the priestly interest. Sir, perhaps its oldest book, shows a transition from the priestly standpoint of Ch (to which belongs 1 Es) to the legal standpoint of the scribes (Zunz). The writer delights in the temple and the high priest's impressive ceremony, and dwells upon Aaron much more at length than upon Moses (ch. 45), and with still more enthusiasm upon the Simon whose ministrations he had himself witnessed (ch. 50); while Ezra, the patron saint of the Rabbis, is passed by in his praise of famous men. Yet he praises also the law as the wisdom of God (see above), and glorifies the office of the scribe (38^{24-34} 39^{1-11}).

But it was especially the Maccabæan crisis that sharpened the contrast between the two tendencies. The desecration of the temple by Antiochus was the occasion of the war. The recovery and reconsecration of the temple was the great deed of

* Baba bathra 14 ascribes Job to Moses, Ru to Samuel, Ps to David, Ca and Ec to Hezekiah and his friends, Dn and Est to the men of the Great Synagogue, Ch to Ezra and Nehemiah.

† The identification of Wisdom with the Law is found also in Bar $3^{9ff.}$ 4. Judith and Tobit and his son are examples of the glorification of the Law in life.

* *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2 Aufl. 1892, p. 106.

Judas. This meant to the scribes the re-observance of the law, and with that they were content. It meant to Judas the first step toward a recovery of political independence. Judaism was organised about its temple. Its supreme authority was the high priest. So that the Maccabæan princes coveted the high priesthood as a political power, and finally gained it. But this was a violation of the law, and alienated the legalists, who became a party of separatists, Pharisees, with the scribes at their head and the synagogue as their institution. Against them the adherents of the temple and the new high priests became an opposing party, the Sadducees. The priestly tendency issued in a political party, the scribal in a religious party; and in the conflict of these parties the inner history of Judaism chiefly consisted until the fall of Jerusalem. Since Sadduceism was bound up with the temple and the national life, it ceased to be after the destruction of temple and State; and since its views were as obnoxious to Christianity as to surviving Judaism, none of its distinct literary products could survive. The A., however, owing partly to its Alex. selection, partly to its comparatively early date, is not a purely Pharisaic product, and stands aside from the controversy between the two parties of which we know (from the Pharisaic side) in Ps–Sol, Enoch, etc. Two books of the A. are Sadducean in tendency. Sirach writes before the Maccabæan wars, so that his book can be called Sadducean only by anticipation. Sadducean in tone was not only his attachment to the temple and the priesthood (above), but also his reserve in regard to angels, his sceptical attitude as to demons (21^{27}) and the future life (*e.g.* 17^{27-32} 14^{11-19} 41^{1-4}), perhaps his insistence on the entire freedom of man (15^{11-17} $17^{6.7}$), and his spirit of liberality toward outside sources of knowledge and culture (*e.g.* 39^{4}). There is, indeed, a polemic against a Pharisaic spirit of ceremonialism in 34^{18-26} $35^{1ff.}$.

1 Mac follows the crisis out of which the parties arose, but precedes their serious conflicts. The writer's admiration for Judas and his brothers, 'through whose hand salvation was given to Israel,' is unbounded (5^{62}, cf. 3^{1-9} $9^{21f.}$ 13^{3-6} $14^{25ff.}$ 16^{2} etc.). He paints Simon's reign in thoroughly Messianic colours (14^{4-15}), and in the decision that 'until a trustworthy prophet should arise . . . Simon should be their prince and high priest for ever,' his political and religious creed was summed up. It was the creed of Sadduceism. Sadducean also is the writer's attachment to the laws and customs of the nation, and his opposition to innovations (2^{1-28} $3^{21.29}$ 6^{59} etc.); but laws are for the strengthening and safety of the nation, and, when the observance of even so sacred a law as the Sabbath exposed the nation to danger, its non-observance was decreed (2^{32-41}). He looks to the valour of the hero to win victories (no miracle even in $9^{55.56}$ 11^{67-74}); as Jos. says, 'The Sadducees take away fate . . . we are ourselves the causes of good,' etc. (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9). His interest is in man more than in God, and in the present more than in the future.

The essence of Pharisaism was that it gave religion (*i.e.* legalism) the first place. The Sadducee attempted to further the welfare of the individual and of the nation by direct means (politics, war, etc.); the Pharisaic faith was that if the individual and the community kept the law, God would by a supernatural act secure their welfare. The Sadducees would set aside the law in smaller things (Sabbath), or in greater (high priesthood), when circumstances required. To the Pharisee the law was inviolable, whatever the extremity. This is the principle of Pharisaism. Out of it various developments issued.

That the law might never be broken by inadvertence, the scribes put about it a 'hedge' of additional precautionary rules, the Halacha, or oral law, which the Sadducees did not recognise. The belief that well-being was God's reward for the observance of the law, and misfortune His punishment for its transgression, though applied at first to the present life and lot of men and nations, might easily be referred to the future, and foster the thought of a coming national glory for Israel, and of an individual life after death. It might also stimulate the belief in miracles and in angels and demons as agents of God's blessings and judgments. Yet these marks of later Pharisaism are not uniformly or conspicuously present in the A.

Fasting is almost the only addition which we find to the Mosaic law (To 12^{8}, Jth 8^{6} etc., cf. Dn 9^{3} 10^{3}), with a further ascetic emphasis upon the laws regarding food (Jth 10^{5} 11^{12} $12^{1.2}$, To $1^{10f.}$, Ad. Est 14^{17}, 2 Mac 5^{27} 6^{21}). The creed of the Bk of Jth is that no enemy can prevail against Israel so long as it keeps the ceremonial law, but if it breaks it, under whatever stress, it will fall (5^{17-21} 11^{9-19} 8^{17-20}). Moreover, Judith's deliverance of the nation is conditioned upon her individual fulfilment of the law even amid the greatest difficulties (8^{4-6} 12^{1-9}). This is true Pharisaism, and yet the book contains neither Messianic hope, nor rewards after death (16^{17} is not to be so understood), nor miracle, nor angel. Tobit illustrates the Pharisaic principle in the life of an individual. Legal righteousness is rewarded by deliverance from evil, long life and prosperity; while sin is always punished by evil, and all evil is due to sin (3^{1-6} $1^{20.21}$ $14^{4-8.15}$). Here angels and demons play a far greater part than in any other book of the A. The national hope also is expressed (13. 14^{4-7}), but there is no resurrection. The Bk of Bar contains the national hope (2^{30-35} 4^{25-37} 5^{1-9}), but no individual resurrection. 2 Mac views the work of Judas as an illustration of Pharisaism. It knows of no laxity regarding the law (cf. 5^{25} 6^{11} 8^{26} 12^{38} 15^{1}). The history is helped forward by angels and miracles and signs ($3^{25ff.33}$ $5^{2f.}$ 9^{5} $10^{29f.}$ 11^{8} $15^{12ff.}$). The national hope finds frequent expression (1^{27-29} $2^{7.18}$ etc.); and, here only in the A., the resur. of the bodies of the righteous is insisted upon ($7^{9.11.14.36}$ $12^{43f.}$ 14^{46}).

It is evident that the later marks of Pharisaism (cf. Ac 23^{8-9}) were not uniformly present. Legalism stands as the characteristic mark. 'This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever. All they that hold it fast are destined for life, but such as leave it shall die' (Bar 4^{1}). And since the law of life was Israel's law, with legalism went particularism. 'O Israel, happy are we! for the things that are pleasing to God are made known unto us' (Bar 4^{4}). Of this feeling, and the corresponding contempt for other peoples, passing over, in times of trouble, into jealousy and hatred, there is enough in the A. It inspires Ad. Est as it does Est itself. Jth and 2 Mac are dominated by it. It is a presupposition of To (4^{12} etc.). Even Sir shares it, though his ruling interest is in the individual, not in the nation (esp. 36^{1-17}, cf. 24, and in 44–50, *e.g.* $47^{21f.}$). Only the Hel. Bk of Wis rises to a broader view. In chs. 10–19 the special care of God for Israel is shown. 'In every way thou didst magnify thy people, and glorify them, . . . standing by them in every time and place' (19^{22}). But while Israel is God's son (18^{13}, cf.[4]), He also loves all men (11^{24-26} 6^{7} 1^{13}), and His judgments are remedial ($12^{2ff.}$). Nor, in spite of the first impression of $3^{7.8}$ 5^{17-23} (cf. 4^{7-19}), does the writer hold to a future earthly glory for Israel. The consummation is heavenly (immortality of the soul, here first in Jewish books), and is morally conditioned.

The Essenic type of Pharisaism is represented only in 4 Ezr, which does not properly belong to

the collection. Here only do we find a personal Messiah. Hel. Judaism, which stood at one side of the conflict between Pharisee and Sadducee, is represented by Wis, which, though it sets the religious life and faith in contrast to worldliness and scepticism, puts no stress on ceremonialism, but interprets the law in a more ethical sense, and reviews the history of Israel to illustrate the beneficent rule of God's wisdom, rather than the inviolableness of His law.

But 4 Ezr cannot be treated apart from other apocalypses, nor Wis apart from other products of Hellenism.

It is chiefly in these two isolated books that foreign elements are prominent. Apart from these, and the (Pers.?) angelology of To, the A. stands in the main on (later) OT ground in its views of God, of man, and of the world.

iii. THE APOCRYPHA IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—1. In the New Testament.—The writers of NT used almost exclusively the LXX OT, and we have no reason to suppose that a[al] additions were wanting at that time. There are no direct citations from A.; this, however, is true also of the disputed books, Song, Ec, and Est as well as of Jos and Ezr-Neh. The Pent., the Prophets, and the Pss were, for obvious reasons, most frequently cited. The other books of the Hagiographa, and the A., offered far fewer material points of contact with Christianity, and would not be allowed the same value in argument by Jews. An acquaintance with a[al] books is, however, generally recognised in the case of some NT writers. Thus there are parallelisms between Ja and Sir (*e.g.* Ja 1^{19} and Sir 5^{11}), between He and Wis (*e.g.* He 1^{3} and Wis 7^{26}), and between Paul and Wis (cf. Ro 9^{21} with Wis 15^{7}; Ro 1^{20-32} with Wis 11. 13. 15; 2 Co $5^{1.4}$ with Wis 9^{15}), which reveal familiarity with this literature, but which do not imply that authority was ascribed to it. The question of the relation of the A. to the Canon cannot be decided on the ground of NT usage.

2. In the Eastern Church.—There is peculiar difficulty in determining the place of the A. in relation to the Canon in the E. Church because of the conflict between different lines of evidence. We shall consider (*a*) Original Usage, (*b*) Scholarly Theory, (*c*) Manuscripts, (*d*) Versions, (*e*) The later Greek Church.

(*a*) *Original Usage.**—The Christian Church used the LXX as its OT Scripture, and the Church Fathers cite all parts of it with similar formulas. 1 and 2 Clement, Barnabas, Ignatius, and the Teaching of the Twelve, contain allusions to a[al] by the side of can. books. Irenæus cites Ad. Dn, Bar, and Wis; Tertullian—Sir, Wis, Ad. Dn, and Bar; Clem. Alex.—Sir, Wis, Bar, To, Ad. Dn; Cyprian—Sir, Wis, To, Bar; all with the formulas ('it is written,' 'Scripture says,' etc.) used of can. works. This usage continues to be the prevailing one, and Origen can appeal to the universal practice of the Church from the beginning against the appeal of Africanus to the authority of the Heb. Canon.

(*b*) *Scholarly Theory.*—The LXX came to Christianity from the synagogue of Hel. Judaism, and with it was accepted the theory of the inspiration and sacredness of this translation. The story of its origin, told by Aristeas of the Pent., was extended to the whole, and heightened into absolute miracle. (Justin, *Dial.* 68. 71. 84; Iren. iii. 21. 2-4; Tertul. *Apol.* 18; Clem. *Strom.* i. 38. 148. 149; Origen, *ad Afric.* 4; Cyril, *Cat.* iv. 34; Epiphanius, *de mens.*). But on the other hand, whenever the books of OT are counted, the number is given as 22 (24), and is expressly derived from the Jewish (Heb.) Canon. That the LXX was a tr. of the Heb. was, of course, never lost sight of, but it was an inspired tr., sanctified by Christian use from the apostles onwards. The discrepancy between the two was obvious, and yet could not be given its natural weight. The question of the status of the A. depended upon the relative importance given to traditional Christian usage and current Jewish usage, summarily expressed in the number 22, or to practice and theory, and upon new theories devised for their adjustment.

Five possibilities seemed open: (1) To insert the A. in OT in such a way as to retain the number 22. (2) To introduce some of the most valued A. into NT (as distinctively Christian possessions), or to append them at the end. (3) To make a third class of books, between can. and uncan. in dignity. (4) To give up the Heb. for the LXX Canon, making theory square with practice. (5) To give up the LXX for the Heb., making practice square with theory. The first three ways are followed, with more or less combination, in the East, the fourth finally by Rome, the fifth finally by Protestantism, though in neither case with entire consistency, since, in the Vulg., the LXX has been considerably modified in accordance with the Heb., and in the Prot. Bible the order of the Vulg. (and LXX) has been retained.

* See the references in Schürer, *HJP* §§ 32. 33.

It is important to set forth the place of the A. in the various theoretical Canons of Eastern writers somewhat in detail.

Melito, Bishop of Sardis (*c.* 150–170 A.D.) learned from Jews or Jewish Christians in Pal. the contents of OT. His list (Euseb. iv. 26. 13, 14) contains only the books of the Heb. (omitting Est), but the titles and order (?) are from the LXX [Ch after K, Proph. after Poet. books; so in general: (1) History, (2) Poetry, (3) Prophecy]. It cannot be certainly inferred that Jer and Dn were without the a[al] additions. *The Muratorian Fragment* (175–200 A.D.) contains only NT (whether OT was originally given is uncertain); but it inserts Wis between 2 Jn and Rev (as by Philo?), and gives to the Shepherd the position of a book that is to be privately, not publicly, read. Its place is not among prophets or apostles, but also not among heretical books. The writer makes use of the second solution of the problem and suggests the third.

Origen (*c.* 185–254) deals with the problem with the fullest knowledge. His great Hexapla testifies to the importance of the problem presented by the deviating texts of OT Scripture, and gave him minute familiarity with the divergence of the LXX from the Heb. In his Com. on Psalms (Eus. vi. 25. 1) he gives a list of the 22 books of the Heb. Canon, apparently like Melito's, with the addition of Est. But he begins the use of the first solution of the problem above suggested by including in Jer not only La, but Ep. Jer (Bar?). Moreover, he says that 1 and 2 Ezr were counted as one book. This would be understood by Gr. readers as referring, not to the Heb. Ezr and Neh, but to the LXX 1 Es and 2 Es [= Ezr + Neh). He mentions 'the Maccabæan books' at the end of his list as outside of the Canon. But from the Ep. to Africanus we learn that this Heb. Canon was not regarded by Origen as of final validity for Christians. He criticises the theory of a Heb. Canon on the ground of traditional Christian practice (*i.e.* he supplements the first by the fourth solution). His view is that the present is not the original Heb. Canon, since Jewish rulers and elders hid from the people passages that might bring them into discredit (§ 9). On this ground Susanna is defended, though it is now among the Jewish A. But To and Jth, which the Jews do not possess even among their 'hidden' books, are to be retained simply on the ground of Christian usage. Providence must have guided the practice of the Church, and Judaism is not to dictate to Christianity (the Catholic principle).

Cyril, Bishop of Jerus. (*Cat.* iv. 33–36, *c.* 348 A.D.), insists with equal stress upon the number 22, that of the Heb. Canon, and the authority of the usage of the Church. His list of 22 (12 historical, 5 poetical, and 5 prophetical) he seems to regard as that of the LXX in current use. His Jer includes Bar, and his Dn (and Est?) the additions. He declares that the books not read in the churches are not to be read in private, and, after all, himself cites Wis as by Solomon (*Cat.* ix. 2, 16).

The *Synod of Laodicea* (*c.* 360) affirms Cyril's list, with minor changes of order. The list in *Apost. Canon*, 85, is also Cyril's, with the addition, at the end of the histories, of 1-3 Mac. On the other hand, the metrical lists of *Gregory* of Naz. (d. 390) and *Amphilochius*, though following the same order, seem to have omitted the a[al] additions as well as Est.

Epiphanius (*c.* 315–403) moves in the opposite direction. Like Cyril, he regarded the LXX as the inspired tr. of the 22 books of the Heb. Canon; but besides 1 Es, Bar, Ep. Jer and Ad. Dn, he seems to have included, under Est (with Ad.?) To and Jth; and, against Cyril, he introduces an intermediate class of writings, not 'in the ark,' but yet 'good and useful.' Here belong Wis and Sir, which he puts after NT in his list

(*Hær.* 76, cf. *Hær.* 86, *de mens.* 4). He thus provides for the practical recognition of all the A. except Mac and Pr. Man. There are still other books, *apocrypha* proper, some of which the Seventy translate, upon which he does not wholly shut the door (*de mens.* 5. 10).

Athanasius, in his 39th Easter Letter (367 A.D.), carries through more consistently the third solution. His 22 books include Bar, Ep. Jer, 1 Es (?), Ad. Dn. But after NT he adds, 'for greater exactness,' that there are other books outside of these, not canonized, but stamped by the Fathers as books to be read by catechumens for their instruction. These are Wis, Sir, Est, Jth, To, Διδ. and Shepherd. They are called ἀναγινωσκόμενα, books to be read, *i.e.* by catechumens.

The threefold division is followed by the list in the *Chron. of Nicephorus*, which, after the 22 books of OT and the 26 of NT, gives 'disputed' books of OT, viz. 1–3 Mac, Wis, Sir, Ps-Sol, Est, Jth, Sus, To. There follow the disputed books of NT (Apoc. of Jn and of P, Ep. Bar and Gospel of Hebrews), and, finally, the 'apocrypha' of OT and NT (above). Here the A. are books whose canonicity is in dispute, ἀντιλεγόμενα. The name and the estimate differ essentially from Athanasius, though both are copied in the *Synopsis of* (*Pseudo*) *Athanasius*.

In the '*List of* 60,' after the 60 can. books of OT and NT, follow, as 'outside of the 60,' Wis, Sir, 1–4 Mac, Est, Jth, To. After these come the 'apocrypha' (above).

We find then in the lists of writers of the E. Church, from the 2nd to the 6th or 7th cent., a practically unanimous adherence to the Heb. Canon of 22 books, and efforts to harmonise this with the Christian LXX by making the 22 as comprehensive of LXX additions as possible, and by assigning to other books of the A., so far as they were valued, a separate place, usually after NT, but distinct from heretical, rejected books.

(*c*) *Manuscripts.*—It is a striking fact that no extant MS of the LXX represents even approximately the Canon of Cyril or Athanasius. In no known Greek text do the A. stand by themselves. The codices agree with the usage, not with the theory, of the E. Church.

Of the 9 uncials in which a^{al} books are found, the Vat. and the Alex. are given at the beginning of this article. Next in importance (3) stands the Sin., which originally contained the whole Bible. Of OT the extant parts are: (Fragments of Gn, Nu, 1 Ch, and Ezr), Neh, Est, *To*, *Jth*, 1 *Mac*, 4 *Mac*, Is, Jer, La (part), XII (except Hos, Am, Mic), Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, *Wis*, *Sir*, Job. (4) Cod. Ephræmi Syri (5th cent.), contains fragments of Job, Pr, Ec, *Wis*, *Sir*, Ca. (5) Cod. Venetus (8th or 9th cent.) contains Job (end), Pr, Ec, Ca, *Wis*, *Sir*, XII, Is, Jer, *Bar*, La, Dn [*Ad.*], *To*, *Jth*, 1–4 *Mac.* (6) Cod. Basiliano-Vaticanus (9th cent.) contains second half of Pent., historical books, including 1 *Es* and *Ad. Est.* (7) Cod. Marchalianus (6th or 7th cent.) contains the prophets in the order of B (so *Bar*, *Ep. Jer*, *Ad. Dn*). (8) Cod. Cryptoferratensis (7th or 8th cent.) contains the prophets. (9) Palimpsest fragments of *Wis* and *Sir*, of 6th or 7th cent. Swete does not cite 6 and 9, but adds cursive Cod. Chisianus (9th cent.?), which contains Jer, *Bar*, La, *Ep. Jer* Dn, *according to the LXX* [all other MSS have substituted Theodotion's Dn], Hippolytus on Dn, Dn *according to Theod.*, Ezk, Is. Both texts of Dn contain the additions. It is noteworthy that several cursives of the poetical books give Ps-Sol in the order, Job, Pr, Ec, Ca, *Wis*, Ps-Sol., *Sir*. [Swete, vol. iii. p. xvi. f.]

(*d*) *Versions.*—The Oriental translations of OT were nearly all made from the LXX, and were inclined rather to enlarge than to reduce its Canon.

The old Syr. Peshitta was an exception to this rule. Its OT was from the Heb., and so contained no A. It also lacked Ch. The influence of the LXX was, however, so great that the Pesh. was early revised in accordance with it, and the a^{al} books were incorporated with some further additions. The chief codex (Ambrosianus) contains *Wis*, *Ep. Jer*, 1 and 2 *Ep. Bar*, *Jth*, Apoc. Bar. [here only], Apoc. of Ezra (=2 *Es*), 1–5 *Mac.* [5 Mac=Jos. *BJ* vi.]. In other MSS are found 1 *Es*, *To*, *Pr. Man.* A MS of the 6th cent. has a 'book of women,' viz. Ru, Est, *Sus*, *Jth*, Thecla.

Wholly exceptional, on the other hand, was the critical view of the Nestorian school at Nisibis, which put *Sir* in the class of fully can. books, and regarded as of intermediate authority, Ch, Job, Ezr, Neh, *Jth*, Est, 1 and 2 *Mac*, *Wis*, Ca.

Exceptional also is a Syr. MS at Cambridge, in which an attempt is made to arrange OT in chronological order. This naturally throws most of the A. at the end. *Wis* is after Solomon's books, *Bar* and *Ep. Jer* after Jer. After the prophets, follow Dn [and *Bel*], Ru, *Sus*, Est, *Jth*, Ezr–Neh, *Sir*, 1–4 *Mac*, 1 *Es*, *To*.

The *Ethiopic* version not only adopted the LXX Canon without criticism, but added various books besides 4 Ezr, several of which survived in no other collection, *e.g.* Enoch, Jubilees, Ascension of Is, etc.

The *Armenian* version also draws no line between Canon and A.

(*e*) *The Later Gr. Church.*—The views of the Fathers of the Eastern Church could not be without permanent influence, but their failure to reach consistency made it possible for the LXX to retain its currency. At the time of the Reformation some Eastern scholars, appealing to Cyril and Athanasius, declared the a^{al} books to be uncan. So Metrophanes Critopulos (1625) and Cyril Lucar (1629). Against them the Synods of Constantinople (1638), Jaffa (1642), and Jerus. (1672) sustained the older usage, and declared the full canonicity of the A. It appears, however, that clearness and consistency have never been reached, for Philaret's Longer Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic E. Church (1839, etc.), which has official sanction, gives to all books outside of the 22 a subordinate place, as meant for the reading of those just entering the Church (citing Athanasius); while the official Bible of the Gr. Church contains (after Ch) *Pr. Man*; (after Neh) 1 *Es*, *To*, *Jth*; (after Ca) *Wis*, *Sir*; (after La) *Ep. Jer*, *Bar*; (after Mal) 1–3 *Mac*, 4 *Ezr*.

3. In the Western Church.—(*a*) *Roman Catholic.*—In the Lat. Church there was a stronger inclination to let Christian usage, rather than scholarly theory, determine the place of the A. in the Canon; and this in spite of the fact that Rome produced the man of all antiquity who most strongly pressed the sole validity of the Heb. Canon (Jerome), and committed to this very man the revision of its OT Scriptures.

The earliest Lat. tr. (Itala) was made from the LXX, and seems to have contained all the A. of the LXX except 3 and 4 Mac, and to have added 2 Es.

Jerome first revised the Itala after the LXX, but then tr. the OT anew from Heb. In this tr. the A. would fall out. And this Jerome demands. In the famous Prol. Galeatus he gives a list of the 22 books of the Heb. Canon in the Heb. order, and adds, 'whatever is beyond these is to be put among the *A.*' So Wis, Sir, Jth, To, and Shepherd 'are not in the Canon. Of Mac, I have found the first book in Heb.; the second is Greek,' etc.

This explicit denial that even an intermediate position should be given to the A. would, in consistency, require their entire removal from the Bible. But Jerome elsewhere gives these books an intermediate position. For he says (Prol. to Bks of Sol), 'as the Church reads Jth and To and the Bks of Mac, but does not receive them among can. Scriptures, so also let it read these two books [Wis and Sir] for the edification of the people, not for confirming the authority of Church dogmas.' Only by such a view can we understand Jerome's revision of Jth and To, which he undertook, indeed, under protest and with careless haste, excusing himself by the fact that they were extant in Chaldee, and that the Council of Nicæa counted Jth in the number of sacred Scriptures (of this there is no other evidence). Jerome also inserted the Additions to Dn and Est, distinguishing them by marks, and collecting the Ad. Est together at the end of the book, where they have remained, out of their proper place, ever since.

After these concessions by Jerome himself, it is not strange that the other books of the A. gradually found their old place in his version as it gained recognition.

Of other Lat. Fathers, *Hilary* of Poitiers (d. 368) reaffirms Origen's Can., but shows some inclination to add *To* and *Jth*, for which Origen's position gave ground.

Rufinus (d. 410), who studied at Alexandria and Jerus., gives the E. list of 22 books, and puts the A. in an intermediate class, which he calls (for the first time?) Ecclesiastici, viz. *Wis*, *Sir*, *To*, *Jth*, *Bks of Mac*, and, in NT, Shepherd and Two Ways [also Judgment according to Peter?]. These the Fathers wished to be read in the churches, but not brought forward for the confirmation of faith. 'Other Scriptures they named *aal* which they wished not to be read in the churches.' The threefold division is E., but the name 'ecclesiastical' and the explanation (which is *practically* the view of Jerome also) are new. The A. are to be read not privately, but in the churches. This would originally have meant full canonicity. But a distinction is attempted in degrees of authority for doctrine among books which, in their text and in their church use, are not distinguished. It is not strange that the theory of an intermediate class gained no firm footing in the W., and that the A. went into the first, not into the third class.

The early Lat. lists are characterised by the two groups, (1) Ps, Pr, Ca, Ec, *Wis*, *Sir*; (2) Job, *To*, Est, *Jth*, 1 and 2 *Mac*, 1 and 2 Es, in which, apart from the additions to the prophets Jer and Dn, the books of A. are usually found. They are found in the *Can. of Mommsen*, which perhaps represents the average Western Can. of *c.* 360 A.D. It includes the A., and still counts 24 books (Rev 4^{10}) by the device of reckoning the 5 Solomonic books as one. The West had not, however, the interest in the number 24 that the East had in 22, and generally disregarded even this formal agreement with the Jews.

Cassiodorus (*Institutio*, etc., chs. xii.–xiv., *c.* 544 A.D.) gives Jerome's (Heb.) Can., then Augustine's, and finally the Can. of the *antiqua translatio*, which represents Lat. usage before Jerome, viz. Gn–Ch; Ps, Sol 5 (Pr, *Wis*, *Sir*, Ec, Ca); Prophets; Job, *To*, Est, *Jth*, 1. 2 Es, 1. 2 *Mac*. The two groups are to be noted. The divergence of the three lists from each other seems to cause the writer no trouble.

Similar to this is the list of the *Decretum Gelasii*, which, if it is that of the Synod of 382, is the first official Can. of the Roman Church. It puts *Wis*, *Sir* with Solomonic books, *Bar* with Jer, and ends with an 'order of histories,' which is our second group, as follows: Job, *To*, 1. 2 Es, Est, *Jth*, 1. 2 *Mac*.

The next official OT Can. was that of the African Councils of *Hippo* (393) and *Carthage* (397): Gn–Ch, Job, Ps, Sol 5, 12 prophets, Is, Jer, Dn, Ezk, *To*, *Jth*, Est, 1. 2 Es, 1. 2 *Mac*. Here Job is separated from the second group and put in its old connexion with Ps, Pr. These councils were dominated by *Augustine*, whose weight on the side of Church tradition overbore the influence of Jerome's learning. Augustine stands for the Catholic principle as determining the Can. (*de doct.* ii. 8, 12), even when he feels the objections, *e.g.* to *Wis* and *Sir*, that the ancient Church has received them is decisive (*de civ.* xvii. 20, 1). Augustine gives, in *de doct.* ii. 8, 13, a list of 44 books of OT—22 historical, made by adding to Gn–Ch, as a secondary list, our second group: Job, *To*, Est, *Jth*, 1. 2 *Mac*, 1. 2 Es.; and 22 prophetical, made by prefixing to the 16 prophets our first group: Ps, Pr, Ca, Ec, *Wis*, *Sir*. In his last book, however (*Speculum*), he seems inclined to put the A. at the end of OT Can., separating *Wis*, *Sir* from group 1, and Job from group 2. This may reveal a growing sense of the secondary authority or security of the A.

Innocent I. of Rome, in a letter to the Bishop of Toulouse (405), gives a list in which the two groups still appear: Gn–4 K (with Ru); Prophets; Solomon 5, Ps; 'of histories,' Job, *To*, Est, *Jth*, 1. 2 *Mac*, 1. 2 Es, 1. 2 Ch.

The outcome of the matter in the Lat. Church was the *Vulg.*, and the leading MS of it (Cod. Amiatinus, *c.* 700) gives, *in the name of Jerome*, a list identical with that sanctioned at Trent (see the list at the beginning of this article). The order is nearer to that of Augustine in *de doct.* ii. 8 than to that of the Council of Hippo. The secondary group of histories follows the primary (Gn–Ch), and the group of poetry follows it, preceding the prophets. Job, however, is put between the two, so that it might belong either to history or poetry, and 1. 2 Mac are separated from the group and put at the end—a partial compromise between the topical place given to this group by Augustine, and the more chronological place assigned it in the Old Latin, and at Hippo. The result is that the A. are found chiefly in the middle of OT, distinguished in no way from other books. Until the decree of Trent, however, it was still possible to regard the A. as of inferior authority, and, when can. was understood to mean authoritative, even as not in the Canon. The middle ages furnished some followers of Jerome (*e.g.* Hugo of St. Victor, d. 1140; Peter of Clugny, d. 1156; Nicolaus of Lyra, d. 1340) who anticipate the view of Cardinal Ximenes (1437–1517), who says in the Preface to the great Complutensian Polyglott, that the a^{al} books are outside of the Canon, and are received by the Church as useful reading, not as authoritative for doctrine. Erasmus (1467–1536) also follows Jerome, though expressing himself with his usual reserve and formal submission to the judgment of the Church. 'Whether the Church receives them as possessing the same authority as the others, the spirit of the Church must know.' Cardinal Cajetan, Luther's opponent at Augsburg (1518), would interpret the decisions of Councils and Fathers by Jerome.

Though the Vulg. Canon had been reaffirmed by Pope Eugenius IV. and put forth as a decree of the Council of Florence (1439), it is not probable that the Roman Church would have taken the decisive step of 1545, against the views of its own best scholars, if it had not been for Luther. The Council of Trent declared the Vulg. to be in all parts of equal authority, and definitely rejected the efforts of Ximenes and others to put the A. in a separate class, 'ecclesiastical' or 'deutero-can.' In the Bibliotheca Sancta of Sixtus Senensis the case is correctly stated. The distinction of Proto-can. and Deutero-can. or ecclesiastical books is given (to the latter class belong, in OT, Est, To, Jth, Bar, Ep. Jer, Wis, Sir, Ad. Dn, 1 and 2 Mac; in NT, Mk 16^{9-20}, Lk $22^{43.44}$, Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}, He, Ja, 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, Jude, Rev), but the distinction has only historical significance. These books, it is said, were not known till a late period; were even formerly held by the Fathers to be a^{al} and not can.; were at first permitted to be read only before catechumens (Athanasius), then before all believers (Rufinus), but only for edification, not for the confirmation of doctrine; but were at last adopted among Scriptures of irrefragable authority.

This consistent position is deserted by modern Catholics for the unhistorical view that the LXX Can. was the original one, which was shortened by Jews for an antichristian purpose; so that the words proto-can. and deutero-can. reverse the true state of the case, and have not even an historical justification (Kaulen, in Wetzer u. Welte, *Encyk.*^{2} art. 'Kanon').

(*b.*) *Protestant.*—Even on the ground of Catholic scholarship those who denied the authority of the Church must give the A. a secondary place. The first Prot. effort to fix the place of the A. was made by Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, in his *De canonicis scripturis*, 1520. He discusses the views of Augustine and Jerome, and vindicates Jerome's position. He gives the Heb. OT Can., Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, thinks these divisions indicate a decreasing order of value, and makes corresponding discriminations in NT. OT A. he divides into two classes: (1) Wis, Sir, Jth, To, 1 and 2 Mac; 'Hi sunt apocryphi, *i.e.* extra canonem hebræorum, tamen agiographi.' (2) 3 and 4 Ezr, Bar, Pr. Man, Ad. Dn: 'Hi libri sunt plane apocryphi virgis censoriis animadvertendi.' This significant effort remained almost without effect.

In contrast to this attempt to solve the problem by historical means (to return to the original position), Luther wavered between a free criticism of the Can. by the Christian consciousness, and, for practical purposes, the acceptance of the current Bible. He wished 1 Mac had the place of Est in the Canon. Of Jth, To, Sir, Wis, he judges favourably. Even Ad. Dn and Ad. Est have much good in them. Bar and 2 Mac, on the other hand, he condemns.

In Luther's Bible (completed 1534) the A. stand between OT and NT, with the title: 'A., that is books which are not held equal to the sacred Scriptures, and nevertheless are useful and good to read.' They include our A. with the exception of

1 and 2 Es. Luther's judgment on these two books was especially unfavourable, but for their omission he had the authority of Jerome, whose view perhaps affected their exclusion at Trent.

The Reformed Church took a somewhat less favourable view of the A. In the Zürich Bible (1529–1530) they stand, in Leo Jud.'s tr., after NT, as an appendix to the Bible, with the non-committal preface: 'These are the books which by the ancients were not written nor numbered among the Biblical books, and also are not found among the Hebrews.' Here 1 and 2 Es are included, as well as 3 Mac; while Three, Pr. Man, Ad. Est were added only in later edd.

The French Bible of Calvin (1535) puts the A. between OT and NT, with the title: 'The volume of the a[n] books contained in the Vulg. tr., which we have not found in Heb. or Chaldee.' Here 1 and 2 Es are included. A preface, doubtless by Calvin, reaffirms Jerome's view as to the value of these books.

Coverdale was the first to tr. the A. from Gr. into Eng. (1536). He put them between OT and NT, with the title: 'Apocripha. The bokes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with the other bokes of the byble, nether are they foũde in the Canon of the Hebrue.'

Matthew's Bible (1537) reproduces Coverdale's A., and translates Calvin's Preface, stating that these books are not to be read publicly in the Church, nor used to prove doctrine, but only for 'furtherance of the knowledge of the history, and for the instruction of godly manners.'

Cranmer's Bible (1540) divides OT into three parts: (1) Pent., (2) Hist. books, (3) Remaining books; and adds, 'The volume of the bokes called Hagiographa,' so called 'because they were wont to be read not openly and in common, but as it were in secret and apart'! But in the reprint of 1541 they appear as A., and simply as 'the fourth part of the Bible.'

The Bishops' Bible (1568) treats the A. still more favourably. The table of contents gives it as 'The fourth part called Apocryphus.' The separate title-page reads, 'The Volume of the bookes called Apocrypha.' But a classified list of 'the whole Scripture of the Bible,' under the headings Legal, Historical, Sapiential, and Prophetical, is given, which follows the Vulg., with two changes of order due to its scheme (puts 1 and 2 Mac after Job, and Ps before Is), and with the addition of 3 and 4 Ezr, with the explanation in the case of these two books only that they are apocryphal.

In the Authorized Version (1611) 'the bookes called Apocrypha' are marked by the running title 'Apocrypha' at the top of the page, but have no preface or separate table of contents; and in the table of lessons at the beginning they are included under OT.

The edd. so far seem to indicate a growing rather than diminishing regard for the books. It was not long, however, before edd. of AV began to appear in which the A. was omitted (1629, etc.).

The Confessions of Lutheran and Reformed Churches agree substantially with Article VI. of the Eng. Church (Lat. 1562, Eng. 1571), which, with the list of A., explains: 'And the other books (as Jerome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.' But a less favourable judgment, held at first by few, has gradually, through much controversy, prevailed in Protestantism. At the Synod of Dort (1618) a strong, though unsuccessful, effort was made to remove the A. wholly from the Bible. In England the opposition came especially from the Puritans, and took final form in the Westminster Confession (1648): 'The books commonly called A., not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Can. of the Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be in any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings.' This means the exclusion of the A. from the Bible and from use in Church service, which the Puritans demanded in 1689. It was not until 1827, after two years' sharp dispute, that the British and Foreign Bible Society decided to exclude the A. from all its publications of the Bible.

Within the Church of England the number of readings from the A. has been reduced. Originally covering Sept. 27–Nov. 23, in 1867 selections from Wis, Sir, and Bar only are assigned for Oct. 27–Nov. 17, beside some selections for certain holy days. The latter, with readings from To, Wis, and Sir for Nov. 2–20, are retained by the Amer. Epis. Church, while the Irish removes all.

Among non-Episcopal Churches the A. has had in recent years practically no recognition.

On the Continent the movement toward the exclusion of the A. from edd. of the Bible has been slower. The decision of the British Society in 1827 met with a storm of disapproval. The controversy revived in 1850, when numerous works appeared for and against the retention of the A. in edd. of the Bible. Its ablest champions were, among Conservative scholars, Stier and Hengstenberg; among Liberals, Bleek. In the Revision of Luther's Bible (1892) it still stands, with Luther's title.

The long controversy regarding the canonicity of the a[n] books, in which the power of tradition and the weakness of reason in matters of religious concern are conspicuously illustrated, may be said to have ended for Protestantism. The modern historical interest, on the other hand, is putting these writings in their true place as significant documents of a most important era in religious history.

LITERATURE.—1. TEXT: Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Græce* (Lipsiæ 1871); Edd. of the LXX, esp. Swete (Camb. 1887–1894).

2. TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH: Ball, *The Variorum A.* (AV, with various renderings and readings), 1892; A Revised tr. by Bissell (below); Churton, *Uncan. and Apocryphal Scriptures* (1884); The RV of the A. (1895).

3. INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARIES: Schürer, *HJP*, tr. by Macpherson, *et al.* 1885–1890, §§ 32, 33; Fritzsche and Grimm, *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig, 1851–1860); Bissell, 'The A. of the OT' (Lange-Schaff, *Com.* vol. XV. 1880); 'The Apocrypha,' edited by H. Wace (*Speaker's Com.* 1888).

4. GENERAL: Art. on the A. in Herzog, *RE* 2 Aufl. (by Schürer); Smith, *DB*[2] (by Ryle); Wetzer und Welte, *Encyk. d. Kathol. Theol.*[2] (by Kaulen); Hamburger, *RE* [Jewish].

See also articles BIBLE, SEPTUAGINT, CANON, and literature there cited.

FRANK C. PORTER.

APOLLONIA (Ἀπολλωνία).—Apollonia, in Ac 17[1], a town through which St. Paul passed, after leaving Amphipolis, on his way to Thessalonica. It was an inland Græco-Macedonian town in the district of Mygdonia, distant from Amphipolis a day's journey (Liv. xlv. 28) or about 30 miles, and from Thessalonica about 38 miles. It lay not far from the Lake Bolbe, and the Via Egnatia passed through it. Little is known of its history. Its name (so common as to be represented by 33 entries in Pauly-Wiss. *RE*, three in Macedonia itself, while the most important was A. in Illyria) seems preserved in the modern *Pollina* (Leake, *N.G.* iii. 458).

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

APOLLONIUS (Ἀπολλώνιος). — Apollonius, a personal name of frequent occurrence (under which 129 entries appear in Pauly-Wiss. *RE*), is borne by several persons mentioned in 1 and 2 Mac.

1. The first, in the apparent order of time, is described (2 Mac 3[5]) as son of Thrasæus (or

Thraseas;—the RV notes the text as probably corrupt, and suggests, as perhaps the true reading, 'Apollonius of Tarsus'), and governor (*στρατηγός*) of Cœle-Syria and Phœnice under Seleucus IV. Philopator (B.C. 187–175). One Simon, designated as governor (RV guardian) of the temple (2 Mac 3^4 *προστάτης*), having had differences with the high-priest Onias concerning 'market-administration' (*ἀγορανομίας* seems preferable to the common reading *παρανομίας*), took his revenge by suggesting to Apollonius that the temple at Jerus. contained untold treasures, which might tempt the king's cupidity. A. conveyed the suggestion to Seleucus, and induced him to send Heliodorus his chancellor (RV; not 'treasurer,' AV), to Jerus. to plunder the temple. The devices of Heliodorus, the consternation occasioned by his purpose, and the apparition by which it was baffled, are narrated in 2 Mac 3. In 4 Mac 4^{1-14} the attempt is presented as the act of A. himself, and not of Heliodorus.

2. At 2 Mac 4^{21} an A., son of Menestheus, appears, sent by Antiochus Epiphanes as envoy to Egypt on occasion of the 'enthroning' (which seems the best interpretation of *πρωτοκλίσια* or *πρωτοκλήσια*, literally the first 'sitting on,' or formal 'call to' the throne) of Ptolemy Philometor (in B.C. 173). He may not improbably be the same A. who is mentioned by Livy (xlii. 6) as having headed an embassy sent by Antiochus to Rome.

3. At 2 Mac 5^{24-26} we find an A. sent by Antiochus Epiphanes (in B.C. 166), with an army of 22,000 men, to Judæa, under orders to slay all that were of age for military service, and to sell the women and children. Coming to Jerus. under pretext of peace, he took advantage of the Sabbath, when the Jews were keeping their day of rest, to massacre 'great multitudes.' He is characterised as 'that detestable ringleader' (RV 'lord of pollutions'; *μυσάρχην*, not occurring elsewhere, possibly 'ruler of the Mysians,' but probably 'leader in foul deeds'), while the use of the article seems to point to one previously mentioned, and so suggests his identity with the 'governor of Cœle-Syria' (in ch. 3^5 and 4^4: No. 1 above). The interval of nine years leaves this at least doubtful; but there is less reason to question his identity with the person not named but described at 1 Mac 1^{29} as 'chief collector of tribute' sent by the Hellenizing king to carry out his policy of destruction. Jos. (*Ant.* XII. vii. 1) designates him as commandant (*στρατηγός*) of Samaria (apparently = provincial governor, *μεριδάρχης*, XII. v. 5), and records his subsequent fall, in conflict with Judas Maccabæus, as does also 1 Mac 3^{10-12}.

4. At 2 Mac 12^2 A., 'son of Gennæus,' appears as one of the local commandants who, notwithstanding the covenant that the Jews should have rest and leave to observe their own laws, continued to vex them, and to countenance such attacks on their liberties as the treacherous massacre at Joppa, which Judas hastened to avenge. Nothing more is known of him. The patronymic 'son of Gennæus' distinguishes him from (1) the son of Thrasæus and (2) the son of Menestheus; and the suggestion of Winer (*RWB s.v.*, following Luther's rendering *edlen*), that *Γενναῖον* might be taken as an adjective, 'the well-born,' used ironically (presumably of the latter), is highly improbable; for, as Grimm remarks, the irony would be too covert, and Gennæus occurs elsewhere as a proper name (Pape, *s.v.*).

5. When Demetrius II. Nikator came forward to claim his father's crown in rivalry to Alexander Balas (about B.C. 148), we learn from 1 Mac. 10^{67-86} that he appointed (*κατέστησεν*) A., who was over Cœle-Syria; who gathered a great force, challenged Jonathan the high priest as a supporter of Balas, but, after a series of successful manœuvres on the part of Jonathan with the support of his brother Simon, was defeated in battle at Azotus (B.C. 147). From the mode of expression, he would seem to have been previously governor under Balas, and won over by Demetrius; which is the more probable, if he is to be identified with the A. mentioned by Polybius (xxxi. 19. 6 and 21. 2) as the *σύντροφος* (foster-brother) and confidant of the elder Demetrius, who shared in the plot for his escape from Rome, and may readily have sympathised with the claims of the younger, when he came to assert them. Jos. (*Ant.* XIII. iv. 3) calls him a Daian, *i.e.* one of the Dai or Dahæ near the Caspian Sea, and speaks as though he fought against Jonathan in the interest of Balas; but this, as Grimm (*in loc.*) shows, is much less probable. The circumstance that the A. of Polybius had two brothers, Meleager and Menestheus (xxxi. 21. 2), is a somewhat slender ground for assuming relationship to the son of Menestheus (No. 3 above).

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

APOLLOPHANES (*Ἀπολλοφάνης*, 2 Mac 10^{37}), a Syrian killed at the taking of Gazara by Judas Maccabæus. This Gazara is not the well-known town in the Shephelah, near to Nicopolis and Ekron; probably it should be identified with Jazer on the farther side of Jordan, in the Ammonite country (so Rawlinson). See 1 Mac 5^8.

H. A. WHITE.

APOLLOS (*Ἀπολλώς*).—An Alexandrian Jew (Ac 18^{24}). Apollonius, of which Apollos is a natural abbreviation, is the reading of Cod. D, the chief representative of the Western text of the Acts, which is here very interesting, and probably presents a genuine tradition. He is described as 'fervent in spirit' (see Ro 12^{11}), as 'an eloquent man' (for *λόγιος* means this rather than 'learned'), and as 'mighty in the Scriptures,' *i.e.* well versed in the Gr. OT. He seems to have been connected with Alexandria by early residence as well as by race, for D records that his religious instruction was received *ἐν τῇ πατρίδι*. He came to Ephesus in the summer of 54, while St. Paul was on his third missionary journey, and there 'he spake and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John; and he began to speak boldly in the synagogue.' The precise character of his religious knowledge is not easily determined from these few words. It has been generally held that A.'s instruction in 'the way of the Lord' (v.^{25}, see Is 40^3, Mt 3^3) was such as any well-educated Jew might have gathered from teaching like that of the Baptist, based on the Messianic prophecies. This view is confirmed to some extent by the account of what happened when St. Paul returned to Ephesus after A.'s departure. He there found twelve disciples, who being asked, 'Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?' returned an answer which showed their ignorance of any distinctive gift of the Holy Spirit. They explained that they had formerly received John's baptism, but willingly accepted the Christian rite at St. Paul's hands. It is probable that these men were disciples of A., and that, having been influenced by his teaching in the synagogues of Ephesus, their knowledge of Christian truth fairly represented his. But Blass (*in loc.*) points out that the words *μαθηταί* and *πιστεύσαντες* used of them are never used save of Christians, and thus some knowledge at the least of the Christian story may be supposed to have been theirs. Indeed A. is said (v.^{25}) to have taught *ἀκριβῶς* the things concerning Jesus, although he knew only of the *baptism* of John. And so Blass suggests that, possibly from a written Gospel which had reached Alexandria, A. had learnt the main facts of the Lord's life, and that his ignorance of Christian baptism may be

explained by his not having come in the way of Christian teachers. Taking this view, the narrative proceeds naturally: 'But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God ἀκριβέστερον.' It would seem probable, though the fact is not stated, that A. received baptism at their hands, as his followers in a like case did at the hands of St. Paul. After some stay in Ephesus, A. determined to go to Corinth, an invitation to do so having come to him, according to the Western text, from certain Corinthians who were in Ephesus at the time. They gave him letters of commendation, and when he arrived in Corinth 'he helped them much which had believed through grace; for he powerfully confuted the Jews and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ' (Ac 18^{28}).

In the spring of 57, A. having returned to Ephesus, we learn from 1 Co (see esp. 1^{12} and 3^{5}) that there were divisions among the Christians at Corinth, the names of Paul and A. (as well as of Peter) being used as those of party leaders.* The question at issue may have been only as to the relative importance of Paul and A. in the founding of the Corinthian Church; but it seems likely that there was also a difference in the manner in which the gospel was presented by each. Possibly the eloquence of A. as contrasted with St. Paul's rugged style (see 1 Co 2^{1-7}, 2 Co 11^{6}) appealed to a certain cultivated class at Corinth, and it may be (though for this there is no proof) that some doctrinal differences appeared after the lapse of years. The teaching of A.'s followers may, *e.g.*, have degenerated into Antinomian Gnosticism. However that may be, the Corinthian Church was agitated by bitterly opposed factions as late as the time of Clement of Rome. But it is unlikely that there was any personal disagreement between St. Paul and A. It has indeed been suggested that in 1 Co 2^{1}, St. Paul has the eloquent A. in his mind, and again in 2 Co 3^{1}, where he declares that he at least needed no commendatory letters; and it is curious that A. is not mentioned at all as one of the founders of the Christian society at Corinth in 2 Co 1^{19}. But however we explain these passages, they do not prove anything like serious estrangement. In 1 Co 16^{12}, St. Paul, probably in answer to an invitation for A., says, 'As touching A., the brother, I besought him much to come unto you with the brethren, and it was not at all his will to come now [or 'not God's will that he should come now']; but he will come when he shall have opportunity.' A. may well have been unwilling to return at a time when his presence would inflame party spirit. The last mention of A. in the NT is in Tit 3^{13}. He was then (A.D. 67) in Crete, or was shortly expected there; and St. Paul urges Titus to set him forward on his journey with Zenas,—a kindly message which, while it does not suggest personal intimacy, does not suggest either any difference of interest or hostility of sentiment. Jerome (*in loc.*) thinks that A. retired to Crete until he heard that the divisions at Corinth were healed, and says that he then returned and became bishop of that city.

It was first suggested by Luther, and the opinion is now widely held, that A. was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. See HEBREWS.

LITERATURE.—Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, vol. ii. ch. xiv. Neander, *Planting*, bk. iii. ch. vii. Renan, *St. Paul*, pp. 240, 372 ff. Blass, *Com. on Acts*, pp. 201–3, and in *Expos. Times*, vii. 564; Wright, *ib.* ix. 8. J. H. BERNARD.

* Field, following Chrysostom, on 1 Co 4^{6}, suggests that the names of the real party leaders are not known to us, and that St. Paul substituted for them his own name and that of Apollos. But, though his note is interesting, we prefer to follow the simpler and more usual interpretation in the text.

APOLLYON ('Απολλύων 'Destroyer').—The tr. of the Heb. name אֲבַדּוֹן, the angel of the Abyss in Rev 9^{3-11}, who was king over the destructive locusts. In the Talm. tract Shabbath 55^{a} we find reference to the angels of destruction (מלאכי חבלה) who accomplish God's purpose on the wicked. They are six in number: Wrath, Indignation, Anger, Destruction, Desolation, and Consumption. Over these are placed Abaddon and Maweth (מָוֶת *Death*). See Weber, *System der Pal. Theol.* p. 166 f. These are obviously later Judaic developments of the simpler ideas of OT; for the tendency of Judaism after the Exile, and esp. during the Gr. period, was to interpolate personal mediating activities between the supersensuous and the phenomenal world. But though this enormous development of angelology was stimulated by Hellenic speculative ideas, its ultimate source must be traced to Bab. religion (cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 146 f.). Respecting the plague-demons of Bab. exorcism and personifications of evil, see Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* pp. 306–312; cf. also 327–335.

Another name of like signification to that of A. is the Hellenic 'Ασμοδαῖος *Asmodæus*, a name which occurs in To 3^{8} as that of the evil spirit which slew the seven husbands of Sarah, daughter of Raguel. This is the Græcised form of the Heb. אַשְׁמְדַי, 'Destroyer.' The derivation of this name must obviously be sought in the Heb. שׁמד 'to destroy.' The etymology which connects it with the Pers. Aêshma daêva, leader of the devas, adopted by Levy in his Chaldee Lex. from Windischmann (*Zoroastr. Studien*), is by no means so probable. This personification appears to be the same as ὁ 'Ολοθρεύων of Wis 18^{25}. In the Targ. on Ec 1^{12} he is called מלכא רשיעי 'king of evil spirits.' It is not necessary to refer to the Jewish fables which represent Asmodæus as the offspring of Tubalcain and his sister Noëma. Respecting Paul's use of ὀλοθρευτής (מַשְׁחִית of Ex 12^{23}), introduced by him into the narrative of Nu $16^{12ff.}$, see Heinrici-Meyer on 1 Co 10^{10}.

The OT conceptions respecting Abaddon may be gathered from a comparison of the passages Job 26^{6} 28^{22} 31^{12}. In the first of these the word Abaddon stands in parallelism with Sheôl or the underworld (Hades), just as we find in Pr 15^{11}. Delitzsch in his comment on this last passage endeavours to draw a distinction between Sheôl and Abaddon, the latter designating the lowest depth of Hades; but I see no warrant for this in OT, though in later times we know that such a distinction was made (Schwally, *ibid.* p. 166, on Lk 16^{22-26}, and Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, i. p. 169). Moreover, in Job 31^{12} the same conception prevails in the mind of the writer as in the previous OT passages to which we have referred. So also in Ps 88^{11}, where Abaddon and the grave stand in parallelism. On the other hand, it is worthy of notice that in Job 28^{22} we find the beginnings of that personification which in later times was to have so extended a development. For in that passage both Abaddon and Death are personified, and words are ascribed to them. Cf. the vivid and dramatic portrayal of the devouring Sheôl in Is 5^{14}. On the use of אֲבַדּוֹן in the Wisdom literature of OT see art. ABADDON.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

APOSTASY.—The Eng. word does not occur. The Gr. ἀποστασία is used twice: (1) in defining the charge made against St. Paul (Ac 21^{21}) that he 'taught all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses' (so AV, RV; Gr. ἀποστασίαν ἀπὸ Μωυσέως, lit. 'a. from Moses'); and (2) as the word used for the 'falling away' (so AV, RV) which precedes or accompanies the revelation of the 'Man of Sin' (2 Th 2^{3}). See Comm. *in loc.* and art. MAN OF SIN. J. HASTINGS.

APOSTLE.—The proper meaning of *ἀπόστολος* is an ambassador, who not only carries a message like an *ἄγγελος*, but also represents the sender. So Herodotus (i. 21) of Alyattes to Miletus; (v. 38) of Miletus to Sparta. The influence of Athens diverted it for a time (*e.g.* Demosth. p. 252) to mean a naval squadron; and in later law *ἀπόστολοι* were the *litteræ dimissoriæ* by which a case was referred to a higher court. In Hel. Greek it returns to its other meaning. This is not very distinct in 1 K 14[6] (Ahijah *ἀπ. σκληρός* to Jeroboam's wife), the only place where it is found in LXX, though Symmachus has it clear in Is 18[2] (that sendeth צִירִים by the sea). So there seem to have been *ἀπόστολοι* sent from Jerusalem to collect the temple money, and *ἀπόστολοι* sent by the foreign Jews to bring it to Jerus. Later on, the patriarch at Tiberias had *ἀπόστολοι* at his disposal (Epiph. *Hær.* 30, p. 129; *Cod. Theod.* xviii. 8. 14, where Honorius, in 398, abolishes the whole system of taxation. See Gothofred, *ad loc.*).

In NT it is found Mt 10[2] (*τῶν δὲ δώδεκα ἀπ.*), Mk 6[30] (*οἱ ἀπ.*—those sent forth, v.[7]), Jn 13[16] (in the general sense), and frequently in Luke and Paul. Once (He 3[1]) of our Lord Himself, which is the thought of Jn 17[18].

After the ascension the number of the Lord's apostles was not fixed at twelve, except in the figurative language of Rev 21[14]. Setting aside envoys of men (2 Co 8[23] *ἀπ. ἐκκλησιῶν*, Ph 2[25] *ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπ.*) and false apostles (2 Co 11[13], Rev 2[2]) who needed to be tried (contrast *ἐπείρασας* with 1 Jn 4[1] *δοκιμάζετε*), we have first Matthias, though it is best left an open question whether he was *permanently* numbered with the Eleven. Of Paul and Barnabas there can be no doubt (*e.g.* Ac 14[14] *οἱ ἀπ.* B. *καὶ* Π.), and of James the Lord's brother very little (Gal 1[19], 1 Co 15[7] and perhaps 9[5]). Andronicus and Junias at Rome seem to be 'notable' apostles (Ro 16[7] *ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀπ.*), and possibly Silvanus also was an apostle. On the other hand, Timothy is shut out by the greetings of 2 Co, Col, Ph, and possibly 2 Ti 4[5] (*εὐαγγελιστοῦ*), and Apollos (1 Co 4[6. 9] is indecisive) by Clement (*Ep.* 47), who most likely knew the fact of the case.

The first qualification of the apostle was to have 'seen the Lord' (Lk 24[48], Ac 1[8. 22], 1 Co 9[1]), for his first duty was to bear witness of the Lord's resurrection (*e.g.* also Ac 2[32]). Matthias, Paul, and James (1 Co 15[7]) had this qualification; probably Barnabas, Andronicus, and Junias, who were all of the earliest disciples; and very possibly Silvanus also. On the other hand, it is unlikely of Apollos, hardly possible of Timothy, who were not apostles. We have no reason to suppose that this condition was ever waived, unless we throw forward the *Teaching* into the 2nd cent. The second qualification was (2 Co 12[12]) the 'signs of an apostle,' which consisted partly in all patience, partly in signs and wonders and powers, and partly again (*e.g.* 1 Co 9[2]) in effective work among his own converts.

These, however, were only qualifications which others also held. A direct call was also needed, for (1 Co 12[28] *ἔθετο ὁ θεός*, Eph 4[11] *αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν*) no human authority could choose an apostle. In the case of Barnabas and Saul (Ac 13[3]) an outward commission from the Church was added; and if Matthias remained an apostle, we must for once assume that the outward appointment somehow included the inward call of the Spirit.

The work of the apostle was (1 Co 1[17]) to preach, or (2 Co 5[20], Eph 6[20]) to be an ambassador on behalf of Christ. He was (Lk 24[48]) to be a witness to all nations, and (Mt 28[19]) to make disciples of them, so that the whole world was his mission field. There is no authentic trace (legends in Eus. *HE* iii. 1, and apocryphal works) of any local division of the world amongst the apostles, though (Gal 2[9]) it was settled at the Conference that the Three were to go to the Jews, Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles. St. Paul's refusal (Ro 15[20]) to 'build on another man's foundation' was due rather to courtesy and prudence than to any particular assignment of districts to another apostle.

It follows that the apostle belonged to the Church in general, and had no local ties. He had a right indeed (1 Co 9[4. 5. 14]) to eat and drink and live off the gospel, and to lead about a Christian woman as a wife; but this was all. His life was spent in journeyings, in labours, and distresses (2 Co 6[4]), standing in the front of danger like (1 Co 4[9]) some doomed *bestiarius* of the amphitheatre. Certain dwelling-place he had none. The *Teaching* goes so far as to declare him a false prophet if he stays a third day in one place. St. Paul worked for months together from Corinth and Ephesus; but they were only centres for his work, no settled home for him. Only the unique position of Jerus. seemed to call for a stationary apostle in James the Lord's brother, who, moreover, was not one of the Twelve. John and Philip, and possibly Andrew, only settled down in Asia in their old age.

The apostle's relation to the Churches he founded was naturally indefinite. He would (Ac 14[23]) choose their first local officials, start them in the right way, and generally help them with fatherly counsel (1 Co 4[14. 15]) when he saw occasion. There is no sign that he took any share in their ordinary administration. St. Paul interferes with it only in cases where the Churches have gone seriously wrong. All that he seems to aim at is (1) to uphold the authority committed to him; (2) to check teachings which made the gospel vain, like the duty of circumcision, the denial of the resurrection, or the need of asceticism; (3) to stop *corporate* misconduct which the Churches themselves would not stop, as when the Corinthians saw no great harm in fornication, or turned the Lord's Supper into a scene of disorder. Questions referred to him he answers as far as possible on general principles, giving (1 Co 7) a command of the Lord when he can, and in default of it an opinion of his own, and sometimes a hint that they need not have asked him. In general, the apostle is not a regular ruler in the same sense as a modern bishop, but an occasional referee like the visitor of a college, who acts only in case of special need.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Gal.*, Excursus on *The Name and Office of an Apostle*; Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* ii. 1, pp. 93–118; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*[2] 584–590; Haupt, *Zum Verständniss d. Apostolats im N.T.*, 1896. H. M. GWATKIN.

APOTHECARY is found Ex 30[25. 35] 37[29], 2 Ch 16[14], Neh 3[8], Ec 10[1], and in every case RV gives *perfumer* instead. For the ref. is not to the selling of drugs, but to the making of perfumes (רֹקַח spice, perfume; רָקַח to mix spice or manufacture perfume; רוֹקֵחַ a perfumer). But in Sir 38[8] 49[1] (*μυρεψός*) RV retains a., though from 49[1] it is evident that the perfumer is meant. J. HASTINGS.

APPAIM (אַפַּיִם 'the nostrils').—Son of Nadab, a man of Judah (1 Ch 2[30. 31]). See GENEALOGY.

APPAREL.—In early Eng. a. is used of household furniture, the rigging of a ship, and the like, but in AV it is confined to clothing. Although the word is now practically obsol., RV (following older VSS) has introduced it some ten times. In 1 S 17[38. 39] a. replaces 'armour' of AV, very properly, for the reference is to Saul's military dress, not his armour. 1 P 3[4] RV 'the incorruptible a. of a meek and quiet spirit' is the only instance of a fig. use of the word in the Bible. (Cf.

Ph 2[8], Tindale's tr., 'and was found in his a. as a man,' AV and RV 'fashion'). **Apparelled** occurs 2 S 13[18], Lk 7[25]; to which RV adds Ps 93[1 bis] (both fig.). See DRESS. J. HASTINGS.

APPARENTLY, only Nu 12[8], and in the old sense of 'openly,' 'evidently,' not as now, 'seemingly': 'With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even a. (RV 'manifestly'), and not in dark speeches.' Cf. Shaks. *Com. Err.* IV. i. 78—

'If he should scorn me so apparently'.

J. HASTINGS.

APPARITION.—This word does not occur in AV except in the Apocr., Wis 17[3] (Gr. *ἴνδαλμα*, RV 'spectral form'), 2 Mac 3[24] (Gr., *ἐπιφάνεια*, RV 'apparition,' RVm 'manifestation), and 5[4] (Gr. *ἐπιφάνεια*, RV 'vision,' RVm 'manifestation'). The Revisers have introduced a. at Mt 14[26], Mk 6[49] as tr. of *φάντασμα* (AV 'spirit'). J. HASTINGS.

APPEAL.—I. IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—There is no provision made in the OT for appeal in the proper sense of the word, that is, for the reconsideration by a higher court of a case already tried. The distinction made in the Law between the competence of higher and lower courts is of a different nature. A 'great matter' must be reserved for the supreme court, while the lower officers are competent to decide a small matter. This distinction is found in one of the oldest parts of the Pent. (Ex 18[21. 22] [E]), and in Dt 17[8. 9] [D]. And the allusion to the delays in legal proceedings of which Absalom took advantage, 2 S 15[3], also points to the antiquity of what is, after all, an obvious device inevitable in a growing nation. The supreme court for the hardest cases was either the king or the priest or the prophet, as the mouthpiece of J" Himself. The law of Dt 19[16-18] is more like real appeal, for there a 'controversy' and 'false witness' seem to be presupposed *before* 'the judges make diligent inquisition'; but probably the first proceedings were rather administrative than judicial, and it hardly amounts to a second hearing of the case on appeal. According to 2 Ch 19[11] Jehoshaphat placed Zebadiah over the judges whom he appointed city by city throughout Judah; but it does not follow that he was to hear appeals from the local courts.

For the appellate jurisdiction of later times, see SANHEDRIN.

II. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—Ac 25, 26, and 28[19]. St. Paul was liable to be tried either by (1) a Jewish, or by (2) a Roman court. (1) The Roman government at this period allowed the authorities of each synagogue to exercise discipline over Jews, only they were not allowed to put any one to death. The Sanhedrin at Jerusalem appears to have had more moral weight and a wider jurisdiction (Ac 9[2] 26[12]), but not larger legal powers (Jn 18[31]); and the incidents of Ac 7[58] 22[4] 26[10] are to be regarded as in the eye of the law cases of lynching, at which the Roman government connived. A Roman citizen was entitled to claim exemption from the jurisdiction of the synagogue, but nevertheless St. Paul submitted to it five times (2 Co 11[24], Ac 28[19]).

(2) He was also liable to be brought before the Roman governor in charge of the province or district (Ac 18[12] etc.).

When, then, Festus asked him whether he was willing to go up to Jerusalem and there be judged 'before me' (Ac 25[9]), it is not clear whether the proposal was that he should be tried (1) by the Sanhedrin in the presence of Festus, or (2) more probably by Festus himself at Jerusalem rather than Cæsarea, on the pretext that the charge could be better sifted there; but if so, why is the prisoner's consent necessary (Ac 25[9. 20])? In the one case St. Paul 'appeals' from the Jewish tribunal to the Roman, invoking Cæsar himself as supreme magistrate, because Festus was about to surrender him to the Jewish authorities (see Ac 25[11]). In the other case he 'appeals' from Festus the delegate (procurator) to the legal governor of the province, viz. Cæsar himself. It is further not clear whether the alternative in Ac 25[12. 25] was that St. Paul should be released at once (Ac 26[32] 28[18]), or that he should be compelled, in spite of his 'appeal,' to stand his trial at Jerusalem. This last is not impossible, for we learn from other sources (*e.g.* Suetonius, *Galba* 9) that at this time even a Roman citizen could not insist on being sent on to the supreme court from that of a provincial governor, who had the power of life and death (*jus gladii*); but only it was at his peril that the governor refused such an appeal. It was not uncommon for the governor in such a case to write to the emperor for instructions. The appeal in St. Paul's case has no connexion with either the *provocatio ad populum*, or the appeal to the tribunes of the plebs, as they existed under the Roman Republic. (See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*[2], ii. 258, 931.)

W. O. BURROWS.

APPEASE.—To a. in its mod. use is to propitiate an angry person. In this sense is Gn 32[20] 'I will a. him with the present'; 1 Mac 13[47] 'Simon was a[d] toward them' (RV 'reconciled unto them'); and Is 57[6] RV 'shall I be a[d] for these things?' Everywhere else in AV a. has the obs. meaning of to quieten (which is the orig. meaning, *ad pacem*, to 'bring *to peace*'), as Ac 19[35] 'when the town-clerk had a[d] (RV 'quieted') the people'; Pr 15[18] 'But he that is slow to anger a[th] strife'; Est 2[1] 'when the wrath of king Ahasuerus was a[d]' (RV 'pacified'); Sir 43[23] 'he a[th] the deep' (RV 'hath stilled'); 2 Mac 4[31] 'Then came the king in all haste to a. matters' (RV 'settle matters').

J. HASTINGS.

APPERTAIN.—To 'a. to' is (1) to belong to, of actual possession: Nu 16[32] 'all the men that a[ed] unto Korah' (לְכָל־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר לְקֹרַח); Lv 6[5] 'give it unto him to whom it a[eth]'; Neh 2[8] 'the palace which a[ed] to the house.' (2) To belong to, of right or privilege: To 6[12] 'the right of inheritance doth rather a. to thee than to any other'; 2 Ch 26[18] 'It a[eth] not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense' (1611 ed. 'pertaineth not,' so RV, Heb. לֹא־לְךָ); Bar 2[6] 'To the Lord our God a[eth] righteousness' (RV 'belongeth'); 1 Es 8[95], 1 Mac 10[30. 42], 2 Mac 15[33]. (3) To be appropriate: Jer 10[7] 'Who would not fear thee, O King of nations? for to thee doth it a.' (לְךָ יֶאְתֶה); 1 Es 1[12] 'they roasted the Passover with fire, as a[eth]' (so RV; Gr. *ὡς καθήκει, as is fitting*. Cf. Lv 5[10] כְּמִשְׁפָּט 'according to the ordinance'). See PURTENANCE. J. HASTINGS.

APPHIA.—A Christian lady of Colossæ, a member of the household of Philemon, very probably his wife. Her memory is honoured in the Greek Church on Nov. 22, as having been stoned to death at Colossæ with Philemon, Archippus, and Onesimus in the reign of Nero; but the authority for this fact is unknown. The name is Phrygian, being frequent in Phrygian Inscriptions under the varying forms Ἀπφία, Ἀφφία, Ἀπφίας. In Philem. (v.[2]) the best attested reading is Ἀπφίᾳ; but Ἀφφίᾳ, Ἀμφίᾳ, Ἀππίᾳ are also found, and the Latin VSS vary between Apphiæ, Apphiadi, Appiæ. In the latter case it was probably assimilated to the Latin Appia (Lightfoot, *Coloss.* p. 372; Menæon, November, pp. 143–147). W. LOCK.

APPHUS (Ἀπφοῦς, Σαφφούς A, Σαπφούς ℵ V, *Apphus* (Vulg.), ܐܦܘܣ (Syr.), 1 Mac 2[5] Ἀφφοῦς (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vi. 1)), the surname of Jonathan the Mac-

cabee. The name is usually thought to mean 'Dissembler' (מַפּוּץ); and some suppose that it was given to Jonathan for his stratagem against the tribe of the Jambri, who had killed his brother John (1 Mac 9^{37-41}). H. A. WHITE.

APPIUS, MARKET OF (Ἀππίου φόρον, AV *Appii Forum*, Ac 28^{15}), was one of the two points on St. Paul's journey to Rome at which he was met by Christian brethren from the capital. It was situated 43 miles from Rome, on the great Appian military highway, which formed the main route for intercourse with Greece and the East. As a station where travellers halted and changed horses, it naturally became a seat of traffic and local jurisdiction. It was, moreover, the northern terminus of a canal (*fossa*) which was carried alongside of the road, and was used, as we learn from Strabo (v. 233), for the conveyance, chiefly by night, of passengers in boats towed by mules. Horace has (*Sat.* i. 5) preserved a vivid picture of the place, with its boatmen, innkeepers, and wayfarers, cheating, carousing, and quarrelling, amidst an accompanying plague of gnats and frogs from the Pomptine marshes.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

APPLE (תַּפּוּחַ *tappuaḥ*).—The conditions to be fulfilled by the *tappuaḥ* are that it should be a fine tree, suitable to sit under (Ca 2^3): 'As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight.' It should be of size sufficient to overshadow a booth or house (Ca 8^5): 'I raised thee up under the apple tree; there thy mother brought thee forth; there she brought thee forth that bare thee.' It had a sweet fruit (Ca 2^3): 'and his fruit was sweet to my taste.' It also had a pleasant smell (Ca 7^8): 'and the smell of thy nose like apples.' It was used to revive a person who was languid (Ca 2^5): 'Stay me with raisins, comfort me with apples; for I am sick of love.'

The apple fulfils all the conditions perfectly. It is a fruit tree which often attains a large size, is planted in orchards and near houses, and is a special favourite of the people of Palestine and Syria. It is true that the fruit of the Syrian apple is far inferior to that of Europe, and especially to that of America. Nevertheless it is a favourite with all the people, and in a few places fine varieties have been introduced and thriven well. Doubtless such an epicure as Solomon would have had many of the choicest kinds. Almost all the apples of Syria and Palestine are sweet. To European and American palates they seem insipid. But they have the delicious aroma of the better kinds, and it is for this quality that they are most prized. It is very common, when visiting a friend, to have an apple handed to you, just to smell. Sick people almost invariably ask the doctor if they may have an apple; and if he objects, they urge their case with the plea that they only want it to smell. If a person feels faint or sea-sick, he likes nothing better than to get an apple to smell. It is an everyday sight to see an apple put over the mouth of the small earthenware water pitcher (called in Arabic *abrîq*) to give a slight aroma of apple to the water. The first thing with which the capricious appetite of a convalescent child is tempted is an apple, which he fondles and squeezes with his fingers to develop the aroma, but perhaps never so much as bites. A very favourite preserve is also made of the apple.

It will be seen by these facts that the apple fulfils all the conditions of the *tappuaḥ*. Add to this that the Arabic name *tiffâḥ* is identical, and noway ambiguous as to its signification, and the evidence is complete. There is no other fruit which at all realises all these conditions. The quince has a *sour, acerb* taste, never *sweet*. The citron was probably introduced later than OT times; it has a fruit with a thick rind, eatable only after a very elaborate process of preserving with sugar. The pulp is never eaten in any form. The orange is a fruit introduced from the Spanish Peninsula during the Middle Ages. Its name, *burdekân*, is a corruption of the Arabic name for Portugal, *bartughal*. It was probably not known to the Hebrews. The apricot is not a fruit with any special fragrance, and is never used as the apple to refresh the sick. A further confirmation of the identity of *tappuaḥ* with *tiffâḥ*, the Arabic for apple, is the present name *Teffâḥ* for *Beth-tappuaḥ* (Jos 15^{53}).

The 'pictures of silver' (Pr 25^{11}) in which apples of gold are said to be placed, may have been filigree silver baskets for fruit. The Oriental silversmiths excel in the manufacture of such ware.

G. E. POST.

APPLE OF THE EYE (lit. '*child* [אִישׁוֹן, dim. of אִישׁ man] of the eye'; sometimes בַּת '*daughter* of the eye.' Ps 17^8, in combination, בַּת־עַיִן 'as child, daughter of, the eye.' Once, Zec 2^8, בָּבָה 'the *opening*, door, of the eye') is the 'eyeball,' or globe of the eye, especially the pupil or centre, the organ of vision; composed of exceedingly delicate and sensitive structures, carefully shielded from external injury. It is enclosed in the bony orbit, supported behind and on the sides by a quantity of loose fat, protected above by the eyebrows, and in front by the eyelashes and eyelids, the lids closing instinctively in presence of danger. The surface is kept continually moist by an almost imperceptible flow of tears. Hence its preciousness makes it a fitting emblem of God's unceasing and tender care for His people, as in Dt 32^{10}, Ps 17^8, Zec 2^8. In Pr 7^2 the same figure represents the preciousness of the divine law; and in La 2^{18} continuous weeping is enjoined because of the terrible calamities that had befallen the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

S. T. GWILLIAM.

APPOINT.—In earlier Eng. this word had a considerable range of meaning, and there are many examples in AV of obsol. or archaic uses. To a. is literally 'to bring to a point,' *i.e.* fix or settle. **1.** If the point in question is between two or more persons, then it means to *agree*, as Jg 20^{38} 'Now there was an a^{ed} sign between the men of Israel and the liers in wait.' Cf. Job 2^{11} 'Job's three friends . . . had made an appointment together to come to mourn with him and to comfort him.' **2.** If it is one's own mind that is to be brought to a point or settled, then a. means to *resolve*, as 2 S 17^{14} 'The Lord had a^{ed} (RV 'ordained') to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel.' **3.** If it is other persons or things, then a. means (*a*) to make firm, *establish*, as Pr 8^{29} 'He a^{ed} (RV 'marked out') the foundations of the earth.' (*b*) To prescribe or *decree*, as Gn 30^{28} 'A. me thy wages, and I will give it'; 2 S 15^{15} 'Thy servants are ready to do whatsoever my lord the king shall a.' (RV 'choose'); 2 Es 3^7 'thou a^{edst} death in (RV 'for') him'; Is 30^{32} RV 'every stroke of the a^{ed} staff' (Heb. מַטֵּה מוּסָדָה 'staff of foundation,' AV 'grounded,' RVm 'of doom'); 1 Co 4^9 'a^{ed} (RV 'doomed') to death'; 1 Th 5^9 'God hath not a^{ed} us to wrath.' (*c*) To *set apart*, as Job 7^3 'wearisome nights are a^{ed} to me'; Ac 1^{23} 'they a^{ed} (RV 'put forward') two, Joseph . . . and Matthias.' Hence (*d*) to assign to some purpose or position, as Lk 10^1 'the Lord a^{ed} other seventy also.' In this sense a. is used with 'out' in Gn 24^{44} 'the woman whom the Lord hath a^{ed} out (RV 'a^{ed}') for my master's son'; Jos 20^2 'A. out for you (RV 'assign you') cities of refuge.' Last of all (*e*) in Jg $18^{11.\ 17}$ a. means to furnish or *equip*: 'six hundred men a^{ed} (RV 'girt')

with weapons of war.' With which cf. Shaks. *Tit. And.* IV. ii. 16—

'You may be armed and appointed well';

and Tindale's tr. of Lk 17[8] 'Apoynt thy selfe and serve me.' J. HASTINGS.

APPREHEND is twice used in AV in the still customary sense of 'making prisoner,' Ac 12[4], 2 Co 11[32]; but RV turns a. into 'take' in both passages, in order to make the tr. of the verb (*πιάζω*) uniform. See Jn 7[30. 32. 44] 8[20] 10[39] 11[57] 21[3. 10], Ac 3[7], Rev 19[20]. In Ph 3[12. 13] a. is found in the nearly obsol. sense of 'laying hold of,' and is used fig., 'If that I may a. that for which also I am a[ed] of (RV 'was a[ed] by') Christ Jesus' (Amer. RV 'laid hold on'). To those, the only examples of a. in AV, RV adds Jn 1[5] 'And the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness a[ed] it not' (AV 'comprehended,' RVm 'overcame,' with a ref. to Jn 12[35] 'that darkness overtake you not,' where the Gr. verb *καταλαμβάνω* is the same); and Eph. 3[18] 'that ye . . . may be strong to a.' (same Gr., AV 'may be able to comprehend'), 'a minute and over-careful change,' says Moule. See COMPREHEND. J. HASTINGS.

APPROVE.—This word has now settled down into the meaning of 'to think well of'; examples are Ps 49[13], La 3[36]. But in other passages we see it only approaching this meaning, and that from two sides. We may a. of a thing if its worth is *tested by* us, or if it is *demonstrated to* us. Hence (1) to test, or a. after testing (Gr. *δοκιμάζω* or *δόκιμος*): Ro 16[10] 'Salute Apelles, a[ed] in Christ,' 2[18] and Ph 1[10] 'thou a[est] the things that are excellent' (RVm 'provest the things that differ'), Ro 14[18], 1 Co 11[19] 16[3], 2 Co 10[18] 13[7], 2 Ti 2[15], and in RV Ro 14[22], 1 Th 2[4], Ja 1[12].* And (2) to demonstrate, or a. after demonstration: Ac 2[22] 'a man a[ed] of God among you (RV 'unto you') by miracles' (*ἀποδεδειγμένον εἰς ὑμᾶς*, 'a strong word = clearly shown, pointed out specially or apart from others; it expresses *clearness*, and suggests *certainty*.'—Page and Walpole, *Acts*, p. 18); 2 Co 6[4] 'in all things a[ing] ourselves as the ministers of God' (*συνίστημι*, RV 'commending'); 7[11] 'Ye have a[ed] yourselves to be clear in this matter' (*συνίστημι*, RV as AV). Cf. Pref. to AV (1611) 'We do seek to a. ourselves to every one's conscience.' J. HASTINGS.

APRON (חֲגוֹרָה, Gn 3[7]; *σιμικίνθιον* (*semicinctium*), Ac 19[12]).—The OT instance is sufficiently explained by the context. That of Ac 19[12] was a wrapper of coloured cotton, in shape and size resembling a bath-towel, worn by fishermen, potters, water-carriers, sawyers, etc., as a loin-cloth; worn also by grocers, bakers, carpenters, and craftsmen generally, as a protection to their clothes from dust and stains, and as something to wipe their perspiring and soiled hands upon. St. Paul would wear an a. when making tent-cloth. The laboriousness of his life at Ephesus for the support of himself and others is referred to in the farewell words at Miletus (Ac 20[34]). Handkerchiefs and aprons were chosen (Ac 19[12]) because they were light and portable, and of the same shape for all. The incident referred to is in intimate agreement with Oriental feeling. Superstition carries it to disgusting excesses, as when the foam is taken from the lips of one fallen insensible after the Moslem religious dance (*zikr*), or when torches are frantically lit from the holy fire at Jerusalem. But the underlying thought is that healing power being from above must prefer consecrated channels.

G. M. MACKIE.

APT has lost its orig. meaning of 'fitted,' which has been taken up by the compound 'adapted.' This, however, is the meaning of apt in the Bible: 2 K 24[16] 'all of them strong and a. for war' (עֹשֵׂי מִלְחָמָה,) 1 Ch 7[40]; 'a. to teach' (*διδακτικός*), 1 Ti 3[2], 2 Ti 2[24]. J. HASTINGS.

AQUILA ('Ακύλας, 'an eagle').—The first mention which we have of Aquila in Scripture is in Ac 18[2], where he is described as 'a certain Jew . . . a man of Pontus by race.' It has been conjectured that St. Luke here fell into a mistake, and should rather have described A. as belonging to the Pontian *gens* at Rome, a distinguished member of which bore the name of Pontius Aquila (see Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 33; Suet. *Jul. Cæs.* 78). But for this there is no warrant beyond the similarity of the names; while, as further confirming A.'s connexion with Pontus, we know that the A. who in the 2nd cent. translated the OT into Greek was a native of that country (compare also Ac 2[9], 1 P 1[1]). Along with Priscilla or Prisca his wife (see PRISCILLA), A. had taken up his abode in Rome, but had to flee owing to a decree of Claudius, in A.D. 52, expelling the Jews (Suet. *Claud.* 25 says, 'Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.' For the meaning to be attached to the passage, see Neander, *Pflanzung*, I. p. 332, note 2; Lightfoot on *Philippians*, p. 16, note 1; Plumptre, *Bibl. Studies*, p. 419). That the decree, however, did not remain long in force, is proved by the mention of a number of Jews in Rome shortly afterwards (Ac 28[17]), and by A.'s own return (Ro 16[3]). From Rome A. sought refuge in Corinth, where he received the apostle Paul on his second missionary journey. It has been debated whether A. had embraced Christianity before meeting Paul, or whether he owed his conversion to the apostle. Against the former view it is urged, that if he had been a Christian at the time of Ac 18[2], he would have been described by the common name of *μαθητής* or disciple; against the latter, that if Paul had brought him to the truth, the fact would hardly have remained unrecorded, and further, that community of occupation rather than community of belief is specially mentioned as having brought the two together. In the absence of fuller information it is impossible to decide the question with certainty; but the ready welcome which A. evidently accorded to one whom the bulk of his fellow-countrymen viewed with such disfavour as Paul, inclines us to the belief that when he came to Corinth he had at least accepted the first principles of the Christian faith, though his progress and growth in it he doubtless owed to the apostle. If so, he and his wife may be ranked as amongst the earliest members of the Christian Church at Rome; and it would be from them that Paul would learn those particulars regarding the state of that Church to which he afterwards refers in his Ep. (see Ro 1[8] 16[17-19]). After about eighteen months' intercourse in Corinth, A. and Priscilla accompanied Paul on his way to Syria, as far as Ephesus, where they remained behind to carry on the work, amongst those coming under their influence being Apollos (Ac 18[24-28]). They were evidently still at Ephesus when 1 Co was written; and their house had come to be regarded as the meeting-place of one of those little groups of believers into which, without any definite organisation, the Church was then divided (1 Co 16[19]; cf. Ro 16[3. 16]). From Ephesus Aquila and Priscilla returned to Rome, partly perhaps on

* Craik (*English of Shakespeare*, p. 147) points out that a. in the sense of prove or test is very frequent in Shaks. He quotes *Two Gent. of Verona*, v. iv. 43—

'O, 'tis the curse of love, and still approved,
When women cannot love where they're beloved.'

And he says: 'When Don Pedro in *Much Ado about Nothing* (II. i. 394) describes Benedick as "of approved valour," the words cannot be understood as conveying any notion of what we now call approval or approbation; the meaning is merely that he had *proved* his valour by his conduct.'

account of some great danger they had run on Paul's behalf, the warmth of the apostle's greeting proving, further, the general esteem in which they were held (Ro 16[4]). Eight years later we find them again at Ephesus (2 Ti 4[19]). The frequency of these changes of abode has caused difficulty, but, apart from the fact that an itinerant life was strictly in accord with all that we know of the Jews of that day, what more natural than that A. and Priscilla should again desire to revisit the city whence they had been driven, as soon as it was safe to do so, even supposing they were not specially sent by St. Paul to prepare for his own coming? (See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 176; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxvii and p. 418 ff.).

After 2 Ti 4[19] A. is not again mentioned in Scripture, and the evidence of tradition regarding him is very scanty. G. MILLIGAN.

AQUILA'S VERSION.—See VERSIONS (GREEK).

AR (עָר Dt 2[9], comp. עִיר 'city,' or עָר־מוֹאָב Nu 21[28], Is 15[1]), on the south bank of the river Arnon, on the northern border of the Moabite territory, situated in a pleasant valley where two branches of the river united (Nu 21[15] 22[36] 'the city of Moab' = Ar of Moab). It is possibly the same as Kerioth (Am 2[2], Jer 48[24. 41]). It is also almost certainly referred to in Dt 2[36] as 'the city that is by the river,' AV, or rather, 'in the valley,' RV (Heb. נחל, LXX *φάραγξ*). The ruins of Rabbah, though often identified with Ar, lie, not on the banks of the Arnon, but at least 10 miles farther S., and represent a later city built after the old Ar had been destroyed by an earthquake in B.C. 342.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *Deut.* p 36 (on 2[9]) and p. 45 (on 2[36]); Dillmann on Nu 21[15]; Delitzsch on Is 15[1]; Dietrich in Merx, *Archiv*, i. 320 ff.; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 111; and see further under ARNON, KERIOTH, RABBAH.

J. MACPHERSON.

ARA (אָרָא).—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7[38]). See GENEALOGY.

ARAB (אָרֵב 'ambush' (?)), Jos 15[52].—A city of Judah in the mountains near Dumah. Perhaps the ruin *Er Rabiyah* near Dômeh. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi. C. R. CONDER.

ARABAH (הָעֲרָבָה).—This word occurs only once in the AV (Jos 18[18]) in the description of the border of the lot of Benjamin; but in RV it has a more extended meaning, and is applied to at least a portion of the great valley (Wady el Arabah) which stretches from the Gulf of Akabah into the Jordanic basin. **1.** In the former sense the name applies to the broad plain of alluvial land stretching from the N. shore of the Dead Sea along the right bank of the Jordan for a distance of about 50 miles, and bounded on the W. by the broken line of steep slopes and precipitous cliffs which close in the valley from its junction with the Wady el Jôseleh southwards to the heights of Kuruntûl and the shore of the Dead Sea itself. The surface is composed of successive terraces of gypseous marl and loam, rising by steps from the river's edge to a height of 600 ft., and marking the successive levels at which the waters stood when they were receding to their present limits. Nearly all authorities are now agreed that the plain we are considering was the site of the doomed cities Sodom and Gomorrah, and afterwards of the Jericho of Joshua and the more modern city in the time of our Lord. The climate is tropical and the soil rich; and being abundantly supplied with water from the Wady el 'Aujah, the Kelt, and the Mâkuk, with natural fountains such as the 'Ain es Sultân and 'Ain Dûk, it may well have deserved the title bestowed upon it even in the days of Lot, 'the garden of the Lord' (Gn 13[10]). Near the banks of the Kelt is situated the miserable village of Er-Riha, probably the ancient Gilgal, surrounded by gardens producing lemons, oranges, bananas, figs, melons, and castor-oil trees. The copious spring of Es Sultân breaks out near the base of the limestone escarpment of Kuruntûl, and its waters are caught in a basin of solid masonry forming the ancient baths. The temperature of the water in the pool, taken on 15th January 1884, was 71° Fahr., but that of the spring itself is doubtless higher. The locality is rich in natural history objects, especially birds, of which Tristram records the bulbul (*Ixos xanthopygius*), the hopping-thrush (*Crateropus chalybeus*), the Indian blue kingfisher (*Alcyon smyrnensis*), the sun-bird (*Cinnyris osea*), Tristram's grakle (*Amydrus tristrami*), besides innumerable doves, swallows, and commoner species.

2. In the latter sense the Wady el-Arabah corresponds to the 'Wilderness of Zin' in part (Nu 34[3]), where it went up to the border of Edom on the E. Its limits are stated above; and from the Gulf of Akabah to the Ghôr the distance is about 105 miles. At its S. end the Wady el-Arabah rises gradually from the shore of the Gulf of Akabah, lined by a grove of palms, for a distance of 50 miles, and with an average breadth of 5 miles; and at this point, nearly opposite Mount Hor, it attains its summit level of (approximately) 723 ft. above that of the Red Sea, or 2015 ft. above that of the Dead Sea.*

On the E. the Arabah is bounded by the high escarpment of Edom (Mount Seir), often broken through by deep ravines which descend from the table-land of the Arabian desert; except along these ravines, the valley is almost destitute of herbage. On the W. side the Arabah is bounded by terraced cliffs of cretaceous limestone, along which the great waterless plateau of the Badiet et-Tîh (Wilderness of Paran, Gn 21[21], Nu 12[16]) terminates. The floor of the Arabah is generally formed of gravel, blown-sand, or mud flats; and these are sometimes hidden beneath vast *débâcles* of shingle brought down by torrents from the heights above and spread fan-like over the sides of the valley at the entrance to the ravines. The surface of the sandhills is often marked with the footprints of gazelles, and, to a smaller degree, of hyænas and leopards; and at intervals water can be had at springs or wells, of which the best known are the 'Ain el-Ghudyân and the 'Ayun Ghurundel at the entrance to the valley of that name.

Near the watershed (or saddle) at the limestone ridge of Er-Rishy the Arabah is contracted to a breadth of half a mile; but to the N. of this as it begins to descend towards the Dead Sea basin (the Ghôr) it widens out to a breadth of 10 miles, and follows the course of the principal stream, El-Jeib, which receives numerous branches from the Edomite mountains on the E. and the Badiet-et Tîh on the W. These streams are fed by thunderstorms in the winter months; but the Jeib is probably perennial; and along its banks, from the 'Ain Abu Werideh for several miles, thickets of young palms, tamarisks, willows, and reeds line the course of the stream. At this spot, which is 24 miles from the banks of the Dead Sea, and at the level of the Mediterranean (1292 ft. above the Dead Sea), are to be found those remarkable lacustrine terraces of marl, sand, and gravel, with numerous semi-fossil shells of the genera *Melanopsis* and *Melania*, which attest the extent to which the waters of the Dead Sea had risen in the Pleistocene period. Other

* The height of the watershed above the sea-level was determined by Major Kitchener and Mr. Armstrong in 1883 to be 660 ft., and by M. Vignes in 1880 to be 240 mètres, or 787 ft., mean 723 ft.; or 2015 ft. above the surface of the Dead Sea.

terraces of marl are to be found at intervals as the traveller descends towards the margin of the Ghōr; and here the valley breaks off in a semicircular line of cliffs formed of sand, gravel, and marl, which encloses the Dead Sea shore, and seems to be referred to in Jos 15[3] as the 'Ascent of Akrabbim.'

Geology.—The Jordan-Arabah depression owes its existence mainly to the presence of a line of 'fault,' or fracture of the crust, which may be traced at intervals from the G. of Akabah to the E. shore of the Dead Sea and onwards towards the base of Hermon. This line follows closely the base of the Edomite escarpment, and its effect is to cause the formations to be relatively elevated on the E. and depressed towards the W. Thus the cretaceous limestone (corresponding to the English chalk formation) which forms the crest of the Edomite escarpment and the plateau of the Arabian desert above Petra, at an elevation of 3000–4000 ft. above the valley, is brought down on the W. side of the same valley to its very floor at Er-Rishy, and forms (as stated above) that side of the valley throughout its whole length, breaking off in cliffs of nearly horizontal strata. The more ancient rocks which lie at the base of the Moabite and Edomite escarpment never reach the surface along the W. side of the Wady el-Arabah.* These consist of red granite and gneiss, various metamorphic schists, seamed by dykes of basalt, diorite, and porphyry; above which the carboniferous and cretaceous sandstones are piled in huge masses of nearly horizontal courses, the whole surmounted by the pale yellow beds of cretaceous limestone reaching to the summit of the escarpment. The richness of the colouring of the cretaceous sandstones, varying from orange through red to purple, has been a source of admiration to all travellers, particularly as it is displayed amongst the ruined temples and tombs of the city of Petra.†

Historical.—The Wady el Arabah appears to have been twice traversed by the Israelites: first on their way from Horeb to Kadesh Barnea, and afterwards when obliged to retrace their steps owing to the refusal of the king of Edom to allow them to pass through his land (Nu 20[21], Dt 2[8]). No passage for the host by which to circumvent Mount Seir was practicable till they reached the stony gorge of the Wady el Ithem, which enters the Arabah 4 miles N. of Akabah. Traversing this rough and glistering ravine under the rays of an almost vertical sun, it is not surprising that (as we read) 'the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way' (Nu 21[4]). In later times the Arabah became a caravan route from Arabia to Pal. and Syria. The fort and harbour of Akabah (Ezion-geber) now constitute an outpost for the Egyp. Government, beyond which its authority does not extend; the Arabah, as well as the Arabian desert, being held by independent Arab chiefs.‡

LITERATURE.—Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822; De Laborde, *Voyage en Orient*, 1828; Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*, 1889; 'The Physical Geol. and Geog. of Arabia Petræa,' etc., in *Mem. PEF*, 1886; Lartet, *Voyage d'Exploration de la Mer Morte*, t. 3me, 1880; Robinson, *BRP*, 1855; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*[5], 1860; Blankenkorn, 'Entstehung u. Gesch. des Todten Meeres,' in *ZDPV*, 1896.

Dean Stanley concurs with the view expressed above, that it was through the Wady el Ithem (W. Ithm) that the Israelites passed on their way to Moab after their retreat from Edom (*Sinai*, p. 85).

E. HULL.

* Except at Râs el-Muşry, close to W. shore of G. of Akabah.

† Stanley speaks of these colours as 'gorgeous,'—red passing into crimson, streaked with purple, yellow, and blue like a Persian carpet. *Sinai*, p. 87.

‡ The head waters of the G. of Akabah are fringed by an extensive grove of the date palm (*Phœnix dactylifera*), together with some specimens of the rarer doum palm (*Hyphœne Thebaica*), which is also found in Upper Egypt and on the banks of the Atbara. These trees are probably indigenous, as the old name of Akabah was 'Elath,' which means a 'grove of trees' (Dt 2[8]).

ARABIA (ערב, Ἀραβία), the name given by the Gr. geographers to the whole of the vast peninsula which lies between the mainlands of Asia and Africa. Of the application of the name in the Bible some account is given under ARABIAN; this article will contain a brief account of the country itself, and of the references to it in the sacred books.

i. GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY.—The shape of A. was compared by Pliny to that of Italy, but the breadth of the former is greater in comparison with its length; the length of the W. coast-line is about 1800 miles, while its breadth is about 600 miles from the Red Sea to the Pers. Gulf. The Sin. peninsula, which divides the Red Sea at its N. end into the Gulf of Suez on the W. and the Gulf of Akabah on the E., is ordinarily reckoned to A., of which the sea forms the boundary on the W., S., and E. sides. On the other hand, the N. limit is not so easily fixed. Some writers would draw an imaginary line from the head of the Gulf of Akabah to that of the Pers. Gulf; but this would cut the S. extremity of the Hamad, or stony plain which rises from the level of the Euphrates, and a little N. of 29° suddenly alters into the broken dunes of red sand called by modern writers Nefud. It seems best, therefore (with the most recent authorities), to extend the application of the name A. throughout the Hamad, making the Euphrates for the greater part of its course the N. boundary; Syria, which separates it from the Mediterranean, forming, between about lats. 32–36°, its E. neighbour.

For an incalculable period the sea has been receding from the Arabian coast, at a rate reckoned at 22 mètres yearly. Hence the peninsula is, esp. on the W. and S. sides, fringed with lowlands, called by the Arabs Tihamah; yet on parts of the E. coast the mountains rise directly from the sea. Of the long coast-line on the W. side, much is fringed with coral reefs, greatly endangering navigation. Between these and the shore in many places a narrow passage allows only ships of small burden to pass. The reefs commence in the Gulf of Akabah, where alone has their nature as yet been made the subject of minute investigation (see Valter, 'Die Korall-riffen der Sinait. Halbinsel,' *Abhandl. d. Sächs. Akad.*, Math. Klasse, vol. xiv.). The inlets in the coast form not a few harbours, of which, however, owing to the paucity of towns in the interior, only a few are of any importance: Yanbo, the port of Medina; Jiddah, the port of Mecca; Hodaida, the port of San'a, on the W. coast; Aden on the S.; Mascat on the E. Of these, Aden perhaps is the same as the port which bears the name Eden in Ezk 27[23], called Athene by Pliny, and Eudaimon Arabia by the author of the *Periplus*; while Yanbo may be the Ἰαμβία of Ptolemy. The rest were not known to the ancients, whose ports have for the most part disappeared with the advancing coast-line. Of these, the chief port of the incense country, Moscha according to the *Periplus*, Abissa Polis according to Ptolemy, has been recently identified by Mr. Theodore Bent (*Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1895) with a creek two miles long and in parts one wide near the village of Takha. Others that played an important part in ancient times, Leuke Kome, Charmotas or Charmutas, Okelis, Muza, and Canneh (Ezk *l.c.*), have been located with more or less certainty by Wellsted, Sprenger, Glaser, and other explorers. While the W. and S. coasts are broken by no very striking peninsulas, the sea which lies between A. and Persia is divided by the peninsula which ends in Ras Mesandum into the Pers. Gulf and the Sea of Oman, while the Pers. Gulf is again broken by the peninsula of Katar, to the W. of which lies the island of Bahrain, with the exception of Socotra

on the S. side, the most important of the islands which lie off Arabia.

The geological character of A. is thus described by Mr. Doughty: 'The constitution of the Arabian peninsula appears to be a central stack of Plutonic rocks which are granited with traps and old basalts, whereupon are laid sandstones (continuous with those of Petra, and probably "cretaceous"), and limestones (sometimes with flints) overlie the sandstones. Newer rocks are the volcanic, and namely of the vast "harrahs": the flint land of gravel (upon limestone with flint veins) that is A. Petræa, in which were found flint instruments (as those of Abbeville) by Mr. Doughty at Ma'n, 1875; and ancient flood soil, block drift, loams or clays in the valleys and low grounds.'

The land won from the sea constitutes the lowlands (called by the Arabs Tihamah), which fringe the peninsula, and beyond which there rise ranges of mountains on all three sides. On the N. the great Nefud, which succeeds to the stony plain, occupies the centre of the peninsula, with a greatest breadth of 150 miles, and a greatest length of 400 miles. Of this wilderness of red sand the most accurate description has been given by W. H. Blunt (in Lady Blunt's *Pilgrimage to Nejd*, vol. ii. app. i.). Far greater, however, is the untrodden desert (Ahkaf) which cuts off Central A. from the E. and S.E. provinces. The sand of these wastes has peculiar properties, which, according to Blunt, render them as different from other deserts as a glacier is from a mass of snow. To the S. of the former Nefud rises the Jebel Aja, a red granite range, stretching E. by N. and W. by S. for some 100 miles, with a mean breadth of 10–15 miles, and rising to a height of 5600 ft. (Blunt, *l.c.*). To similar heights do the mountains rise which shut in the peninsula on the W. and E. sides; Wellsted gives the measurement 6500 ft. for the peak of Mowilah (S. of the Gulf of Akabah), while 9000 ft. is the height of some portions of the Jebel Akhdar, or Green Mountains, which tower over Oman in the E. (according to the latest researches of Mr. Theodore Bent, *Contemp. Rev.* Dec. 1895). To the same height, according to W. B. Harris (*A Journey through Yemen*, 1894), do the passes by which Yemen is entered from the S. rise in places; and if the measurements of this writer are correct, the plateau of central Yemen, in the S.E., has an average altitude of 8000 ft. Farther to the E. this southern range sinks till, where it separates the incense country from the desert (about 55° long. E. of Greenwich), its elevation is not above 3000 ft.

Between the mountains and the Nefud in North A. lies El-Hisma, the great sandstone country, described by Doughty as 'a forest of square-built platform mountains, which rise to 2000 ft. above the plain; the heads may be 6000 ft. above sea-level.' Between lat. 26° and 20° vast tracts form what are called harrahs, beds of basalt, where the sandstone is covered with lava. The most northerly of these volcanic platforms, called 'Uwayrid, stretches for 100 miles in length, its middle point being about 120 miles from the Red Sea. It is thickly strewn with the craters of extinct volcanoes, so thickly that in places as many as thirty can be seen at once. The highest of these peaks, called Anaj, is 7600 ft. About lat. 16° this phenomenon is repeated. We owe descriptions of it to Doughty and Glaser.

Of the rivers of A. none are navigable; few are perennial, or reach the sea. Some such, however, have been marked in South A. by the travellers Wellsted and W. B. Harris. Most of them disappear in the sand at some part of their course. Instead of a river system there is a system of wadys, great receptacles for the water brought down by the mountains, of which the surface for large portions of the year is dry, but where water can be got by digging. Such in North A. is the Wady Sirhan, which bisects the country in a line parallel with the Euphrates; in Central A., the Wady el-Dawasir and Wady el-Rummah, N. and S. of Yemamah respectively, both issuing in the Pers. Gulf—with the former of these, or with one great tributary of it, Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. p. 347) would identify the Biblical Pishon; and the Wady el-Humd, first traced by Doughty, which traverses the Hijaz, and issues in the Red Sea. At Saihut (long. 51°), on the S. coast, there issues the Wady of Hadramaut, once probably an arm of the sea, which in its course of 100 miles receives a series of wadys that drain the mountains behind it; while the mountains of Yemen proper are drained by wadys called Maur, Surdud, Siham, Kharid, etc., of which the course was traced by Glaser ('Von Hodaida nach San'a,' in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1886).

The classical writers divided A. into A. Felix, A. Petræa, and A. Deserta. This division was based on the political condition of A. in the 1st cent. A.D., the first being free, the second (inclusive of Idumæa) subject to Rome, the third subject to Persia. In the native divisions different principles, as Sprenger (*Alt. Geog. Arab.* p. 9) has pointed out, have been confused. According to a tradition which he quotes, Mohammed, standing at Tebuk (about 28° 0′, 37° 40′), said that all to the N. was Sham (lit. the left, ordinarily used for Syria), all to the S. Yemen (the right). According to this, the name for the province of Mecca, Hijaz (lit. 'the barrier') would mean the land between Sham and Yemen. More probably it meant the 'middle region' between the lowlands and the Nejd (highlands). These last, then, are terms of physical geography; and as those by whom they were applied had no accurate instruments for determining heights, it is natural that the limits of these provinces should be very inexactly fixed. According to Blunt (*l.c.* i. 23 sqq.), Nejd includes all the land that lies within the Nefuds, 'the only doubt being whether it includes the Nefuds or not.' The treble division, Hijaz, Nejd, and Yemen, would thus include all A. within the Tihamas; Nejd itself being subdivided into seven provinces, whose names need not be given here. Ordinarily, however, it is not customary to extend the application of the name Yemen beyond 45° E. of Greenwich. Yet the name Hadramaut, applied in European maps to the vast region which extends hence to the S.E. of the peninsula, has been shown by Wellsted and Bent to be properly applied to a wady about 100 miles in length. Great discrepancies exist as to the delimitation of the province of Oman on the E. side, which, according to Palgrave (*Travels*, ii. 255), 'touches Hadramaut on the S., and Katar, or at least its immediate vicinity, on the N., forming a huge crescent, having the sea in front, and the vast desert of South A. for its background'; while the travellers Wellsted and Bent give the name a very limited application.

ii. CLIMATE, FLORA, AND FAUNA.—The fertility of portions of Yemen is so great as to have become proverbial in antiquity; and the few modern travellers who have climbed the mountains which tower above the S. coast, and have reached the tablelands beyond, speak with enthusiasm of the wealth of the soil, and the high degree of skill displayed by the natives in cultivating it. The greater part of the peninsula, however, is capable of supporting but a small population. 'Nothing like one-third of its surface,' says one of the most capable explorers, 'is cultivated without irrigation, the task of extending which beyond the valleys and natural oases is probably beyond the power of Turk or Arab. Vast spaces of unchangeable and unchanging barrenness spread themselves over it. Joining themselves to these are larger and scarcely less dreary regions, occupied by precipitous mountains accessible only to the goat; by labyrinthine sandy ravines or gorges bearing only the hardiest shrubs; and by tepid cultivated palm-oases, thick with semi-tropical vegetation' (Tweedie, *The Arabian Horse*). It must be observed that even in Yemen, according to Glaser (Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for 1884), cultivation even in this century has been steadily diminishing. Thus the plateaus between the basalt peaks were once cultivated, but are so no longer. Cultivation is indeed confined to the oases, which, of varying extent, enliven the stony plain, and to the valleys which intersect the central plateau, 'some broad, some narrow, some long and winding, some of little length, but almost all bordered with steep and sometimes precipitous banks, and looking as though they had been artificially cut out of the limestone mountain' (Palgrave). In some of the more northerly oases

not only cereals, but fruits such as the plum, the pomegranate, the fig, the great citron, sour and sweet lemons, are cultivated. The palm, which has been compared to the camel for its small need of water, is widely spread, and its dates form the staple food of the nomad population. No part of the country, however, except perhaps the desert called Ahkaf, is quite destitute of vegetation; this has been proved in the case of the Nefud by Blunt, and Doughty assures us that the harrahs form better Bedawin country than the sandstone.

The flora and fauna of A. are still imperfectly known. Glaser (*Von Hodaida nach San'a*) states that he has himself collected out of South A. more than a hundred specimens of animals and birds previously unknown. In the Nefud, Blunt 'ascertained the existence of the ostrich, the leopard, the wolf, the fox, the hyæna, the hare, the jerboa, the white antelope, and the gazelle; and of the ibex and the marmot in Jebel Aja; of reptiles the Nefud boasts, by all accounts, the horned viper and the cobra, besides the harmless grey snake; there are also immense numbers of lizards. Birds are less numerous . . . yet in the Nefud most of the common desert birds are found.' Of animals the most characteristic of A. is undoubtedly the camel, the ability of which to go without water 'twenty-five days in winter and five in summer, working hard all the time,' renders it of unique service in the desert; the 'observations on the camel' in Baron Nolde's *Reise nach Innerarabien*, 1895, ch. vii., form the latest contribution to our knowledge of this creature, with which the early Arabian poets are fond of parading their acquaintance. No less elaborate are their descriptions of the Arabian horse, seen at its best in the highlands of Nejd, of which special studies have been made by many English travellers, and most recently by the English officer, Major-General Tweedie, who would seem to have proved that the home of this animal is elsewhere. The ass is to be seen at his best in the province of Hasa, to the N.W. of the Pers. Gulf.

iii. History and Ethnology.—Of the history of A. during the period covered by OT, little is known, since the records begin much later. Some notices, however, have been collected by Assyriologists from the cuneiform inscriptions of campaigns in which the 'Arabs' were concerned. In 854, Shalmaneser II. met in battle a confederation in which was 'Gindibu the Arab' with 1000 camels. In the next century Tiglath-pileser III. makes an expedition into A., and in the latter half of it we find Assyr. influence extending over the N.W. and E. of the peninsula; and in the following century many tribes which can be identified with more or less certainty as occupying localities in inner A. were defeated by Esarhaddon at Bazu (Buz). From these inscriptions, interesting as they are, we learn, however, little more than the names of states and occasionally of kings, many of which offer easy Arab. etymologies. The peninsula might seem to have been occupied by a number of independent tribes, subordinate to no central authority, —a state of things to which the difficulty of communication has very frequently reduced it. Nor is much more light to be obtained from the classical authors, who till the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. had only vague ideas about the peninsula. Great collections of inscriptions have, however, been made both in N. and S. Arabia by European scholars, esp. Arnaud, Halévy, and Glaser; and although many of the most remarkable of these still await publication, the Arabian states, of which merely the names had been recorded by Pliny and Ptolemy, and of which only a vague tradition circulated among the Arabs, have become far more familiar than formerly, and something has been learnt about their lines of kings, the extent of their territory, and their wars and alliances. To the Eng. travellers Wellsted and Cruttenden belongs the merit of having first called attention to the existence of the ruined cities in South A., whence the most important of these documents have been brought. Of the nations thus rescued from oblivion the most important were the Minæans (the מעונים of the Heb. records) and Sabæans, whose dialects differed in certain particulars, while both had more in common with Heb. than with Arabic. A third monarchy, of which the indigenous name was Lihyan, has left traces of its existence and its language in North A., but far less distinct in their nature than those of the former two.

The chief towns of the Minæans were Ma'in, Karnau, and Yatil, all of them in South A.; yet the presence of Minæan inscriptions at El-'Ula in North A. would seem to show that their power was not confined to the S. of the peninsula, and some scholars would extend it as far N. as Gaza. While D. H. Müller would make the Minæan empire simultaneous with the Sabæan, arguments are adduced by Glaser and Hommel which make it probable that the latter State was one of several that sprang out of the ruins of the Minæan empire. Of these arguments, besides the greater antiquity of the Minæan character and dialect, may be noticed the fact that most of the names occurring in the Minæan inscriptions are prehistorical, while those in the Sabæan inscriptions can frequently be identified; that the Minæans are not mentioned in the Assyr. inscriptions, and must therefore have been powerful at an epoch prior to the intervention of the Assyrians in the affairs of A.; that whereas Saba is mentioned in some Minæan inscriptions, the Minæans are never mentioned in those of Saba. It is urged, on the other hand, that the acquaintance with the Minæans shown by Gr. writers and in late parts of the Bible (1 Ch 4^{41}, Job 2^{11} LXX) is inconsistent with the hoary antiquity assigned them; to which the answer given by Glaser, that the classical writers are acquainted with them as a nation but not as an empire, is perhaps insufficient. The Minæan rule of El-'Ula is thought to have extended over at least nine generations (Hommel, *Aufsätze*, p. 27); and the statement in Jg 10^{12} (cf. 2 Ch 20^{1}), that the Israelites before they had kings had been saved from the Minæans, implies that their power extended far north. Like other Oriental States, it is probable that the power of Ma'in varied greatly with the capacity of particular rulers; for, while from the Inscr. Halévy 504 it might appear that the Minæan king Waqah-il Yatha' was a vassal of the king of Kataban, his son Il-yafa-Yathar was a great conqueror, who extended his rule over the whole region S. of Jauf from E. to W. Lastly, we may notice as of great historical interest the Inscr. Halévy 535, which tells us of their successful resistance of an invasion of Saba and Haulan, and how their god Atthar saved them from trouble in a war that broke out between the king of the N. and the king of the S. This invasion of Saba was, if Glaser's theory be correct, one of a series of attacks continued for a period of 200 years, during which the princes of Saba were endeavouring to undermine the Minæan power,—an end achieved (according to the same scholar's reckoning) about 820 B.C. Both the inscriptions and the Bible tell us more of Saba, the tribe whose kings were the chief power in the south of A., till about A.D. 300 they gave way to the Abyssinians. Their capital was Marib (Mariaba of the classics), some 45 miles E. of San'a, famous for the great dam, the breaking of which was regarded by the Arab chroniclers as the immediate cause of the decline of the Sabæan empire (Sheba, Saba). The Sabæan empire was, without doubt, simultaneous with monarchies of Kataban, Hadramaut (with its chief town Sabata), Raidan, and Habashah, all of which are mentioned as included in a treaty in an interesting inscription commented on by Glaser (*Die Abyssinier in Arabien*, p. 68 ff.), and assigned by him to the 2nd cent. B.C. Habashah, corresponding with the region now known as Mahra, was, according to the same author's calculations, absorbed by Hadramaut about A.D. 45; the Katabanian state (with Timna for its capital) was ruined at some time in the 2nd cent. B.C.; and from an inscription of extraordinary interest, published on p. 118 of the work last quoted, we learn how the prince of Raidan and Himyar was defeated by the king of Saba in spite of the former's alliance with Habashah, and from that time (B.C. 115?) the kings of Saba style themselves kings of Saba and of Raidan. When the Katabanians disappear from the inscriptions, the Himyar (the Homeritæ of the classical authors) come into prominence; and at the commencement of our era the south of A. was shared by three monarchs, of Himyar, Hadramaut, and Saba with Raidan. Aided by the Sassanians, the Himyars presently became all-powerful in South A.; in the middle of the 4th cent. the monument of Adulis tells us that the Sabæan power had been overthrown, and the Abyssinians became rulers of Yemen; in 378 the Arabs had made head against the Abyssinians, and indeed confined them to the Tihamah, but in 525 the Abyssinians, with the countenance of the Byzantine empire, in a victorious campaign killed the king of the Himyars.

The condition of A., as represented by the authors of the inscriptions, is very different from

the nomad and patriarchal condition which we ordinarily associate with the name Arab, and which is certainly associated with it in the Bible. The Sabæans and Minæans are people of fixed habitations; they build fortresses, and live in walled cities; they raise massive temples, and construct works of irrigation on a grand scale. War forms only an occasional incident in their lives; the main source of their wealth is commerce; and besides agriculture, they carry on mining and manufactures. Texts containing 'ordres de police' give evidence, says M. Halévy, 'd'une haute perfection d'organization civile, et de l'existence d'un code pénal chez les Sabéens.' Their inscriptions are, many of them, specimens of the most finished workmanship, and show signs of the cultivation of other fine arts; nor can their civilisation be shown to have been derived from any other nation. Their Pantheon, says the same writer, was marvellously rich, and of prodigious variety. The temples of both the chief races were built east of the towns, which would point to the worship of the sun; yet this cannot be shown to have existed among the Minæans; neither do the Minæan documents show the worship of Al-Makah, the chief Sabæan deity. Common to both was the worship of Attar (the male Ashtoreth), who in Minæan texts appears in the two forms of שרקן and ערבן, which, in the opinion of D. H. Müller, mean the rising and setting sun. Two female deities, Wadd and Nikrah, interpreted by the same writer as 'Love' and 'Hate,' also occupy an important place in the Minæan Pantheon.

Yet from the nature of things civilisation of this kind can only have existed in South A. and the oases; the life of the dwellers in the 'black tents,' as described by Burckhardt and Doughty in this century, must have existed from immemorial time in the desert. Several writers, indeed, suppose the difference between the nomad Arabs and the stationary Arabs to be one of race; and, strange as it may seem, the purest Arab blood is supposed to be found in the latter (*'āribah*); while the name of the former contains the idea of Arab by adoption (*muta'arribah*). Neither half of the Arab stock can be traced with any probability to any other country; and ethnologists are now with something like unanimity making A. the home of the whole Semitic race; and the emigrations of the Shammar and Anezah clans northwards in search of richer pasturage than the A^n deserts afford, emigrations which have taken place within the last century, represent the continuation of a series of similar waves of which the commencement is prehistoric, all brought about by the same causes, though not all following the same direction. The fact that the names by which they call their towns and villages, as well as the natural features of their country, are all Arabic, and bear no trace of the memory of another home, is, as Gen. Tweedie has pointed out, strikingly in favour of the theory which makes the Arabs autocthonous.

This autocthony naturally does not exclude the presence of a certain number of colonists. Four Greek colonies are mentioned by Pliny, Ampelone, Arethusa, Chalkis, and Larissa, of which the first only seems capable of identification; Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 154) tries to find it on the coast of Hijaz. Being a Milesian colony, it must have been planted not later than the 6th cent. B.C. The name Javan, mentioned in Ezk 27^{19} in a context which points to A., is possibly to be interpreted of a Gr. colony in the peninsula; and the statement of Diodorus (iii. 43), that a tribe on the W. coast of A. cultivated friendly relations with Greeks of Bœotia and the Peloponnesus, may have been rightly connected with the existence of these colonies by Glaser (*l.c.* p. 155). Jewish colonies also existed in A. long before the time of the Prophet Mohammed; in the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. they would seem to have been favoured by the Persians in opposition to the Christian communities which had the support of the W. empire (*Die Abyssinier in Arabien*, p. 175).

The ethnological tables of Gn would seem to take special note of the inhabitants of A., who are assigned places in the human family in the following passages: Gn 10^{7} (children of Cush), 10$^{22.23}$ (children of Shem), 10$^{25-30}$ (children of Eber), 25$^{1-4}$ (children of Abraham and Keturah), 25$^{12-18}$ (Ishmaelites). The eminent explorer Carsten Niebuhr argued from the number of places in Yemen and Hadramaut mentioned by 'Moses' in these places that the legislator must himself have travelled in the country; but his attempts at identifying them do little towards confirming this proposition. More elaborate attempts have been made in more recent times, notably by Glaser in his *Skizze*, ii. 314–470, without, however, producing many convincing results. The tables are not quite consistent, as the same names are assigned different pedigrees; but this Glaser would account for by supposing the tables compiled at different periods between the 11th and the 6th cent. B.C. Some of the names, such as Sheba and Dedan, are known from other parts of Scripture, and are otherwise famous; a few, *e.g.* Hadramaut (חצרמות), can be identified with certainty; several, esp. Ophir and Havilah, are frequently mentioned in Scripture, but are difficult to localise. Most of the names, however, occur in these tables only; and as we are quite ignorant of the sources from which their compiler drew, endeavours to localise them would seem to have little scientific value. They doubtless signified to the compiler tribes or nations; but the ordinary rule for the interpretation of these patronymic pedigrees, according to which the fathers stand to the sons in the relation of genus to species, cannot be applied to them. Thus the great nation of Sheba is called a son of Ra'mah (probably the Regma of Ptolemy, a town on the Pers. Gulf, Glaser, p. 252), which is co-ordinated with it in Ezk 27^{22}, and Ra'mah itself a son of Cush. Still stranger is it that the patriarch of the Arab nations, including Ophir and Hadramaut, Joktan, should have left so little trace in A. that Sprenger (*Geog.* p. 50) is fain to identify the name with Bishat Yakzan, a station on the incense road. Glaser, perhaps with greater probability, connects it with Katan, a town of Hadramaut. It is probable, therefore, that these tables, so far from being exact, are as vague as might be expected in the case of so vast and unexplored a country. Even Saba, which we know to have been a powerful empire, is vaguely spoken of by the prophets as a distant country (Jer 6^{20}, Jl 3^{8}), in NT as at the ends of the earth (Mt 12^{42}, Lk 11^{31}).

iv. TRADE AND COMMERCE.—The chief importance of A. to the ancients lay in its exports, of which the most renowned was **incense**, a gum obtained from a certain tree by incisions made in the bark. The country where this product is cultivated is a narrow strip of the S. coast from about 53–55° long. E. of Greenwich, its headquarters being the ancient city of Dafar (probably the ספר of Gn 10^{30}). After doubts had been cast even on the possibility of A. producing incense (see the excursus on this in Ritter, *Erdkunde von Arabien*), this region was visited by Mr. Theodore Bent in 1895, who described the industry in the *Nineteenth Century* for Oct. of that year. It is uncertain whether its cultivation ever extended over a much greater area than now.

Sprenger (*Geog.* p. 299) regards the incense country as 'the heart of the commerce of the ancient world,' owing to the vast amount of it required for religious rites, and terms the Arabs, or, more nearly, the inhabitants of the incense country, 'the founders of commerce as it existed in the ancient world.' It is perhaps noteworthy that the verb 'Arab' and its derivatives are used in Heb. to signify 'commerce.' The incense traffic of A. is alluded to by all the ancient writers who speak of that country, and it formed the basis of the proverbial wealth of the Sabæans, who regulated it with the utmost precision and severity (see Sprenger, *l.c.* pp. 269–303). Reference is made to this in the *locus classicus* for ancient commerce, Ezk 27^{22}. Other scents and spices are also mentioned as Arabian exports; but we notice as interesting the observation of Glaser (*l.c.* p. 426), that the particular spices mentioned in Ezk 27^{19} as exported from a place we have grounds for locating in South A. do not really grow there. Almost as famous as the incense was the Arabian gold. The gold used by Solomon for gilding the temple is stated (2 Ch 3^{6}) to have come from Parwaim, which is plausibly

identified by Glaser (*l.c.* 347) with Sak-el-Farwain, a place mentioned by the Arabian geographer Hamdani, who has preserved many notices of gold mines at one time worked in Central A. (see Sprenger, pp. 49–63, and Glaser, p. 347 ff.). And since in Gn 10[29] Ophir, which by the time of the composition of the Bk of Job has become a synonym for gold, is called a son of Joktan, various scholars have attempted to localise that famous gold-producing region somewhere in Arabia; and there are still more forcible reasons for placing there the land of Havilah, 'where is gold, and the gold of that land is good' (Gn 2[11]), which Glaser has endeavoured to identify with the province Yemamah. Precious stones, as well as gold and spices, were brought by the S. Arabian queen to Solomon (1 K 10[2]); and these are mentioned by Ezk (27[22]) as the merchandise of Saba. The exportation of iron from Uzal, if that be the right reading, and if the tradition which identifies Uzal with San'a be correct (Ezk 27[19]), would agree with the fact that the steel of San'a is still in high repute; moreover, Mr. Doughty found places in Central A. where iron might be worked with profit. In the same passage of Ezk, Kedar and North A. are made to deal in cattle, and Dedan in horse-cloths. There is further mention in 27[24], if the text be correct, of embroidered textures 'in well-secured chests' from Eden (and perhaps other S. Arabian ports). This would correspond with the high state of civilisation which from the inscriptions we know the S. Arabians at early times to have attained. Sprenger, *ZDMG* xlii. 332, states that before the time of Islam leather was the chief export of Arabia.

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ARABIAN.—This word is used in different senses. **1.** In Is 13[20] and Jer 3[2] it stands for 'an inhabitant of the desert or steppe' (Heb. עֲרָבִי from עֲרָבָה), without any indication of nationality.

2. In the pre-exilic authors we read occasionally of a tribe called collectively עֶרֶב, rendered in the EV 'Arabia' (1 K 10[15], Jer 25[24], Ezk 27[21]). As the consonants of this word are the same as those of the word rendered 'mingled people' (Jer 25[20] etc.), and also of the word rendered 'evening,' it is not always certain which should be read. Thus in Is 21[13] the word rendered in EV 'Arabia' should more probably be tr. 'evening'; while in 2 Ch 9[14] the punctuation which signifies A. is substituted for the 'mixed tribes' intended by the punctuators of 1 K 10[15]. These 'Arabians' are also mentioned in the Assyr. inscriptions (see ARABIA), where the name of one of their kings is given. Herodotus (iii. 5) also speaks of an Arabian king through whose territories the Pers. king Cambyses had to obtain a pass before he could cross the desert to Egypt; and the same historian gives us the name of a port on the Mediterranean belonging to the Arabs, of which the name (Ienysus) can be easily interpreted from the Arabic (cf. *anisa*), but of the existence of which we possess no other notice. The Arabian territory, according to this author, was wedged in between lands belonging to the 'Syrians.' In the Bible this tribe is connected with Dedan and Kedar, and is probably therefore to be located in N. Arabia; the fact that it had a king makes it probable that it possessed some fixed habitations or towns, since that word is ordinarily associated with a royal residence. The etymology of the name, like most names of nations, is hidden in obscurity.

3. In the post-exilic records, where we meet with the word, it ordinarily signifies *Nabatæan*. In 2 Mac 5[8] we read of Aretas, the king of the Arabians; now Aretas was the name of several of the Nabatæan kings, as we know from their own inscriptions; and Procopius speaks of Petra as the capital of the Arabs, whereas it was famous as the capital of the Nabatæans. The Romans, who from the time of the ill-starred expedition of Ælius Gallus (B.C. 24), in which the Nabatæans were their allies against the Arabs, had good cause to distinguish the two races, do not often confuse them; yet both Diodorus and Procopius (quoted by Quatremère) fall into this mistake. By the term 'Arabia,' then, St. Paul (Gal 1[17] 4[25]) probably means the territory of the Nabatæans, which in the period of their greatest prosperity extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. One of their kings was the Aretas whose ethnarch in Damascus endeavoured to arrest St. Paul (2 Co 11[32]). The misapplication of ethnic names is exceedingly common; and in this context it may be noticed that in the Sabæan inscriptions the Sabæans distinguish themselves from the Arabians (ערבן; see J. Dérenbourg in *CIS* iv. fasc. 2, p. 93), with whom classical antiquity identified them. Perhaps 'Nabatæan' is the sense to be attached to the name 'Arabian' applied to Nehemiah's opponent Geshem (Neh 2[19]), or Gashmu (Neh 6[6]), whose name in its latter form bears a genuinely Nabatæan appearance. The important part played by this race was first pointed out by Quatremère in his *Étude sur les Nabatéens* (1835), the results of which were condensed by Ritter in his *Erdkunde von Arabien* (1846, i. p. 111 ff.). The inscriptions discovered at Madāin Sālih by Mr. Doughty (*Documents épigraph. recueil. dans le nord de l'Arabie*, Paris, 1884), and recopied by Euting (*Nabat. Inschrif.* 1885), have thrown considerable light on their language, institutions, and history. Having originally come from Mesopotamia, this tribe profited by the weakness of the last Bab. kings to seize Petra, the ancient capital of the Idumæans. The unique position of this fortress at the meeting-place of three great commercial routes was the source of the wealth which enabled them to attain a remarkable degree of civilisation and luxury. Their first appearance in history is in B.C. 312, when, according to Diodorus (xix. ch. 95 sqq.), they successfully resisted Athenæus, the general sent against their fortress by Antigonus, king of Syria; their last in A.D. 106, when A. Petræa was turned into a Rom. province by Cornelius Palma. The possession of Damascus by Aretas IV. ('Philopatris,' mentioned in several of the Madāin Sālih inscriptions) is to be ascribed to a temporary arrangement of the emperor Gaius. The fact that the Nabatæan empire extended to El-Hijr, called afterwards Madāin Sālih, is certified for the time of Augustus by the Rom. records. The notices of the Nabatæans in ancient literature are put together by von Gutschmidt in the appendix to Euting's *Nabatæische Inschriften*.

4. The employment of the name Arab for an inhabitant of any portion of the vast peninsula known to us as Arabia, begins somewhere in the 3rd cent. B.C., though the only trace of it in OT is in 2 Ch 21[16], where the 'Arabians that are near the Ethiopians' would seem naturally to refer to the neighbours of the Habashah, whom there are grounds for placing in the extreme S. of Yemen; it is not, however, clear how these tribes could interfere in Jewish politics. In 2 Ch 26[7] God is said to have helped Uzziah against 'the Arabians who dwelt in Gur-Baal,' and the Minæans; as this notice is not found in 2 K, its accuracy is open to suspicion; moreover, the name Gur-Baal bears no trace of Arabian nomenclature, and only vague conjectures can be hazarded about its situation. Equally uncertain is the use of the name in 2 Ch 17[11]. An Arab prince Zabdiel is mentioned in 1 Mac 11[17] as murdering the Syrian king Alexander Balas, who had taken refuge in 'Arabia'; and another Imalkuæ, or Iamblichus, as rearing the same Alexander's son (11[39]). The residence of

these princes, according to Diodorus (*Excerpt.* 32. 1), was called 'Αβαι. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ARABIC VERSIONS.—Arab. VSS of the Bible have been made from various sources, chiefly Gr., Syr., and Coptic. It is, however, most improbable that any Christian Arab. literature is as old as the time of Mohammed. There were Christians in the Arab. kingdom of Ghassân, E. of Damascus, and at Nejrân in S. Arabia, but, to judge from our very scanty historical information about the progress of the Church in these regions, the ecclesiastical language was Syriac.* It was not till after the success of the Koran had made Arabic into a literary language, and the conquests of Islam had turned large portions of Christian Syria and Egypt into Arabic-speaking provinces, that the need of translations of Scripture in the Arabic vernacular was really felt.

The extant forms of NT in Arabic are best divided according to the languages from which they are derived. Thus we have—(i.) translations from the Syriac; (ii.) translations directly from the Greek; (iii.) translations from the Coptic; at a later period we have also (iv.) eclectic combinations of the first three classes. It will be convenient to take the various divisions of NT separately.

THE FOUR GOSPELS.—(i.) *Trs. from the Syr.*—The oldest representative of this class, perhaps the oldest monument of Arab. Christianity, is the tr. of the Gospels in a MS formerly belonging to the Convent of Mar Saba near Jerus., now Cod. Vaticanus *Arab.* 13, called by Tischendorf ar^{vat} (Greg. *cod.* 101), and generally assigned to the 8th cent.† From some Gr. Iambics at the end of the MS we learn that it originally belonged to a certain Daniel of Emesa, and contained the Psalter, the Gospels, the Acts, and all the Epp.; of these only fragments of the Gospels‡ and the Pauline Epp. now remain. The style is somewhat paraphrastic, but internal evidence conclusively shows that the Gospels have been tr. not directly from the Gr., but from the Syriac Vulgate (Peshîttâ).§

This free tr. from the Syr. Vulg. was probably made in some locality where Syr. had been the ecclesiastical language, and seems to have been soon discarded at Mar Saba for a more literal version made directly from the Greek. In other words, the Gospel text of ar. *vat* was already obsolete by the 9th cent. A.D. No other Arabic version can claim such a high antiquity.*

Another tr. from the Syr. Vulg. is found in cod. Tisch. 12 at Leipzig (Greg. *cod.* 75), a bilingual Syr.-Arab. MS of the 10th cent., brought to Europe by Tischendorf from the Syrian Convent of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert. A few leaves are at the British Museum (addl. 14467). This MS has been fully described by Gildemeister. The tr. keeps closely to Syr. Vulg., but some renderings recall the phraseology of ar. *vat*, *e.g.* ليس لي بأهل in Mt 10^{37m}. for 'is not worthy of me.' This idiomatic phrase is not used in the later Arab. VSS.

Here may be noticed the Arab. VS of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which has been edited in full from two MSS at Rome by Ciasca (Eng. tr. by Hamlyn Hill). This VS was made, in the early part of the 11th cent., by the well-known scholar Abu'l Faraj ibn eṭ-Ṭayyib from a form of the Syriac *Diatessaron* in which the text had been almost wholly assimilated to Syr. Vulg. It is therefore nearly worthless as an authority for the text, though most valuable for recovering the arrangement of Tatian's Harmony.

(ii.) *Trs. from the Gr.*—An Arab. tr. made directly from the Gr. appears in some MSS of the 9th cent., such as cod. K. ii. 31, in the Propaganda at Rome, and the fragments of Tischendorf's 'Lectionary' now at Leipzig (Greg. *cod.* 76). Both MSS come from Mar Saba.† Very similar to these is the Sinai MS *Arab.* 75.‡ These MSS have the Gr. τίτλοι and liturgical notes. They are perhaps ultimately derived from a bilingual Gr.-Arab. uncial MS generally quoted as Θ^{h}, of which only four leaves remain, one in its original home at the Convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, and three in the collection of Bp. Porphyry.§

(iii.) *Trs. from the Coptic.*—Most MSS of the Copt. (Bohairic) NT are accompanied by an Arab. VS. Among these cod. Vat. *Copt.* 9, written in 1202 A.D. (Greg. *cod. Copt.* 30) seems to have been used as a kind of standard text.‖ We shall see later on that the text of this MS is the ultimate source of all the printed edd. of the Gospels in Arabic.

(iv.) *The two Eclectic Revisions.*—None of the Arab. texts hitherto considered have been in any sense an official VS, and they present all the confusing variety natural in such independent productions. The need of a more fixed type, and one which took account of all three great national Vulgates of the E.,—the Gr., the Syr., and the Copt.,—was felt by the 13th cent., especially in Egypt, where Arabic had quite supplanted the native dialect.

The first revised ed. of this kind was made about 1250 A.D. at Alexandria by Hibat Allâh ibn el-'Assâl. This work, of which several MSS survive, consists of a revised text of the Gospels with various readings from the Gr., the Syr., and the Copt.¶ It was, however, found too cumbrous for a popular VS, and towards the end of the 13th cent. was

* Ibn Ishâc about the middle of the 8th cent. A.D. (Wüstenfeld's *Ibn Hishâm*, p. 150) quotes Jn 15^{23}-16^{1} as a prophecy concerning Mohammed; but the words are only a rough rendering from the 'Palestinian' Syr. version, not a quotation from an already existing Arab. tr. See Guidi, *Evv.* p. 6.

† The only accurate description of Vat. *Arab.* 13 is in Guidi, *Evv.* p. 8. Considerable extracts from the MS are given in Scholz, *Krit. Reise*, pp. 118–124.

‡ Mt 10^{27}–middle of 26, Mk 5^{19}–16^{3a}, Lk 7^{11}–beginning of 10.

§ *E.g.* in the account of the Temptation (Lk 4$^{1-13}$), Syr. Vulg. and ar. *vat* exactly agree in the names of the Evil One. In vv.$^{1.}$ $^{3.}$ ^{6} and ^{13} ὁ διάβολος is rendered by Syr. Vulg. 'the Accuser'; ar. *vat* has المحال 'the Slanderer,' and in v.^{1} المحال الواشي 'the calumniating Slanderer' (for the rendering of المحال see 2 Ti 3^{3} in all Arab. VSS). But in v.^{5} Syr. Vulg. has 'Satan,' so ar. *vat* has الشيطان. The Arab. VSS not derived from the Syr. have in all these passages ابليس (=διάβολος), but in v.^{8} they insert يا شيطان to render the Gr. σατανᾶ, a word here omitted by both Syr. Vulg. and ar. *vat*.

It is worth noticing in this connexion that Syr. Vulg. and ar. *vat* alone among critical authorities agree in inserting the name 'Jesus' in Lk 4^{17}.

Ar. *vat* has been wrongly cited (*e.g.* by Tischendorf) as *omitting* the 'last twelve verses' of Mk. It is owing to accidental loss of leaves that the MS breaks off *just before the end* of Mk 16^{8}, thus:—فلم يقولا لاحد شيا لانهما كانتا as Prof. Guidi has been kind enough to ascertain for this article.

* Some of the missing portions of ar. *vat* in Mt have been supplied in a hand of the 10th cent. From the style and vocabulary they seem to have been copied from the original MS before the leaves were lost.

† Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 9, 10; *ZDMG* viii. 585. For later developments of this VS, see Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 11, 12.

‡ Mrs. Gibson, *Cat. of Arab. MSS*, frontispiece.

§ The Arab. text of the Sinai leaf is printed by Dr. Rendel Harris in Mrs. Lewis' *Cat. of Syr. MSS*, Appx. p. 105. It seems to be the conjugate of one of Bp. Porphyry's leaves.

‖ Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 17, 23.

¶ For details of Ibn el-'Assâl's work, see Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 18–22, and Prof. Macdonald in *Hartford Seminary Record*, April 1893.

superseded by the modern 'Alex. Vulgate.' This is little more than the text of Vat. *Copt.* 9, filled out by inserting from the Syr. or the Gr. those numerous passages where the ancient Copt. VS did not contain words found in Syr. Vulg. and in the Gr. text of the Middle Ages. In many MSS of this Alex. Vulg. (ar. alex.) these passages are indicated by marginal notes.*

Besides these main types of text there are several later MSS of the Gospels in Arabic in which the language has been corrected or embellished. Guidi (*Evv.* p. 29) also mentions some late MSS from Spain which appear to present a tr. of the Latin Vulgate.

The printed edd. of the Gospels in Arabic are all forms of the Alex. Vulg. Of these the chief are the Rom. ed. of 1591, the ed. of Erpenius (Leyden, 1616), and Lagarde's ed. of the Vienna MS (Greg. *cod.* 36). The last is the only ed. containing the marginal notes which belong to ar. alex. Some edd. of Syr. Vulg. for use among the Maronites, of which the most accessible is the Paris reprint of 1824, contain also a Carshûnî VS (ar. carsh). This, however, is simply ar. alex. slightly modified to suit the Peshîṭṭâ.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.—(i.) *Trs. from the Gr.* of the fourteen Epp. of St. Paul are found in ar. *vat* (8th or 9th cent., see above), and in a Sinai MS (ar. *sin.*-Paul) of the 9th cent., the text of which was published by Mrs. Gibson in 1894. Ar. *vat* has the so-called 'Euthalian' sections, etc. †; ar. *sin*, which is quite independent of ar. *vat*, is remarkable for having no 'Euthalian' matter, but nevertheless it represents the late Antiochian text mixed with a few good readings.‡

(ii.) *A Tr. from the Syr.* is found in a MS now at St. Petersburg (Greg. *cod.* 134), brought by Tischendorf 'from the E.' It is dated 892 A.D., and appears to have been rendered from a Nestorian copy of the Peshîṭṭâ,§ but with glosses and additions like the Gospel text in ar. *vat*. From the VS found in this MS (ar. *pet*) is ultimately derived that of the printed edd. of Erpenius, and the Carshûnî ed. of 1824. The latter agrees very closely with B. M. *Harl.* 5474 (dated 1288 A.D.).

THE ACTS AND CATHOLIC EPISTLES.—No direct Arab. tr. from the Gr. is known for the Acts and major Cath. Epp. The chief edd. (ar. erp and ar. carsh) seem to be, as in the Gospels, an eclectic mixture of the Copt., the Gr., and the Syr. In the disputed Cath. Epp., which had no place in the Peshîṭṭâ (2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, Jude), the tr. appears to have been made directly from the Greek.

A tr. from the Syr. of Ac and all seven Cath. Epp. (in the Gr. order) is found in a 9th cent. vellum MS at Sinai (Mrs. Gibson's *Cat.*, No. 154). In this text, while the other parts are from Syr. Vulg., the disputed Cath. Epp. are translated from the Pocockian VS (Syr. bodl.), now generally printed in edd. of Syr. Vulg., and which is probably a fragment of the Philoxenian VS before its revision by Thomas of Harkel.* This MS is thus perhaps the oldest witness for Syr. bodl., though it does not contain the purest text.

THE APOCALYPSE.—The Apoc. was not a canonical book among the E. Churches; the Arab. VSS, therefore, vary greatly. Ar. erp is here perhaps a combination of the Gr. and the Copt. Ar. carsh contains some peculiar double renderings (*e.g.* Rev $1^{5.6}$), but their source is not very clear. It is not a tr. of the printed Syr. text.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—Arab. VSS of OT fall under four heads, *viz.* trs. from the Gr., from the Syr., from the Heb., and from the Sam. Of these the greater bulk still remains in unexamined MSS, only a portion of the various sources having been printed. The great Paris Polyglott contains a complete Arab. text of the whole OT except the Apocr., and this text has been repeated with minor variations in Walton's Polyglott and in the Newcastle ed. of 1811, but it presents a singularly mixed text. The Pent. is the version of Sa'adya (see below). Jos is also from the Heb., but it does not directly appear that Sa'adya was the translator. Jg, S, K, and Ch are all from the Peshîṭṭâ, as is also the Book of Job. The Prophets, Psalms, and Proverbs are from the Greek, the Prophets being a tr. made by a priest of Alexandria from a good uncial MS resembling cod. A. This curious jumble rests upon an Egyp. MS of the 16th cent. used by the editors of the Polyglott (see Cornill's *Ezechiel* and Slane's *Cat. des. MSS arabes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 1).

Of the trs. from the Peshîṭṭâ there are several MSS. The Psalter was printed in Carshûnî by the Maronites in 1610 at a convent in the Wâdy Qûzhayya (*'Psalterium qûzhayyensis'*), and reprinted by Lagarde. Some lacunæ in the Paris Polyglott (Cornill enumerates Ezk 11^{12} 13^{4} 24^{6b-27} 27^{32} $42^{17.19}$) are supplied in Walton from an Oxford MS of this class.

There are also MSS containing a tr. from the Copt. VS of the LXX. Of this Lagarde has published Job (Psalterium, etc., 1876). An ed. of the Psalter and Cant. with critical notes similar to the work of Ibn-el-'Assâl (see above), is to be found in B. M. *Arund. Or.* 15.

Several MSS present an Arab. tr. made from the Sam. Pent. Specimens (incl. Ex 3, 4) are to be found in a Programm by van Vloten, Leyden, 1803. The best MS is probably that in the Cambridge University Library (*addl.* 714).

The Arab. tr. of certain books of OT made direct from the original Heb. have an interest of their own for the history of interpretation, though they almost invariably conform strictly to the MT. Most of these trs. are from the pen of Sa'adya (סעדיה, Ar. سعيد) the Ga'ôn, a learned Rabbi, born in the Fayyûm in Upper Egypt (A.D. 892–942). His Biblical trs. have been published as follows: the Pent. at Constantinople in 1546, and again in the Polyglotts (see above); Is. by Paulus, 1790–91;† Cant. by Merx, 1882; Pr. capp. 1–9, by Bondi, 1888; Job, by Cohn, 1889. In addition to these there is the tr. of Jos in the Polyglotts mentioned above. Other VSS from the Heb., such as that in the

* Guidi, *Evv.* pp. 22–24. He also points out (p. 35 ff.) the highly important fact that the late text from which most MSS of the Eth. VS have been corrupted is none other than ar. alex.

† For Ro (Scholz, *Krit. Reise*, p. 122) the numbers are: 5 sect., 19 capp., 34 (*sic*) quot. from OT, and 920 *stichi*. Scholz also transcribes the whole of Philem and a few other passages. As ar. *vat* has been wrongly quoted in 1 Tim 3^{16} for θεὸς, I give the whole passage (from Scholz): وحقا ان سر خشيه الله هو عظيم الذي ابدي بالجسد. The fact that the two dots of ὅ are never written in this MS seems to have prevented Schol from recognising that خشية الله simply represents ὑσσίβεια. Scholz's text has ادى (for ابدي).

‡ See, *e.g.*, Ro 16^{5}, Gal 6^{15}.

§ See *ZDMG* viii. 584; Delitzsch, *Hebräer*, pp. 764–768, who quotes the extraordinary rendering of ar. *pet* in He 2^{9}: *and so he without God, who had united Himself with him as a temple, tasted death for all men.* The variant χωρὶς θεοῦ is not found in Syr. Vulg. except in Nestorian copies. In ar. erp this is emended to express χάριτι θεοῦ, and in ar. carsh we have '*God by His grace*,' as Syr. Vulg. See Gildemeister, p. 1 (n.), who brings forward He 5^{8} as another instance where ar. erp and ar. carsh have a corruption of the text of ar. *pet*.

* Gwynn, *Trans. of R. Irish Acad.* xxx. pp. 375, 376.

† 'Very faulty. . . . Solomon Munk made important contributions to a more accurate text in vol. ix. of Cohen's great Bible (Paris, 1838)': Cheyne's *Isaiah*, vol. ii. p. 269.

17th cent. MS of the Pent., Ps and Dn, in B. M. Harl. 5505, seem rather to belong to the era of modern trs.

LITERATURE.—CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS.—Guidi, *Le Traduzioni degli Evangelii in Arabo e in Etiopico* (Reale Accademia dei Lincei, anno cclxxxv.), Rome, 1888—the one indispensable work for a general view of Arabic VSS; Gildemeister, *De Evangeliis in Arabicum e Simplici Syriaca translatis*, Bonn, 1865—contains an account of the Leipzig MS, together with much valuable information about the printed edd. of the Arab. Gospels; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1886, Introd. pp. 49–57—contains a careful investigation of the texts of the Polyglotts so far as concerns Ezekiel. [De Sacy, *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xlix. anc. série. On Arab. VSS of the Pent.]

PUBLISHED TEXTS.—Gregory, *Prolegomena to Tisch. N.T.*, Leipzig, 1894, contains a useful list of all the then known Arab. MSS of NT. Care must, however, be taken to look for the bilingual MSS under the other language. Among the various catalogues of public libraries I have found the British Museum Catalogue (compiled by Cureton, 1846) especially valuable for the length and number of extracts from the MSS. FOR THE OT.—Paris Polyglott (see above, p. 137b); Walton's Polyglott, London, 1652, the Arab. repeated in the Newcastle ed. of 1811; Lagarde, *Psalt., Iob, Prov., Arabice*, Göttingen, 1876—contains three VSS of the Ps from the Gr. and the 'Psalterium Qûzhayyensis' from the Peshîttâ, a VS of Job from the Copt., and Job and Pr from the Paris Polyglott. (For Sa'adya, see the edd. enumerated on p. 137b.) FOR THE NT.—*Ed. Princeps*, Rome, 1591 (repeated 1619, 1774), with a Lat. tr. by Antonius (*sic*) Sionita; *Ed. of* Erpenius, Leyden, 1616 (=ar. erp); *Ed. of the Polyglotts* (repeated in the Newcastle ed. of 1811); *Ed. Carshunica*, Rome, 1703 (repeated in the Paris ed. of 1824 issued under the supervision of de Sacy=ar. carsh); Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien arabisch*, Leipzig, 1864 (see p. 137a); Scholz, *Biblisch-Kritische Reise*, Leipzig, 1823: pp. 118–124 contain considerable extracts from ar. *vat* (see pp.136a,137b); Gibson (Mrs.), *Studia Sinaitica*, ii., Cambridge Univ. Press, 1894, contains the text of ar. *sin.*-Paul.; *Stud. Sin.* i. Appx. p. 105, contains the Sinai leaf of Θh; *Stud. Sin.* iii., *Frontispiece*, contains a page of ar. *sin.* 75 (see p. 137a); Delitzsch, *Hebräer*, Appx. v. (pp. 764–769), contains extracts from ar. *pet.*-Paul (see p. 137b).

THE DIATESSARON (see p. 136b).—Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice*, Rome, 1888; Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1894.

F. C. BURKITT.

ARAD (עָרָד).—A Benjamite who helped to put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Ch 8^{15}).

ARAD (עָרָד).—A city of one of the kings of the Canaanites, assigned to the tribe of Judah (Jos 12^{14}), on the north-west border of the wilderness of Judah, to which place (if the present text be correct) a family of Kenites migrated from Jericho (Jg 1^{16}). It has been identified with certain ruins on the top of a hill, Tell 'Arâd, about 16 miles south of Hebron, on the plateau to the south of the Dead Sea. Eusebius and Jerome describe Arad as 20 Roman miles south of Hebron in the wilderness of Kadesh. The king of Arad fought against the Israelites as they were turning away from the south of Palestine, but was defeated at Hormah (Nu 21^1 33^{40}). In these passages in Nu where the RV, agreeably to the Heb. text, reads 'king of Arad,' the AV less happily renders 'king Arad.'

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*2 ii. 101, 201; *SWP* iii. 403, 415; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 9ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 32ff.

J. MACPHERSON.

ARADUS (Ἄραδος), 1 Mac 15^{23}.—The Greek form of the Heb. Arvad (wh. see).

ARAH (אֹרַח 'traveller'?).—**1.** In the genealogy of Asher, 1 Ch 7^{39}. **2.** His family returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^5, Neh 6^{18} 7^{10}, 1 Es 5^{10m}. See GENEALOGY.

H. A. WHITE.

ARAM, ARAMÆANS (אֲרָם, Σύροι, *Syri*. AV 'Syrians' and 'Syria').—In Gn $10^{22.\ 23}$ Aram is the son of Shem, and father of Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash, the last of which is Arabia Petræa, the Mas of the cuneiform inscriptions (cf. Gn 25^{14}). In Gn 22^{21} Aram is the son of Kemuel, the son of Nahor, the two elder brothers of Kemuel being Uz (AV Huz) and Buz (Bazu in the Assyr. texts).

In the OT Aram includes the northern part of Mesopotamia, Syria as far south as the borders of Pal., and the larger part of Arabia Petræa. The inhabitants of this region were mainly of Sem. origin, and spoke a Sem. language, which, with its dialects, is known as Aramaic. In some parts of it, however, as at Kadesh on the Orontes, near the lake of Homs, and at Carchemish (now Jerablûs or Jerabîs) on the Euphrates, the Hittites had occupied the country; and on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of Carchemish, the powerful kingdom of Mitanni was established, with a language of a very peculiar type. An Aram. dialect was spoken by the Nabatæans of Petra, and it is probable that the Ishmaelite tribes must be classed as Aramæans.

In the Assyr. inscriptions the name appears as Aramu, Arumu, and Arimu, as well as Armâ. In a text of Tiglath-pileser I. (B.C. 1100) the waters on the east side of the Euphrates and westward of Harran are termed *mami mat Armâ*, 'the waters of the land of the Aramæans.' Assur-naẓir-pal III. (B.C. 883–823) states that he restored to Assyria certain cities which a former Assyr. king had fortified in the land of Nahri, towards the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, and of which the 'Arumu' had taken possession. Among the Aramæan princes whom he subdued here were Ammi-baal and Bur-Hadad, *i.e.* Bar-Hadad or Ben-Hadad. There were many Aramæan tribes in Babylonia (Puḳudu or Pekod, Nabatu or Nabatæans, Ru'ua, etc.) who lived under sheikhs on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates as well as on the coast of the Persian Gulf. They were partly traders, partly pastoral nomads, and were collectively called Arumu. The Assyrians never gave the name to the populations westward of the Euphrates, who were included under the general titles of Hittites and Amorites.

In the OT, on the contrary, the name is applied to the inhabitants of Syria as well as to those of Mesopotamia. The different Aramæan districts or states are distinguished by special titles. Mesopotamia is known as **Aram-naharaim**, 'Aram of the two rivers,' Tigris and Euphrates. It corresponds in part to the Nahrima of the Egyp. inscriptions, though the latter term denoted the district between the Euphrates and Orontes, as well as the kingdom of Mitanni on the eastern side of the Euphrates. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, however, it is confined to Mitanni. The Assyr. country of Nahri lay in a different direction, in the mountains of S. Armenia. Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim (AV Mesopotamia), who oppressed the Israelites for eight years shortly after their entrance into Canaan (Jg 3^{8-10}), was a king of Mitanni. We learn from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that in the 15th cent. B.C. the kings of Mitanni or 'Nahrima' had already interfered in the affairs of Palestine, and had intermarried with the royal family of Egypt. The troops of Mitanni accompanied the northern hordes who attacked Egypt in the reign of Ramses III. (*c.* B.C. 1200); and as the king of Mitanni is not named among the conquered invaders, it is probable that he did not actually enter Egypt, but remained behind in Canaan. This would have been just before the Israelitish conquest of that country, and would throw light on the presence there of Cushan-rishathaim.

In certain passages of the Pent. assumed to belong to P (Gn 25^{20} $28^{2.\ 5\text{-}7}$ 31^{18} 33^{18} $35^{9.\ 26}$ 48^7), the name of Aram-naharaim as applied to the northern part of Mesopotamia is replaced by **Pad[d]an-aram**, of which *S'dêh 'Arâm*, 'the field of Aram,' in Hos 12^{12}, is supposed to be a translation. Paddan is the same word as the Syr. and Arab. *paddân*, a measure of land which can be 'ploughed' by oxen in a day, and is found in Assyrian under the form of *padânu*. Padanu is explained in the cuneiform lexical tablets as

meaning 'field' or 'garden' (*WAI* ii. 62. 33), from a root which signifies to 'cleave' or 'plough' the ground. It is also brought into connexion with *kharrânu*, 'a high-road,' whence the name of Harran (Gn 11^{31} 28^{10} 27^{43}), and is the equivalent of a Sumerian word signifying 'foot' or 'plain,' which was used to denote 'the land of the Amorites' (*WAI* ii. 50. 59). An early king of Babylonia, Agu-kak-rimi (*c.* B.C. 1700) calls himself 'king of Padan and Alman.'

On the western side of the Euphrates the Aramæan states and language extended, eastward of the Jordan, as far south as Mizpeh in Gilead (Gn 31^{47}), where the cairn is described as forming a boundary between the languages of Aram and Canaan). In the north was **Aram of Zobah** (the Tsubitê of the Assyr. texts, which place it eastward of Hamath). In the time of Saul (1 S 14^{47}) 'the kings of Zobah' are mentioned, but soon afterwards Zobah appears under the sole rule of Hadadezer, son of Rehob (2 S $8^{3\text{-}12}$). Hadadezer, who had 'had wars' with Hamath, was defeated by David 'as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.' Subsequently, in spite of assistance from the Aramæans of Damascus (2 S 8^{5}), and of Mesopotamia 'beyond' the Euphrates (2 S 10^{16}), the army of Hadadezer was again overthrown at Helam (perhaps Aleppo, Assyr. Khalman), and 'the kings that were servants to Hadadezer' became the vassals of Israel. Josephus transforms the place Helam, which he calls Khalaman, into a prince of Mesopotamia. Among the cities of Hadadezer captured by David were Tibhath (1 Ch 18^{8}, called Betah in 2 S 8^{8}) and Berothai (Cun in 1 Ch 18^{8}). Tibhath seems to be the Tubikh of the Tel el-Amarna tablets and the geographical list of Tahutmes III. at Karnak, the Tebah of Gn 22^{24}. The whole district is probably that which is termed Nukhasse in the Tel el-Amarna texts (Anaugas in the Egyp. inscriptions).

Adjoining Aram-Zobah was Aram Beth-rehob or **Aram-rehob** (2 S $10^{6.\,8}$), which may have derived its name from the father (or ancestor) of Hadadezer. Rehob is associated with Ish-tob, 'the men of Tob' (see Jg $11^{3.\,5}$); but in 1 Ch 19^{6} Aram-naharaim takes the place of both. To the south came **Aram-maacah** or Maacah, which, along with the adjoining Geshur, was assigned to Manasseh, eastward of the lakes of Merom and Gennesaret (Dt 3^{14}, Jos 12^{5} $13^{11.\,13}$, 2 S 3^{3} 13^{37}). Like Tebah and Tahash, the Takhis of the Egyp. monuments, Maacah was a descendant of Nahor (Gn 22^{24}). Between Maacah and Zobah was the city of Damascus (As. *Dimaśḳa*) which was conquered by the Egyp. king Tahutmes III. (B.C. 1480), and was still subject to Egypt in the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (B.C. 1400). Damascus is called Aram-Dammeseḳ in 2 S 8^{6}, when it sent aid to Hadadezer. The defeat of Hadadezer made it tributary to David, but it recovered its independence early in the reign of Solomon under Rezon the son of Eliadah, who had been a vassal of the king of Zobah (1 K $11^{23\text{-}25}$). Damascus soon became a dangerous neighbour of the northern kingdom of Israel, and at one time even exercised a sort of suzerainty over Samaria. The other Aramæan states of Syria were absorbed by it, so that eventually the name of Aram was applied to it alone; but its power was finally shattered by the Assyrians.

Foremost among the Aramæan deities was Hadad or Addu (also Dadu or Dadda), the sun-god, identified by the Assyrians with their Ramman (Rimmon), the air-god, also called Amurru, 'the Amorite.' We find the combination Hadad-Rimmon in Zec 12^{11}. By the side of Hadad stood his divine son Ben-Hadad, as we learn from the cuneiform inscriptions. At Sendschirli mention is made, besides Hadad, of Resheph the fire-god, of El, Shamas, Or, and Rekeb-el or Rekub-el, which may possibly denote 'the chariot of El.' Numerous deities are referred to in the Palmyrene inscriptions, such as Baal-samen, Aglibol, and Yarkhi-bol; but several of them, like Bol, or Nebo, or Sin the moon-god of Harran, were borrowed from the Babylonian. So also was the goddess Atar, the Bab. Ištar, who, in combination with the Syrian 'Ati, produced the hybrid Atargatis. In the south the Nabatæans of Tema, Petra, and the Sinaitic Peninsula had several deities of their own, such as Aumos(?), Ḳatsiu (Kassios), and Ẓelem (As. Ẓalmu); but others, like Dusares and Allât, Manôt, Ḳais, and Ḳaisah, they shared with the Arabs. The gods of Syria are mentioned in Jg 10^{6}. For the Aramaic Language, see LANGUAGE OF THE OT.

LITERATURE.—Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des Langues sémitiques* (1863); Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen, pt. xi., *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* i. (1893); Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (1888).

A. H. SAYCE.

ARAM (אֲרָם).—**1.** A grandson of Nahor (Gn 22^{21}). **2.** An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{34}). **3.** AV of Mt 1^{3}, Lk 3^{33}. See ARNI, RAM.

ARAMAIC VERSIONS.—See TARGUMS.

ARAMITESS (אֲרַמִּיָּה, Σύρα, *Syra*), a feminine form which occurs in both AV and RV of 1 Ch 7^{14}, for the elsewhere frequent term *Syrian*.

ARAM MAACAH.—1 Ch 19^{6}. The more southerly part of Syria. See ARAM.

ARAM-NAHARAIM, ARAM-REHOB, and **ARAM-ZOBAH.**—See ARAM.

ARAN (אָרָן, Sam. ארן).—Son of Dishan the Horite (Gn 36^{28}, 1 Ch 1^{42}), a descendant of Esau. The name denotes 'a wild goat,' and Dishan 'an antelope' or 'gazelle'; while Seir the ancestor is 'the he-goat.' On the subject of Totem-clans in the Bible, see Jacobs' *Biblical Archæology* (1894), pp. 64–103, and Robertson Smith on 'Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Ancient Arabs and in OT' (*Journ. of Philology*, No. 17, vol. ix., 1880). H. E. RYLE.

ARARAT (אֲרָרָט, Ἀρμενία).—The Biblical A. is the Assyrian Urardhu (Urasdhu in the Persian period), the name given to the kingdom which had its centre on the shores of Lake Van. The name seems to be connected with Urdhû, which a cuneiform lexical tablet (*WAI* ii. 48*b*, 13) explains as 'Highlands' (*Tilla*),* and which appears as Urdhes in an inscription of the native king Sar-duris II., who describes it as in the neighbourhood of Lake Erivan. In Herodotus (iii. 94) the word takes the form of Alarodians. The cuneiform writing of Assyria was borrowed by the inhabitants of the country in the 9th cent. B.C., and we learn from the inscriptions composed in it that the native name of the kingdom was Biainas or Bianas, the Byana of Ptolemy, now Van. The capital of the kingdom, now represented by the modern city of Van, was called Dhuspas; this gave its name to the district termed Thôspitis in classical geography, now Tosp. It was upon 'the mountains of A.' that the ark rested (Gn 8^{4}), and in Jer 51^{27} A. is associated

* This is the explanation hitherto given by Assyriologists. But I believe that the true explanation is different. Urdhû or Ararat was denoted by an ideograph, which usually represented Accad in Babylonian, and signified 'a mound' or 'tel,' in Assyrian *tilla*, because Tilla happened to be the name of a city in Ararat with which the Assyrians were acquainted in early times. It is called Tela by Assur-naẓir-pal, and is still known as Tilleh at the junction of the Sert and the Tigris.

with Minni and Ashkenaz. Minni, in fact, called Mannâ or Minnâ in Assyrian, Mana in the Vannic texts, adjoined Ararat on the E., being separated from it by the Kotur range, and Ashkenaz is probably the Asguza of the Assyr. monuments, which was situated in the same neighbourhood.

The name of **Armenia**, written Armina in Old Persian, Kharminuya in Amardian, first appears in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, but the origin of it is quite unknown. It may be connected with the Vannic word *armani-lis*, 'a stèle,' or with Arman ('the land of the Aramæans'?), an Aramæan district south of Lake Van. Geographically, however, Armenia corresponds with Ararat. The supreme god of A. was Khaldis, who was worshipped under a variety of forms, and from whom the inhabitants of the country took the name of 'people of Khaldis.' From this was derived the name of Khaldæi or Khaldeans, assigned by classical geographers to the Armenian population who bordered on Pontus, and which was still preserved as late as the fifteenth century in the name of Khaldia applied to Lazistan (Belck in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ix. 1, p. 89).

The kingdom of Biainas or Ararat was originally bounded on the north by the Araxes, and although some of its kings made conquests still further north, it never seems to have comprised the Mount Ararat of modern times. This is still called Massis by the Armenians themselves, and the extension to it of the name of Ararat is of comparatively modern date. Its great height, the larger of its two peaks being 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, while the smaller peak, 7 miles distant, is 13,000 feet above the sea-level, has doubtless had much to do with the belief that it was the spot on which the ark rested. Arghuri, the only village which stood on its slopes, is even pointed out as the spot on which Noah planted his vineyard. It was first ascended by Parrot in 1829, and the ascent has since been achieved by Bryce and others.

The original site of the resting-place of the ark lay towards the south of Ararat in the Kurdish mountains, which divide Armenia from Mesopotamia and Kurdistan. According to the Bab. account of the Deluge, the 'ship' of Xisuthros, the Chaldæan Noah, rested on the peak of 'the mountain of Nizir,' which lay E. of Assyria, between 35° and 36° N. lat. Similarly, Berosus the Chaldæan historian fixed the spot in 'the mountain of the Kordyæans' or Kurds (Jos. *Ant.* I. iii. 6), and the Syriac version replaces Ararat by Ḳardu in Gn 8^4. Nicolaus Damascenus also stated that the ark had rested on 'a great mountain in Armenia, beyond Minyas, called Baris' (Jos. *Ant.* I. iii. 6). Minyas is Minni, and Baris is more accurately given as Lubar in the Book of Jubilees (ch. v.). Lubar was the boundary between Armenia and Kurdistan (Epiphanius, *Adv. Hær.* i. 5). The Jebel Judi is still regarded by the Kurds as the scene of the descent from the ark. It would seem, therefore, that the spot has been successively shifted from the mountain of Nizir (possibly Rowandiz) in the east, to Jebel Judi or Lubar, and then to the modern Mount Ararat in the far north.

The great plateau of Armenia, rising to a height of from 6000 to 7000 feet above the sea, was naturally a district which appeared to the dwellers in the southern plains beyond the reach of the Deluge. Intensely cold in the winter, it is equally hot in the summer. The vine is indigenous there (as it is in the Balkans), and the whole district is marked by the results of volcanic action. It is noteworthy that the present Armenian words for 'gold' and 'tin' are identical with the Sumerian or proto-Chaldæan names of the same objects (*oski*, 'gold,' Sumerian, *guski*, *wuski*; *anag*, 'tin,' Sum. *nagga*).

The cuneiform characters of Assyria were introduced into the kingdom of Ararat in the 9th cent. B.C. The syllabary was greatly simplified, each character having only a single phonetic value attached to it, and the greater number of characters expressing closed syllables being rejected. The vowels were usually denoted by separate characters, and a good many ideographs were borrowed. It is to the use of these ideographs that the decipherment of the Vannic inscriptions is mainly due. The inscriptions are carved on rocks, altar-stones, columns, and the like, and are in a language which shows little resemblance to any other with which we are acquainted, though it may be distantly related to modern Georgian.

The introduction of the cuneiform syllabary was partly the result of the campaigns of the Assyr. kings Assur-naẓir-pal and Shalmaneser II. in the north, and it seems to have been connected with the rise of a new dynasty which established itself on the shores of Lake Van (about B.C. 840). The founder of the dynasty was Sar-duris I. the son of Lutipris, who appears to have displaced Arame, the earlier antagonist of Shalmaneser II. Sar-duris was succeeded by his son Ispuinis ('the settler'), who, towards the end of his reign, associated his son Menuas with him on the throne. Menuas was a great conqueror and builder; he carried his arms as far as Mount Rowandiz in the east, and beyond the Araxes in the north, and he also claims to have defeated the Hittites and the king of Malatiyeh in the west. An inscription commemorative of the event was engraved on the cliff overhanging the Euphrates near Palu. Menuas was followed by his son Argistis I., who has recorded in a long inscription on the rock of Van the campaigns he made year by year, and the amount of spoil he brought back from them. The kingdoms of the Minni and other nations in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiyeh were ravaged, and the Assyr. forces are stated to have been overthrown. Sar-duris II., the son of Argistis, continued the conquests of his father, and extended his empire as far as the borders of Cappadocia. But his career was suddenly checked by the revival of Assyria under Tiglath-pileser III. The northern league, which the king of Armenia formed against the new power, was shattered, and the Assyrians swept the country up to the gates of the capital, Dhuspas or Van. Rusas I., the son and successor of Sar-duris, was equally unfortunate in his attempt to check the progress of Assyria, and after the overthrow of his allies by Sargon, and the fall of the city of Muzazir, he killed himself in a fit of despair. His successor, Argistis II., however, managed to preserve his independence, as also did Erimenas, against whom Esarhaddon was carrying on war, when Sennacherib was murdered by his two sons. It was to the court of Erimenas that the murderers fled. His son Rusas II. improved the water-supply of Van, and built a palace, on the site of which various objects of Vannic art, such as ornamental shields and man-headed bulls of bronze, have been discovered. A few years later Sar-duris II. made alliance with the Assyr. king, Assur-banipal (B.C. 645). Ararat suffered soon afterwards, like the rest of W. Asia, from the invasion of the Kimmerians and Scyths, in the wake of which it is probable came the immigration of the Aryan Armenians, and the fall of the old kingdom of Ararat. According to the classical authors, these Aryan Armenians were a Phrygian colony (Herod. vii. 73; Eustath. *on Dion.* v. 694). The conquest of Armenia by Cyrus took place in B.C. 546.

LITERATURE.—Sayce, 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van,' in the *JRAS* xiv. 8, 4, xx. 1, xxv 1 (1893), xxvi. 4 (1894).

A. H. SAYCE.

ARATHES (Αριαράθης, א, AV **Ariarathes**; Ἀράθης, A, *cursives*, incorrectly, 1 Mac 15^{22}), v. PHILOPATOR, formerly called Mithridates, was king of Cappadocia B.C. 163–130. He was a firm ally of the Romans, and, in accordance with their wishes, rejected the proposal of a marriage with the sister of Demetrius Soter. The latter made war upon him, and expelled him from his kingdom, setting up in his stead Holophernes, a supposititious son of A. IV. Philopator fled to Rome about B.C. 158, and by Rom. aid he was restored to a share in the government. A few years later he again became sole king. In B.C. 139, in consequence of an embassy sent by Simon Maccabæus, the Romans wrote letters to A. and certain other eastern sovereigns in favour of the Jews (1 Mac *l.c.*). See Diodor. xxxi. 19. 28. 32; Justin xxxv. 1; Polyb. iii. 5, xxxii. 20. 23, xxxiii. 12; Appian. *Syr.* 47. H. A. WHITE.

ARAUNAH (אַרַוְנָה, also אָרְנָה 2 S 24^{18}, אָרְנָן 1 Ch 21^{15}, 2 Ch 3^{1}).—A Jebusite who owned a threshing-floor on Mount Moriah. When David numbered the people, and the pestilence was sent as a punishment for his sin, this spot was indicated by the prophet Gad as the place where an altar should be erected to J", because the plague had been stayed. David went to A. and bought the threshing-floor and oxen for 50 shekels of silver. The price paid is given in 1 Ch 21^{15} as 600 shekels of gold—a discrepancy which we have no means of explaining. R. M. BOYD.

ARBA (אַרְבַּע) is described as 'the great man among the Anakim' (Jos 14^{15}), 'the father of the Anak' (15^{13}), 'the father of the Anok' (21^{11}). This may mean that he was regarded as the progenitor of the Anakim, and it certainly implies that he was regarded as the great man in their traditional history. Presumably he was regarded as the founder of the city that bore his name, and as having founded it seven years before the Egyp. Zoan (Jos 15^{13}, Gn 23^{2} 35^{27}, Nu 13^{22}). See ANAKIM, GIANT. **Arbah**, or **Arba, City of.** This phrase occurs in AV in Gn 35^{27}, Jos 15^{13} 21^{11}. It is simply a tr. of the name which elsewhere appears as Kirjath-arba, or Kiriath-arba (which see). This city is Hebron. W. J. BEECHER.

ARBATHITE (הָעַרְבָתִי 2 S 23^{31}), Klostermann suggests בית הערבתי [see ABI-ALBON] 'a native of Beth-arabah,' a town in the wilderness of Judah (Jos $15^{6.\ 61}$ 18^{22}); but הערבתי occurs without בית 1 Ch 11^{32}, and הָעֲרָבָה Jos 18^{18}. J. F. STENNING.

ARBATTA (ἐν Ἀρβάττοις, AV **Arbattis**), 1 Mac 5^{23}.—A district in Palestine. The situation is doubtful. It may be a corruption for Akrabattis—the toparchy of Samaria near 'Akrabeh E. of Shechem. C. R. CONDER.

ARBELA.—The Syrian army under Bacchides, which came from the N. upon Jerus. B.C. 161, is described by the Gr. of 1 Mac 9^{2} as proceeding 'by the way that leadeth to Gilgal, and encamping before Mesaloth, which is in Arbela (ἐν Ἀρβήλοις); gat possession of it and destroyed much people.' The sites represented by all these names are disputed, and there are several alternatives for the line of the Syrian march. The most natural direction for Bacchides to take was along the coast, and up the vale of Aijalon. On this route there lay a Gilgal, the present Jiljuliyeh, on the plain of Sharon, but no trace is now discoverable of Μεσαλὼθ or of Ἄρβηλα. Jos. (*Ant.* XII. xi. 1) supposes that they came through Galilee, which he reads instead of Gilgal. On this route stands the modern Irbid, the identity of which name with Irbil or Arbela is proved by the mediæval Arab geographers (Nasir-i-Khusrau calls it Irbil, but Yakut and others Irbid; cf. Reland, *Pal.* 358); and Robinson (*BR* ii. 398) suggests that Μεσαλὼθ or Μαισαλὼθ stands for מְסִלּוֹת, a term he thinks appropriate to the precipices, honey-combed with caves, that always made Arbela a place of strategic importance. But this identification is doubtful. Again, Bacchides, having passed through Galilee, might have approached Jerus. across Esdraelon by the trunk road through Samaria, a direction which is called in the Bk of Jth (4^{7}) the ἀναβάσεις to Judæa. On this route there lay a strong fortress, Gilgal, the modern Jiljilia, which might well have given its name to the route; and Ewald identifies this with the Gilgal of our passage (*Hist.* Eng. ed. v. 323). On the same road, much farther N. than Gilgal, stands a Meselieh, taken by some to be the Bethulia of the Bk of Jth, and therefore a fortress that Bacchides, if advancing by this direction, would certainly have to reckon with; while close to Meselieh stands Meithalûn. These two offer a probable identification for Μεσαλὼθ. The latter is said to lie ἐν Ἀρβήλοις, and this form of the phrase suggests that Arbela (observe the plural) was the name, not of a town, but a district. Now Eus. (*Onom.* art. Ἄρβηλα) notes the name as existing in his time in Esdraelon, 9½ miles from Lejjun, a position which suits the entrances from Esdraelon upon Meselieh and Meithalûn. It is just possible, therefore, that Ἄρβηλα was the name of the whole district. A fourth alternative for the route of Bacchides was through Gilead, which name is read for Gilgal by the Syr. of 1 Mac 9^{2}. In the E. of Gilead there lies to-day a point of strategic importance known as Irbid; but there is neither a Mesaloth nor a Gilgal, unless the latter be taken to be the Gilgal by Jericho, which Bacchides might have passed had he come upon Judæa through Gilead. The Gilead route, however, is much the least probable of the four suggested. See BETH-ARBEL and GILGAL. G. A. SMITH.

ARBITE (הָאַרְבִּי).—The LXX (2 S 23^{35}) apparently reads הָאָרְקִי (the Archite), cf. Jos 16^{2} and 'Hushai the Archite,' 2 S 15^{32}; but a place 'Arab, in the S. of Judah, is mentioned Jos 15^{52}. In the parallel passage 1 Ch 11^{37} we find 'the son of Ezbai' (בֶּן־אוּבַי), a reading which is supported by several MSS of the LXX 2 S *l.c.* (υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀσβι), and which is probably correct. J. F. STENNING.

ARBONAI (Ἀρβωνάς, Jth 2^{24}).—A torrent apparently near Cilicia. It cannot be represented by the modern *Nahr Ibrahîm*, since the ancient name of that river was the Adonis; nor does the latter answer to the term 'torrent' (χείμαρρος) applied to the Arbonai. C. R. CONDER.

ARCH.—1. *Of the Temple.* The word 'arch' is used in the plural ('arches') 14 times in Ezk 40. That neither 'arch' nor 'arches' has any right to appear in the Eng. Bible at all, an examination of the Heb. word, of the versions, and of the context, will make clear. The Heb. word is according to the Mass. pointing אֵילַמִּים *'êlammîm*, which is the plur. of אֵילָם *'êlam*; the word is, however, only found with suffixes, and as the text stands it is sing. not plur.; it is the Ḳerê or corrected reading that makes the word plural. Twice indeed ($40^{16.\ 30}$) does the fem. plur. אֵלְמוֹת occur; but Smend (*Comm.* p. 326) suspects an error. (Cornill in v.^{16} reads אֵילָם sing.; v.^{30} he rejects, following most Heb. MSS.) In all the remaining 12 places the written text makes it singular and not plural. The word occurs nowhere outside this chapter, and it is almost certainly either a synonym of אוּלָם *'ûlâm*, porch, or a clerical error for this last word.

That the translators of the LXX had before them, in all the instances where either אֵילָם or אוּלָם is now found, one and the same Heb. word in the text, is suggested by the fact that these translators use but one Greek word, and that a mere translit. of אֵילָם, viz. *αἰλάμ*. Cornill in his amended text of Ezk reads אֵילָם, never אוּלָם, and trs. by *Vorhalle* (porch). It should be stated, however, that *αἰλάμ* trs. the Heb. word סַף *ṣaph*, 'threshold,' in Ezk 40^{6}, and אֵיל *'ayil*, 'post,' in $40^{10.\ 14.\ 16.\ 49}$ and 41^{1}. The Vulg. uses one word *vestibulum* for *'êlam* and *'ûlam*. The Targ. also uses but one word, this being, however, אוּלְמָא *'ûlamma'*, not, as the LXX would lead us to expect, אֵילְמָא *'êlamma'*. It is certain that *'êlam* is used in the sense of *'ûlam* in Ezk $40^{31.\ 34.\ 36}$, prob. also in $40^{25.\ 26}$, where the *'êlam* is said to be toward the outer court. The Douay Version, which follows the Vulg. more closely than the latter does the LXX, uses in all cases the Eng. word porch. In the mod. Gr. version, *στοά*, porch, is the uniform rendering. In addition to Cornill, Smend, A. B. Davidson (see their Commentaries), Fried. Delitzsch (*Prolegomena*, p. 139), the Lexicons of Mühlau and Volck, Buhl, Oxford, and the majority of recent critics, accept the view that both Heb. words have but one meaning, viz. porch. What is intended by 'porch' in this connexion see under PORCH and TEMPLE.

2. *General.* It is a debatable point whether the Israelites in OT times were acquainted with the arch as an architectural device, and whether they used it. There is no corresponding word in Hebrew; but indeed few architectural terms are found in this language. Heb. is the language of poetry, of ethics, and of religion, and not of science or of art. See ARCHITECTURE.

T. W. DAVIES.

ARCHANGEL.—See ANGEL.

ARCHELAUS.—See under HEROD.

ARCHERY.—Though bows are mentioned with tolerable frequency in the OT, one is tempted to think that the Israelites were not distinguished above the surrounding nations by their skill in the use of this weapon. The battle of Gilboa was probably lost through the superiority of the Philistine archers. David, after the battle, endeavoured to encourage archery practice in Judah (2 S 1^{18}. Reject RV and compare Driver, *Notes on Samuel, in loco*). Elisha on his deathbed (2 K 13^{15-19}) promised Joash victory over Syria by the use of the bow. Probably the revival of Israel's military power under Jeroboam, son of Joash, was due to improvement in archery; Hosea, a contemporary, speaks (1^{5}) of the bow as the national weapon of Israel.

The most effective and scientific use of the bow, however, was that shown by the Assyrians. The terror caused by their archery is hinted at in Is 5^{28} and 37^{33}. To judge from the Assyr. reliefs, it seems to have been the practice of Assyr. armies to overwhelm their enemies with the bow, and to use the spear and sword only when the foe was already in flight.

W. E. BARNES.

ARCHEVITES (אַרְכְּוָיֵא).—'The people of Erech,' a town identified with the Bab. Uruk (modern *Warka*), on the left bank of the Euphrates. It is mentioned in Gn 10^{10}, between Babel and Accad, as the second city of importance in Nimrod's kingdom; and its name occurs, in the inscriptions, along with that of Accad, as one of the principal towns in N. Babylonia.

Some of the inhabitants of Erech were 'deported' as colonists to Samaria by king Assurbanipal (668–626). Their name is mentioned in Ezr 4^{9} along with dwellers in Babylon; and the 'deportation' of Archevites most probably indicates that Erech sided with Babylon in the revolt of *Samas-sum-ukin* against the Assyr. king (cf. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*).

H. E. RYLE.

ARCHIPPUS. — Archippus is mentioned only twice in NT. The short letter sent by St. Paul to Philemon is addressed not only to Philemon and Apphia, but also to 'A., our fellow-soldier,' as well as to the church in Philemon's house (v.^{2}). The position here assigned to A., between the mention of Philemon and that of the church in his house, renders it highly probable that he was, if not a near relative (perhaps a son or brother), at any rate one belonging to the household circle. 'Fellow-soldier' is doubtless applied to him (as to Epaphroditus, Ph 2^{25}; cf. also Ph 4^{3}, 2 Ti 2^{3}) as enduring conflict in the service of the Church or the gospel, probably in some official position; but what that position was, we have no means of knowing. Nor is much more light supplied by the other passage (Col 4^{17}) which speaks of his 'ministry (*διακονίαν*) in the Lord.' The term *διακονία* need not necessarily be taken in its technical sense of the office of deacon, or in that of bishop or presbyter or evangelist; it may denote any service, but the adjunct *ἐν Κυρίῳ* defines it as specially undertaken for the Church by one 'living and acting in the Lord under the sense of holy obligation' (Meyer). The form of the admonition has been thought to imply some misgiving or doubt or censure, as though A. were still young or subordinate, weak or too indulgent, or inclined to be remiss, and so in special need of warning or stimulus; but it need not convey more than that the 'service' was a difficult one, in which he might well be strengthened by the encouragement of the Church acting on the apostle's message. The suggestion of Lightfoot, among others, that A. was a Laodicean teacher, on the ground that 4^{17} is joined by *καί* to the context in which the Laodicean Church is spoken of, seems improbable; for, apart from other difficulties, why should St. Paul have taken this roundabout way of reaching A. (if not himself a Colossian) through a *strange* church, when he was almost simultaneously addressing him directly (Philem^{2})? There seems little historical basis for the tradition that A. was one of the 70 disciples, who became bishop of Laodicea and suffered martyrdom at Chonæ.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

ARCHITE (הָאַרְכִּי).—The native of a town (Erech?, not Archi as in AV of Jos 16^{2}) situated on the north border of Benjamin, probably the modern *'Ain 'Arik*, west of Bethel. Hushai, David's friend (2 S 15^{32}), belonged to this town. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

C. R. CONDER.

ARCHITECTURE.—The influences which formed the architecture of the Hebrews were very diverse. Besides the highly developed structures of Egypt and Babylon, there was the native Amorite building, and the starting-point of the people themselves from a nomadic life. The great tent of the tabernacle, with its chamber of wood, must have been the ideal type for a long period to the Hebrews. It is, according to Fergusson's rendering of it (see TABERNACLE), strictly in accord with what may be seen as the system of development from the Bedawi tent at present. A widespread low tent is pitched, fencing of reeds or piles of stone is built around it to make a shelter from storms; the tent is then carried out over the shelter walls, or else enclosed in a courtyard, and settlements are thus formed which are compounded of walling for the sides and tent for the covering. Such seems to have been the principle of the tabernacle; and long after the entrance into Pal. the Hebrews, in

the south at least, continued to depend on tents and skins, instead of building and pottery. The closely inhabited region south of Hebron, where at every mile or two a name of an OT village is to be found, is absolutely bare of any early building, and not a fragment of Jewish pottery is to be found there. This shows that the people retained the nomadic type of life although settled on the land.

The Amorite buildings of brick were massive and imposing to a desert people: 'cities great, and fenced up to heaven' (Dt 1^{28}). The thick walls of well-laid brickwork, as seen at Tell Hesy, were very strong defences, and quite wide enough to have considerable houses built upon the wall (Jos 2^{15}). Woodwork was largely used (Jos 8^{20}); but probably for roofing, as no trace of vaulted brick roofs has yet been found. This system of mud-brick building continued to be used throughout the Jewish history, as is seen at Tell Hesy, and alluded to by Ezekiel (13^{10-12}); and such building was probably in type, as well as material, a continuation of the Amorite style. What the external appearance of these buildings was, is shown by the figures of forts conquered by the Egyptians in Syria, and represented on the monuments. High blank walls gave no opening or hold for an enemy; pilasters and towers strengthened the faces and corners of the forts; and projecting chambers overhanging the more important points enabled the defenders to prevent any sapping or scaling. The gateway was a projecting building in front of the entrance, a plan which enabled the defenders to make it a death trap to any attacking party; for on forcing the outer gate the besiegers would be confined in a narrow space exposed to ceaseless attack overhead. Defence at this age seems to have been far superior to attack; and without a siege train such forts could be reduced only by stratagem (as at Ai) or by starvation.

When stone building was required, it appears to have been probably of masonry hewn to fit on the spot, or at least of irregular courses; for the Jews were astonished at proper construction, with hewn stone all cut regularly in advance, and they remark when neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron was heard in the house while it was in building (1 K 6^{7}). The mechanical Phœnicians appear to have planned the temple entirely in advance, as the Egyptians did in early times, marking each stone with its place; Hiram's builders and the Gebalites being responsible for this work (1 K 5^{18}). The stone was sawn with saws, as in the best Egyp. work (1 K 7^{9}). The cause of this Phœn. superiority in stonework is probably from their occupying a rocky coast where brick is less attainable, and a wet coast where stone is the more needful.

Of the architectural forms very little is known directly. The only carvings yet seen, which are certainly of the period of the monarchy, are the slabs of Tell Hesy. There a cavetto cornice, like the usual Egyp. form of the nineteenth dynasty, is carved on a thin slab, which was placed over a doorway as a lintel. From the want of solidity, and the curve of the back, manifestly following that of the face, it is evident that this was not a structural, but only an ornamental member; like the similar thin stone lintels attached by (wooden?) pegs to the brick wall behind, in the palace of Akhenaten at Tel el-Amarna. What the real nature of the door-crown was has not been preserved; it may have been of wood, but looking to Egyp. usage it is more likely to have been an arch of brickwork, like the walls.

The sides of the doorways have also been preserved, though reversed in re-use in a later building. They are decorated with pilasters, which show the form of the columns in use at that age. A rounded low stone base supported the stout and clumsy column, which is even represented as equal in diameter to the base. At least the ideal was very different from that of the Egyp., whose column was far narrower than its base. The column diminished greatly upward, and was capped at the top by a volute of Ionic nature. In the stonework this volute seems to imitate a coil of metal; but the whole design appears to come from a decorating of wooden posts with rams' horns, a similar idea to the bucrania in Gr. use. On Assyr. monuments, capitals are represented which have been considered to foreshadow the Ionic; but the horn form (if it ever existed in these) has been lost, whereas in the earlier Jewish example, which is probably Solomonic, the coil is much more isolated and pronounced.

These pilasters show by their shortness that a dado existed below them, and was an important feature in the building; but no stonework of a dado has been preserved. A peculiar feature of Jewish design is the duplication of the doorway. In the rock tombs there is a general tendency to a double entrance; sometimes only carried out in the porch, where a pillar will stand directly in front of the doorway. The same duplication is seen in the building at Tell Hesy in which the stone slabs were re-used, as above described: the object of the building is not known, but on three sides, if not four, it had two doors. As these doors required to be secured by locks or fastenings, the taste for double entrances must have been very strong. Such a duplication occurs both in Assyr. and Persian buildings, and belongs therefore to an established system.

Of other ornament the drafting of the walls was the most prominent, and is likewise known in Persia. The edges of the stones were dressed to a straight line with flat faces, while the middle of each external face was occupied by a projecting boss. This boss was sometimes left quite rough—like the rusticated work of the Pitti palace; but usually it was dressed flat, thus leaving the joint lines recessed half an inch to 3 inches from the main face of the wall, according to the scale of the work. The great stones of the temple substructure are the best known example of this work, but they are not certainly older than Herod. On a smaller scale this same work was found in the lower courses of a door of the fortress at Tell Hesy, which takes it back to the middle of the Jewish monarchy; and from the persistence of the type to the present day it appears to truly belong to the country.

Of the plans of buildings we know even less than of the decoration. The temple, as Fergusson has pointed out, was simply a doubling of the dimensions of the tabernacle, and we may carry the parallel further. The great tent pitched over the tabernacle sides extended beyond them, and the covered space thus left around the tabernacle would doubtless be used for subsidiary purposes. This space was reproduced in the temple as a chain of chambers all round the sides, a construction which was not favourable to any grand treatment of the exterior. The plan, therefore, was ruled by its development from the previous sacred place. In the later temple of Herod the great porch was the most striking feature, and accords in taste with the enormous porticoes of the Herodian rock-tombs at Jerusalem, which are often much larger than the tomb inside the rock. Minor buildings of the age of the monarchy have been found in the only excavations yet made in a city,—those at Tell Hesy. One building already mentioned was square, with two doors on each side. Another—perhaps a barrack—was a long hall with two rows

of columns from end to end. Until further excavations may reveal more examples, we can glean but little about the usual arrangements of Jewish architecture.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

ARCTURUS.—A star of the first magnitude in the constellation Boötes or the Herdman. Arcturus is the rendering of AV for עָשׁ *'Āsh*, Job 9[9], and עַיִשׁ *'Ayish*, Job 38[32].

The identification of *'Āsh*, *'Ayish*, has formed subject for wide conjecture. Versions: LXX Ἔσπερον in both places (agreeing with Pesh. in placing כִּימָה, Πλειάδα, before עָשׁ in 9[9]); Pesh. ܥܝܘܬܐ *'Iyyûthâ* of doubtful meaning, explained by Arabic Lexx. as Capella Aurigæ, but placed in Taurus; Vulg. 9[9] Arcturum (whence AV), 38[32] Vesperum; Targ. 9[9] transliterates, 38[32] 'the hen with her chickens,' *i.e.* the Pleiades; Sa'adya بنات نعش, *i.e.* Ursa Major. In the Talm. *Berachoth* 58*b*, R. Yehuda explains *'Āsh* as יותא *Yútha*, and later Talmudists interpret this as 'the tail of the Ram,' *i.e.* Pleiades, or 'the head of the Bull,' *i.e.* Aldebaran with the Hyades. Ibn Ezra, 'the Bear.'

Among moderns there are two main explanations.

1. The great Bear or Wain; Ges., Del., RV, etc. With the Arabs the four stars of this group which form the quadrilateral are known as *Na'sh* 'the bier,' the three stars of the tail being 'the daughters of the bier,' a phrase which resembles that of Job 38[32] ''*Ayish* with her children.' It is, however, impossible philologically to identify the root of Arab. *Na'sh* with Heb. *'Āsh*, and still more so with *'Ayish*.

2. The Pleiades; Stern in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* iii. 258 ff.; Hoffmann, *ZATW.* iii. 107 f.; Nöldeke. Stern points out that Job 38[22-38] deals with weather phenomena, and that therefore the constellations mentioned vv.[31. 32] appear to be regarded as marking or influencing the changes of the seasons. Since the Bear is visible in the N. hemisphere throughout the year, it could scarcely be thought of as a season prognosticator. Thus Job 38[32b] is rendered, 'Alcyone with her children,' *i.e.* the principal star of the Pleiades group with its companions, the other constellations mentioned being interpreted as the Hyades, Orion, and Canis Major with Sirius. We then have allusion to four groups regarded by the Greeks as signs of the seasons, and rising in close succession one upon another. The form *'Ayish* is thought to be correct (so Dillmann) rather than *'Āsh*, and Hoffmann vocalises *'Ayyûsh*, thus connecting with Pesh. *'Iyyûthâ*.

C. F. BURNEY.

ARD (אַרְד).—Benjamin's son, Gn 46[21], but his grandson, Nu 26[40]=1 Ch 8[3] (*Addar*). Patronymic Ardites (Nu 26[40]). G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

ARDAT (2 Es 9[26] AV Ardath), 'a field' in an unknown situation.

ARDON (אַרְדוֹן).—A son of Caleb (1 Ch 2[18]).

ARELI (אַרְאֵלִי 'lion' or 'hearth of Ēl').—A son of Gad (Gn 46[16], Nu 26[17]). Patronymic Arelites (Nu 26[17]). G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY.

AREOPAGITE (Ἀρεοπαγίτης, Ac 17[34] only), applied to Dionysius (wh. see) as member of the Council of the Areopagus.

AREOPAGUS (Ἄρειος Πάγος, AV 'Areopagus' Ac 17[19], 'Mars' hill' 17[22]).—The Hill of Mars is an eminence nearly due west of the Athenian Akropolis, and separated therefrom by a low, narrow declivity. Here sat from the earliest antiquity the council of the Areopagus, at first a mainly judicial body composed of Eupatridæ recruited annually from the retiring archons. After the Macedonian subjugation of Athens, and under the Roman rule, this council probably retained more authority within Attica than any other representative body, and references to it in later Attic inscriptions are numerous. The hill rises gradually from the W., but drops abruptly on N. and E. On the summit remain the benches cut out of the rock on which the Areopagites sat in the open air (ὑπαίθριοι ἐδικάζοντο, Pollux, viii. 118). Sixteen worn steps cut in the rock lead to the summit; and the two stones, called the ἀργοὶ λίθοι, the λίθος ἀναιδείας 'of implacability,' and ὕβρεως 'of ill-doing,' still remain, on one and the other of which sat the accuser and the accused of murder. The council is termed in *Inscr. Attic.* iii. 714, 'the most holy,' τὸ σεμνότατον συνέδριον; and to us the awful associations, which attached to the hill and to the cave of the Furies at its foot, made it a fitting background for St. Paul's solemn declaration of a new faith in the unknown God. However, there is no reason to suppose that the curious idlers who led St. Paul thither had any other end in view than to gain a quiet spot, far removed from the hum of the busy Agora below, where they might hear in peace what this newest of enthusiasts had to say. The statement of St. Luke, that the philosophers *took* St. Paul *by the hand* (ἐπιλαβόμενοι, Ac 17[19], cf. Ac 9[27] 23[19], also Mt 14[31], Mk 8[23]), is not appropriate to accusers bringing to trial a religious innovator. Nor, if the meeting which St. Paul addressed had been a judicial court, would it have dispersed in the way related; some mocking, while others said, 'We will hear thee again of this matter.' Therefore Chrysostom's view, that St. Paul was formally arraigned before the Areopagite council, must be dismissed. There is every reason, moreover, for believing that in Ac 17[22-31] we have the actual gist of what St. Paul said, and in tone it is not the defence of a man forcibly apprehended and put on his trial for blasphemy.*

Standing on the Areopagus and facing N., St. Paul had at his feet the Theseion, and on his right hand the Akropolis, with its splendid temples intact. Such surroundings would fill with enthusiasm every cultured Christian of to-day. Wherever St. Paul turned, his glance must have fallen on the severe and lovely works of art which still adorned the decadent city. Thus a table was spread before him of which nineteenth century humanists are laboriously but thankfully gathering up the scattered crumbs. To St. Paul's Semitic imagination nothing of all this appealed. It was to him just gold or silver or stone, graven by art and man's device, the work of a period of ignorance at which God had mercifully winked.

For a fuller disquisition on this point, and for a description of the view of Athens from the Hill of Mars, see Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Ep. of St. Paul*, ch. x. F. C. CONYBEARE.

ARES ('Αρές), 1 Es 5[10].—756 of his descendants returned with Zerub.: they correspond to the 775 (Ezr 2[5]) or 652 (Neh 7[10]) children of Arah (אָרַח).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ARETAS (Aram. חרתת, Gr. 'Αρέτας, more correctly 'Αρέθας, as in the name of the famous bishop of Cæsarea Mazaca; the analogy of ἀρετή probably influenced the commoner spelling).—1. King of the 'Arabians,' 2 Mac 5[8] (see below). 2. King of the Nabatæan Arabs, whose 'ethnarch' or gover-

* See, however, Ramsay in *Expos.* 5th Ser. ii. 209 f., 261 f.

nor, apparently at the instance of the Jews (Ac $9^{19.\ 22.\ 23}$, his wife may well have been a proselyte), was guarding the city of Damascus to capture (πιάσαι, 2 Co 11^{32}) and destroy (Ac 9) St. Paul. He escaped the ethnarch's hands by the aid of the disciples, who lowered him in a basket from a window in the wall. This was shortly after St. Paul's conversion, which event, rather than his escape from Damascus, would seem to be the *terminus a quo* of the μετὰ τρία ἔτη of Gal 1^{18} (see Lightf. *in loc.*). If so, the escape may have taken place at any point of time during the three years. If the escape itself is the point from which they are reckoned, the conversion can hardly lie far behind.

How Damascus, a town within the Rom. prov. of Syria, came to be guarded by the officer of an Arab king, is a much-debated question. The most probable solution is the hypothesis of a temporary extension of the Arab kingdom to Damascus. The facts are as follows :—

The Nabatæans (נבטו) are possibly identical with the NEBAIOTH (נביות) of OT (so Jos. *Ant.* I. xii. 4. The main difficulty is the unvarying distinctness of the final consonants ט and ת). They were probably of Arab race, but used the Aram. language for writing and inscriptions (Nöldeke in Schenkel, *BL*, 1872, *s.v.* Nabatäer, and in *ZDMG* xvii. 703 *sqq.*, xxv. 122 *sqq.*). We first meet with them as a formidable power in connexion with the wars of Antigonus, B.C. 312, centred in the former Edomite stronghold of SELA (Nabat. 'Sal,' Gr. Πέτρα, hence the name for their country, Ἀραβία ἡ πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ, or 'Arabia Petraea'), whence their power gradually extended itself N. and S. Their first known ruler is the Aretas of 2 Mac 5^{8}, with whom Jason was imprisoned (ἐγκλεισθείς) or, perhaps, 'accused' (adopting the conjecture ἐγκληθείς), B.C. 169. A. is τύραννος, not yet a recognised king. A few years later the Nabatæans appear as friendly to the Maccabæan party (1 Mac 5^{25} 9^{35}). With the decay of the Gr. kingdoms of Syria and Egypt the Nabatæans increase in power ; about B.C. 105 their 'king' Erotimus 'nunc Aegyptum nunc Syriam infestabat magnumque nomen Arabum viribus finitimorum exsanguibus fecerat' (Trog. Pomp. *ap.* Justin, XXXIX. v. 5–6). By B.C. 85 A. III. is master of Damascus ; to him belong the coins Βασιλέως Ἀρέτου Φιλέλληνος struck at Damascus (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 353, n. 11). He took the side of Hyrcanus against Aristobulus, B.C. 65–62, and in the latter year was attacked by Scaurus whom Pompey had left as legate of Syria ; Scaurus obtained a nominal submission and a payment of money (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v. 1 ; *BJ* I. viii. 1). Damascus had already fallen into Rom. hands (*Ant.* XIV. ii. 3 ; *BJ* I. vi. 2), in which it remained, with the exception to be noticed below, as part of the prov. of Syria, but with certain liberties of its own (for proof in detail see Schürer, n. 14, in part modifying Mommsen's important note, *Provinces*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 148 *sq.*). A. III. was succeeded by Malchus (*c.* 50–28), Obodas II. (*c.* 28–9 B.C.), and A. IV. (*c.* 9 B.C.–A.D. 40), the subject of the present article.

His original name was Aeneas, but he assumed the name of A. on taking the kingdom (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ix. 4). In B.C. 4 he sends some unruly auxiliaries to aid the expedition of Varus against the Jews (*BJ* II. v. 1 ; *Ant.* XVII. x. 9). After A.D. 28 he attacked and defeated Herod Antipas, partly in revenge for the divorce of his daughter by the latter (see HERODIAS, and Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 1, 2 ; the victory was transferred in Christian legend to Abgar of Edessa ; Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 31). Tiberius ordered Vitellius, propraetor of Syria, to chastise A. for this attack, but the news of Tiberius' death (A.D. 37) put an end to the expedition (Jos. *ibid.* § 3).

This brings us to the period of St. Paul's escape, which was within 3 years of his first visit to the Church at Jerus., which latter again was within 14 years of the visit recorded in Gal 2. Taking the latter (against Ramsay's view, *St. Paul the Traveller*, but see Sanday in *Expositor*, Feb. and Apr. 1896) as identical with that of Ac 15, and working back with the data of the Ac from the arrival of FESTUS, A.D. 60, we time Gal 2 about the year 51. 'Fourteen years' previous, *i.e.* about 38, comes St. Paul's first visit to the Church of Jerus., and the three previous years again, viz. 38, 37, and 36, bring us to the time of his conversion, and cover the time of his escape from Damascus.

At some time, then, during the three years in question, Damascus had come under A. It cannot have been long before, as there are coins of Damascus with the image and superscription of Tiberius down to A.D. 34 ; but there are none with those of Gaius or Claudius. The image of Nero begins in 62–63. The inference is natural that the accession of Gaius marks the transfer. That A. could have seized it by force in the face of Vitellius is out of the question. But it is not improbable that it was granted to him by the new emperor. Gaius was not kindly disposed towards Herod Antipas, and would not be unlikely to grant a mark of imperial favour to his bitter enemy. It is true that the deposition and banishment of Herod took place only in the summer of 39 (Schürer, I. ii. 36 n.), a date scarcely early enough for St. Paul's escape from Damascus. But the grant to Agrippa of the tetrarchy of Philip and Lysanias, with the title of king, appears to have been one of Caligula's first acts (*Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10), and in 38 the emperor granted an Ituræan principality to Soemus (Dio Cass. lix. 12). A similar grant may well have been made to Aretas.

A. must have lived till about A.D. 40, as of the 20 dated Aretas-inscriptions of el-Hegr, two belong to his 48th year, as also do certain coins. No other Nabatæan king has left so rich a legacy of coins and inscriptions. On both, his standing title is *Raḥem-ammeh*, 'lover of his people' (the contrast with the φιλέλλην of A. III. *supr.* is suggestive). Under him the Nabatæan kingdom extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea (cf. Jos. *Ant.* I. xii. 4). By 62 Damascus had again been taken over by the Romans, and belonged to the province of Syria when, in 106, the Nabatæan kingdom itself was added to the empire as the province of Arabia.

What is greatly wanted is a coin (or coins) of Damascus between 37 and 54 A.D. Meanwhile, it should be noted that 2 Co 11^{32} is our solitary piece of positive evidence for Damascus having formed part of the Nabatæan kingdom at any time after the Christian era. The fact, as has been shown above, has an important bearing on Pauline chronology.

The best collection and discussion of the evidence is in Schürer, *HJP* I. ii., esp. his indispensable Append. ii. on the Nabatæan kingdom, pp. 345–362, to which the above article is principally indebted.

LITERATURE.—Schürer gives ample references to the lit. of the Nabatæan kingdom. In more special relation to A. IV. see Clemen, *Chronol. d. Paul. Briefe*, § 22 ; Conybeare and Howson, vol. i. ch. iii. appendix ; Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin, 1885 (containing a reconstructed list of kings by von Gutschmidt) ; J. G. Heyne, *de Ethnarcha Aretae Arabum regis* (Wittemb. 1755) ; Anger, *de temporum in Act. App. ratione*, pp. 173–182 ; Wieseler, *Chronologie*, pp. 167–175, and in *PRE*, *s.v.* Aretas ; Meyer-Wendt on Acts, *Einl.* § 4 n. ; Rohden, *de Palaestina et Arabia Provinciis Romanis* (1885). Also, in addition to the references in the body of this article, see ARABIA, PAUL, DAMASCUS, NEBAIOTH, ETHNARCH.

A. ROBERTSON.

ARGOB (אַרְגֹב).—Apparently an officer of Pekahiah, king of Israel, assassinated by Pekah together with the king his master and one Arieh

(2 K 15^{25}); so Ewald, Thenius, Keil, and most. Another explanation makes Argob and Arieh conspirators with Pekah. Probably the passage is corrupt. See Klostermann, who suggests the emendation אֶת־אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת נִבְּרִיו 'with his 400 warriors'; —by a sudden *coup* Pekah and his 50 surprise 400.

C. F. BURNEY.

ARGOB (אַרְגֹב; once, Dt 3^{13}, with the art. הָאַרְגֹב).—A district mentioned in Dt $3^{4.\ 13.\ 14}$, 1 K 4^{13}, and described as situated on the E. of Jordan, in Bashan, in the kingdom of 'Og, and as containing threescore cities, all strongly fortified, 'with high walls, gates, and bars, besides very many cities of the country folk' (*i.e.* unwalled cities: see Ezk 38^{11}). The particular district intended is uncertain. The Targums of Onk. and Jon. represent Argob by מרכונא (Pseud.-Jon. מרגונא), *i.e.* the Trachonitis, or ὁ Τράχων, of Greek writers (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 10 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* 543), some 25 miles S. of Damascus, a remarkable volcanic formation, in shape resembling roughly a pear, about 25 miles from N. to S., and 19 miles from E. to W., the rugged surface of which consists of innumerable rocks or boulders of black basalt, intersected by fissures and crevices in every direction (see TRACHONITIS). This formation, which owes its origin to the streams of lava emitted from the Jebel Ḥauran, on the S.E., rises some 20–30 ft. above the surrounding plain; and 'its border is as clearly defined as a rocky coast, which it very much resembles.' It forms a natural fortress, which a small body of defenders could hold even against a determined invader; and hence its modern name the *Leja* (*i.e. laja'ah*, refuge, retreat). Some modern writers have accepted the identification thus suggested by Onk. and Jon., supporting it further, partly by the fact that the Leja contains the remains of several ancient cities, partly by the philological arguments that *Argob* signifies 'stony,' and that the term חבל (AV 'region'), used regularly in connexion with it in the OT, is intended as a designation of its rocky boundary spoken of above. The identification is, however, extremely doubtful, and has been abandoned by the best recent authorities. To take the latter point first, the philological arguments appealed to are exceedingly precarious. *Argob* can be interpreted *stony* only upon the questionable assumption that the root רגב is cognate with רָגַם: to judge, however, from רֶגֶב *clods of earth* (Job 21^{33} 38^{38}), it would denote naturally a rich and earthy soil rather than a stony one, and so (Smith, *Geogr.* 551) is 'probably equivalent to our word "glebe."' And חבל is a *cord* (Jos 2^{15}), or *measuring-line* (Mic 2^{5}), fig. a *measured portion* or *allotment* (Jos 17^{4} 19^{9}), applied to a particular district or 'region' (RVm), Zeph $2^{5.\ 6.\ 7}$: there is consequently no ground for supposing it to have been used specially on account of the rocky border of the Leja. Secondly, the remains of ancient cities in (or about) what must have been the biblical Bashan are by no means confined to the Leja; on the contrary, they are much more numerous on the sloping sides of the Jebel Ḥauran (S.E. of the Leja), which, covered by a rich and loamy soil, sinks down gradually, especially on the S. and W., to the level of the surrounding plain. The whole of this region is studded with deserted towns and villages—according to Wetzstein, who has described it most fully (*Reisebericht über Hauran u. die Trachonen*, 1860, p. 42), the E. and S. slopes of the Jebel Ḥauran alone contain the remains of some 300 such ancient sites; they are also numerous on the W. and S.W. slopes (cf. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*[2], pp. 229, 239, 251, 253). The dwellings in these deserted localities are of a remarkable character. Wetzstein distinguishes four kinds—(1) some are the habitations of Troglodytes, being caverns hollowed out in the side of a hill, or of a Wady, in the soft volcanic rock, and so arranged as to form separate chambers: these are chiefly on the E. of Jebel Ḥauran (Wetzstein, pp. 22, 44 f., who names three, viz. Umm Ḍubêb, 'Ajêlâ, and Shibikke).* (2) Others are on a larger scale, being subterranean chambers entered by shafts invisible from above, and capable of forming a secure retreat from an invader; these are frequent on the W. of the Zumleh range (*ib.* p. 46 f.; cf. Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, pp. 103, 108 f. [about Irbid]); an extensive underground city of this kind at EDRE'I (at the N.E. foot of the same range) was explored by Wetzstein (p. 47 f.) and Schumacher (p. 121 ff.). (3) A third kind, of which Wetzstein saw but one example, at Ḥibikke, on the E. of J. Ḥauran, about 8 miles N.E. of Salchad, consists of chambers cut out in an elevated plateau of rock, and covered with a solid stone vault, producing outside the appearance of a cellar or tunnel. Ḥibikke was originally surrounded with a wall, in the manner of a fortress (p. 48 f.). (4) The fourth and commonest kind consists of dwelling-houses built in the ordinary manner above ground, but constructed of massive well-hewn blocks of black basalt,—the regular and indeed the only building material used in the locality, —with heavy doors moving on pivots, outside staircases, galleries, and roofs, all of the same material: of this kind are the remains described by Porter (*l.c.* chs. x.–xiii.) at Burāk, on the N. edge of the Leja, Sauwarah, Hît, Heyât, Bathaniyeh, Shuḳa, Shuhba, east of it, Ḳanawāt and Suweideh on the W. slopes of J. Ḥauran, Boṣrā, Salchad, and Ḳureiyeh, on its S. slope (cf. Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*, 1895, pp. 40, 47, 60, 71, etc., with photographs). Many of these cities are in such a good state of preservation, that, as Wetzstein observes, it is difficult for the traveller not to believe that they are inhabited, and to expect, as he walks along their streets, to see persons moving about the houses. The architecture of these remains (which include temples, theatres, aqueducts, churches, etc.) is of the Græco-Roman period, and is such as to show that between the first and the seventh centuries A.D. the cities in question were the home of a thriving and wealthy population. Can, now, any of these deserted localities be identified with the 'threescore cities, with high walls, gates, and bars,' of the ancient kingdom of 'Og? The spectacle presented by many of them is so singular and impressive that amongst those who visited and almost re-discovered them, in the present century, there were some who assigned them confidently to a remote antiquity, and who boasted that they had themselves traversed the cities 'built and occupied some forty centuries ago' by the giant race of the Rephaim: so, in particular, J. L. Porter, who visited the district in 1853 (*Five Years in Damascus*, 1855, ii. 206 f., ed. 2, pp. 257 f., 263 f.; *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 1882, pp. 12, 13, 30, 84, etc.), and Cyril C. Graham, who visited it in 1857 (*Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc.* 1858, p. 256 f., *Cambridge Essays* for 1858, p. 160 f.). The emphatic contradiction which Porter's theory received from Douglas Freshfield in *The Central Caucasus and Bashan*, 1869, ch. ii.; led to a somewhat heated correspondence in the *Athenæum* for 1870 (June, pp. 774, 837; July, pp. 18, 117, 148; cf. also

* The habit of dwelling in caves in these parts is illustrated by an interesting but unfortunately mutilated inscription (Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, iii. 1, No. 2329) from Kanatha (Ḳanawāt), on the W. slope of J. Ḥauran, which seems to speak of an attempt made by king Agrippa (prob. Agrippa I.) to civilize τοὺς ἰνφαλεύσ[αντας], and reclaim them from their θηριώδης κατάστασις (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xv. 5; also, of the Leja, X. 1; XVI. ix. 1).

Porter, *Damascus*[2], Preface). There can, however, be little doubt that Porter and Graham much exaggerated the antiquity of these remains. As has been stated, the prevalent style of architecture is Græco-Roman; in many of the cities Greek inscriptions, dating from the time of Herod onwards, have been found, and, in the opinion of the best and most independent judges, the extant remains, at least in the great majority of cases, are not of a more ancient date than the 1st cent. A.D. De Vogué, the principal authority on the architecture of the Ḥauran, in the preface (p. 4) * to his collection of 150 plates, called *Syrie Centrale, Architecture Civile et Religieuse du ier au viie siècle* (1867), expressly states that he had found no structures of an earlier date: Burton and Drake (*Unexplored Syria*, 1872, i. 191–196) declare that even a careful examination of foundations disclosed to them no specimen of 'hoar antiquity.' Wetzstein and Waddington express a similar judgment, though not quite in the same unqualified terms: the former (pp. 103 f., 49) agrees that in the main there are no edifices earlier in date than the Christian era, but allows that the Troglodyte dwellings, and those found at Ḥibikke (see above), may be of very great antiquity, and also that very ancient building materials may be preserved in such places as Bosrā and Salchat; the latter writes (*op. cit.* p. 534): 'Malgré les recherches prolongées et minutieuses que j'ai faites pendant un séjour de cinq mois dans le pays, je n'ai pu découvrir aucun monument antérieur au règne d'Hérode. Il y a sans doute des habitations grossièrement construites en pierres brutes, des cavernes fermées par une devanture en pierres sèches, qui peuvent être de toutes les époques, et dont quelques-unes sont peut-être fort anciennes, mais, je le répète, il n'y a pas trace de civilisation régulière, de temples, d'édifices publics, avant le règne d'Hérode.' And the majority even of such buildings, he adds, are later than this, and belong to the period between Trajan and Justinian. The caves and tunnel-like dwellings, described by Wetzstein, however, can hardly be the strongly fortified cities mentioned in Dt. Whether the low *private* dwellings, built with 'ponderous blocks of roughly hewn stone,' on the antiquity of which Porter (*Damascus*[2], pp. v, 257) insists, are identical with the 'habitations grossièrement construites en pierres brutes,' which Waddington allows may be ancient, can hardly be determined by one who has not visited the country.† On the whole, it may be safely concluded that the *existing* deserted cities are not those of the ancient Argob;‡ though it does not seem improbable that some of the cities built in the Græco-Roman period may have stood upon the sites of cities belonging to a far earlier age, and that in their construction the dwellings of the ancient cities of 'Og may have been, in some cases, utilised and preserved. Perhaps future exploration may prove the substructures to be of earlier date than has been hitherto suspected.§

The site of Argob cannot be determined with certainty. Guthe (*ZDPV*, 1890, p. 237 f.), inferring from Dt 3[14] that Argob extended to the W. as far as Geshur and Ma'acah, places it, though not without hesitation, in the country about Der'āt (Edre'i), and northwards as far as Nawā, in which he says that there are sufficient ruins of ancient sites to justify the biblical description. The inference based on Dt 3[14] is perhaps doubtful: the verse seems to be written with a harmonistic motive (see Comm., and JAIR), and hardly says distinctly that Argob reached to Geshur and Ma'acah. Dillm. suggested a site more towards the E., between Edre'i and 'Ashtaroth, and J. Ḥauran. If there is reason in the supposition that the deserted cities referred to above stand upon the site of the ancient cities of 'Og, the part of Bashan in which they are most numerous would seem to be the W. declivities of J. Ḥauran, N. of Salchah (the S.E. limit of Bashan), the soil of which—a disintegrated lava—is rich and fertile (Wetzst. p. 40 f.), such as might be described by a derivative of רָגַב.*

LITERATURE.—On the cities of Ḥauran, see further (besides the works already quoted), Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 1881, chs. ii.–v.; and for inscriptions, Wetzstein, *Ausgewählte Griech. und Lat. Inschriften gesammelt auf Reisen in den Trachonen und um das Hauràngebirge*, in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1863, pp. 255–368; Waddington, *op. cit.* Nos. 2071–2548; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient*, i. (1888) pp. 1–23; G. A. Smith, *Critical Review*, 1892, p. 55 ff.; W. Ewing in the *PEFSt*, 1895, p. 41 ff., 131 ff., 265 ff., 346 ff.; de Vogué, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques*, 1868, chs. ii.–iii. p. 89 ff.; the *CIS* II. i. fasc. 2, Nos. 162–193 (chiefly repeated from de Vogué). The best map of the district is that of Fischer (constructed chiefly on the basis of Stübel's Survey) in the *ZDPV*, 1890, Heft 4. S. R. DRIVER.

ARIDAI (אַרִידַי Est 9[9]), the ninth of Haman's sons, put to death by the Jews. The name is prob. Persian, perhaps *haridayas*, 'delight of Hari' (Ges. *Thes.* add.); but LXX has a different text. H. A. WHITE.

ARIDATHA (אַרִידָתָא Est 9[8]), the sixth son of Haman, put to death by the Jews. The name is perhaps from the Persian *Haridâta*, 'given by Hari'; but the LXX has Φαραδάθα, this name coming fourth. H. A. WHITE.

ARIEH (הָאַרְיֵה, with def. article, 'the lion').—Mentioned with Argob in a very obscure passage (2 K 15[25]). See ARGOB. C. F. BURNEY.

ARIEL (אֲרִיאֵל, Ἀριήλ).—**1.** The name of one of Ezra's 'chief men,' Ezr 8[16]. It doubtless signifies here 'lion of God.' **2.** The name, in RV (so LXX and most moderns), of a Moabite whose two sons were slain by Benaiah, one of David's mighty men, 2 S 23[20],† 1 Ch 11[22] (LXX, in later passage, has τοὺς δύο ἀριήλ). **3.** A name, in Is 29[1. 2. 7] (four times), for Jerusalem. The original meaning is quite uncertain. It may be (see RVm) either (1) 'lion (or lioness) of God,' so, among others, Ewald, Cheyne (*Comm.*), Dillm.; or (2) 'hearth of God,' so the Targum, Del., Orelli, W. R. Smith (*OTJC*[2] p. 356), König (*Lehrgeb. d. Heb. Spr.* ii. 1, p. 416). The latter seems the more probable, in view of אריאל (God's hearth = altar, RV 'altar hearth'), Ezk 43[15], and אראל with the same signification on the stele of Mesha (l. 12). Duhm (*Comm. in loc.*) takes *l* as a formative letter, and suggests *aryal* as original form (= sacrificial hearth). Cheyne (*Introd. to Is.* p. 187, n.) now favours this, and writes Arial. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ARIMATHÆA (Ἀριμαθαία), Mt 27[57. 60].—The situation of this place is not indicated. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Armathem-Sophim) it is identified with Ramathaim-zophim (1 S 1[1]), and placed near Thamna and Lydda. The village *Rantieh*

* Cited at length in Merrill, *East of Jordan*, p. 63.

† Heber-Percy, pp. 92, 95, states that at Roum (E. of Ḳanawāt) he found ruins different from any which he had hitherto seen, viz. a village consisting of one-storied houses, built almost entirely of rough unhewn stones; he thought that this had been a village of peasants.

‡ So also G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* p. 624 f.

§ W. Wright (*Palmyra and Zenobia*, p. 251) mentions that he descended some 16–18 ft. in Burāk, and found the walls there to consist of enormous undressed stones, unlike those on the surface.

* The *Onom.* (p. 216) identifies Ἀργόβ with a village Ἔργα, 15 miles W. of Gerasa, which may well be er-Rujêb, on the W. Rujêb, at just that distance from Gerasa; but this is clearly too far south for the Argob in Bashan.

† AV has 'two lion-like men of Moab.' For other suggested emendations, see Klostermann's *Comm. in loc.*, whose ingenious conjecture has been accepted by Budde (in Haupt's *Bible*); Sayce, *Athenæum*, Oct. 9, 1886; and W. R. Smith, *RS* 469.

seems intended, but the various traditions disagree and have no value. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv. See also ARUMAH. C. R. CONDER.

ARIOCH (אַרְיוֹךְ).—**1.** ARIOCH was the vassal-king of Ellasar, under the Elamite king Chedor-laomer, when the latter invaded Canaan in the time of Abraham (Gn 14[1]). The name has been found in the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia.* When the country was still divided into more than one kingdom, Eri-Aku, 'the servant of the moon-god,' was king of Larsa (now Senkereh, between the Tigris and Euphrates in the south of Babylonia, a little east of Erech). Larsa is evidently the biblical Ellasar. The name of Eri-Aku was transformed by his Sem. subjects into Rim-Sin (pron. Riv-Sin, whence the ו of Arioch), and explained as a Sem. compound, like the names of other Bab. kings of the period. He was the son of an Elamite, Kudur-Mabug, who is called 'the father of the land of the Amorites' or Syria, and the son of Simti-silkhak. Inscribed bricks of his exist, as well as contracts drawn up during his reign. In his inscriptions he calls himself 'the shepherd of the possessions of Nippur, the executor of the oracle of the holy tree of Eridu, the shepherd of Ur, the king of Larsa, and the king of Sumer and Accad,' and in one of them he mentions his conquest of 'the ancient city of Erech.' He was attacked by Khammurabi, king of Babylon, and in spite of the assistance furnished by the Elamites was defeated and overthrown. Khammurabi annexed his kingdom, and from henceforth Babylonia became a single monarchy, with Babylon as its capital. Mr. Pinches has lately found a tablet, belonging, however, to a late period, in which mention is made of Eri-Aku, Tudkhula or Tidal, the son of Gazza (ni?), and Kudur-Lagamar, the Chedor-laomer of Genesis. **2.** The 'captain of the king's guard' in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, according to Dn 2[14-25]. The name, however, was Sumerian, and not used at that period of Bab. history. It has been taken from Gn 14[1]. **3.** King of 'the Elymæans' or Elam, acc. to Jth 1[6]. The name has been borrowed from Gn 14[1], where it stands beside that of Chedor-laomer, king of Elam.

A. H. SAYCE.

ARISAI (אַרִיסַי Est 9[9]), the eighth son of Haman, put to death by the Jews. The LXX has Ἀρσαῖος, in the ninth place. H. A. WHITE.

ARISTARCHUS (Ἀρίσταρχος), the devoted fellow-labourer of St. Paul, was a native of Thessalonica (Ac 20[4] 27[2]). He is first mentioned as having been seized along with Gaius during the great riot at Ephesus. He accompanied St. Paul from Troas on his last journey to Jerusalem (Ac 20[4]), and thereafter on his passage to Rome (Ac 27[2]). He was with St. Paul at Rome when he wrote the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (Col 4[10], Philem [24]). It has been suggested that he shared St. Paul's imprisonment voluntarily, and that he and Epaphras (cf. Col 4[10], Philem [23]) may have participated in the apostle's bonds alternately. The word used by St. Paul in these passages (συναιχμάλωτος) has led to the further suggestion that the reference is to spiritual captivity, that in common with the apostle they were held captive by Christ; but that is not likely. Tradition affirms that Aristarchus suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero. W. MUIR.

ARISTOBULUS (Ἀριστόβουλος).—**1.** Amongst the list of persons greeted by St. Paul at the end of the Epistle to the Romans (16[10]) are certain called τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου, 'members of the household of Aristobulus.' The following is the explanation of this phrase given by Bishop Lightfoot.

A., son of the elder A. and Berenice, grandson of Herod and brother of Agrippa I. (see HEROD), lived and died a private man, was a friend of the Emperor Claudius, and apparently a resident in Rome. It is suggested that the 'household' of A. were his slaves, who after his death, which must have taken place before this time, had become the property of the emperor, probably by legacy. We know that in other cases members of households which became the property of the emperor, retained their name. We find Maecenatiani (*CIL* vi. 4016, 4032), Amyntiani (*ib.* 4035, cf. 8738), Agrippiani, Germaniciani. So, too, there might be *Aristobuliani*, and this would be translated οἱ Ἀριστοβούλου. This household would presumably contain many Jews and other Orientals, and would therefore be a natural place in which to find Christians. The name Herodion following, was that of a Jew, and suggests a member of the Herod family. See HERODION, NARCISSUS.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 172; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 425. For later traditions, which have little value, see *Acta Sanctorum*, March, ii. 374.

2. Ptolemy's teacher, 2 Mac 1[10].

A. C. HEADLAM.

ARIUS (Ἄρης, 1 Mac 12[7. 20]), a king of Sparta. In v.[7] the name appears in the corrupt form of Δαρεῖος; in v.[20] many MSS read Ὀνιάρης or Ὀνειάρης, a form produced by the combination of Ὀνίᾳ Ἄρης (so v.[19] in AV *Oniares*); but ℵ* Ὀνιααρης, *Vet. Lat.* Arius; in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 8, the reading varies between Ἄρειαος and Ἀρεύς, the latter being the more correct form. The person referred to is Areus I., the grandson and successor of Cleomenes II., who was king of Sparta from 309 B.C. to 265 B.C., and was contemporary with the high priest Onias I., the successor of Jaddua. The Spartans were at that time engaged in a struggle against Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, and they probably hoped to create difficulties for their opponent by raising disturbances in the East. Friendly letters were interchanged between Areus and Onias (probably about 300 B.C.); and Jonathan Maccabæus refers to these communications in a letter which he sent by his ambassadors to Sparta (about 144 B.C.), 1 Mac 12[7ff. 19ff.]. Cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 250 f. H. A. WHITE.

ARK OF INFANT MOSES.—A box (תֵּבָה *têbhah*), made of bulrushes or papyrus reeds, the stems of a succulent water plant, rendered watertight by layers of slime and pitch, in which Moses when three months old was placed and committed to the river (Ex 2[3]). The word seemingly is of Egyptian origin, primarily meaning 'hollow,' 'a concave vessel,' and the possible source of the obscure Heb. root which appears in *'ôb*, ventriloquist, necromancer, ghost. Papyrus reeds were commonly used in Egypt for the construction of light boats. A very similar story of a remarkable preservation is told on a Babylonian tablet from Kouyunjik, about Sargon I., a monarch who reigned in Agade, one of the cities of the Euphrates valley, *c.* 3500 B.C. It is said (see Smith, *Chaldean Genesis*, 880, p. 319) that his mother placed him in a basket of rushes, sealing up his exit with bitumen, and launching him on a river which did not drown him, from which he was taken and brought up by his preserver.

J. MACPHERSON.

ARK OF NOAH.—The vessel built by the patriarch at God's command for saving life upon the earth during the great Flood. The period of detention within it is said to have lasted over a year (Gn 7[11] 8[14] P); hence it was necessary that large accommodation should be provided for the storage of provisions. The ark, in short, is to be conceived

* But see Winckler, *Keilinsch. Bibliot.* Bd. iii. 1 Hälfte, 92 ff.; Schrader, *COT*[2], ii. 301, *Crit. Rev.* Apr. 1894, p. 126.

of as an immense floating store, fitted to lie solidly on the surface of the waters. Its dimensions were: 300 cubits long, 50 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high. The length of the cubit is six handbreadths, and is usually reckoned at 21 inches. In our measures, therefore, the ark would be 525 ft. long, 87½ ft. broad, and 52½ ft. high. In 1609, Peter Jansen of Horn in Holland built a vessel of the same proportions, and found that it would stow one-third more cargo than other ships of ordinary structure. It has been calculated that it would contain a space of 3,600,000 cubic ft., and that after 9/10 had been set aside for storage of food, there would be over 50 cubic ft. each allowed for 7000 pairs of animals. Such calculations, though in earlier times treated with all seriousness, now receive little consideration. The measurements given in the biblical text are not sufficiently detailed, nor is the description of the whole construction sufficiently explicit, to form the basis of such conclusions. (See BABYLONIA, FLOOD.)

The ark was built of gopher wood, supposed to mean pitch wood, and possibly, as Delitzsch suggests, the conifer cypress, much used by the Phœnicians for shipbuilding on account of its lightness and durability. It was divided into 'rooms' or 'nests,' קִנִּים. The whole structure was three storeys in height, and was lighted by windows under the roof on each side. The pitch used to render the ark watertight was not vegetable, but mineral pitch or asphalt. Berosus, writing about B.C. 300, asserts that remains of the ark were then found in Armenia, which were used in making bracelets and amulets. Between the announcement to Noah of the coming Flood and the actual fulfilment of the judgment, there intervened, acc. to Gn 6^3 (J), 120 years, and during that time the ark was building, and Noah was, by word and by act, a preacher of righteousness to his generation (1 P 3^{20}, 2 P 2^5).

J. MACPHERSON.

ARK OF THE COVENANT.—i. NAME.—The ark (הָאָרוֹן) was the most ancient and most sacred of the religious symbols of the Heb. nation. Its name in the oldest sources is 'the ark of J″' (ארון יהוה), or 'the ark of God' (א″ אלהים). In Dt we first* meet with the designation 'ark of the Covenant of J″' (א″ בְּרִית י), Dt 10^8 $31^{9.\ 25.\ 26}$, shortened elsewhere to the familiar 'ark of the Covenant,' Jos $3^{6.\ 8}$ etc. In several passages of the older hist. books (cf. LXX text of 1 S 4^{3-5}) which have been edited by writers of the Deuteronomic school, the earlier form 'ark of J″' has been expanded to 'ark of the Covenant of J″' (as is clear from such grammatical impossibilities as we find in Jos $3^{14.\ 17}$), and the favourite expression 'ark of the Covenant' intentionally or unintentionally substituted for the earlier forms. A still later designation, 'ark of the testimony' (א″ עֵדוּת), occurs only in P, Ex 25^{22} etc. The rest of the names occasionally met with are merely variations of these. Throughout all the books we find 'the ark' as the popular and universally intelligible designation.

ii. HISTORY OF THE ARK.—In this article we propose to confine ourselves to the history and significance of the ark as given in the pre-exilic literature. Its place in the scheme of the Priests' Code will be discussed in the article TABERNACLE. In the prophetic narrative of the Pent. (JE) the ark first appears as an object of peculiar sanctity in the important passage Nu $10^{33ff.}$.† Here it is expressly recognised as the leader of the host in the march through the desert, in virtue of its being, in some sense, the dwelling-place of J″. In another passage from the same source, Nu 14^{44}, the ark is intimately associated with Moses.

* בריח in Nu 10^{33} (J) 14^{44} (E) (cf. Bacon, *Triple Trad. of the Exod.* pp. 171, 189) is almost certainly an editorial insertion.

† Probably J, see n.*

Had these sources come down to us intact, we should have had much earlier information than anything which we now have regarding the origin and construction of the ark. No one can read the present text of Ex 33 without being struck with the abrupt transition from vv.$^{1-6}$ to v.$^{7ff.}$, and with the sudden introduction of '*the* tent' (v.^{7}) as of something already explained. We may therefore consider it a matter of certainty that the compiler of the Pent. has omitted from the prophetic source the accounts of the erection of 'the tent of meeting' as inconsistent with the much fuller account in P. Another question now emerges. Did the excised portion of JE also contain an account or accounts of the construction of the ark? To this an affirmative answer must be given; for if we read carefully the retrospect given in Dt 10^{1-5}, and bear in mind that the whole of D's historical references are taken from the prophetic narratives, we can scarcely have any doubt that in JE, as it lay before the author of D, there must have been a record of the construction by Moses of 'an ark of wood' (Dt 10^1) before his ascent to the mount. In the absence of the original text of these older sources, it is no longer possible to speak with certainty as to their mode of conceiving J″'s relation to the ark. The most probable view seems to be that already referred to as found in the antique poetical fragment, Nu $10^{35.\ 36}$, where J″ is conceived of as personally present in the ark, and guiding the march of His chosen people. The same representation is met with somewhat later in the composite narrative (chiefly JE)* of the passage of the Jordan, in which the ark, borne by the priests, shows the way, while the people follow at a considerable distance (Jos $3^{3ff.}$). During the subsequent conquest of W. Pal., as related in the Books of Jos and Jg 1–2 from materials of various dates, the ark and the tent of meeting must have had their headquarters in the standing camp at Gilgal (Jos 9^6 10^{43}), the former we may suppose frequently accompanying the tribes to battle. Thus we know the prominence given to the ark in the siege of Jericho (Jos 6); and the sacrifice in the presence of the ark on Mt Ebal (Jos 8^{33} from D^2) may be taken as a typical episode in the history of the conquest. From Gilgal the headquarters were moved by divine command to Bethel (Jg $2^{1ff.}$).†

The next resting-place of the ark was at Shiloh, in the territory of Ephraim. Here, according to P (Jos 18^1), it was deposited by Joshua himself, and here it is found at the close of the period of the Judges (1 S 3^3). The original tent‡ is now replaced by a temple (1 S 1^9 3^3), the guardians of which are members of an ancient priestly family (1 S 2^{27}), with Samuel the Ephraimite as attendant.

The following section (chs. 4^1–7^1) is a document of the first importance as a record of the popular conceptions of the ancient Hebrews with regard to the ark. The various incidents in the narrative are too familiar to need repetition. The leading thought throughout is the conviction that the presence of the ark secures the presence of J″ Himself in the camp of the Hebrews.§

The capture of the sacred object by the Philis-

* See Bennett's 'Joshua' in Haupt's *Bible*; Kittel, *Hist.* i., Eng. tr., pp. 282, 283; Driver's art. 'Joshua' in Smith's *DB*^{2}.

† See Moore's *Comm. ad loc.*; Kittel, Eng. tr., pp. 270, 275. So most moderns, MT *Bochim*. The tradition that the ark once had its home in Bethel may be recognised in Jg $20^{27b\ 28a}$, a late marginal gloss.

‡ The words of 1 S 2^{22b}, wanting in LXX, are admittedly a very late addition to the original text (Wellh., Driver, Klost., Budde).

§ This is clear from the whole tenor of the narrative without our requiring to read, with Klost., 'our God' (אלהינו) for 'unto us' (4^3). It is also more than probable, in view of the femin. construction in v.^{17}, that we should render, 'that *he* may come and save us.' Cf. 6^{20}.

tines, the effect of the news on the aged Eli, the incidents of its sojourn in Phil. territory, and its restoration, are graphically told by the narrator.* After a short stay at Bethshemesh, the ark is removed to Kiriath-jearim and deposited in the house of Abinadab 'in the hill,' while Eleazar, his son, is set apart as its guardian. Here it remained, according to a later addition to the text, for twenty years, a period admittedly too short by at least a generation.† Why an object of such sanctity was not restored to its proper home in the temple of Shiloh we can only conjecture. Most probably the temple had been destroyed, and Shiloh‡ itself occupied by the Philistines. As a result a period of spiritual declension followed, lasting well into the reign of Saul § (cf. 1 Ch 13^3). The centre of the purest teaching must have been the home of Samuel at Ramah (1 S 7^{17}), the fruit of which we may perhaps trace in the higher religious conceptions that mark the reign of David.

This sovereign, once securely seated on the throne of 'all Israel,' took active steps for the removal of the ark to his new capital on the slopes of Ophel, as related at some length in 2 S 6 and lovingly expanded in 1 Ch 13. The text of the former passage has suffered greatly, but the general sense is clear. From the house of Abinadab at Kiriath-jearim [otherwise Baalath (of Judah), Jos 15^9] the ark is brought in state on the way to Jerus. The sons of Abinadab, Uzzah and Ahio, are in charge of the new cart on which the ark has been placed, the former walking‖ beside the ark, the latter guiding the oxen in front. Dismayed by a sign of the divine displeasure, David desists from his purpose for a time, leaving the ark in the custody of Obed-edom the Gittite. After three months, however, the removal is successfully accomplished, and the ark safely deposited 'in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it' (v.[17]). After this, in the epigrammatic words of the Chronicler, the ark had rest (1 Ch 6^{31}). For the last time we meet with the ark as the representative of J″ on the field of battle in the campaign against the children of Ammon (2 S 11^{11}). Somewhat later, on the occasion of Absalom's rebellion, when the priests Zadok and Abiathar¶ (2 S $15^{24ff.}$), in accordance with ancient custom, wished to take the ark as the guarantee of J″'s presence with them, the king shows that he has attained to a worthier view of the divine nature by ordering the restoration of the ark to its proper abode in Jerusalem.

The last chapter in the history of the ark opens with its removal by Solomon from its modest tent, and its installation in the inner sanctuary of the temple, 'under the wings of the cherubim' (1 K $8^{1ff.}$). From this point onwards there is no mention of the ark in the older historical books. Was it, as some think, among 'the treasures of the house of the Lord' which Shishak carried off so early as the reign of Rehoboam? (1 K 14^{26}). Or was it first removed by Manasseh to make way for his image of Astarte (2 Ch 33^7), and reinstated by Josiah (35^3), to perish finally in the destruction of city and temple by Nebuchadrezzar? The latter seems on the whole the more probable view (cf. 2 Es 10^{22}), if the single reference, Jer $3^{16.\,17}$, really implies (which is doubtful) the existence of the ark in the prophet's day, although it must be confessed that the silence of the rest of the prophetic literature is difficult to explain (cf. Kuenen, *Rel. of Israel*, i. p. 233). The fable of 2 Mac 2^4 is evidently based on the passage of Jeremiah just quoted. There was no ark in the second temple (Jos. *Wars*, v. v. 5).

iii. From the analogy of other objects bearing the same name,* as well as from the measurements in the scheme of the priestly code (Ex 25^{10}), we may best think of the ark as an oblong chest of acacia or shittim wood (so Dt $10^{1.\,3}$, doubtless following the other sources JE; see § ii. above). In the absence of the original text of these sources in Ex 33. 34 it is impossible to say with absolute certainty whether the ark was represented by them as furnished with figures corresponding to the cherubim of P (Ex $25^{18ff.}$). They are not mentioned in Dt $10^{1.\,3}$, nor in the Books of Sam. or Kings — the phrase 'that sitteth upon the cherubim' (RV) of 1 S 4^4, 2 S 6^2, if not a late gloss (so Kuenen, Smend, Nowack, etc.), being capable of another explanation. The language of 1 K 8^6 further seems to imply the absence of cherubim on the ark itself. This result is confirmed by what we may infer as to the size of the sacred chest, for we find it carried by *two* priests (2 S 15^{29}, also in corrected text of v.[24], 1 S 4^{4b}). An important difference of representation exists between the provisions of the Priests' Code—by which the ark had to be carried by Levites (Nu 3^{31} 4^{15}), as distinguished from a higher caste of Aaronic priests—and those of the older legislation of Dt. First, indeed, among the privileges of the *whole* priestly tribe of Levi enumerated in Dt 10 —privileges assigned to them, we can scarcely doubt, as the reward of their zeal and fidelity in the cause of J″ (Ex $32^{26ff.}$)—is that of bearing 'the ark of J″' (cf. Dt $31^{9.\,25}$). And this is in accord with the evidence of the older historical books in which the priests are the bearers of the ark [see reff. above, and cf. Jos 3^3 (E), $6^{6ff.}$ (J), $6^{6.\,12}$ (E), 8^{33}, 1 K 2^{26} $8^{3.\,6}$† etc.]. As to the precise relation of the ark in early times to the ritual of sacrifice, we have no contemporary evidence.

iv. Every student of OT who has realised to what extent the pre-exilic literature has been worked over by later editors, will appreciate the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of gaining an accurate estimate of the conceptions entertained of the ark in the earliest times. So much depends also on the opinion we may form of the historical value of even our oldest sources. This much, however, seems clear. The ark is in these sources something more than a mere *symbol* of the divine presence. By the popular mind, at least, J″ was conceived *as actually residing in the ark*,—a conviction clearly reflected in the ancient fragment, Nu $10^{35.\,36}$. That the ark was regarded as, in some sense, the abode of the Deity, is apparent also, as we saw above, from the early narratives in the Books of Samuel. Even by David himself, if we can trust the reading, the ark is still spoken of as God's habitation (2 S 15^{25}).

Only on the basis of this conception can we

* It is important to observe that the MT of 6^{19} will not bear the rendering put upon it by AV and RV, 'because they looked *into* the ark.' The text, however, is corrupt. Adopting Klostermann's 'happy suggestion' (Budde) we render, 'But the sons of J. *did not rejoice* among the men of B. when they beheld the ark of J″, and he smote,' etc.

† There is no ground in the text for the statement in Smith's *DB*[2] 'that to Kiriath-jearim "all the house of Israel" resorted to seek J″.' Whatever may be the meaning of the obscure and probably corrupt וינהו, 7^2, the verse serves as the introduction to the following narrative of Samuel's prophetic activity.

‡ It is a mistake to base the assertion that 'in the early part of Saul's reign Ahiah was the Lord's priest in Shiloh' (Smith's *DB*[2]—ARK) on 1 S 14^3, for the qualifying phrase refers, not to Ahiah, but to Eli. Equally groundless is the supposition (*op. cit.*) that the ark may have been at Nob.

§ In 1 S 14^{18a} where the true rendering is clearly 'the ephod' (LXX; cf. v.[3]), the retention of 'the ark' in RV is inexcusable. v.[18b] is, of course, an explanatory gloss like Jg 20^{27b}.

‖ Emend. ועזה חלך, v.[4a], Then., Dr., Kitt., Bud.

¶ The text is again uncertain; see Driver, *in loc.*

* Viz. the outer coffin of Joseph's mummy (Gn 50^{26}), and the chest set up by Jehoiada the priest in the temple (2 K $12^{9ff.}$ = MT $10^{ff.}$).

† In 1 K 8^4 *and* is a late insertion (see 2 Ch 5^5). In many passages, such as 1 S 6^{15}, the original practice has been made to conform to the requirements of the priestly legislation.

explain the fact that in all the passages we have studied, 'before the ark of J″' is identical with, or parallel to, 'before J″' Himself (cf. *e.g.* Jos 6^6 with 6^8 *). What is done in close proximity to the ark is everywhere represented as done in the presence of J″, as sacrifice (2 S 6^{13}), casting of lots (Jos $18^{6.10}$), dancing (2 S 6^{17}), and the like. With the spread of more developed views of religion under the influence of prophetic teaching, the importance of the ark undoubtedly decreased, a fact to which we may perhaps ascribe the silence of later writings regarding it. The ark in any case must be regarded as from the first a national and not a merely tribal sanctuary.† Its loss is bewailed as a national calamity (1 S $4^{21.22}$). Nor does the writer see reason (even granted that 1 K 8^9 may be a gloss) for rejecting the ancient tradition which the author of Dt found in his sources, that the ark contained the tables originally deposited there by Moses himself (Dt 10^2). The view now generally adopted by continental writers, that if the ark really contained anything at all, it was a stone or stones of fetish origin, involves a conception of Moses and his teaching which the writer cannot share. On the other hand, the statement that the ark contained also the pot of manna and Aaron's rod that budded (He 9^4), seems based on a late Jewish tradition.

LITERATURE.—The Comm. of Dillmann on Exodus, Driver on Dt, Klostermann on Sam. and Kings; the critical works of Wellhausen and Driver on the text of the Books of Sam.; the treatises on Heb. archæology of Benzinger and Nowack (vol. ii.); articles in Stade's *Zeitschrift* by Kautzsch, 1886; Seyring, 1891; and esp. Couard, 1892 ('Die religiöse nationale Bedeutg. der Lade'); also art. 'Bundeslade' in Riehm's *Handwört.*²; Kosters in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1893; and R. Krætzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im A.T.* (1896), c. 7, 'Die Bundeslade.'

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ARKITES (עַרְקִי, Gn 10^{17}, 1 Ch 1^{15}), represented as descendants of Canaan, founders of the Phœn. city of Arka, in later times *Cæsarea Libani*, birthplace of the Roman emperor Alexander Severus, about 12 miles N. of Tripolis. Arka is also mentioned in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser II. as one of the towns reduced by that monarch (Schrader, *COT*² i. 87, 246). Jos. (*Ant.* I. vi. 2) states that Arucas, one of the sons of Canaan, possessed Arce, situated at the N.W. base of the Lebanon. It was still a place of considerable importance in the Middle Ages, and sustained a severe siege in A.D. 1138, but was taken by the Crusaders. Its site is now marked by the ruins of Tell Arka. See Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 201 f. J. MACPHERSON.

ARM (זְרוֹעַ *zerôa'*), the outstretched arm; also the straight foreleg of an animal. **1.** *As a unit of measurement* arm follows the hand with its digit, palm, span, and gives the standard length called the *'ammah* (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, *s.v.* '*cubit*'). As this seems to have varied from 17·6 in. to 25·19, it is possible that besides the reckoning of the fore-arm, there was another of the arm's-length, the latter corresponding to the modern Arab. *dhirâ'a*, 24 in. The kindred Arab. word for full-arm (*dharâ'a*) also means, like the fig. use of *zerôa'*, capacity, influence, power. **2.** *Fig. use of Arm.*—Among Orientals the extended arm is a familiar sign of animation and action. During the excitement of discussion, it is an understood prelude to speech, and implies the possession of something that ought to be heard. Throughout the Bible the a. is an expressive emblem of power to direct, control, seize, overcome, and hence also describes the purpose, either of punishment or protection, towards which the power is employed.

Thus the Exodus is freq. referred to as the 'outstretched a.' of God. Similarly the a. of Pharaoh is said to be broken; and the doom of Eli's family is called the cutting off of his a., and that of his father's house. In the same way, the unwelcome novelty of the spiritual kingdom and its living sacrifice raises the prophetic lament—'to whom hath the a. of the Lord been revealed'? (Is 53^1). Further, the original meaning of power is sometimes transcended, and by frequency of special association the motive of holiness is transferred to the a.—'The Lord hath made bare his *holy* arm' (Is 52^{10}). On the other hand, utter powerlessness is the a. 'clean-dried-up' (Zec 11^{17}). Cf. Job's imprecation on the abuse of power (Job 31^{22}). So the appeal of the helpless is 'Put on strength, O arm of the Lord!' (Is 51^9), Hence, finally, the contrast between the man who makes flesh his arm, and Israel for whose security 'underneath are the Everlasting Arms' (Dt 33^{27}). See also HAND. G. M. MACKIE.

* Cf. also Jg 20^{28a}, where for 'stood before it' render 'stood before him'; see Moore, *in loc.*

† Wellh., Stade, and others have suggested that the ark was the *palladium* of the tribe of Joseph.

ARMENIA.—See ARARAT.

ARMENIAN VERSION OF THE OT. — The following points need discussion as regards the Armenian OT.

i. The text from which it was translated.
ii. Its value for critical purposes.
iii. Its date, and where it was made.
iv. Its contents, and order of books.

i. The Arm. OT is a version of the Gr. LXX, the text of which it everywhere fits closely as a glove the hand that wears it. This statement has been controverted;* but its truth is apparent if we anywhere open the Peshiṭta or Massora and, noting their peculiarities, look for them in the Armenian. Let us test it then by a few cases where the Syriac Peshiṭta varies from the LXX; but where the LXX is exactly rendered by the Arm., the sense of which I occasionally add within square brackets.

Gn 1^1 *esse* cœli et esse terræ.—[2] deserta et inculta [invisibilia et non preparata].—[6] et fuit divisitque [et sit dividere]—[6] *om.* καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.—[7] *om.* ὁ θεός after διεχώρισεν.—[8] *om.* καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.—[9] in *locum* unum—[9] *om.* καὶ συνήχθη as far as ὕφθη ἡ ξηρά.

Gn 20^1 Racem et Gedar [Cades et Sur]—alt. *Gedar* [in Geraris and so in v.3].—[4] populum innocentem [ignorantem et iustum].—[5] En ipse [nonne ipse]—[5] *om.* mihi *after* dixit—[5] *om.* sed ego *before* in simplicitate.—[6] cohibui te [peperci tibi].—[7] *om.* vir *before* propheta.—[8] *om.* omnes *before* homines.

Ex 18^1 Jethron [Iothor] — Median [Madian] — Deus Mosi [Dominus M.]—*add.* Filios *before* Israel.—[2] *add.* filiam suam.—[3] Gerson [Gersam]—quoniam dixerat [dicit].

34^1 *om.* et ascende ad me in montem.—[3] in manu sua [secum].—[5] stetit ibi cum eo [stetitque coram eo ibi]—nomen hoc, Dominus [in nomen Domini].

Lv 30^1 *add.* ad eum—Dicito filiis Israel [loquere ad filios I. dices].—[2] *et* ex iis [*vel* de iis] — proiecerit ex semine suo in alienigenam [dederit semen suum principi, and so in 20^3]—[2] *add.* vir eius modi.—[3] dabo furorem [statuam faciem]—sanctuarium [sanctitatem]—sanctitatis meæ [sanctificatorum meorum].

Nu 36^1 capita patrum familiæ [principes tribus filiorum]—Gelaad [Galaad]—de familia Manasse filii Ioseph [de fam. fil. Ios.]—magnatibus congregationis, capitibus patrum filiorum [principibus domorum patriarcharum fil.].

Dt 31^1 Abiens igitur Moses, locutus est [et consummavit M. loqui]—ad universum Israelem [ad omnes filios Israel]—[2] *add.* filius—et Dominus [nam D.].

Jos 22^1 Rubil [Ruben].—[2] vos custodistis [vosmet audistis].—[3] ecce multis abhinc diebus [tot dies] — ad præsentem usque diem, et custoditis [immo plus usque hodie temporis cust.].—[4] *add.* quandoquidem—Deus [D. noster]—revertimini ergo et abite ad civitates vestras [nunc igitur revertentes redite in domus vestras]—quam possedistis [possessionis vestræ]—*add.* ab oriente.

2 Ch 33^3 Secundum opera [de omnibus abominationibus]—Israelitarum [filiorum Israel].—[3] rædificavit enim [et revertit et ædificavit]—altaria idolis [statuas Baalimæ]. Fabricavit tigres [fecit lucos]—*add.* et adoravit eas—omnes cœli copias [omnem potentiam cœli].

Ps 110^2 *om.* ἐν μέσῳ.—[3] Populus tuus laudabilis [=with thee is the beginning]—sanctitatis [sanctorum tuorum]—ab antiquo te

* *E.g.* Dr. Ars'ak Ter Mikelian (*Die Armenische Kirche*, Leipzig, 1892) writes, p. 35: 'Die Bücher des Alten Testamentes können unmöglich aus den LXX übersetzt worden sein.'

filium genui [ante Luciferum genui te].—[4] non mentietur [non pœnitebit eum]—sicut Melchizedec [= 'according to the order of M.'].—[6] implebit cadavera [= 'he maketh many the blows']

Is 33—

Syriac Version.	Armenian Version.
Vae diripienti: vos ne diripiatis, et deceptor nequaquam decipiet vos, cum volueritis diripere, diripiemini. Domine miserere nostri, quoniam in te est fiducia nostra: esto adiutor noster in matutino, et salva nos in tempore angustiæ.	Woe unto those who distress you, but yourselves no one can distress: and he that despiseth, despiseth not you. For they shall be given over unto defeat who despise you, and like the moth upon the garment, so shall they be given over to defeat. Lord, pity us; for in thee have we hoped. The seed of the unfaithful hath come to destruction; but our salvation is in thee in time of straits.

In all these cases the Arm. is faithful, as against the Syr., to the LXX. In spite of this general conformity, however, there are numerous cases in which the Arm. supplies omissions of the LXX; *e.g.* Is 66[3] runs thus in the Arm.: 'But the lawless who offers to me an ox as offering [is just as if one should smite the head of a man, and he that offers the sheep as offering] is just as if one should slaughter a dog.' Here the words bracketed have dropt out of the ordinary LXX text; but they were added to the LXX text by Sym. and Theod.

In Jeremiah the traces of correction by direct or indirect use of the Massoretic or Syr. texts are frequent, *e.g.* ch. 16[2] the Arm. = et ne gignantur tibi filii et filiæ. In v.[4] it = sed in exemplum erunt super faciem terræ. In gladio cadent et in fame consummabuntur. Et erunt cadavera eorum in cibum volatilibus cœli et bestiis terræ. In the above the plural gignantur . . . filii et filiæ in v.[2], and in v.[4] exemplum, belong to the LXX; but the arrangement of clauses in v.[4], as also the addition cadavera eorum, are due to the Syr. or to the Massora. It may be noticed that Jerome, who consulted the Heb. text, combines it with the LXX in just the same way, only reading with the Heb. *sterquilinium* for *exemplum*. In order to demonstrate this composite character of the Arm. text, I give a collation with Tischendorf's text of ch. 23. Wherever the variants of the Armenian reflect the Massoretic or Syr. texts, or both, I add M or S or SM.

Jer 23[1] αὐτῶν] Arm. σου: meæ SM—ibid. add. φησὶ Κύριος SM. —[2] Κύριος θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ SM—ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας τοὺς ποιμαίνοντας SM—ὑμῶν]+λέγει Κύριος SM.—[4] πτοηθ.]+neque erunt neglecti: S+neque aberrent: M+neque deficient.—[5] δικαίαν] δικαιοσύνης S. —[6] Ἰωσιδέκ]+ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡμῶν: iustitia nostra (*i.e.* Iosedek) SM —ibid.+ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, and vv.[7 8], which in the LXX come at the end of the chapter, are added here by the Arm. as by SM.— [9] before συνετρίβη Arm. add. ἐπὶ τοὺς προφήτας.—[10] before ὅτι ἀπὸ +nam impleta est tellus adulteris as in M; (S adulteris *et raptoribus*)—τούτων] 'of swearing': M has periurii—πονηρός] εἰς πονηρίαν.—[11] tr. προφ. κ. ἱερεύς M—εἶδον] ἴδρυν.—[12] ἐπισκ. αὐτῶν]+λέγει Κύριος SM.—[13] Σαμαρείας] 'of Shmrn.' SM.—[15] Κύριος]+exercituum erga prophetas SM—πικρὸν] πικρότητος.—[16] προφητῶν]+τῶν προφητευόντων SM—ματαιοῦσιν]+ἐκεῖνοι ὑμῖν and om. ἑαυτοῖς M ὅρασ. καρδίας SM.—[18] ἠναντίσατο]+uerbum meum: SM uerbum eius.—[20] om. ἕτι SM—om. αὐτό S—om. ἕως ἂν—αὐτὸ ἀπὸ ἐγχειρήματος] ἐγχείρημα SM—νοήσουσιν αὐτὸ]+νοοῦντες M.—[21] om. pr. καί M—αὐτούς]+ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ὁδῶν αὐτῶν καὶ SM.—[27] ἐπιλαθέσθαι]+τὸν ὀλοὸν μου SM.—[28] om. πρὸς αὐτὸν S.—[29] om. οὕτως οἱ λόγοι μου SM.—[30] om. ὁ θεὸς SM.—[32] om. διὰ τοῦτο SM—ψευδῆ]+λέγει Κύριος SM—καὶ οὐ] καὶ SM.—[33] ἐρωτήσωσιν] ἐρωτήσῃ σε SM—προφήτης]+λέγων SM.—[34] ὁ ἱερεύς M.—[35] ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως.—[36] λόγος αὐτοῦ] +'but ye will turn back the words of the living God, the Lord of powers, our God. But thus say to the prophet (S dic *alicui*): What answer made unto you the Lord, and what spake the Lord? If ye say,' etc. So SM.

The arrangement also in the Arm. of verses and chapters of Jeremiah follows SM and not the LXX. Where S and M differ it is usually M which the Arm. follows; but the basis of its text, even where it is so copiously supplemented as in this chapter of Jeremiah, is clearly the LXX. It is certain, then, that in OT the Armenians translated the LXX, supplementing it, however, and adjusting it to the Massoretic text. The only question remaining regards the medium through which they knew the Massora. From their traditional account of the making of the version we might infer that they knew the Heb. through the Syr., and in the case of some few parts of OT this may have been so. But more often, and especially in the prophetic books, it is the Heb. rather than the Syr. text which directly or indirectly was used.

This composite character of the Arm. text is probably due to the fact that the translators used the Hexaplaric text of Origen, whose obeli and asterisks, marking additions of the LXX to the Massora, or additions to the LXX from Aq. Sym. Theod. Gr. VS of the Massora, here and there survive in Arm. MSS,* as well as actual marginal references to these Gr. VSS. used by Origen. The Armenians, then, must have made their version from a Hexaplaric text such as we have in the Gr. Codices 22 and 88.

ii. In answering the first question, we have by implication answered also the second of those which we asked above, viz. as to the value for critical purposes of the Arm. version. It needs only to be added, that for beauty of diction and accuracy of rendering the Arm. cannot be surpassed. The genius of the language is such as to admit of a tr. of any Gr. document both literal and graceful; true to the order of the Gr., and even reflecting its compound words, yet without being slavish, and without violence to its own idiom. We are seldom in doubt as to what stood in the Armenian's Gr. text; therefore his version has almost the same value for us as the Gr. text itself, from which he worked, would possess. The same criticism is true of the Arm. NT as well.

iii. Three Arm. writers of the 5th cent., Koriun, Lazar of Pharpi, and Moses of Chorene, record that the Scriptures were translated between A.D. 396 and 430 by Mesrop, the elaborator of the Arm. alphabet, Sahak the Patriarch, Eznik, and others. According to Koriun (p. 10 of Arm. edition of Venice, 1833), Mesrop, with the help of a Gr. scribe Rufinus, began a version in Edessa about 397 A.D., commencing with the Proverbs of Solomon. The context implies that they used a Gr. copy; and they may have taken the second half of a Bible, complete in two volumes, of which the second began with Proverbs. There can be no other reason why they began there. Later on Koriun and Eznik fetched back from Constantinople an accurate and sure copy of the Scriptures, and the work of translation already begun by Sahak was resumed.

Moses of Chorene says that Sahak's inchoate version was from the Syr., because the Pers. king Meroujah had burned, thirty years before, all the Gr. books of the Armenians. Lazar, however, who is more credible, declares that Sahak's version of the Old and New Testaments was made from Gr. Lastly, Moses (iii. 60) declares that Sahak and Mesrop, not content with their Byzantine 'exact' copies, sent himself to Alexandria for the purpose of completing their work in ways not clearly specified. Moses also states that two of the translators, John and Artzan, on their way to Constantinople, stayed in Cæsarea (? of Cappadocia). The accounts of these writers then add little to our knowledge. We may only gather that texts from Edessa, Byzantium, and Alexandria were used by the translators. The translation itself was no doubt made in the basin of Ararat, where lay the earliest centres of Arm. Christianity, Valarshapat, with its convent of Edschmiatzin, and Twin.

iv. The books of the OT in Arm. MSS follow the order given in Tischendorf's LXX (Lipsiæ, 1880) as far as 1 and 2 Es (except that 2 Es in Arm. = the Gr. Ezra); then follow: Neh (called in the

* *E.g.* in Ex 33[4] the Arm. = 'And the congregation having heard that evil word, lamented lamenting* and the man did not take the ornament on his person.' If the Syr. Hexaplaric version of Paul of Tela had not been made nearly 200 years after the Arm., the latter might almost have been regarded as a translation of it.

lower margin 3 Es), Est, Jth, To, 1 to 3 Mac, Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, Wis, Job, Is, the XII Prophets, Jer, Bar, La, Death of Jer, Dn, Ezk, Death of Ezk. In some codices Job follows 3 Mac and precedes Psalms. Various Apocr. books also appear in the MSS, viz.: The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the History of Joseph and his wife Asenath, and the Hymn of Asenath. All these are given in Lord Zouche's Bible after Gn and before Ex under the general title of 'Book of Paralipomena,' as if they were esteemed part of the same. In other MSS the Testaments succeed Dt. These are not given in printed editions of the Arm. Bible, nor are they found in all codices. The same is true of the apocr. entitled 'the Death of the Twelve Prophets,' and 'the Prayer of Manasses.' The Third Book of Ezra or Esdras, usually known as the Fourth, follows Nehemiah in the MSS which contain it, *e.g.* in the MS Bible of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Each book of OT is prefaced by a brief introduction of unknown authorship, but coeval with the version; and also by a summary of contents. Besides the usual preface to the Ps, some MSS introduce a passage of David the Philosopher, another of Athanasius, and a third of Epiphanius of Cyprus. Dn is translated from the text of Theodotion. Sir was twice translated, first of all in the 5th century, and again, perhaps, in the 8th. The former version is printed in the Venice Bible of 1860, and is the more complete and accurate though it does not comprise the whole of the Gr. text, ch. 8, for example, being omitted: the latter was printed in Zohrab's Bible, Venice, 1805. Uscan made and published in his Bible a third version in the year 1666. F. C. CONYBEARE.

ARMENIAN VERSION OF NT.—The old Armenian writers (mentioned in § iii. ARMENIAN VERSION OF OT) give us no special information in regard to the date and circumstances of their version of NT. Whatever statements they make apply to it as to OT. Codices of the four Gospels of great age are relatively common, written in large uncials for church use.* Codices of the rest of NT separate from the Gospels are rare, and will generally be found to have formed part of a larger MS containing the entire NT. They are not common at all before the 13th cent., before which epoch also codices of the entire Bible are very rare. The OT is never found apart from the New, and the extreme rarity of uncial OT fragments in the bindings of later MSS suggests that the entire Arm. Bible was never written out from beginning to end except in a small hand, though there were, of course, uncial lectionaries for church use, and the Bibliothèque Nationale contains such a lectionary written probably in the 9th cent. In Edschmiatzin there is an entire Bible on parchment of 1151, and two more on paper of 1253 and 1270. In Venice, one of 1220. The London Bible Society has a choice copy of about 1600, Lord Zouche another not so old.

Separate codices of the Gospels rarely occur in which St. John precedes the Synoptists; but in the library of M. Enfédjans in Tiflis there is a very old specimen of such a codex. The order of the rest of the NT books in the oldest MS at Venice, written A.D. 1220, is as follows: Acts, Catholic Epistles, Revelation of John the Apostle, Epistles of Paul, at the end of which is added the letter of the Corinthians to Paul. The Ep. to the Hebrews precedes those to Tim. and follows Thess. In a 13th cent. MS of the Brit. Mus. (Add. 19,730, Saec. xiii.), the order of books is this: Apocalypse, Epistles of Paul, Acts, Cath. Epistles. In this and in other codices the apocryphal rest of St. John usually follows St. John's Gospel.

The Gospels invariably have the Canons of Ammonius added in the margin, and are preceded by Eusebius' letter to Carpianus, with the tables of the Canons. The Acts and Epistles of St. Paul are preceded by the prefaces, summaries, lists of Testimonia and Colophons of Euthalius, whose marginal chaptering and subdivisions and calculations of *stichi* in the text are also added in the older MSS. In these we also find a division of Acts and Cath. Epistles each into forty-nine chapters; and in the case of Acts, this rather artificial system presupposes that of Euthalius.

A collation of the Arm. text of the OT is given in the Septuagint of Holmes and Parson (Oxon. 1798–1827). A collation of the Arm. NT was first published by Tregelles, and the same is given in Tischendorf's later edd. Moses of Chorene asserts that the NT, like the OT, was first rendered from Syr., and that this first version was, about A.D. 430, revised from more exact Gr. texts from Constantinople. This tradition is certainly correct, for Prof. Armitage Robinson (*Euthaliana*, Cambridge, 1895) shows that the Arm. NT bears traces of having been made from an ancient form of the Syr. text, such as that which Mrs. Lewis recently discovered at Mount Sinai. This earlier version from Syr. may be the 'First translation' of the Gospels to which Theodoros Chrhthenavor (Contra Majragoumatzi) refers in the 7th cent. as having contained the disputed verses Lk $22^{43.44}$.

These references are so important that I translate them from the Venice ed. p. 148: 'They (*i.e.* the phantasiastæ) say, it was not by weakness, but by strength, that He (*i.e.* Christ) overcame the enemy. So do His own words testify. The house of the giant is not plundered, unless first the strong man is bound.'* And if this be true, it is plain, they say, that the *First translation* is not to be accepted, which in the (episode of His) praying relates the 'Bloody Sweat' of the almighty 'Word of God, and that He was encouraged by the angel.'

Ibid. p. 154: 'The letter of the Gospel spoke of the sweat allegorically, as it were of blood; but not (as) a welling-out of blood from a wound made with a weapon.'

In the same context we read that the heretics in question contended that the '*old edition of the Gospel* is not to be accepted' because Gregory the Illuminator, in his homiletic exposition of all the Gospel oracles which announced the economical passibility of the Divine Word, yet made no special mention of the 'Bloody Sweat' passage.

The answer of Theodore to this argument is that neither did the Nicene Fathers nor the new recension of the Scriptures recognise more than fourteen Epistles of Paul; yet that Gregory had cited and so testified to the Third Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, which the said Fathers had passed over in silence, and which was 'not added in the new translations.' The verse cited by Gregory is 3 Co 11: 'The lawless prince when he desired to be God bound all men under sin.' 'This' (*i.e.* 3 Co), says Theodore, '*was contained in the ancient text*, but not in the *new ed.* (=*συγγραφῇ*). If, however, because of its omission from the text of the *newly issued translations* you reject the older Gospel as not true, you, in doing so, calumniate even the great sage Gregory, though you make a show of praising him. But if the truthful Gregory did not in composing (his work) follow the chapters in their order of the entire Gospel, but wrote with peculiar simplicity to suit those who were weak in understanding what they heard, merely propounding testimonies in a summary way to satisfy immediate needs, and confirming (the Gospel statements) by the prophecies, then why do you make a stalking horse of him?'

The above passages warrant two inferences, one certain, the other probable.

(1) The Armenians had a first or early version of NT which contained the verses Lk $23^{43.44}$ and also 3 Corinthians.

(2) Gregory had this early version. He quoted 3 Co from it, and he would have quoted Lk $22^{43.44}$ also, only his literary purpose did not require him to do so.

I do not see how else we can interpret the last paragraph of Theodore. The same conclusion can

* This appears to be an extracanonical citation.

* At Moscow is an Evangeliar., dated 887. At Venice in the San Lazzaro Library are two, dated 902 and 1006 respectively. At Edschmiatzin, two of 989, 1035. In Erzeroum, one of 986. In St. Anthony's convent in Constantinople, one of 960. In the Sevan monastery in Russian Armenia, one of 966. In the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the British Museum, and in private collections, are many more very ancient copies.

be reached by another way. For the version of 3 Co belonged to the first translation of the NT. Gregory had this 3 Co, and cited it. Is it likely that he would have used an outlying portion of NT in a certain edition of it, and not have had the Gospels also? We may note that the 'First translation,' as it contained Paul's Epistles, cannot have been merely an Arm. Diatessaron, though the statement that Gregory did not cite the texts in order is suggestive of such a supposition. If these inferences are just, the first Arm. version of NT was made at the beginning rather than towards the end of the 4th cent., although the native historians of the 4th cent. are silent about it.*

Parts of NT were translated in the 5th cent., but were omitted from the later Arm. Canon. Thus the Apocalypse was not read in church before the 12th cent., when Nerses of Lampron issued a much changed recension of the old version. Similarly the last twelve verses of Mk were rendered in the 5th cent., for Eznik cites them about A.D. 435; but they hardly appear in the MSS before the 13th cent., and then not as an integral part of the second Gospel. In a 10th cent. codex of the Gospels at Edschmiatzin they are headed by the title 'of Ariston the Presbyter,' written in small red uncials by the first hand. Ariston has been identified with Aristion the teacher of Papias. And the knowledge which the Armenians had that the verses were his and not Mark's, explains the hostile attitude towards them of the Arm. Church.

The episode of the woman taken in adultery is likewise absent from the oldest MSS; though it is cited as early as A.D. 950 by Gregory of Narek. The Edschmiatzin codex of A.D. 989 is the oldest codex which contains it, though not in the form in which Gregory and the later codices give it, but as follows:—

'A certain woman was taken in sins, against whom all bore witness that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus (to see) what he would command, in order that they might malign him. Jesus made answer, and said, "Come ye, who are without sin, cast stones, and stone her to death." But he himself, bowing his head, was writing with his finger on the earth, to declare their sins; and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And, filled with shame, they departed, and no one remained, but only the woman. Saith Jesus, "Go in peace, and present the offering for sins, as in their law is written."'

This primitive form of text has the Arm. equivalent of τὰ τῆς μοιχαλίδος written against it in the margin by the first hand. It is probably derived from Papias or the Heb. Gospel.

One other reading of the old Arm. version deserves notice. It occurs in the oldest known codex, dated A.D. 887, preserved in the Lazareffski Institute at Moscow. It is in Mt 2^9, and as follows: ὁ ἀστήρ . . . ἐστάθη ἐπάνω τοῦ σπηλαίου οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον. The same text is found in the Protevangel, c. xxi., and accounts for the variant here found in the Codex Bezæ.

The Arm. Bible was first printed at Amsterdam in 1666, but from a single manuscript, and the printed text was in places adjusted to the Latin Vulgate. A later edition, issued in 1733 by Mechitar in Venice, was mainly a reprint of the edition of 1666. The first critical edition was issued in 1805 at Venice under the care of Zohrab, who used several codices, the best of them one written early in the 14th cent. The variants of the MSS used are given under the text; but without distinguishing in which codex which variant is read. However, one codex of the Arm. Bible differs very slightly from another. Other edd. have been published in Moscow, Constantinople, and Venice during this century; those of Venice being particularly good and reliable. There is not the slightest foundation for the statement sometimes made, that the Arm. version was in the time of the Crusaders conformed to the Lat. Bible. At that time, indeed, the Lat. chaptering began to be added in the margin, and the Prologus Galeatus of Jerome was translated, and in some codices affixed, to the Book of Kings; but no changes were made under Lat. influence in the text itself.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

* A comparison of the Arm. text of the Paulines with Ephrem's commentary (preserved in Arm.), with the Syr. and with the closely allied Georgian Version, demonstrates that the Arm. and Geo. versions were originally made from the pre-Peshitta Syr. text used by Ephrem, and were afterwards corrected from Gr. texts. This revision of these two versions was probably made about 400 A.D., and was more thorough in the case of Arm. than of Georgian.

ARMHOLE occurs Jer 38^{12} and Ezk 13^{18} (RV 'elbows'). The meaning of the Heb. word (אֵצִיל, see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Davidson on Ezk 13^{18}) is doubtful, but the word in AV means the armpit, as it is now called. J. HASTINGS.

ARMLET (כּוּמָז *kûmâz*, AV tablet, Ex 35^{22}, Nu 31^{50}).—A flat open clasp worn on the upper arm, mentioned among the votive offerings of gold for the tabernacle (see BRACELET).

G. M. MACKIE.

ARMONI (אַרְמֹנִי).—Son of Saul by Rizpah (2 S 21^8).

ARMOUR, ARMS.—I. In OT. The Heb. nearest equivalent to 'armour' is *maddîm* (מַדִּים 1 S 17^{38}), rendered 'clothes' in 1 S 4^{12} (a fugitive arrives from the battle 'with his *clothes* rent').

It is a plural word signifying the different parts of a soldier's dress. The coat of mail, *shiryôn* (שִׁרְיוֹן), would be chiefly meant, but the helmet and shield and the loose cloak, *simlah* (שִׂמְלָה Is 9^5), are included. Ehud (Jg 3^{16}) wears a dagger under his *maddîm*, *i.e.* between the *shiryôn* and the *simlah*.

The Heb. nearest equivalent for 'arms' is *kêlîm* (כֵּלִים), a word of general significance, 'moveable property, instruments of any kind, arms,' including the quiver (Gn 27^3), and probably the shield (hence the common phrase, 'bearer of *kêlîm*,' *i.e.* armour-bearer).

A third word rendered 'armour' is *ḥălîẓah* (חֲלִיצָה 2 S 2^{21}). It describes the equipment of a soldier which an adversary would strip off as spoils, and is rendered (in the plural) 'spoil' in Jg 14^{19} (AV and RV).

II. With regard to armour and arms in use in NT times among the Romans, two passages, one from Polybius (*c.* 167 B.C.) the other from Josephus (*c.* 70 A.D.), may be left in an abridged tr. to speak for themselves, and to illustrate the language of St. Paul (esp. Eph 6^{14-17}). Polyb. vi. 23: (*a*) 'The Roman panoply consists in the first place of a shield (*θυρεός*), the breadth of which, measured by the arc which it forms, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and the length is 4 ft., while the depth (thickness) reaches 3 inches . . . And there is fitted to it an iron boss which wards off great blows from stones and from pikes, and in general from darts though hurled with violence. (*b*) And along with the shield is a sword (*μάχαιρα*); now this a man wears on his right thigh, and it is called the Spanish sword. And this has an excellent point; and a powerful cut can be delivered with both its edges, because the blade is strong and durable. (*c*) Next come two javelins (*i.e.* the pila), and (*d*) a bronze helmet (*περικεφαλαία*), and (*e*) a greave* (*N.B.* sing.). And in addition to all this they are adorned with a crown of feathers and with three upright purple-red or black feathers about a cubit in length, so that when these are added to the crest the soldier in full armour appears to be double his own height. . . . (*f*) Now the majority when they have further put on a bronze plate, measuring a span every way,

* It was worn on the right leg (Vegetius, bk. i. c. 20).

which they wear on their chests and call a heart-guard (καρδιοφύλαξ), are completely armed; but those citizens who are assessed at more than 10,000 drachmæ wear, together with the other arms mentioned, cuirasses made of chain-mail.'

Josephus, *BJ* III. v. 5 (vol. iii. p. 236 of Bekker's edition): 'Now the infantry are armed with cuirasses (θώραξ) and helmets (κράνος), and wear swords (μαχαιροφορέω) on both sides. But the sword (ξίφος) worn on the left is much the longer of them, for that on the right is not more than a span in length. And the infantry escort of the general carry lance (λόγχη) and buckler (ἀσπίς), but the rest of the array a spear (ξυστόν) and a shield (θυρεός), and in addition to these a saw and a basket, a mattock and an axe, and further a thong, and a reaping-hook (δρέπανον), and a chain, and three days' provisions, so that the infantry are little short of beasts of burden. And the cavalry have a long sword (μάχαιρα) on the right side, and a long lance (κοντός) in the hand, and a shield (θυρεός) held slantwise by the side of the horse. And from a quiver (κατὰ γωρυτοῦ) hang three or more darts (ἄκων) having broad points, and in size little less than spears (δόρυ); and all have helmets and cuirasses like the infantry.'

LITERATURE.—(*a*) For OT, Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* (1894), pp. 362-367, and Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1894 (illustrations of weapons found at Tell el-Hesy, *i.e.* Lachish).
(*b*) For NT, Polybius, vi. 23; Josephus, *BJ* iii. 5, and Lindenschmit, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des Römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit*, Braunschweig, 1882.

W. E. BARNES.

ARMOUR-BEARER.—The office is mentioned in very early times in connexion with Abimelech (Jg 9^{54}) and Saul (1 S 31^{4}). An armour-bearer's functions were various; he slew those whom his chief struck down (1 S 14^{13}); he carried the great shield (*zinnah*) in front of a champion to protect him from treacherous arrows (1 S 17^{7}, and Homer, *Il.* iii. 79, 80); or, again, he collected arrows aimed against his chief for his chief to discharge again. This last function was executed by Mohammed when a lad in attendance upon his uncles (Ibn Hishâm, p. 119, l. 1, quoted by W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] p. 431). W. E. BARNES.

ARMOURY.—There was naturally no store of arms nor place for keeping them in Israel before the establishment of the nucleus of a standing army under Saul. Saul found the nation, or at least the southern tribes, almost destitute of arms in the true sense (1 S 13^{19}): no doubt he remedied the defect as far as possible (1 S 8^{12}). A tower named after David, perhaps built by him, held 1000 shields (Ca 4^{4}). Solomon kept 200 golden shields and 300 golden bucklers in the 'house of the forest of Lebanon' (1 K $10^{16.\ 17}$). This armoury was doubtless in Jerusalem (Is 22^{8} 'The armour in the house of the forest'), and lasted till at least Hezekiah's day. Shields and spears were kept even in the temple in the days of Jehoiada the priest (2 K 11^{10}). This store was attributed to king David. W. E. BARNES.

ARMY (צָבָא *ṣābhā'*, 'service,' as we say in Eng. '*the* Service'; חַיִל *ḥayil*, 'force, host'; עָם *'am*, 'people,' a frequent designation; מַחֲנֶה *maḥăneh*, properly 'an army encamped'; מַעֲרָכָה *ma'ărākhāh*, 'an army in array'). — The history of warfare among the Israelites may be divided into two periods. During the first of these, which was closed by the establishment of the kingdom, Israel had fighting men, but no army, *i.e.* no permanent organised force; during the second period, which lasted to the fall of the Southern kingdom, there always existed the nucleus at least of an army, both in the north and in the south, attached to the person of the sovereign. There was no doubt a partial revival of military organisation at the revival of independence under the Hasmonæan princes.

No standing army existed before the time of the kings. But the beginnings of the formation of a fighting caste appear under Saul, consisting of (1) picked 'regulars' to form the nucleus of an army (1 S 14^{52}), and (2) 'regular' officers to command the militia, who formed the bulk of the army in the field.

How, then, in the earlier period was an army formed to meet an emergency? Under the most rudimentary conditions four elements are required to make a fighting force, viz. (1) men, (2) officers, (3) arms, (4) commissariat.

i. MEN.—It was difficult, before the kingdom was established, to collect a sufficient number of men even for small border wars. The sons of Israel were, indeed, numerous enough to cope in turn with such adversaries as Moab, Midian, Ammon, and Philistia; but Israel was a group of tribes rather than a nation, and the bond of union was so feeble that single tribes, or groups of two or three, were left to bear unaided the brunt of invasion or oppression.

The work of the Judges and of Saul, the earliest king, was to unite, as far as was possible, the tribes of Israel, and to bring border wars to a speedy conclusion by the application of organised force. But authority had to be won before it could be exercised, and the leader had to assert his leadership by some striking deed or sign before his countrymen would rally round him. Ephraim rallied round Ehud the Benjamite after he had assassinated the king of Moab (Jg 3^{27}). Gideon roused N. and E. Israel by destroying the altar of Baal, and appearing as the champion of the worship of J" (Jg 6^{24-34}). In the civil war against Benjamin the warlike passion of all the remaining tribes was stirred by the sight of the remains of the murdered concubine (Jg $19^{29ff.}$). Saul gathered his first host by the pictured threat to destroy the oxen of every man who failed to present himself. Even remote Judah on this occasion, we are told, sent thirty 'thousands' to the relief of Jabesh-gilead (1 S $11^{7ff.}$). Against the Amalekites, Judah was not so keen (1 S 15^{4}), having perhaps family relations with them; in any case Judah sent only 10,000 (MT), 30,000 (LXX).

The difficulty regarding the numbers of the Israelite armies must be mentioned here.

These numbers are often surprisingly high. Thus in 1 S 11^{8} it is stated that Saul numbered over three hundred 'thousand' men in Bezek for the relief of Jabesh-gilead. If we take 'thousand' in its literal numerical sense, we get a number equal to more than one-tenth of the whole population of the land—a number improbably large. 'Thousand,' however, is used (Mic 5^{2}) to designate the chief towns of Judah, perhaps as each containing, together with its dependent hamlets, a population of about a thousand. The men of such a town would probably be called a thousand (אֶלֶף) when they went forth to war, and their headman would be called the captain of a thousand. The actual number of this tactical unit would vary much according to the urgency of the danger. It would probably, however, never exceed 300 men, and might conceivably fall below 100. According to this reckoning, Saul's army of relief was not in any case more than 90,000 in number, and it may have been but 30,000.

Side by side, however, with this loose reckoning, the Israelites may have had a stricter system of counting. Thus the number of men of war carried into captivity with Jehoiachin, viz. *seven* thousand (2 K 24^{16}), is quite probable in itself, and consistent with other indications of number. Similarly 'thousand' is no doubt to be understood in its ordi-

nary numerical sense in 2 K 13[7], where it is said that the Israelite army was reduced by Syrian ravages to 50 horsemen, 10 chariots, and 10,000 infantry.

The existence of two reckonings side by side, one based on the numerical sense of 'thousand,' the other on its territorial sense, is not a serious difficulty. To an Oriental, numbers are important only either when they are sacred numbers of mystic meaning, or when it is necessary to indicate generally the relative proportions of things.

The example set by Saul of gathering picked warriors round him was followed by David, who on his accession already had a band of some 600 armed vassals. At the time of Absalom's revolt David's guard must have grown in number, if we rightly read 2 S 15[18] to mean that the Gittites belonging to it amounted by themselves to 600, without reckoning the numbers of the Cherethites and Pelethites. The strength of the whole guard may be guessed from the fact that Ahithophel thought it necessary to take 12,000 chosen men to ensure success in his proposed pursuit of David (2 S 17[1]).

ii. OFFICERS. — After the host was collected under its commander, some organisation had to be given to it. Captains of 'thousands' and 'hundreds' had to be appointed. The army 'was numbered,' or, according to the Heb., 'appointed officers over itself' (הִתְפָּקְדוּ) Jg 20[15]). Two results were gained. Officers were appointed under the eye and influence of the commander over thousands and hundreds; and, secondly, the commander learnt the number of these tactical units, 'thousands' or 'hundreds,' under his command. Besides these 'regimental' officers, one or more officers bearing the title of 'scribe' were attached to the army in the field to aid in its organisation, to serve as provost-marshals, and to make a list of the booty taken (Jg 5[14] and 1 Mac 5[42]).

iii. ARMS.—In the earliest days, no doubt, each man brought his own arms, for we hear of no store of arms till after the establishment of the kingdom (see ARMS). There is nothing to show that the Israelites had horses and chariots until after Saul's day. An Israelite army in the time of the Judges was probably a crowd of men carrying bows, slings, and rustic weapons, such as clubs and oxgoads (Jg 5[8], 1 S 13[22]). Though individually equal in valour, they were probably far inferior in armament to a people like the Philistines, who were sufficiently advanced in the art of war to possess chariots, swords, and spears, and perhaps an organised corps of archers (1 S 31[3]).

iv. COMMISSARIAT. — Commissariat is twice alluded to in the OT. In Jg 20[10] a tenth of the assembled Israelites are sent 'to fetch *victual*' (*ṣêdah* צֵדָה, 'food taken in hunting') that the people may carry out their expedition against Gibeah. Again, in 1 K 20[27] the children of Israel 'were mustered and were victualled' (RV) for a campaign against the Syrians.

W. E. BARNES.

ARNA.—One of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Es 1[2]), corresponding apparently to Zerahiah of Ezr 7[4] and Zaraias of 1 Es 8[2].

ARNAN (אַרְנָן).—A descendant of David (1 Ch 3[21]). While MT has בְּנֵי אַרְנָן, LXX reads *Ὀρνὰ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ* (*sc.* preceding Ῥαφάλ) = *Orna his son.* See GENEALOGY.

ARNI (WH Ἀρνεί, TR Ἀράμ, AV **Aram**).—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3[33]), called in Mt 1[3, 4] **Ram** (RV). Cf. Ru 4[19], 1 Ch 2[9, 10], and see GENEALOGY.

ARNON (אַרְנוֹן). — Two streams unite about 13 miles E. of the middle of the Dead Sea to form the A., now known as Wady el-Mojib. Of these the N. one (Wady Waleh) is formed by a number of brooks—often dry—rising near the Ḥaj route, N. of 31° 30′ N. The S. branch, which is the more important, drains most of the country between the Ḥaj route and the Dead Sea, between 31° 30′ and 31° 10′, and is formed by the streams now known as Seil S'aideh, Wady es-Sultan, Seil Lejjun, and Wady Balû'a. These are all united before reaching the neighbourhood of 'Ar'air, and flow thence almost direct W. for about 20 miles, when they are joined by the Wady Waleh. The E. half thus forms a complete network of streams (the נחלי ארנון). For the greater part of its course the river flows through a deep trench some 2 miles in breadth at the top and about 40 yards at the bottom. The rocky and precipitous banks consist of limestone capped with basalt, and rise in places to a height of 1700 ft. Their slopes are fringed with oleanders, tamarisks, and willows, and near the mouth with castor-bean and cane. Like most rivers in Pal. its stream varies in width and velocity according to the season of the year. Where it issues from its steep banks to the flat shore of the Dead Sea it ranges from 40 to 100 ft. in width, and from 1 to 4 ft. in depth, while near 'Ar'air, where the old road from Heshbon to Kir crosses it, and where the remains of an old bridge still exist, it is almost dry in July.

The A. formed a strong natural boundary, and early separated the territories of the Amorites and Moab (Nu 21[13], cf. Jg 11[12ff.]); later those of Reuben and Moab (Dt 3[16]). Isaiah mentions the 'fords of A.' (16[2]), and Jeremiah uses 'A.' as the name of a district (48[20]). The river is also mentioned on the 'Moabite Stone.' On the N. edge of the S. stream was the town Aroer (see AROER), and between the N. and S. streams Dibon (see DIBON).

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *Phys. Geog. of Pal.* 164–166; *PEFSt* (1895), 204, 215. G. W. THATCHER.

AROD (אֲרוֹד).—A son of Gad (Nu 26[17]) = **Arodi** (אֲרוֹדִי), Gn 46[16]. Patronymic **Arodites** (Nu 26[17]).

AROER (עֲרוֹעֵר).—**1.** A city in the portion assigned to the tribe of Judah (1 S 30[28]), prob. in what is now the Wady Arâ'rah, 20 miles S. of Hebron and 12 miles to the S.E. of Beersheba. To the elders of this city David sent a share of the spoil taken from the Amalekites who had attacked Ziklag. **2.** A well-known city on the N. bank of the Arnon, generally described by its situation in order to distinguish it from other cities of the same name (Dt 2[36] 3[12] 4[48], Jos 12[2] 13[9], Jg 11[26], 2 S 24[5]). It was part of the region conquered by the Amorite king Sihon, and so, at the time of Israel's attack, it lay to the N. of the Moabite territory. It was assigned to the tribe of Reuben, and formed the S. frontier city of that tribe. It is this Reubenite city that is named with the S. towns as having been built by the children of Gad before the definite settlement and distribution of the land (Nu 32[34]). When the Syrians under Hazael conquered all the trans-Jordanic district, Aroer is named as the S. limit (2 K 10[33]). In later times the Moabites, from whom it had been taken first by the Amorites, regained possession of it from the Israelites (Jer 48[19]). Eusebius speaks of it as still standing in his day. **3.** A town in the portion assigned to the tribe of Gad, in the valley of Gad, originally an Ammonite city (Jg 11[33]), in the district watered by the Jabbok, east of Rabbah (Jos 13[25]). The cities of Aroer, referred to in Is 17[2], are evidently the two trans-Jordanic cities of the Moabites and the Ammonites. Gentilic name **Aroerite**, 1 Ch 11[44]. J. MACPHERSON.

AROM (Ἀρόμ), 1 Es 5[16].—His descendants are mentioned among those who returned with Zerubbabel. The name has no parallel in the lists of Ezr and Neh, unless it represents Hashum (B Ἀσέμ, A Ἀσούμ) in Ezr 2[19]. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ARPACHSHAD (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד).—The third son of Shem, A. was the father of Shelah, and grandfather of Eber, from whom the Hebrews traced their descent (Gn $10^{22.24}$ 11^{10-13}). Gesenius regards the name as also designating a people or region, and thinks the conjecture of Bochart not improbable, that this is Ἀρραπαχῖτις, Arrapachitis, a region of Assyria near Armenia (Ptol. vi. 1), the native land of the Chaldæans. Jos. (*Ant.* I. vi. 4) says that from him the Chaldæans were called Arphaxadæans (Ἀρφαξαδαίους).

R. M. Boyd.

ARPAD (אַרְפָּד).—A city of Syria north-west of Aleppo, 2 K 18^{34} 19^{13}, Is 10^{9} 36^{19} 37^{13}, Jer 49^{23}. Now the ruin *Tell Erfûd*. The city stood a two years' siege by Tiglath-pileser III. C. R. Conder.

ARPHAXAD (Ἀρφαξάδ).—**1.** A king of the Medes (Jth $1^{1\text{f.}}$). He reigned at Ecbatana, which he strongly fortified. Nebuchadrezzar, king of Assyria, made war upon him, defeated him, and put him to death. Some have identified A. with Deioces, the founder of Ecbatana, and others with his son Phraortes. But the former of these died in peace, and the latter fell while besieging Nineveh. The narrative in Judith would accord better with the supposition that he was Astyages or Ahasuerus, the last king of the Medes according to Herodotus. **2.** The spelling of Arpachshad in AV, and at Lk 3^{36} by RV also. See Arpachshad.

R. M. Boyd.

ARRAY (formed by prefixing *ar* to the subst. *roi, rai*, order, arrangement) is common in AV for the arrangement or order of an army in battle, always in the phrase 'set in a.' or 'put in a.' (But RV gives once 'order the battle a.' 1 Ch 12^{33}.) The subst. is also used once for dress, *i.e.* garments arranged in order on the person, instead of the common word raiment (=arrayment), 1 Ti 2^{9} 'not with braided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly a.' (ἱματισμός, RV 'raiment'). And in this sense the verb is frequent, as Gn 41^{42} 'a^{ed} him in vestures of fine linen' (Heb. לָבַשׁ, as always, except Jer 43^{12} עטה); Mt 6^{29} 'Solomon in all his glory was not a^{ed} like one of these' (περιβάλλω, so Lk 12^{27} 23^{11}; but ἐνδύω, Ac 12^{21} 'Herod, a^{ed} in royal apparel'). 'Array' does not mean in the Bible, as it does now, 'to dress up with display,' but simply to put on raiment, to dress. J. Hastings.

ARROGANCY.—Arrogance, though quite as old as arrogancy (both being forms of *arrogantia*, the assertion of more than one has a right to), is not used in AV, but RV gives it at Job 35^{15} (פֶּשַׁע, the only occurrence of the Heb. word, AV 'extremity'). Arrogancy is found in AV 1 S 2^{3}, Pr 8^{13}, Is 13^{11}, Jer 48^{29}; RV retains these, and adds 2 K 19^{28}, Is 16^{6} 37^{29}, Wis 5^{8}, giving also arrogant, Ps 5^{5} 73^{3} 75^{4} (for 'foolish' or 'fool' of AV), and arrogantly, Ps 75^{4} 94^{4}.

J. Hastings.

ARROW (חֵץ).—The arrow of the Hebrews was probably like that of other early nations in consisting of a light shaft with a head of flint or metal. Owing to the suddenness with which the arrow inflicted wounds, and to the fact that such wounds often came from an unseen hand, the arrow was used as a symbol of the judgments of God. Job, in his sickness, complains that he is struck by the poisoned arrows of the Almighty (Job 6^{4}). God overthrows the mischievous plotters by wounding them suddenly with an arrow (Ps 64^{7}).

Again, the secret mischief done by slanderers is compared to the wound of an arrow ('whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword,' Ps 57^{4}). Children begotten in their father's youth are likened to arrows (Ps 127^{4}). Arrows are also a symbol of that which is carefully guarded and highly valued; thus, Israel itself is God's polished arrow, 'he hath made me a polished shaft, in his quiver hath he kept me close' (Is 49^{2} RV). W. E. Barnes.

ARROWSNAKE (Is 34^{15} RV for AV 'great owl'). —See Serpent.

ARSACES (Ἀρσάκης, connected possibly with the Armen. *Arschag*) was a Scythian (Strabo, xi. 515) from the banks of the Ochus, who founded the Parthian empire and the dynasty of the Arsacidæ (Justin, xli. 5; Strabo, xv. 702). The sixth king of the name (known also as Mithridates I.) subdued Persia and Media, and when opposed by Demetrius Nikator, who thought the people would rise in his favour and afterwards assist him against Tryphon, deceived him by a pretence of negotiations, and in B.C. 138 took him prisoner (1 Mac 14^{1-3}; Justin, xxxvi. 1). Demetrius received in marriage Rhodogune, daughter of A. (App. *Syr.* 67), but died during his captivity (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 11; Justin, xli. 6; Oros. v. 4). In 1 Mac 15^{22} A. is mentioned among the kings to whom was sent an edict (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. viii. 5) from Rome forbidding the persecution of the Jews; but there is a lack of confirmatory evidence of this, though the incident would, notwithstanding the independence of Parthia, accord with the practice of Rome.

R. W. Moss.

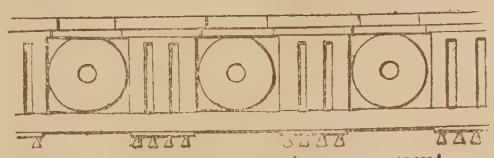
ARSIPHURITH (B Ἀρσειφουρείθ, A Ἀρσιφρ., AV **Azephurith**), 1 Es 5^{16}.—112 of his sons returned with Zerubbabel (B omits the number). The corresponding name in Ezr 2^{18} is Jorah (יוֹרָה, B Οὐρά, A Ἰωρά); and in Neh 7^{24} Hariph (חָרִיף, B Ἀρείφ, A Ἀρείμ). It has been conjectured that the name in 1 Es is due to a mistaken combination of the two forms in Ezr and Neh, the c in the second syllable being due to confusion between c and ϵ.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ART.—The Hebrews, like many other nations, did not excel equally in all branches of art. In literature and poetry they have shown great ability in all ages down to the present time. In music they were apparently quite the equal of their neighbours, judging from the variety of instruments named and the frequent references to singing and playing, and in modern times they fully sustain this character. But, on the contrary, in mechanical arts, in form and design, and in representations, they showed an inability amounting to positive aversion. That this aversion was not on religious grounds alone is evident on seeing that, when sculptured figures were made for the temple, the chief artist in metal was a Tyrian half-breed, and there was not among the Jews 'any that can skill to hew timber like the Sidonians' (1 K 5^{6}). Probably the aversion and the prohibition to imitate natural forms acted and reacted on each other, so that all ability was lost. We find in earlier times that, on the contrary, artistic work is attributed entirely to Hebrews shortly after the Exodus, when the Egyp. training and skill would be still possessed (Ex 35^{34}).

There does not appear to be much that can be distinctively marked as Jewish or Palestinian in the motives of design; many of the elements that we can trace in the scanty remains showing Egyp. or Bab. origin. What original style Pal. possessed among the Amorites was mostly destroyed by the Heb. invasion. This can be traced best in the pottery, as, though simple in forms and material, it is the most continuous series that we have. The Amorite shows good and original forms of a pure style; the Phœnician is entirely different, but also well shaped and original; but the Jewish pottery has no original motives, and is merely a degradation of the Amorite, running down into complete ugliness and baseness (see Pottery). In architectural forms there appears to be little that is distinct from Egyp. sources. The details have

been noticed under ARCHITECTURE; but the general impression is that a plain and simple masonry with some local features was overlaid by foreign designs. The motive of a row of bucklers hanging over a parapet is suggested in the modification of Gr. metopes and triglyphs on the so-called 'Tomb of Absalom'; and it appears to be an early



JEWISH DECORATION, HERODIAN 'TOMB OF ABSALOM.'

feature, as Solomon made two hundred targets and three hundred shields of beaten gold for the house of the forest of Lebanon. The shields were used by the guard (1 K 14[27]), but the targets may have been decorative. The tapering form of the Moabite Stone is rather akin to Assyr. than Egyp. types. And the horns upon the pillars (Ionic volutes) belong to the same source.

In surface decoration some late examples seem to reflect a national style, as we do not know of any external source for them. The graceful design of plant forms decoratively treated over the door of the so-called tombs of the Judges (perhaps Maccabæan), the later and more classical foliage work of the so-called tombs of the kings (Herodian), and the great golden vine which Herod placed over the front of the temple, point to a treatment of surfaces which is most nearly akin to some Egyp. work that is probably of Mesopotamian motive. In the plant decoration of the columns, etc. of Akhenaten's palace at Tel el-Amarna there is the same flowing style of foliage covering the surfaces, and the motive of this may well have come from northern Syria or Mesopotamia, like other influences of that reign. In the absence of any details about early Syrian art, it seems that we may perhaps see in this one of its features, which lasted until the Greek period. That surface decoration was a main feature of the richer Jewish work is shown by the details of the temple: 'He carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubim, and palm trees, and openings of flowers, within and without' (1 K 6[29]), and the doors were likewise decorated (vv.[32. 35]). On the bronze bases of the lavers were 'lions, oxen, and cherubim' (1 K 7[29]), and 'cherubim, lions, and palm trees' (v.[36]). This frequent decoration with palm trees is singularly un-Egyp., and points to a Mesopotamian influence, as palm trees and winged genii are very characteristic of that style.

Of sculpture in the round the most striking examples must have been the great cherubs of olive wood, plated with gold, which stood in the most holy place. Their height of ten cubits, or fifteen to twenty feet, shows that they were joined and built up of many pieces, like the lesser statues in Egypt. The wings, stretching out to a width equal to the height, were also, of course, joined on. The position of these cherubs was not at all like that described of the similar figures on the mercy-seat of the ark; the latter were face to face, but those of the temple stood side by side, both facing one way. The most holy place was twenty cubits wide; of each cherub 'from the uttermost part of one wing unto the uttermost part of the other were ten cubits,' and they stood 'so that the wing of the one touched the wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall, and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house' (1 K 6[24. 27]). They appear to have only had two wings each, like those of the mercy-seat, and in this resembled Egyp. cherubic figures, while the Assyr. many-winged figures are more akin to the four-winged of Ezekiel or the six-winged of Revelation. In actual artistic work only two-winged figures appear to have been made. But we must not hastily suppose that these were direct copies of the winged figures of Egypt; the Heb. figures were male, while the Egyp. protective winged figures were always female, and often specialised as Isis and Nepthys. The symbolic meaning of these statues is outside of our scope here; but the strange duality of two equal figures placed side by side is parallel to the two great columns before the temple, and the curious feature of a double entrance to porches with a central pillar, as seen in the tombs.

Figures of animals were also made, as the brazen serpent, which was still treasured and worshipped down to the time of Hezekiah; also the twelve oxen of Solomon, which seem to have been done away with by Ahaz, as there is no mention of them in the plunder (Jer 52) after he had removed the brazen sea from them (2 K 16[17]). This unnatural motive of placing a great vessel on the backs of animals is unknown in Egypt, unless in some of the Asiatic goldsmith's work; but the same idea appears in Syria, where the goddess Ḳedesh stands on a lion's back.

In embroidery we see another sign of Asiatic rather than Egyp. influence. No embroidered robes appear on Egyp. figures, at least until post-Exodic times; whereas in Babylonia and Assyria dresses are constantly represented as being embroidered with elaborate patterns. The Egyp. system was that of *appliqué* work of leather, which was elaborately carried out in complex patterns; and such a style of decoration still survives in the usual tent-lining of Egypt, where pieces of various coloured cloths are all stitched on to the backing in a pattern, and elaborate inscriptions cut out and applied in the same way. The mention of large figures upon the curtains and vail of the tabernacle appears as if they were *appliqué*; but they are only on the linen curtains, so that leather work of this kind is not implied. On the other hand, the making of gold wire by cutting up sheet gold is specially described for the ephod (Ex 39[3]), and this shows that dresses were certainly embroidered with thread.

LOTUS AND BUD PATTERN (Egyptian), misnamed in Palestine as BELL AND POMEGRANATE.

Until some extensive and well-directed excavations may open up for us the remains of Syrian and Jewish art, it is hopeless to do more than indicate the mere outlines. These seem to show a native Syrian style, influenced mainly by Mesopotamia, but also in some respects by Egypt. A single good slab of stone might teach us far more than all we know at present.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

ARTAXERXES (אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא, אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתָּא).—The name is written Artakhshatra in Old Persian, Artaksatsu and Artaksassu in Bab. cuneiform, and is derived from the Persian *arta*, 'great,' and *khshatra*, 'kingdom.' The meaning of 'great warrior,' therefore, given to it by Herodotus (vi. 98) is incorrect. Ardeshir is the later Persian form of the name.

The only Artaxerxes mentioned in the OT is Artaxerxes I. Longimanus (or 'Long-handed'), the son of Xerxes, who reigned B.C. 464–425.

Ewald, Hitzig, and other commentators have supposed that in Ezr 4[7-23] the pseudo-Smerdis (B.C. 522) is meant under the name of Artaxerxes. But the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has shown that the Persian kings did not bear double names of the kind implied by the theory, and the difficulty felt by the commentators has been occasioned by the insertion of letters which relate only to the rebuilding of the city and walls of Jerusalem into the narrative of the rebuilding of the temple. The 24th verse of the chapter ought immediately to follow the 5th. (See ZERUBBABEL.)

It may have been in consequence of the letters which passed between the Persian king and his representatives in Palestine that in his seventh year Ezra was allowed, with other priests and temple-servants, and a grant from the imperial exchequer, to go up from Babylon to Jerusalem and there settle the affairs of the community (Ezr 7. 8). Thirteen years later (B.C. 444), Nehemiah, the cupbearer of Artaxerxes, was allowed to leave Susa for Jerusalem for a similar purpose, the first result of his mission being the restoration of the city walls.

Artaxerxes was the third son of Xerxes, and after the assassination of his father made his way to the throne by crushing the Bactrians under his brother Hystaspes, and murdering another brother, Darius. In B.C 460 Egypt revolted; but in spite of the assistance rendered by Athens to the rebels, the revolt was suppressed in B.C. 455. In B.C. 449 the war with Greece was ended by a treaty, known as that of Kallias, by which Athens gave up Cyprus, and Persia renounced her claims to the Gr. cities of Asia Minor. Not long afterwards Megabyzos the satrap of Syria revolted, and compelled the Persian king to agree to his own terms of peace. Artaxerxes was succeeded by his son Xerxes II.

A. H. SAYCE.

ARTEMAS.—A trusted companion of St. Paul, in the later part of his life (Tit 3[12]). According to Dorotheus (*Bibl. Maxima*, Lugd. 1677, iii. p. 429) he had been one of the 70 disciples, and was afterwards bishop of Lystra, but there is no extant evidence to support either statement. An Artemas is honoured in the Greek Menæa for April 28, but apparently he is not the same.

Although Jerome (*de nom. Hebraicis*) treats the name as Hebrew, and explains it as 'anathematizans sive conturbans,' it is undoubtedly Greek, formed from Ἄρτεμις (cf. Ἑρμᾶς, Ὀλυμπᾶς, Ζηνᾶς, Ἐπαφρᾶς), perhaps by contraction from Artemidorus, a name common in Asia Minor.

W. LOCK.

ARTILLERY (1 S 20[40] AV, 'weapons' RV).—A general word, including in its meaning both bows and arrows. The word still survives in the name of the Honourable Artillery Company of London, which was originally a guild or club of archers.

In 1 Mac 6[51] 'artillery' ('mounds to shoot from,' RV) is the tr. of βελοστάσεις, 'ranges of warlike engines' set against a besieged city.

W. E. BARNES.

ARUBBOTH (הָאֲרֻבּוֹת), 1 K 4[10] only.—A district, apparently in the south of Judah, near Hepher and Socoh. The Negeb plains are perhaps intended.

C. R. CONDER.

ARUMAH (אֲרוּמָה), Jg 9[41].—The refuge of Abimelech when driven out of Shechem, supposed to be the ruin *El 'Ormeh*, on the hills S.E. of Shechem. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Ruma) it is placed at Remphis, in the region of Diospolis (Lydda), which was 'by many called Arimathæa.' The village *Rentîs* seems to be meant, near Rantieh. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheets xii. and xiv.

C. R. CONDER.

ARVAD, ARVADITES (אַרְוָד, אַרְוָדִי), northernmost city of the Canaanites, and race inhabiting it (Gn 10[18], 1 Ch 1[16]). The city was built on an island, Arvad or Aradus, now Ruwād, off the Syrian coast, about 2 miles from the mainland, 3 or 4 miles north-east of Tripolis, scarcely a mile in circumference, on which houses were built close together and very high, so as to accommodate a large population in a small space. On the mainland opposite, at some distance from the coast, lay the town of Antarados. According to Strabo, fugitives from Sidon settled there and built the city in B.C. 761, but these can only have dispossessed or reinforced older inhabitants, probably like those of Sidon from around the Persian Gulf, under whom it had already risen to a position of some importance. As far back as about B.C. 1100, we find Tiglath-pileser I. speaking of sailing into the great sea in ships of A. (Schrader, *COT*[2] i. 173). In Ezk 27[8. 11] the men of A. are mentioned along with those of Sidon as supplying mariners and warriors to Tyre in the time of her glory. In B.C. 138 the Phœn. town Aradus was one of those named in a circular from the Roman Senate as containing a large Jewish population, towards whom the kings of Egypt, Syria, etc. (to whom the despatch is addressed), are enjoined to show favour (1 Mac 15[16-23]. See Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 221).

J. MACPHERSON.

ARZA (אַרְצָא).—Prefect of the palace at Tirzah, in whose house king Elah was assassinated by Zimri at a carouse (1 K 16[9]).

C. F. BURNEY.

ARZARETH (2 Es 13[45]).—A region beyond the river from which the ten tribes are to return. It has been supposed to represent the Heb. אֶרֶץ אַחֶרֶת (Dt 19[28]), and became the subject of many later Jewish legends concerning the Sabbatic River beyond which the lost tribes were to be found—variously identified with the Oxus and the Ganges. The true site of the Sabbatic River is, however, in Syria, north-east of Tripoli, the present *Nahr es Sebta*. Northern Syria appears to be called the Land of *Akharri* or 'westerns' in cuneiform texts.

C. R. CONDER.

AS.—There are some obs. uses of this conj., but they are mostly quite intelligible. **1. As concerning** occurs Lv 4[26], 1 Ch 26[21], Ac 28[22], Ro 9[5] 11[28], 1 Co 8[4] 2 Co 11[21], Ph 4[15]; and *as concerning that*, Ac 13[3] 'as c. that he raised him up from the dead' (Gr. simply ὅτι); **as pertaining,** Ro 4[1], He 9[9]; **as touching,** Gn 27[42], 1 S 20[23], 2 K 22[18], Mt 18[19] 22[31], Mk 12[26], Ac 5[36] 21[25], Ro 11[28], 1 Co 8[1] 16[12], 2 Co 9[1], Ph 3[6], 1 Th 4[9], 2 Es 15[3]. In these phrases (the Gr. is generally a simple prep. ἐπί, κατά, and esp. περί) the *as* is now dropped. So in **whenas,** Sir Prol. i. 'whenas therefore the first Jesus died,' Sir 33[7], 2 Mac 15[20]; **while as,** He 9[8]; **what time as,** Bar 1[2], 1 Mac 5[55], 2 Mac 1[7]; **like as,** Jer 23[29] 'Is not my word like as a fire?', Wis 18[11]; **as it were,** Rev 8[10] 'burning as it were a lamp' (RV 'as a torch'); cf. Ps 14[8], Pr. Bk. 'eating up my people as it were bread.' On the other hand *as*='as if' in Ac 10[11], Rev 5[6] 'a Lamb as it had been slain' (ὡς, RV 'as though'), 13[3]. *As* stands for 'that' in 1 Mac 10[8] 12[15] 'so as we are delivered from our enemies.' In Lk 2[15] it is an adv. 'as the angels were gone away from them into heaven' (ὡς, RV 'when').

J. HASTINGS.

ASA (אָסָא, perhaps 'healer').—1. King of Judah *c.* B.C. 918–877. The history of his reign as given in 1 K 15[9ff.], when compared with that in 2 Ch 14–16, presents an excellent illustration of the different view-points of the two writers. For convenience we shall keep the two narratives apart.

(A) Acc. to 1 K 15[9ff.] A. did what was right in the eyes of the Lord, opposing every form of idolatry, putting away the *kĕdeshim* or ἱερόδουλοι out of the land, and removing the idols which his fathers had made. He even degraded the queen-

mother because of 'an abominable image' (מִפְלֶצֶת) which she had made for (an) Asherah. Being attacked by Baasha, king of Israel, he used the treasures of the temple and the palace to buy the alliance of Benhadad, king of Syria, who, by the vigour of his attack upon the N. kingdom, speedily compelled Baasha to leave Judah in peace. With the materials of Baasha's abandoned works at Ramah, A. built Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah. (In Jer 41[9] there is mention of a pit at Mizpah which A. had made 'for fear of Baasha, king of Isr.') In his old age A. suffered from a disease in his feet. He died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Jehoshaphat.

(B) In 2 Ch 14–16 Asa's reforming zeal is placed in a still more favourable light. Cf. 2 Ch 14[5] (but see 15[17]) with 1 K 15[14]. As a reward for this zeal A. enjoyed peace and prosperity in the early years of his reign, and during this period he built fortresses and made other warlike preparations, assembling an army of 580,000 men (14[6ff.]). He was thus enabled to meet and conquer Zerah the Ethiopian (which see). (The historicity of this campaign there is no reason to call in question, although the numbers must be excessive). After this victory A. was met by the prophet Azariah, the son of Oded, who exhorted him to carry out further religious reforms (15[1-8]). In obedience to this call, a popular assembly, representing not only Judah, but certain districts of the N. kingdom, was held at Jerus. in the 3rd month of the 15th year of A.'s reign. A solemn covenant was entered into to seek the Lord with all their heart and all their soul (15[12]). On account of A.'s conduct in this matter, another period of peace was enjoyed by the land, which continued till the 35th year of his reign (15[19]). In his 36th year (16[1ff.]) war broke out with Baasha, king of Israel, and A. hired the help of the king of Syria. This action was viewed by Hanani the seer as indicating a want of faith in God, and he addressed reproaches and threatenings to the king, who thereupon cast the faithful prophet into prison, and at the same time began to oppress some of his subjects (16[7ff.]). *As a punishment for this* he was, in his 39th year, attacked by a disease in his feet, which led him to seek not to the Lord, but to physicians (16[12]). Upon his death in the 41st year of his reign he was buried with most gorgeous funeral rites (16[14]).

The Chronicler's additions to the earlier narrative comprise, then, A.'s building of fortresses and other warlike preparations, his victory over the Ethiop. king, more detailed specifications of time, his severity towards Hanani and others, and the details as to his obsequies. The subjectivity of the Chronicler is marked throughout, but there is no reason to doubt that for the basis at least of these additions he had documentary authority, although very serious difficulties, which have never been satisfactorily explained, attach to the chronology of his narrative. These are fully discussed in the literature cited below.

2. A Levite, the father of Berechiah (1 Ch 9[16]). See GENEALOGY.

LITERATURE.—Graf, *Ges. Büch. d. A.T.* 137 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 141, 147; Sayce, *HCM* 363 f., 465f.; Wellhausen, *Ges. Isr.* (1878) p. 212; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 248 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

ASADIAS ('Ασαδίας, prob. = חַסַדְיָה, 'J" is kind,' cf. 1 Ch 3[20]).—An ancestor of Baruch (Bar 1[1]).

ASAHEL (עֲשָׂהאֵל) is the name of four men mentioned in OT. 1. The youngest son of Zeruiah, David's sister, and the brother of Joab and Abishai. He was famous for his swiftness of foot, a much valued gift in ancient times. He was one of David's thirty heroes, probably the third of the second three (2 S 23[24]). He was also commander of a division in David's army (1 Ch 27[7]). He was slain by Abner (2 S 2[18-23]). 2. A Levite, who with other ten Levites and priests went throughout all the cities of Judah and taught the people in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17[8]). 3. A subordinate collector of offerings and tithes in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31[13]). 4. Jonathan, son of A., opposed Ezra's action in connexion with the divorce of foreign wives (Ezr 10[15]). W. MUIR.

ASAIAH (עֲשָׂיָה 'J" hath made').—1. One of the deputation sent by Josiah to consult Huldah the prophetess, 2 K 22[12. 14] (AV Asahiah), 2 Ch 34[20]. 2. One of the Simeonite princes who attacked the shepherds of Gedor, 1 Ch 4[36]. 3. A Merarite who took part in bringing the ark to Jerus., 1 Ch 6[30] 15[6. 11]. 4. The first-born of the Shilonites, 1 Ch 9[5], called in Neh 11[5] Maaseiah. J. A. SELBIE.

ASANA (A 'Ασανά, B 'Ασσ-), 1 Es 5[31].—His descendants were among the 'temple servants' or Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel: he is called Asnah (אַסְנָה, 'Ασενά), Ezr 2[50]. Nehemiah omits. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ASAPH (אָסָף 'gatherer'). — 1. The father of Joah, the 'recorder' or chronicler at the court of Hezekiah (2 K 18[18. 37] etc.). 2. The 'keeper of the king's forest,' to whom king Artaxerxes addressed a letter directing him to supply Nehemiah with timber (Neh 2[8]). 3. A Korahite (1 Ch 26[1]), same as Abiasaph (wh. see). 4. The eponym of one of the three guilds which conducted the musical services of the temple in the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch 15[16f.] etc.). The latter traces this arrangement to the appointment of David, in whose reign Asaph, who is called 'the seer' (2 Ch 29[30]), is supposed to have lived. We really know practically nothing about the worship in the first temple, although the probability that the musical service was even then to a certain extent organised, is witnessed to by the fact that at the return from exile 'the singers, the sons of Asaph' (Neh 7[44], Ezr 2[41]), are mentioned as a class whose functions were recognised and well established. At first the Asaphites alone seemed to have formed the temple choir, and in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (wherever we have the memoirs of the latter in their original form) they are not yet reckoned among the *Levites*. At a later period they share the musical service with the 'sons of Korah' (see KORAHITES). When the latter become porters and doorkeepers, the guild of Asaph appears supplemented by those of Heman and Ethan; and as, in the estimation of the Chronicler (*c.* 250 B.C.), Levitical descent is necessary for the performance of such functions, the genealogies of Asaph, Heman, and Ethan are traced respectively to Gershom, Kohath, and Merari, the sons of Levi (1 Ch 6[33-47]). W. R. Smith (*OTJC*[2] p. 204, n.) remarks that the 'oldest attempt to incorporate the Asaphites with the Levites seems to be found in the priestly part of the Pentateuch, where Abiasaph, "the father of Asaph," or in other words the eponym of the Asaphite guild, is made one of the three sons of Korah (Ex 6[24]).' Pss 50 and 73–83 have the superscription לְאָסָף, which means in all probability that they once belonged to the hymn-book of the Asaphite choir (see PSALMS).

LITERATURE.—Kuenen, *Rel. of Israel*, ii. 204, iii. 77; Graf, *Geschicht. B. des A.T.* 223, 239 ff.; Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, 152, n.; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 387 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 225 f., 271 f.; Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, 101, 111.

J. A. SELBIE.

ASARA ('Ασαρά, AV Azara), 1 Es 5[31].—His sons were among the temple servants or Nethinim who returned under Zerubbabel: omitted in the parallel lists in Ezr and Neh. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ASARAMEL ('Ασαραμέλ ℵ V, Σαραμέλ A, AV Saramel). — A name whose meaning is quite uncertain (1 Mac 14^{28}). See RVm.

ASAREL (אֲשַׂרְאֵל, AV Asareel). — A son of Jehallelel, 1 Ch 4^{16}. See GENEALOGY.

ASBASARETH (1 Es 5^{69}).—A king of Assyria, probably a corrupt form of the name Esarhaddon, which is found in the parallel passage Ezr 4^{2}. AV form Azbazareth comes from the Vulg.; LXX has 'Ασβακαφάθ B, 'Ασβασαρέθ A; Syr. ܐܫܬܟܦܬ (Ashtakphath). H. A. WHITE.

ASCALON.—Jth 2^{28}, 1 Mac 10^{86} 11^{60} 12^{33}, for ASHKELON.

ASCENSION.—Ascension is the name given to that final withdrawal of the Risen Christ from His disciples which is described in Ac $1^{9ff.}$. There is no account of anything exactly like it in the OT, though the same word has been applied to the departure of Enoch and of Elijah from this life. In Sir 44^{16} as in He 11^{5} Enoch's removal is called a translation (*μετετέθη*), but in Sir 49^{14} as in Ac 1^{11} it is an assumption (*ἀνελήμφθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*). This last alone seems to be employed of Elijah. In the LXX of 2 K 2^{11} we have *ἀνελήμφθη Ἠλιοὺ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, and in Sir 48^{9} Elijah is *ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἐν λαίλαπι πυρός*. Cheyne's *Hallowing of Criticism* treats this last as 'the grandest prose poem in the OT,' but, even so, it opened the mind to the idea that human life might have another issue than that which awaits it in the ordinary course of nature.

In the NT the A. does not bulk largely as an independent event. In Mt it is not mentioned at all. In Mk it is found only in the dubious appendix (16^{19}), and there it is narrated in OT words, a fact which suggests that the writer is recording what he believed, not what he had seen. The first half of the verse—*ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν* — is from 2 K 2^{11}; and the second—*ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ*—from Ps 110^{1}. The explicit reference in Lk 24^{51} (*διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*) has the last five words doubly bracketed in WH. 'The A.,' they say in a note, 'apparently did not lie within the proper scope of the Gospels, as seen in their genuine texts; its true place was at the head of the Acts of the Apostles, as the preparation for the day of Pentecost, and thus the beginning of the history of the Church.' The insertion of the words, *ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, in Lk 24^{51}, would thus be due to some one who assumed that 'a separation from the disciples at the close of a Gospel must be the A.' But it can hardly be doubted that Luke means in these verses ($24^{50\text{-}53}$) to describe *the final* separation of Jesus from His disciples, so that the assumption in question would be justified; and the difficulty remains untouched, that this final separation, whatever its circumstances, seems to take place, on the most natural construction of the whole passage (vv.$^{13\text{-}53}$), on the evening of the Resurrection day, whereas in Ac 1 it is forty days later. In the Fourth Gospel there are more explicit references to the A. than in any of the rest, but no narrative. 'What if ye shall see the Son of Man ascending (*ἀναβαίνοντα*) where he was before?' (6^{62}). More notable still is the language of 20^{17}, where Jesus says to Mary Magdalene, 'Touch me not; for I have not yet ascended (*ἀναβέβηκα*) to the Father: but go to my brethren and tell them, I ascend (*ἀναβαίνω*) to my Father and your Father, and my God and your God.' The present tense in this last clause is not quite clear. It might describe what was imminent, an A. close at hand; but Westcott renders it, 'I am ascending,' as if the process had actually begun. 'In one sense the change symbolised by the visible A. was being wrought for the apostles during the forty days, as they gradually became familiarised with the phenomena of Christ's higher life' (Com. on Jn 20^{17}). But it is confusing to combine with the visible A. the idea of something going on in the apostles' minds for six weeks before. Christ's manifestations of Himself during those weeks to His disciples, undoubtedly familiarised them with the idea that now He no more belonged to this world, but had another and higher mode of being; but the A., as a separate event, is more than this. It is the solemn close of even such manifestations, and the exaltation of Christ into a life where contact with Him may be more close and intimate than ever (this is the force of 'Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended'), but must be purely spiritual. In the Book of Acts ($1^{9ff.}$) the A. narrative is most complete. Jesus had been speaking to the disciples about the universal destination of His kingdom, and the promised gift of the Spirit, and as He finished He was taken up (*ἐπήρθη*—here only in NT applied to the A.) while they looked on, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. Two men in white raiment assured the apostles that He would come in like manner as they had seen Him go into heaven.

The Epistles may be said to look at Christ in His exaltation, 'seated at the right hand of God,' and rather to involve the A. than to refer directly to it. Yet there are passages in several in which allusion seems to be made to the same event as is described in Acts. Eph $4^{8\text{-}10}$ is one. Christ is there spoken of as *ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν*. Similarly, though there is perhaps a more poetic and less historical flavour in the words, we read of Him in He 4^{14} as *διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς* and in 7^{26} as *ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος*. There is less dubiety as to the reference in 1 P 3^{22} *ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν*, and in the hymn cited in 1 Ti 3^{16} *ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ*, where the same word is used as in Mark and in Acts.

It is quite true to say that the A. is not separately emphasized in the NT as an event distinct from the Resurrection, or from the state of exaltation to which it was the solemn entrance. But it is quite false to say that it is identified with either, or that Resurrection, A., and sitting at God's right hand, are all names for the same thing. Certainly each of them might be used in any age, and they might be used still as a comprehensive name for the glory of Christ, but this does not abolish the distinction between them. When Jesus rose from the dead, He 'manifested himself' to His disciples. Already He belonged to another world, and it was only when He would that He put Himself in any relation with those who had loved Him in this. After each manifestation He parted from them; how, we cannot tell; the NT only suggests that it was not in that way which marked the A. When faith in the Resurrection was assured in the apostles' hearts; when He had expounded to them the Christian significance of the OT, and the universal destination of the gospel; when He had again promised the Holy Spirit to endue them with power from on high, He parted from them for the last time in such a way that they knew it was the last; He passed with something like kingly state to the right hand of the Father. To talk about Copernicanism in this connexion, and to object to the whole idea of the A. because we cannot put down the heaven into which Jesus entered on a star-map, is to misconceive the Resurrection and everything connected with it. The Lord of glory manifested Himself to His own, and at last put a term to these manifestations in a mode as gracious as it was sublime; but

the whole series of events is one with which astronomy has nothing to do.

Neither is there any reason to argue back from the phenomena of the Epistles, through those of the Gospels, to the conclusion that the Christian belief in the exaltation of Jesus created the beautiful myth of the A. Westcott and Hort may be right in their suggestion that the A. does not belong to the idea of a Gospel, though the suggestion does not of itself seem conclusive; but even if the final parting of Jesus is referred to in Lk 24^{51}, and even if the date is not the same as in Ac 1, it does not follow that the story in Acts is mythical. Luke may have learned the details more accurately in the interval that elapsed between the composition of his two works; and in any case it is highly improbable that a myth-producing spirit, which had the same motive to impel it from the first hour the Resurrection was preached, should have suddenly (as it would be in this case) generated an A. myth at the very moment when it would dislocate St. Luke's histories. Neither is there any reason to oppose to each other, as many do, the A. narrative and what is called the religious idea underlying it, as husk is opposed to kernel. The Christian faith certainly holds that 'Christ, as the transfigured One, is absolutely exempt from the limitations of earth and nature, and that He, the ever-living One, is the head of humanity, exalted in glory, in whom humanity is conscious of its own exaltation' (Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*, *s.v.* Himmelfahrt Jesu). But the A. story is not the husk of which this faith is the kernel. It is the record of the last and apparently the most imposing of those manifestations of the Risen One to which this faith owes its origin. No kind of objection lies against the A. which does not lie also against the Resurrection. Its historicity is of the same kind, though the direct attestation of it is less; and the manifestation of Christ, at a later date, under quite exceptional circumstances, to St. Paul at his conversion, while it is in harmony with the fact of the A., does not really affect its significance as the formal cessation of this mode of manifestation.

In itself the A. is no more than a point of transition: its theological significance cannot be distinguished from that of the Resurrection and Exaltation of Christ. If we regard Christ merely as ideal man, the A. may be said to complete the manifestation of human nature and its destiny: this exaltation, and not the corruption of the grave, is what God made man for. Man is not revealed in moral character simply; there is a mode of being which answers to ideal goodness, and the A. is our clearest look at it. If we regard it in relation to the work of Christ's earthly life, it merges in His exaltation as God's acknowledgment of that work, and the reward bestowed on him for it (see Ph 2^{5-11}). If we regard it in relation to the future, it seems to be, judged by our Lord's own words in Lk 24^{49}, Ac 1^{8}, and Jn 14–16, the condition of His sending the Spirit in the power of which the apostles were to preach repentance and remission of sins everywhere. It enthroned Him, not only in their imaginations, but in reality; He was able now to exercise all power in heaven and on earth. 'Being therefore exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath poured forth this which ye see and hear. For David ascended not into the heavens' (οὐκ ἀνέβη). This is the aspect of the subject which prevails in the NT.

LITERATURE.—The subject is discussed in all the Lives of Christ: as typical on opposite sides may be named Neander (p. 484ff. Eng. tr.) and Hase, *Geschichte Jesu*, § 113. See also Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 64ff., the commentators on Ac 1$^{9ff.}$; Milligan, *Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood*, Lect. I.; and Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 397ff.

J. DENNEY.

ASCENT is the rendering in AV of three Heb. words. **1.** מַעֲלֵה *ma'ăleh*, used of the 'ascent (pass) of Akrabbim' (Nu 34^{4}), and the 'ascent of the Mt. of Olives' (2 S 15^{30}). Besides these two instances (all that occur in AV), RV correctly gives the same rendering 'ascent,' where AV uses such phrases as 'the going up to,' in Jos 10^{10} $15^{3.7}$ 18^{17}, Jg 8^{13}, 1 S 9^{11}, 2 S 15^{30}, 2 K 9^{27}, 2 Ch 20^{16} 32^{33}, Is 15^{5}, Jer 48^{5}, in all of which the same Heb. term מַעֲלֵה is employed. The plural מַעֲלוֹת of the cognate fem. form occurs in the well-known title of several Psalms (שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת, AV 'Song of degrees,' RV 'Song of ascents'). See PSALMS. **2.** עֹלָה *'ôlah*, is rendered 'ascent' by both AV and RV in 1 K 10^{5}, 'his ascent by which he went up into the house of the Lord,' although RVm offers as an alternative rendering, 'his burnt-offering which he offered in,' etc. This last is certainly the usual meaning of עֹלָה, and there appears to be no sufficient reason for departing from it in the present instance. If Solomon offered sacrifices on the colossal scale referred to in 1 K 8^{63}, the admiration of the queen of Sheba was natural enough. This is the view of the passage taken by Kittel, Reuss, Kamphausen, Kautzsch, etc., and it has the support of LXX (ὁλοκαύτωσιν), Syriac and Vulg. **3.** In the parallel passage 2 Ch 9^{4} we find עֲלִיָּה *'alîyyah*. This word signifies elsewhere an 'upper chamber' (ὑπερῷον), and it is so rendered, or by 'chamber' alone, in 1 K $17^{19.23}$, 2 K $4^{10.11}$, 2 S 18^{33}, 1 Ch 28^{11}, 2 Ch 3^{9}, Neh 3^{30}, Ps $104^{3.13}$, Jer $22^{13.14}$ (in Jg $3^{23.25}$ both AV and RV have 'parlour'). If we retain the MT, we must understand the reference to be to an upper chamber which Solomon was building (observe the imperf. יַעֲלֶה) upon the temple. This, however, yields an improbable and unsuitable meaning, and in all likelihood the text ought to be corrected from עֲלִיָּתוֹ to עֹלוֹתָיו (LXX ὁλοκαυτώματα) in conformity with 1 K 10^{5} (see notes on 2 Ch 9^{4} by Kittel in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT*, and by Kautzsch in *Heil. Schr. d. A.T.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

ASEAS ('Ασαλας), 1 Es 9^{32}.—One of the sons of Annas who agreed to put away his 'strange' wife, called Isshijah (יִשִׁיָּה = 'whom J" lends'), Ezr 10^{31}.

ASEBEBIAS ('Ασεβηβίας, AV **Asebebia**). — A Levite who accompanied Ezra to Jerus., 1 Es 8^{47}.

ASEBIAS (A 'Ασεβιά, B omits, AV **Asebia**).—A Levite who returned with Ezra, 1 Es 8^{48}.

ASENATH (אָסְנַת).—The daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On, and wife of Joseph. She was the mother of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gn $41^{45.50}$ 46^{20}). The name may mean 'belonging to (*or* favourite of) Neith' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*). She is commemorated by the Greek Church apparently on Dec. 13, and by the Ethiopian on the 1st of Senne. The story of A. has been made the subject of a remarkable novel which exists in Greek (the original language), Syriac, Armenian, and Latin, as well as in many mediæval European versions made from the Latin. The Latin is itself not older than the 13th cent., and is the work, as is believed, of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, or of one of the scholars associated with him. The name of the romance is either the *History of A.* or *The Book of the Confession of A.* It has been assigned by its last editor, P. Batiffol, to the 5th cent. It is certain, however, that the Syriac version is as old as the 6th cent., and the probability is that the original is at least as early as the 3rd cent.

In its present form it is a Christian version of a Jewish legend. A full account of the story may be seen in Hort's article in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* Summarised it runs thus: A. is the proud and beauti-

ful daughter of Pentephres of Heliopolis. She lives in magnificent seclusion and despises all men. Her father and mother propose that she shall marry Joseph, now prime minister to Pharaoh. She rejects the thought with scorn. However, Joseph soon arrives at the house on one of his journeys through Egypt to collect corn. Asenath sees him and at once falls in love. But Joseph, who has a horror of all women, will have nothing to say to her, and cannot even kiss her, since she worships idols. He blesses her, and then she retires to her room. Here she shuts herself up for seven days in sackcloth and ashes, throws her idols out of the window, and does strict penance. On the 8th day she utters a long prayer. Thereafter an angel comes to her in the form of Joseph and blesses her, and gives her to eat of a mystic honeycomb, on which the sign of the cross is made. A., then accepted of God, arrays herself in beautiful garments, and goes forth to meet Joseph, who now returns to the house. The parents are away, but the betrothal takes place in their absence; and then the wedding in Pharaoh's presence. At this point the Armenian version makes a break, and ends the first part; here also in Syr., Arm., and Lat., but not in any known Greek MS, occurs a lamentation of Asenath for her former pride.

The second part of the book contains the story first of A.'s introduction to Jacob when he came to Egypt, and then, at great length, of an attempt on the part of Pharaoh's firstborn son to abduct A.,—an attempt in which he enlists the services of Dan and Gad, and in which he is baffled by Benjamin, Simeon, and Levi, and loses his life. This part of the story, which is very well told, has hardly any religious interest, save in the forgiveness of Dan and Gad by A. But in the first part of the book the religious element is far more prominent. Stress is laid on purity and on repentance.

The *raison d'être* of the book, or rather, of the Jewish legend which lies behind it, is to evade the difficulty of Joseph's marriage with a heathen wife: and, as Batiffol and Oppenheim (see Lit.) have shown, the original legend made A. a Jewess by birth. It identified her with the daughter of Dinah, Jacob's daughter, and of Shechem. This has been slurred over in the Greek novel; but it is implied by certain words in the Syriac, where A.'s visit to Jacob is described.

The romance is altogether one of the most successful, from a literary point of view, that the apocryphal literature affords. It was widely known in Europe by means of the extracts from it which Frater Vincentius (Vincent of Beauvais) included in his *Speculum Historiale* in the 13th century.

Literature.—Vincent's Lat. version and a fragment of the Gr. in Fabricius' *Cod. Pseud. V. T.*; Syriac in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii. 1870; Lat. tr. of Syriac by Oppenheim, *Fabula Josephi et Asenethæ*, 1886; Gr. by P. Batiffol from four MSS in *Studia Patristica*, 1889; Lat. (complete version) from two Cambridge MSS communicated by the present writer to M. Batiffol, and published by him *op. cit.*; Armenian recently published at Venice by P. Basile. M. R. James.

ASH (אֹרֶן, *'oren*, πίτυς, *pinus*) (Is 44[14], AV. RV has *fir*, with *ash* in m.).—The conditions to be fulfilled by this tree are that its wood should be suitable to be carved into an image, and used for fuel; that it should be a familiar tree, *planted*, as distinguished from the forest trees mentioned in the former part of the verse; and that it should be nourished by rain, and not by artificial irrigation, as in the case of almost all the cultivated trees of Syria and Palestine. These conditions exclude several of the candidates. They make it improbable that the unknown tree *'aran*, described by Abu Fadli as growing in Arabia Petræa, is intended. Such a tree would not be likely to be planted, nor to thrive out of the stations where it is indigenous. Salvadora Persica, proposed by Royle, is a desert shrub, with a trunk out of which it would be impossible to find a piece large enough to carve into a graven image, and in every other way quite unsuitable. Luther's surmise, that the final נ of the Heb. original is a ר, and that the tree is a *cedar*, is forbidden by the previous mention of the cedar in the same passage. The interpretation *ash* of AV has no support from philology. It is wholly improbable that *'oren* has any connexion with *ornus*. There are three species of ash in Syria—*Fraxinus Ornus*, L., which grows in the mountains from Lebanon to Amanus; *F. excelsior*, L., Amanus and northward; and *F. oxycarpa*, Willd., var. *oligophylla*, Boiss., Tel-el-Kaḍi (Dan) to Antilebanon, Lebanon, and Aleppo. The modern Arab. name for the last is *dardâr* (also the elm). It is a fine tree, with a hemispherical comus, 15 to 45 feet high, and has a trunk which would furnish wood suitable for the requirements of the text. But it grows *wild*, usually near or by water, and therefore would not likely have been selected as a tree which the 'rain doth nourish.' Fir is an unfortunate guess, as there are other words which correspond to the different sorts of fir. Pine has the authority of the LXX. There are three species of pine growing in the Holy Land—*Pinus Haleppensis*, Mill, the *Aleppo Pine*; *P. Brutia*, Ten.; and *P. Pinea*, L., the *maritime* or *stone pine*. The latter tree fulfils best the conditions of the *'oren*.

It is a tree well known by the Arabic name *ṣnowbar*, with a resinous, hard wood, capable of being carved, and much used for fuel, especially in the public ovens. It produces large cones, and an edible seed, for which it is cultivated, and the taste of which when roasted resembles that of a roasted peanut. Moreover, it is a tree which is very extensively *planted*, and always in sandy places or on dry hillsides, where it receives *only the rain*. It is one of the few cultivated (*planted*) trees in this land which are never watered except by the rain. It is never planted in irrigated ground. The seed is sown in low-lying districts along the coast after the first rains, when the ground is softened, and in the mountains in the latter days of February, when all danger of the tender sprout being nipped by frost has passed away, but when there is prospect of rain sufficient to 'nourish' the seedling for its exposure to the blazing sunshine during the eight long rainless months that are to follow. The explanatory clause of our passage has very peculiar force with reference to this tree. The objection of Celsius, that the pine does not bear *transplanting*, is futile, as it is only said that they were *planted*. The same word is used for the lign-aloes (Nu 24[6]), and the cedars (Ps 104[16]), both of which it is said the 'Lord planted,' *i.e. sowed*, for they were certainly not *transplanted*. Also God is represented as planting the desolate places (Ezk 36[36]). Vast groves of *ṣnowbar* have been planted at points along the coast to arrest the movement of the sand dunes. Such a grove was planted by Ibrahim Pasha in 1840 near Beirût, and is one of the most picturesque features of the beautiful plain between the city and Lebanon. Large numbers of these groves are planted on the red sandstone of Lebanon, and in parts of Palestine. As the tree grows, the lower branches are lopped off, and only a mushroom-shaped top is left. The trees grow near together and very uniformly, so that the top of a large grove such as that near Beirût, when looked upon from the mountain, presents a flat green surface, which constitutes a very marked and attractive feature of the landscape. When planted on steep mountain sides, as in Lebanon and on

the Apulian coast of Italy, the tall trunks, surmounted by their dense crown of evergreen leaves, fringe the tops and dot the sides of the rugged grey peaks with a beauty hardly rivalled by any other tree.

G. E. Post.

ASHAN (עָשָׁן), Jos 15[42] 19[7], 1 Ch 4[32] 6[59].—Perhaps the same as Cor-ashan, which see. It was a town of Judah, near Libnah and Rimmon, belonging to Simeon, and not far from Debir. It must have been on the slopes of the hills east of Gaza, but the site is doubtful. C. R. Conder.

ASHARELAH (אַשַׁרְאֵלָה, AV **Asarelah**). — An Asaphite (1 Ch 25[2]), called in v.[14] **Jesharelah** (see Kittel's notes on 1 Ch 4[16] 25[2. 4]).

ASHBEA (אַשְׁבֵּעַ) occurs in an obscure passage (1 Ch 4[21] 'house of A.') where it is uncertain whether it is the name of a place or of a man. See Genealogy.

ASHBEL (אַשְׁבֵּל, perh. corrupted from אַשְׁבַּעַל 'man of Baal').—The second son of Benjamin (1 Ch 8[1]; cf. Gn 46[21], Nu 26[38]). In Nu 26[38] **Ashbelite,** inhabitant of Ashbel, occurs.

ASHDOD (אַשְׁדּוֹד 'fortress'?).—One of the five great Philistine cities. Jos 11[22] 13[3] 15[46. 47], 1 S 5[1-7], 2 Ch 26[6], Neh 4[7] 13[24], Jer 25[20] 47[5], Am 1[8], Zeph 2[4], Zec 9[6]. **Azotus,** 1 Mac 5[18] 10[84], Ac 8[40]. It is now the mud village *Esdûd*, on the edge of the plain, close to a large hillock of red sand, backed by dunes of drifted sand which extend to the shore cliffs. A few palms grow near, and water is supplied by a pond. The sand probably covers the site of the ancient city. The inhabitants, in type and dress, resemble the Egyp. rather than the Pal. peasantry. A small gem was found here in 1875, representing Dagon as a fish-man; but this may be comparatively recent, resembling Gnostic gems of the 2nd cent. A.D. A. was not taken by the Hebrews, and was the refuge of the Anakim (Jos 11[22]). The villages near it belonged to Judah (Jos 15[46f.]). The inhabitants were still independent in the time of Samuel (1 S 5[1]), but A. was attacked by Uzziah (2 Ch 26[6]). Its inhabitants were enemies of the Jews after the Captivity (Neh 4[7]), and it is mentioned as a reproach that the children of the mixed marriages spoke 'half in the speech of A.' (Neh 13[24]). The city is said in the 7th cent. B.C. to have sustained a 29 years' siege by Psammitichus (Herod. ii. 157). In B.C. 711 A. was besieged by Sargon after the capture of Samaria. Its king, *Yavan* or *Yamanu*, had been set up in place of the Assyrian nominee *Akhimiti*, whom Sargon placed on the throne instead of a certain *Azuri* who had refused tribute. The Philistines, Jews (*Ja'udu*), Edomites, and Moabites were allied, and had sent for aid to *Pir'u* (Pharaoh?); yet A. was obliged to submit to the Assyrians. In B.C. 702 Sennacherib, according to his own record, freed *Mitinti* (who seems to have been also king of Ashkelon about thirty-four years later) from Hezekiah, and he became tributary for a time to Assyria. In B.C. 668 the name of the king of A., tributary to Assurbanipal, was *Ahimilki* or Ahimelech. The city was taken by Judas Maccabæus (*c.* 165), and again (*c.* 148) by Jonathan (1 Mac 5[68] 10[84]). It became a bishopric in the 4th cent. A.D., but its importance gradually decreased, and the site was not generally known in the Middle Ages. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvi.

C. R. Conder.

ASHER (אָשֵׁר 'happy').—This was the name of Jacob's eighth son, the second born to him by Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; her elder son being Gad (Gn 35[26]). Asher had four sons and one daughter (Gn 46[17] R). A 'happy' lot was predicted for him in Jacob's blessing, 'his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties' (Gn 49[20] J). His good fortune is also foreshadowed in the blessing of Moses, 'Blessed be Asher with children; let him be acceptable unto his brethren, and let him dip his foot in oil' (Dt 33[24]). When Israel left Egypt the adult males of the tribe numbered 41,500; more than either Ephraim, Manasseh, or Benjamin. Before the invasion of Western Pal. the numbers had grown to 53,400 (Nu 1[41] 26[47] P). The tribe appears in the name-lists with the others throughout the earlier books. The position of Asher in the desert march was between Dan and Naphtali on the N. of the tabernacle (Nu 2[25-30] P). Sethur, the chief, went with the head men of the other tribes from the wilderness of Paran to spy out the land (Nu 13[13]). Of Asher in future days little is deemed worthy of record save his inglorious failures. As his rich territory lay close to the Phœnician cities with their open markets and prosperous commerce, he seems very soon to have identified his interests with theirs. This may account for his failure to take possession of many of the cities that had been allotted to him (Jg 1[31]), and also for his inactivity when, in opposition to Sisera and his host, Zebulun 'jeoparded their lives unto the death, and Naphtali upon the high places of the field,' while he 'sat still at the haven of the sea, and abode by his creeks' (Jg 5[17. 18]). The decline of Asher was so rapid that the name does not appear in the list of chief rulers in the days of David (1 Ch 27[16-22]). He shares with Simeon the reproach of having given no hero, judge, or ruler to Israel. Not wholly lost, a few from Asher with others from Manasseh and Zebulun 'humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem' in response to the call of Hezekiah (2 Ch 30[11]). Of this tribe was the saintly Anna, whose lofty piety sheds a ray of glory upon the family in the gathering evening of the nation's life (Lk 2[36-38]).

We cannot accurately trace the boundaries of the territory of Asher. Even if the towns apportioned to it (Jos 19[24-31], Jg 1[31. 32]; see also Jos 17[10. 11]) were all identified, which they are not, the difficulty would remain. Each town carried with it the land belonging to its citizens, the limits of which it is impossible to determine. Dor, the modern *Tanturah*, on the seacoast S. of Carmel, although inhabited by Manasseh, was in the lot of Asher (Jos 17[10. 11]). *Nahr ez-Zerḳa*, known also as the 'Crocodile River,' would therefore form a natural boundary to the south. The border may then have passed over the S.E. shoulder of Carmel. Touching the western point of Esdraelon, the territory of Issachar, it proceeded northward in an irregular line, at a distance of eight to ten miles from the sea, skirting the western edge of Zebulun and Naphtali. Nearly opposite Tyre, probably, it bent eastward, taking in a large part of what is now called *Belâd Beshârah* and *Belâd esh-Shukîf*, turning seaward again in the direction of Sidon. This agrees with the account of Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 22), 'The tribe of Aser had that part which is called the Valley [by which he evidently means the low land along the seaboard], even all that part which lay over against Sidon.' This includes much of the finest and most fruitful land in Palestine. Grain, excellent in quantity and quality, is grown on the Phœnician plains. The orchards of Acre and the orange groves of Sidon are justly held in high repute. Even in the decay of the country it continues to yield 'royal dainties,' many tons of oil being sent annually to the palaces in Constantinople, the produce of these deep, rich valleys in Upper Galilee, where the hardy peasants cultivate the olive as of old.

W. Ewing.

ASHERAH (אֲשֵׁרָה).—**1.** A Phœnician and Canaanite goddess (Ex 34^{13} RVm) (*a*) the same as or (*b*) distinct from 'Ashtōreth. The name occurs (1) in two Phœn. inscriptions, one from Kition, *ZDMG* xxxv. 424, the other from Ma'sub, *Rev. Archéologique* (1885), v. 380. In the first, as read by Schröder, one 'Abdosir dedicates a statue to 'the Mother 'Ashérah.' The second speaks of ''Ashtōreth in the 'Ashérah'; (2) in the Tel el-Amarna inscriptions (*RP* 2nd Ser. ii. 67, iii. 71, v. 97, vi. 50). In these mention is made of one 'Abad-'Ashrat, *i.e.* Servant of 'Ashrat, and the latter word is said to be emphasized as a divine name (Schrader, *Zeitsch. für Assyr.* iii. [1888] 364); (3) in the OT, Jg 3^{7} 'the children of Israel . . . served the Baalim and the Asheroth'; 1 K 15^{13}=2 Ch 15^{16} 'Maacah . . . made an abominable image for an Asherah'; 1 K 18^{19} 'the prophets of the Asherah'; 2 K 21^{7} Manasseh 'set the graven image of Asherah' in the temple; 23^{4} 'vessels that were made for Baal and for the Asherah'; 23^{6} Josiah 'brought out the Asherah from the house of the Lord'; 23^{7} 'the women wove hangings for the Asherah.' (For 'Ashérah as a goddess, see Kuenen, *Rel. of Israel*, ii. 88; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. 560; Sayce, *HCM* 81.)

But the existence of this goddess is a disputed point. The evidence, it must be admitted, is very limited, and not decisive. With regard to the Phœn. sources, the word on the Kition inscription supposed to represent 'Ashérah is differently read by Stade, *ZAW* (1881) 344 f., and in the *CIS* i. 1. 13; whilst the phrase in the Ma'sub inscription is obscure, and can be explained in different ways (Halévy, *Rev. des Études Juives*, xii. 110; Hoffmann, *Ueber einige Phön. Inschr.* 26 ff.). Again, the value of the evidence of the Tel el-Amarna inscriptions upon this point is as yet uncertain (Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 307, n. 2; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* 173 n). And, lastly, the OT passages are perhaps best explained by supposing that the compilers of the hist. books misunderstood the term 'Ashérah, and confused it with 'Ashtōreth (Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* i. 460; Nowack, p. 19; W. R. Smith, p. 173; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* 89).

2. A sacred tree or pole. The ordinary furniture of a Can. high-place or shrine consisted of the altar, near to which stood a stone pillar or Maṣṣébah, and a sacred tree or 'Ashérah, 1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 18^{4}. For an altar and an 'Ashérah of Baal, cf. Jg 6^{25-30}. When the Israelite invaders appropriated for their own religious worship the high-places of the Canaanites, they adopted also the Maṣṣébahs and 'Ashérahs, Mic $5^{13.14}$, Is 17^{8} 27^{9}, Jer 17^{2}, 1 K 14^{23}, 2 K $17^{10.16}$. Not until the centralisation of the cultus at Jerus., carried out by Josiah, did the high-places, and with them the pillars and sacred trees, become illegal, Dt 16^{21}.

An idea of the appearance and nature of an 'Ashérah may be obtained from a comparison of some of the passages in which the word occurs. It was a tree, or stump of a tree, planted in the earth, Dt 16^{21}; it could be artificially made, Is 17^{8}, 1 K 14^{15} 16^{33}; it was made of wood, Jg 6^{26}; it might receive an image-like form, 1 K 15^{13}; it could be 'cut down,' Ex 34^{13}, 'plucked up,' Mic 5^{14}, 'burnt,' Dt 12^{3}, or 'broken in pieces,' 2 Ch 34^{4}. What are supposed to be representations of such sacred trees may be seen in Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 37, or in Nowack, ii. 19.

The original signification of the 'Ashérahs is not clear. Some have held that they were symbols either of a supposed goddess 'Ashérah (Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* ii. 75, 88, 247), or of 'Ashtōreth (Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 218 f.; Oettli on Jg 3^{7} in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Komm.*). Others believe them to have been connected with Phallic worship (Movers, Collins, *PSBA*, June 4, 1889, 291; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus, the Bible, and Homer*, 146, 170); but against this, see W. R. Smith, p. 437. Perhaps the most probable view is that which sees in the 'Ashérahs a survival of tree-worship, whilst the Maṣṣébahs represent a survival of stone-worship (W. R. Smith, p. 169; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 460 ff.; Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, 213; Nowack, ii. 19).

The rendering '**grove**' (plu. 'groves,' RV **Asherim**) of AV comes from LXX ἄλσος, a trans. which, though possible in some cases, is obviously inappropriate in others, *e.g.* 1 K 14^{23} 15^{13} 2 K 23^{6}.

LITERATURE.—Driver on Dt. 16^{21}; Moore on Jg 3^{7} 6^{25}; and the reff. above. For a fresh attempt to connect tree and pillar veneration with Phallic worship, see Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (1896), p. 228 ff.

W. C. ALLEN.

ASHES.—**1.** 'Sackcloth and ashes' are, in OT, Apocr., and NT alike, the familiar tokens of humiliation and penitence, generally accompanied by fasting (Job 42^{6}, Is 58^{5}, Dn 9^{3}, Jon 3^{6}, Est 4^{1}, Jth 4^{11}, 1 Mac 3^{47}, Mt 11^{21}, Lk 10^{13} etc.). Ashes were also, with earth and dust, the usual signs of mourning, 2 S 1^{2}, Job $2^{8.12}$, Jer 6^{26}, Is 61^{3}. In both cases the penitent or mourner took the ashes and cast them with expressive gesture 'toward heaven,' so that they fell on his person, and especially on his head, a custom not confined to the Hebrews (cf. *Iliad*, xviii. 23 ff.). In extreme cases the mourner sat upon a heap of ashes (Job 2^{8}). References to the custom are freq. in Scripture (see, in addition to passages already quoted, Job 2^{12} 42^{6}, Jer 6^{26}, Ezk 27^{30}, Est 4^{3}, Jth 4^{11} 9^{1}, 1 Mac 3^{47} 4^{39}). The priests in times of great affliction seem to have put ashes on their 'mitres,' Jth 4^{15}. Ashes upon the head were also a sign of physical humiliation and disgrace (2 S 13^{19}, Ezk 28^{18}, Mal 4^{3}). Ashes are used in OT, alone or with 'dust,' * as a natural synonym of worthlessness and insignificance, Gn 18^{27}, Is 44^{20}, Job 13^{12} (proverbs of ashes=worthless, trashy proverbs) 30^{19}, Sir 10^{9}. **2.** The same term (אֵפֶר, σποδός) is employed in Nu $19^{9.10}$ (P) to denote the mixture composed of the ashes proper of the red heifer and those of 'cedar wood, hyssop and scarlet,' and used for the preparation of the so-called 'water of separation.' See PURIFICATION, RED HEIFER. **3.** The priestly *term. tech.* for the ashes of the animals burnt in sacrifice is דֶּשֶׁן (lit. fatness, LXX πιότης), Lv 1^{16} 4^{12} $6^{10.11}$ (P); the corresponding verb denotes the clearing away of the accumulated fat ashes, Ex 27^{3}, Nu 4^{13}. See TABERNACLE. **4.** The word rendered 'ashes' in Ex $9^{8.10}$ (פִּיחַ of uncertain origin, and only found here) more probably signifies 'soot,' as in the m. of RV. See Commentaries. **5.** In 1 K $20^{38.41}$ 'ashes' in AV is a mistranslation, from a confusion of אֵפֶר, a bandage, with אֵפֶר ashes; RV correctly, 'with his head-band over his eyes.' For the use of ashes in the preparation of bread, see BREAD.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ASHHUR (אַשְׁחוּר, AV **Ashur**).—The 'father' of Tekoa (1 Ch 2^{24} 4^{5}). See GENEALOGY.

ASHIMA (אַשִׁימָא, 2 K 17^{30}).—A deity of the Hamathites, who introduced its worship into Samaria, when settled there by Sargon in place of the exiled Israelites. Many conjectures have been made as to its identity, but none has been generally accepted. Jewish tradition has represented it as a hairless goat, or, again, as a cat to which the ram of the guilt-offering was sacrificed. Similarity of sound has led to comparison with the Pers. *asmān*, Zend. *azmano*, heaven, with Eshmun, the eighth of the Phœn. Kabirim, and with the Bab. Tashmetu, goddess of revelation,

* Ges. *Lex.* (12th ed.), following Barth's suggested connexion (*Etym. Stud.* 20) of אֵפֶר with Arab. *ghibār* 'dust,' would render by 'dust' in all the passages above, by 'a.' only in Nu $19^{9.10}$.

wife of Nebo. As Hamath was occupied by the Hittites, the name very possibly is of Hittite origin.
J. MILLAR.

ASHKELON (אַשְׁקְלוֹן, in AV **Eshkalon**, Jos 13^{3}; **Askelon**, Jg 1^{18}, 1 S 6^{17}, 2 S 1^{20}; **Ashkelon**, Jer 25^{20} 47^{7}, Am 1^{8}, Zeph 2^{4}, Zec 9^{5}; in Apocr. **Ascalon** both AV and RV).—One of the five chief cities of Philistia, between Joppa and Gaza, standing on low cliffs close to the shore, and without a harbour. It continued to be under the rule of native chiefs or kings down to the Greek period. It is first noticed monumentally in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, about B.C. 1480–1450, the inhabitants being said to have offered tribute to the Khabiri. Letters in this collection from *Yamîr-Dagan* and *Dagan-takala*, chiefs of Ashkelon, subject to the Pharaoh, show the early worship of Dagon among its inhabitants. A. was reconquered in the 14th cent. B.C. by Ramses II. In the 7th cent. B.C. its king is noticed as a tributary of Esarhaddon, and of Assurbanipal, and was named *Mitinti*. It was captured by Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 10^{86} 11^{60}). Herod the Great was born at A., and beautified it with new buildings (Jos. *Wars*, I. xxi. 11). In the 4th cent. A.D. it became a bishopric, and was conquered by the Moslems in the 7th cent. The Crusaders took it in 1153, and it submitted to Saladin in 1187. The latter demolished its walls in 1191, but they were rebuilt by Richard 'Lion-Heart' next year, and subsequently again destroyed by agreement with Saladin. At the present day the ruins of these later walls enclose only gardens supplied by wells and half-covered with sand. The modern name is *'Asḳelan*. A curious bas-relief, representing Ashtoreth with two attendants, has been excavated in the ruins, and a gigantic statue (probably Roman) was found and destroyed by Lady Hester Stanhope. Until the 13th cent. A.D. A. was an important fortress in all ages, and a depot on the trade route to Egypt. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvi. C. R. CONDER.

ASHKENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז, Gn 10^{3}, 1 Ch 1^{6}).—The eldest son of Gomer, giving name to a Japhethite people, referred to along with Ararat and Minni in Jer 51^{27}, and therefore apparently in or near Armenia, somewhere between the Black and the Caspian Seas. *Ashken* is an Armenian proper name, and *az* is an Armenian name ending. Ascanios, the Homeric hero, was a Phrygian, while there is an Ascanian lake in Phrygia as well as in Bithynia. Later tradition associates the name of Scandinavia with that of this race. See F. W. Schultz in Herzog, art. 'Gomer,' vol. v. 271 f., and comm. on Gn 10^{3} by Delitzsch and Dillmann.
J. MACPHERSON.

ASHNAH (אַשְׁנָה). The name of two towns of Judah. 1. Jos 15^{33}, near Zorah; the site is unknown. 2. Jos 15^{43}, near Nezib, farther south than the preceding, also unknown. In the *Onomasticon* a village, Asan, is noticed, 15 (or, in the Greek, 16) miles from Jerusalem. The direction is not stated, and it may be the Heb. Jeshanah, though identified with Ashan. C. R. CONDER.

ASHPENAZ (אַשְׁפְּנַז, etym. uncertain).—The chief of Nebuchadrezzar's eunuchs (Dn 1^{3}).

ASHTAROTH (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת, in form the plural of *Ashtóreth*; cf. *'Anāthōth* from *'Anāth*: the name is no doubt an indication that the place was once a notable seat of the worship of 'Ashtōreth).—A place mentioned in OT as (with Edre'ī) one of the two royal cities of 'Og, the king of Bashan (Dt 1^{4}, Jos 9^{10} 12^{4} $13^{12.31}$), and as a Levitical city (1 Ch $6^{71\ (56)}$; the parallel text Jos 21^{27} has BE'ESHTERAH, *i.e.* probably *House*, or *Temple*, of 'Ashtōreth) assigned (according to P) to the Gershonites. So far as the biblical *data* go, 'Ashtaroth might be identical with *'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim* (the name being merely abbreviated from it); if, however, the statements of Euseb. (in the *Onom.*) be correct, the two places were distinct. In the *Onom.*, namely, we read: '(1) *Ashtaroth Karnaim*: there are still two villages [of this name] in Bashan, 9 miles distant from each other, between Adara (Edre'ī) and Abila (p. 209, Lag.). (2) *Ashtaroth*: an ancient city of Og, in Bashan, 6 miles from Adara (p. 213). (3) *Karnaim Ashtaroth*: now a large village in the corner [see Jerome, p. 108, 18] of Bashan, where the traditional dwelling of Job is shown (p. 268).' Now, an ancient tradition (see Wetzstein in the App. to Delitzsch's *Hiob* (E. tr. ii. 397 ff.; ed. 2, p. 552 ff.) places 'Uṣ, the fatherland of Job, in this region: at the top of a long, low hill, 16 miles N.N.W. of Edre'ī, on which stands the village of Sa'dîye (also called Sheikh Sa'd), is a mosque, containing the *Ṣakhret Ayyub*, or Job's Stone, a monolith of basalt, against which, according to the legend reported by Arab. writers, the patriarch leaned as he sat on the ground and received his friends (see Wetzst. p. 563, and Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, pp. 189–191, with plans and cuts); at the foot of the hill, from what is supposed to be the spot where, at the close of his sufferings, Job stamped his foot (cf. Ḳor. $38^{41ff.}$), gushes forth the beautiful 'Job's Spring,' the waters of which, after flowing a short distance, are conducted to the *Ḥammām Ayyub*, or Job's Bath, reputed to possess healing virtues (Wetzst. p. 562; Schum. p. 193 f.; also *PEFSt*, 1895, p. 180); slightly to the S. of this, Wetzstein (p. 561 f.) saw the *Maḳâm Ayyub*, or Tomb of Job; a little farther S., about ¾ of a mile from Sheikh Sa'd, at a government settlement now called El-Merkez, there was, until recently (for its place is now occupied by barracks), a *Dêr Ayyub*, or Monastery of Job, the foundation of which is assigned by Abulfeda (*Hist. anteisl.*, ed. Fleischer, p. 128) to the Ghassānide prince 'Amr I. in the 3rd cent. A.D. (Wetzst. pp. 564–566; Schum. p. 196; Socin in Bäd. *Pal.*² 303: Schum. p. 197 also describes here a *Maḳâm Ayyub*, or Tomb of Job, which is not mentioned by Wetzst.; but van Kasteren, *ZDPV*, 1893, pp. 200–204, declares this building to be not 30 years old, and argues that the site of the Maḳâm must have been changed since Wetzstein saw it in 1858). All these Job-antiquities are frequently mentioned by Arab. writers (see Wetzst., and v. Kast. *l.c.*). The 'angulus' of Jerome may be the angle formed by the two deep gorges of the Nahr er-Rukkād and the Sharī'at el-Menâdireh, still called 'the Eastern Angle' (Schum. pp. 3, 342): cf. *Onom.* 282, 90 (where Νωεννή is *Nawâ*). 'Job's Stone' is described more fully by Schumacher in the *ZDPV*, 1892, 142 ff. (with photographs): the representation of an Egyp. king worshipping before a deity can be traced upon it, together with characters, which Erman (*ib.* 1893, 205 ff.) reads as *Wesr-ma'-Re'*, 'chosen of Re',' the official title of Ramses II. (19th dynasty); it is consequently in reality a monument of the age when the Egyp. kings held rule over Syria. Further, only 2½ miles S.S.W. of Sheikh Sa'd there is a hill, *Tell 'Ashterā* (عشترا), rising about 80 ft. above the surrounding plain, and watered at its foot by the same copious stream spoken of above as having its source in 'Job's Spring,' and here called *Moyet en-Neby Ayyub* ('stream of the prophet Job'). Tell 'Ashterā was a military centre in the Middle Ages (Nöldeke, 'Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. der Haurângegend,' *ZDMG*, 1875, p. 431, with the references); and there are remains of fortifications around the summit, together with massive blocks of stone at

its S. and S.W. base, running up the hill to meet the wall at the top, all of a character betokening an early age (Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 329 f.; cf. Schum. *Across the Jordan*, p. 209). There is a strong presumption that the 'Karnaim Ashtaroth' of Euseb. was one of these localities; and Wetzst. (p. 575; Eng. tr. p. 427), Guthe (*ZDPV*, 1890, p. 235), and v. Kasteren (*ib.* 1891, p. 213), all identify the biblical 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim with Tell 'Ashterā,—the last named scholar, who interprets (after Wetzst.) the name as signifying 'Ashtaroth *near* Ḳarnaim (cf. Moresheth-Gath, etc.), supposing, further, that Ḳarnaim (which Euseb. connects closely with Job's home) was at Sheikh Sa'd, though owning (*ib.* 1893, p. 197 f.) that this site is hardly so inaccessible as 'Karnaim' is described as being, in 2 Mac 12^{21}).

If, however, this was the 'Karnaim Ashtaroth' of Euseb., where was his 'Ashtaroth'? Just 9½ miles south of Sheikh Sa'd, and 6½ (Schum.)—or 8 (Stübel's map, *ZDPV*, 1890, Heft 4)—miles N.W. of Edre'i,—almost exactly, therefore, at the distances assigned by Euseb.,—is the village of *El-Mezeirîb*—situated on the great pilgrim-track (the *Derb el-Ḥaj*) between Damascus and Mecca, and the first halting-place of the pilgrims after leaving Damascus. A plan, description, and view will be found in Schumacher, pp. 157–166. The situation of El-Mezeirîb gives it importance: an annual fair is held there at the time of the Mecca-pilgrimage: the ancient city (which lies in the centre of a small lake) 'must have been once a strongly fortified place,' and the ruins and huge basaltic blocks, scattered about the shores of the lake, 'seem to be the remains of pre-Mohammedan buildings' (Schum. p. 165). This may well be the 'Ashtaroth' of Euseb. (so Buhl, *Topogr. des Nördl. Ostjordanlandes*, 1894, p. 16). Whether, however, it is the biblical 'Ashtaroth, the residence of 'Og, is less certain. There is a site, 4½ miles S. of Tell 'Ashterā, and 11 miles N.W. of Edre'i, called *Tell el-'Ash'arī*, which, though no argument in favour of the identification can be drawn from the Arab. name (which is radically different from *'Ashterā*), is preferred by others (*e.g.* v. Kasteren, *ZDPV*, 1891, p. 213), and which is adapted, by its situation (see the description under ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM; and for a view, Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, 87 f., where the name is wrongly spelt Asherah), for a royal stronghold. On the whole, there is a reasonable probability that Tell 'Ashterā is one of the two 'Ashtaroths (if there were two), and that either El-Mezeirîb or Tell el-'Ash'arī was the other. And if Euseb. distinguishes the two places correctly (though in calling both Ashtaroth Karnaim he shows confusion), the former was 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim, and one of the latter 'Ashtaroth. Others identify Tell 'Ashterā with 'Ashtaroth, and either Tell el-'Ash'arī (Oliphant, Schum. pp. 207 f., 209) or Mezeirîb (Buhl) with 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim: this is opposed to Euseb., and we do not *know*, as Schum. tacitly assumes, that 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim was a more considerable place than 'Og's capital, 'Ashtaroth; but it seems to have the advantage of providing for Ḳarnaim a site more nearly agreeing with the description in 2 Mac 12^{21}.

The antiquity of 'Ashtaroth (if the name be read and identified correctly) is attested independently by Egyp. and Assyr. inscriptions: an *Âstertu* occurs in the list of places in Southern Syria conquered by Tahutmes III., of the 18th dynasty, in his twenty-second year (Tomkins, *TSBA* ix. 262, and in *RP*² v. 45, No. 28; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Eur. nach altäg. Denkm.* p. 162; cf. Wiedemann, *Äg. Gesch.* 348 f., 371); and an *Ashtarti* is mentioned in the correspondence, from Pal., with Amenôphis IV. (15th cent. B.C.) as having been in the possession of the Egyptians, and being seized by rebels (Bezold and Budge, *The Tel el-Amarna Tablets in the Brit. Mus.*, Nos. 43, 64; cf. Sayce, *Patriarchal Age*, 1895, pp. 133, 153). The writers named identify these places with 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim; but they may equally well have been the later capital of 'Og, 'Ashtaroth (supposing this to have been distinct).

S. R. DRIVER.

ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM (עַשְׁתְּרוֹת קַרְנַיִם *Ashtaroth* of the two horns*).—This is given in the Sam. Targ. as עפינית קרנים † "'Aphînîth Ḳarnaim,' and in the Arab. vs of Sa'adya as 'Eṣ-Ṣanamain.' It is a site of hoary age. The Rephaim were there smitten by Chedorlaomer (Gn 14^{5}). Under this name it is seen no more in canon. Scrip.; but it appears as '**Carnaim**' or '**Carnion**' in the Books of Mac. It is a city 'great and strong' (1 Mac 5^{26}). It is 'hard to besiege, and difficult of access, by reason of the narrowness of the approaches on all sides' (RV 2 Mac 12^{21}). Judas Maccabæus took the city by assault. The inhabitants took refuge in the great temple of Atargatis, an idol resembling Dagon of the Philistines; by some also identified with the Gr. Astarte. There some five and twenty thousand were slain, and the temple itself was destroyed.

The distinction between Ashtaroth and Ashteroth-Karnaim, indicated in the *Onomasticon*, is confirmed by the existence of two sites bearing similar names, *Tell 'Ashterā* and *Tell 'Ash'arī*. Eusebius and Jerome describe Ashteroth-Karnaim as *vicus grandis in angulo Batanææ*, distinguishing two villages of the same name, 9 miles apart, which lay *inter Adaram et Abilam civitates*. From *Tell 'Ash'ari*, *Der'ah* (Adara) is distant 11 miles to the S.E., and *Abil* (Abila) 14 miles to the S.W., while *Tell 'Ashterā* is about 5 miles N. *Tell 'Ash'ari* is a position of great strength. On one side is the deep gorge of the *Yarmuk*, on the other extends a great chasm at the head of which is a waterfall. Built on this projecting headland the city was protected on the only side open to attack by a triple wall, traces of which still remain. There are ruins of a temple beside a bridge which spans the *Yarmuk* lower down, possibly that destroyed by Judas. *Tell 'Ashterā*, standing in the plain, although once girt by mighty walls, could never have been a place of such strength as this. The question of identification can be settled only by excavation. The Sam. Aphînîth, which may be *'Afîneh* on *Jebel Ḥaurân*, not far from Boṣrah (Waddington, No. 2296–7), and the Arab. *Eṣ-Ṣanamain* on the *Ḥaj* road, south of Damascus, 20 m. N.N.E. of Tell 'Ashterā, are palpably impossible. W. EWING.

ASHTORETH (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, plur. עַשְׁתָּרוֹת *'Ashtārōth*).—The principal goddess of the Ṣidonians (1 K $11^{5.33}$, 2 K 23^{13}), and a prominent goddess among the Phœnicians generally, in whose honour Solomon built a high-place on the hills opposite the temple (*ll.cc.*), who is stated (by different Deut. writers) to have been worshipped previously by the unspiritual Israelites, Jg 2^{13} 10^{6}, 1 S $7^{3.4}$ 12^{10},—all plur., 'Ba'al (or the Ba'als) and *the 'Ashtoreths*,' *i.e.* 'Ashtoreths distinguished by the places at which they were worshipped, or by special attributes,—and in whose temple at Ashḳelon (1 S 31^{10})‡ the Philistines deposited the armour of Saul. The true pronunciation of the word was probably *'Ashtart* (cf. LXX and other Gr. writers, Ἀστάρτη): *'Ashtōreth* (cf. *Mōlech* for *Milk*) perhaps arose by malicious substitution of the vowels of

* As pointed by the Massoretes, Ashtĕroth is the construct state of Ashtāroth, the plural of Ashtōreth.

† So Petermann's MS A: Petermann's text, however, has עשתרות קרנים; and Walton's Polyglott reads עפינית קרניה.

‡ Read 'house (*i.e.* temple) of *'Ashtóreth*': cf. LXX εἰς τὸ Ἀστορτιεῖον.

bōsheth, 'shame.' 'Ashtart is frequently mentioned in Phœn. inscriptions, and is an element in numerous Phœn. proper names. Tabnith, king of Ṣidon, styles both himself and his father Eshmun'azar I., priest of 'Ashtart; and in his sepulchral inscription places his tomb under her protection, declaring that its violation would be an 'abomination to 'Ashtart' (see the Inscr. in full in Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, p. xxvi). Eshmun'azar, son of the Tabnith just mentioned, and his mother *Am'ashtart*, 'priestess of 'Ashtart, our lady (רבתן),' state that they have built a house (temple) for 'Ashtart in Ṣidon (*CIS* I. i. $3^{13\text{-}16}$). This was probably the great temple of Ἀστάρτη in Ṣidon, which Lucian visited (*de Dea Syria*, § 4). Besides, however, this temple which was dedicated to 'Ashtart, as patron-goddess of Ṣidon, Eshmun'azar and his mother built another in honour of a second 'Ashtart, bearing the title of שם בעל 'name of Ba'al' (*ib.* l. [18]).* So again Bod'ashtart, another king of Ṣidon, builds a temple לאלי לעשתרת 'to his god 'Ashtart' (*ib.* 4^{5}). It is in accordance with the leading position thus accorded to 'Ashtart at Ṣidon that on Ṣidonian coins the goddess is often figured standing on the prow of a galley, with her right hand, holding a crown, stretched forward, as though pointing the vessel on its way.†

According to Menander, as reported by Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3; *c. Ap.* i. 18), Ḥiram built in Tyre a temple to Herakles (Melḳart), and afterwards one to 'Ashtart, whose priest was Ithobal, Jezebel's father: in Tyre, however, Melḳart was the principal god, and 'Ashtart took the second place. The worship of 'Ashtart is also widely attested in the Phœn. colonies on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, esp. in Cyprus, Sicily, and Carthage. At Kiti (Kition) in Cyprus we read of an image erected by a worshipper לרבתי לעשתרת 'to his lady, to 'Ashtart' (*CIS ib.* 11^{3}); from the same locality we have an Inscription (*ib.* 86) giving particulars of the provision made for the service of her temple, including builders, door-keepers, barbers, scribes, and other attendants. In Gul (Gaulus, near Malta) we hear of a מקדש בת עשתרת, or 'sanctuary of the temple of 'Ashtart' (*CIS ib.* 132); and her worship at Eryx, in Sicily, is attested by two Inscriptions, one found in Eryx itself, the other from Sardinia, beginning with the words, 'To the lady, to 'Ashtart,'‡ and 'To 'Ashtart of Erekh,' respectively. At Carthage, one 'Abdmelḳart styles himself (*ib.* 255) 'servant of 'Ashtart, the glorious (האדרת)'; and we read (*ib.* 263) of Am'ashtart אש בעמת אש עשתרת 'who is of the people of the men of 'Ashtart,' *i.e.* who belonged to the people attached to her temple. Of names compounded with 'Ashtart we find Am'ashtart (*ib.* 3^{14} *al.*), and Ammath'ashtart (46^{3} *al.*), 'handmaid of 'A.'; Ger'ashtart, 'client [Cheyne on Ps 15^{1}] of 'A.' (138^{2} and often); 'Abd'ashtart, 'servant of 'A.' (115^{1}),§ usually contracted to Bod'ashtart ($4^{2.3}$ 35^{6} and very often); 'Ashtartyathan, ''A. has given' ($72^{1.2}$); see further references in Bloch, *Phœn. Glossar* (1891).‖

* *Name=manifestation* (cf. Ex 23^{21}, Dt 12^{4}, etc.). Others, however (as Halévy, E. Meyer, Dillm., Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 307), render 'Ba'al's Celestial 'Ashtart' (cf. below), pronouncing שְׁמֵ; and in l.[16] group the letters into עשתרת שמם ארם ''Ashtart of the glorious heavens.'

† Cf. B. V. Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 673; Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, p. cxliii, 152, 162, with the two spirited representations, Plate xxii. 6 and 22. The goddess is also represented on the coins of other Phœn. cities, as Aradus, Berytus, Botrys, Byblus, Tyre, etc. (Head, *l.c.* pp. 668, 669, 674, 676).

‡ Followed by the words ארך חיים, *i.e.* (probably) 'of long life,' an epithet of the goddess, whence it has been plausibly conjectured that the city Eryx—on inscriptions and coins (*CIS* I. i. p. 173*) ארך—received its name.

§ The name also of Ḥiram's grandson (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 18,—Ἀβδάστρατος).

‖ With the preceding paragraph cf. Päthgen, *Sem. Rel.-Gesch.* 1888, pp. 31–37.

Although, however, 'Ashtart was thus a distinctively Phœn. goddess, Phœnicia was not her original home. The prototype of 'Ashtart was *Ishtar*, a deity who had for long held a conspicuous place in the Pantheon of Assyria, and who was localised, with special attributes, in many different cities of Assyria and Babylonia.* In a prayer of Asshurnaẓirpal, purporting to date *c.* 1800 B.C., Ishtar of Nineveh is addressed by him as 'queen of the gods, into whose hands are delivered the commands of the great gods, lady (*bilit*) of Nineveh . . . daughter of Sin (the moon-god), sister of Shamash (the sun-god), who rules all kingdoms, who determines decrees, the goddess of the universe, lady of heaven and earth, who hears petitions, heeds sighs, the merciful goddess who loves justice'; he, her 'priest-king,' protests that she had called him to his throne, he had restored and beautified her temple; and he calls upon her now to hear his cry, and to heal him in his sickness. Other monarchs (Shalmaneṣer II., Sennacherib, etc.) place Ishtar next to Asshur, and speak of both together as marching at their side, directing them in their wars, and giving them victory over their foes. Esarḥaddon, for instance, says,† 'Ishtar, the lady of onslaught and battle, who loves my priesthood, stood at my side and brake their bows.' Shalmaneṣer II. also styles her 'princess (*rishti*) of heaven and earth';‡ and Esarḥaddon calls her 'queen (*sharrat*) of all.'§ Another aspect of Ishtar's character is brought before us in the curious mythological poem, which recounts her descent into the Underworld in search of the healing waters which should restore to life her bridegroom Tammuz, the young and beautiful Sun-god, slain by the cruel hand of winter. Here it is related how, as she journeys towards the realm of Allat, queen of the dead, 'the land without return, the house of darkness,' she is stripped in succession, as she passes its seven gates, of all her attire, her crown, her earrings, her necklace, her mantle, her girdle, her bracelets, and her tunic: while she is there all intercourse between male and female ceases in the animal creation; at last, at Ea's command, she is released, her adornments are restored to her, and she returns to earth. Here Ishtar, who is evidently conceived as the goddess of fertility and productiveness, symbolises, it seems, the lifegiving earth, which loses, one by one, its adornments as it passes into the dark prison-house of winter, to have them restored to it at springtime, as nature awakens with the returning love of the youthful sun-god.‖

Another Ishtar is Ishtar of Arbela, daughter of Asshur, and sister of Marduk, styled by Esarḥaddon 'lady of ladies, terrible in onslaught, lady of battle, queen of the gods,' a martial goddess, who appears to Asshurbanipal in a vision, armed with quivers and a bow, and brandishing a sword, and promises him victory against his foes. Ishtar of Uruk (Erekh) plays an important part in the legend of Izdubar (Gilgamish): when the hero has delivered Uruk from the Elamites, who have been besieging it, and won for himself the crown, Ishtar offers him her hand: he refuses it, reproaching her with the levity with which she had chosen and

* The following quotations from Assyr. sources are taken from G. A. Barton's study, 'The Semitic Ishtar Cult,' in *Hebraica*, April–July, 1893, and Oct. 1893–Jan. 1894, where the Inscriptions in which they occur are translated at length. Cf. also Tiele, *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* 526–528. Nanâ is also identified with Ishtar; but it has not seemed necessary, for the purpose of the present article, to pursue this subject.

† *Ib.* p. 139.

‡ Schrader, *KAT*[2] p. 117 (on Jg 2^{13}).

§ *KAT*[2] 333^{17}.

‖ The poem may be read also in Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 221 ff.; or in A. Jeremias, *Die Bab.-Ass. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (1887), p. 10 ff.

discarded her former husbands.* Here Ishtar is not only lavish with her love, but appears almost as a polyandrous goddess.† In other respects the 'lady of Uruk' resembles Ishtar of Nineveh. Ishtar of Babylon is addressed in a hymn as 'mother of the gods, fulfiller of the commands of Bil, producer of verdure, lady of mankind, begettress of all, mother Ishtar, whose might no god approaches,' and whose aid and sympathy a suppliant may expect to receive.‡ This was the goddess under whose protection, in virtue of a singular custom—reported independently by Herodotus (i. 199),§ the author of Bar $6^{42f.}$, and Strabo (xvi. 1. 20), —the women of Babylon placed themselves by the sacrifice of their chastity.

Lastly, Ishtar is identified with the planet Venus: on this aspect of her nature it will be sufficient, however, to refer to the passages translated in Schrader, *KAT*² on Jg 2^{13}, or in Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* p. 253 f. (cf. p. 269 = Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, p. 62).

Though Ishtar was thus variously localised, her general attributes remained the same. She occupied a place in the Assyr. Pantheon next to Asshur himself: ‖ in particular, she was (1) the lady (or mistress) of the locality in which she was worshipped; (2) queen of the gods, and princess of heaven and earth; (3) a warrior goddess; (4) the goddess of generation and productivity; (5) she was identified with the planet Venus. These aspects of her nature are retained as her cult travels westwards, sometimes one being more prominent than the other, sometimes several being combined.¶

From the notices contained in OT itself, it would not be possible to determine the ideas associated with the Phœn. 'Ashtart, or the character of her rites; but there are many independent indications which make these clear. She must have been pre-eminently the goddess of sexual passion. By Greeks and Phœnicians alike she is habitually identified with Ἀφροδίτη; and there are sufficiently definite allusions to the unchaste character of the rites with which she was worshipped.** Lucian (*De dea Syria*, § 4) visited a great temple of Aphrodite in Byblus (Gebal), in which the rites of Adonis (who corresponded to TAMMŪZ, *q.v.*) were performed: here such women as would not shave their hair in commemoration of his burial, were obliged to sell themselves to a stranger, the money received being expended on a sacrifice to Aphrodite (cf. the Bab. custom referred to above). At Aphaka in the Lebanon there was a temple of Aphrodite,†† the rites practised at which were of such a character that they were suppressed by Constantine (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 55).

Again, as we saw, Ishtar was 'queen of the gods, and princess of heaven and earth'; and it scarcely admits of doubt that the 'Queen of Heaven,' to whom, in Jeremiah's day, the women of Judah offered cakes (כַּוָּנִים, a peculiar term) and other sacrifices (Jer 7^{18} 44^{17-19}), was either the Assyr. Ishtar,* or her Phœn. counterpart 'Ashtart. 'Celestial,' now, is an epithet applied to 'Ashtart elsewhere. Sanchoniathon (p. 30) speaks of Astarte as daughter of Οὐρανός; and Sozomen remarks that the Aphrodite mentioned above as worshipped at Aphaka, was called there Οὐρανία. The temple of Οὐρανία Ἀφροδίτη, also, in Ashḳelon, mentioned by Herodotus (i. 105), and stated by him to be the oldest of that goddess of which he could learn, can hardly be any other than the temple of 'Ashtart, referred to in 1 S 31^{10}.† All this becomes clearer if we supplement the somewhat scanty notices which we possess of 'Ashtart herself by the more abundant materials relating to Aphrodite. For not only did Aphrodite correspond in general character to 'Ashtart, but nothing is more certain than that her attributes were largely moulded upon those of 'Ashtart, and that many elements in her cult were of Phœn. origin. Already Homer frequently speaks of Aphrodite as Κύπρις (*Il.* v. 330, etc.) and Κυθέρεια (*Od.* viii. 288, etc.), and alludes to her temple at Paphos,‡ which, then and afterwards, was so celebrated that no term is more frequently applied to Venus by classical writers than *Paphia* or *Cypria*. Cyprus, however, is known independently to have been not only colonised from Phœnicia, but also (see above) to have been devoted to the worship of 'Ashtart; and according to Herodotus (*l.c.*), the Cyprians themselves declared their temple (at Paphos) to have been founded from that of Οὐρανία Ἀφροδίτη at Ashḳelon; while the temple of the same deity in Cythera, the island off the S. coast of Lacedæmon, reputed to be the oldest and most sacred of Aphrodite in Greece (Pausan. iii. 23. 1), is stated likewise by Herodotus (*ib.*) to have been a Phœn. foundation. Cicero also speaks (*N. D.* iii. § 59) of four distinct Venuses, one being '*Syria Cyproque* concepta, quæ *Astarte* vocatur, quam Adonidi nupsisse proditum est.' That Aphrodite was the goddess of sexual passion, needs, of course, no proof; and Cyprus was the chief centre, whence her worship was diffused through the Gr. world. But, secondly, she often bore in Greece also the title Οὐρανία; temples of Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία are thus mentioned, not only at Cythera, but also at Athens, Argos, Corinth, Thebes, and elsewhere;§ and speaking of the one at Athens, Pausanias expressly remarks (i. 14. 7) that Οὐρανία was reverenced first by the *Assyrians*, then by the Paphians of Cyprus, and the Phœnicians dwelling in Ashḳelon, from whom

* Barton, *Hebraica*, Oct. 1893–Jan. 1894, p. 1 ff.; Sayce, *l.c.* p. 246 ff.; Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (1891), p. 24 f.

† W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*² p. 56.

‡ Barton, pp. 15–17; Jeremias, *l.c.* p. 58 f.; Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, p. 33 ff.

§ Μύλιττα, as Hdt. calls the goddess (whom he identifies with Aphrodite), is probably *Belit*,—the word rendered 'lady' in the extracts cited above, and the fem. of *Bel* (Ba'al), *lord*.

‖ How fully, in the popular creed, Ishtar became the goddess κατ' ἐξοχήν, may be inferred from the fact that the plur. *ishtarāt* was used to express the idea of female divinities in general (*KAT*² 180).

¶ The etymology of *Ishtar*, as of *'Ashtart*, is obscure: there is no apparent Sem. derivation, and the conjectures that have been offered are not satisfactory; the Arab. *'athara* (Barton, p. 71) is not *to fall* simply, but *to stumble* or *trip*. It is, perhaps, of non-Sem. origin (*KAT*² 179; Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 252 f.). The gender of the deity, after it was adopted by the Phœnicians, was marked externally by the addition of the fem. termination, *t*.

** Hence her worship *may* be alluded to in passages such as Hos $4^{13.14}$, Jer 2^{20} etc.

†† Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 5; Zosimus, i. 58,—cited by Barton, p. 32.

* See the essays on the 'Queen of Heaven' by Schrader in the *Berichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1886, p. 489 f., and in the *Z. für Assyr.* 1888, pp. 356–360; and by Kuenen in his *Abhandlungen*, 1894, p. 266. These scholars point to an inscription in which among 20 titles of 'the lady (*bilit*) of countries, the queen (*malkatu*), Ishtar,' there actually occurs that of 'queen (*malkatu*) of heaven.' Schrader further remarks that there is independent evidence of an 'Ashtar, conceived specially as a celestial goddess, being prominent at the same time in the name ''Athar of Heaven,' mentioned in the inscriptions of Asshurbanipal, as the goddess of a N. Arabian tribe (*KAT*² on Jer 7^{18}; on *'Athar='Ashtar*, see below). Cf. also Sayce, *Hibb. L.* pp. 261, 269 f. (=Jeremias, *l.c.* 62 f.).

† Cf. how, on a bilingual votive tablet found at Athens (*CIS* I. i. 115), an Ascalonite *'Abd'ashtart* (עבדעשתרת אשקלני) is called in the Gr. text Ἀφροδίσιος. Certain types of the coins of Ashḳelon also exhibit the head of Astarte: B. V. Head, *Hist. Numorum*, 1887, p. 679 f.; De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, 1874, pp. 179 f., 202 (No. 13), 206 (No. 2). The dove, which (see below) was sacred to 'Ashtart, is also a standing feature on the imperial coins of Ashḳelon; see De Saulcy, *l.c.* p. 179, Nos. 9 and 10 (both with head of the goddess), 189–191 (Augustus), Nos. 8, 10, 11, 13, etc., and Plate ix. 5, 6.

‡ *Od.* 8, 362: ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη Ἐς Πάφον, ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυηείς; cf. *Æn.* i. 415–417.

§ Paus. i. 14. 7, 19. 2; ii. 23. 8; vi. 20. 6, 25. 1; viii. 32. 2; ix. 16. 3. The Greeks often understood Οὐρανία to be the goddess of loftier, purer love, as opposed to Ἀφροδίτη πάνδημος, who represented the merely sensual passion (Xen. *Symp.* viii. 9; Paus. ix. 16. 4, Bekk.).

her cult was introduced into Cythera. Then, thirdly, Ishtar, as shown above, was also a martial goddess. From the mere fact that Saul's armour was deposited by the Philistines in the temple of 'Ashtart at Ashḳelon, it could hardly be inferred that 'Ashtart bore there a martial character (for trophies of a victory might be dedicated to any deity); but there are some other indications which support this supposition. In the temple of Cythera, which, as we have seen, was founded from Phœnicia, if not from Ashḳelon, the statue of the goddess was a *ξόανον ὡπλισμένον* (Paus. iii. 23. 1). At Corinth and Sparta also there was an *Ἀφροδίτη ὡπλισμένη* (*ib.* ii. 5. 1; iii. 15. 10, Bekk.); several epigrams in the anthology (Jacobs, ii. 677–679) describe Aphrodite as armed with helmet and spear; she also receives the epithet *νικηφόρος*, and is represented with the weapons of Ares (as in the well-known statue called the Venus of Capua).* Nor was the influence of the Phœn. 'Ashtart confined to the Gr. world. The worship of the Rom. Venus, originally a goddess of springtime, of gardens, of blossoming vegetation, assimilated many elements from her cult. Mention has been made already of the great Phœn. temple of 'Ashtart at Eryx in Sicily; and this seems to have formed a centre as influential for the diffusion of her rites in Italy as Paphos or Cythera had been for their diffusion in Greece. That the goddess worshipped at Eryx was identified by the Romans with Venus, can be readily shown: who does not recollect Horace's 'Erycina ridens, Quam Jocus circumvolat et Cupido' (*Carm.* i. 2. 33 f.), or the passage in which Virgil connects her with the Venus of Cyprus, 'Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ' (*Æn.* v. 759 f.)?† Venus Victrix and Venus Genetrix, also, just develop ideas which we have already seen combined in *Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία*, viz. that of the martial goddess of victory, and that of the fertile mother of all.‡

Some account of the temple and rites of the Paphian Aphrodite is given by Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 2. 3).§ *Κινύρας*, a personage who plays a considerable part in Cyprian mythology (cf. *Il.* xi. 19–23), was its reputed founder; the priests of the goddess, who were also kings, were styled *Κινυραδαί*. Only male victims were offered in sacrifice to her, kids being accounted the best for purposes of *extispicium*, for their skill in which her priests were famed. No blood, however, was shed upon the altar, which, though standing in the open air, was supposed never to be rained upon. The goddess herself was symbolised by a cone.‖ Her devotees were initiated with impure rites.¶ Doves were sacred to her.** A large number of inscriptions have been found at Paphos, headed *Παφίᾳ Ἀφροδίτῃ*: in many of these parents dedicate their children to the goddess.††

'Ashtart appears to have been generally represented as a female figure, somewhat short in stature, usually naked, with rounded limbs, but sometimes draped, the hands supporting the breasts,‡‡ or sometimes with one holding a dove in her bosom;§§ terra-cotta statuettes of this description are found not only in Cyprus, but also upon most of the isles and coasts of the Ægean Sea. Figs. 381, 382 in Perrot and Chipiez' work are particularly interesting. The right hand here supports the breast, while the left hand is extended downwards in front: may figures of this kind, one is tempted to ask, have formed the type out of which the Venus of Medici was ultimately developed?‖‖ Clay figures, of the same general type, usually considered to represent Ishtar, are also found in large numbers in the ruins of Mesopotamia, and at Susa.¶¶

In some localities 'Ashtart seems further to have been regarded as a moon-goddess. Thus Lucian (*De dea Syria*, § 4), speaking of the temple at Ṣidon, mentioned above, says, *ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἀστάρτης ἐστίν· Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι*; and Herodian declares (v. 6. 10) that *Οὐρανίαν Φοίνικες Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες*.***

How this transformation of the character of Ishtar ††† took place is not perfectly certain. It is conceivable that Ba'al, as Ba'al Shamaim (Ba'al of heaven), was identified with the sun; and hence his consort 'Ashtart might not unnaturally be regarded as the moon. Another explanation is, however, possible. There was great intercourse in antiquity between Phœnicia and Egypt; and the influence of Egypt is palpably impressed upon Phœn. art. The Egyp. goddesses Isis and Hathor, now, are habitually represented as supporting upon

* Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*[3] i. pp. 279[2. 3], 280[3], 281[1].

† Votive tablets found at Eryx bear also the inscription VENERRI ERUCINAI (*CIL* 7253–5, 7257).

‡ See further, Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*[3] i. pp. 435, 437, 442 *f.*, 445.

§ On the site, dimensions, etc. of the ancient temple, in so far as they can be recovered by excavation, the report of the Cyprus Exploration Fund in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1888, pp. 149–224, supersedes everything that had been previously written. (The statements of Di Cesnola in his work on Cyprus are highly untrustworthy; see *ib.* p. 204 f.; Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 175.) The principal ancient notices respecting the temple are collected by M. R. James, *ib.* p. 175–192.

‖ Simulacrum deæ non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metæ modo exsurgens, et ratio in obscuro. Upon the coins of Cyprus, struck under the Rom. emperors, in the name of the *κοινὸν Κυπρίων*, this sacred cone, standing in its temple, with a dove, or doves, on the roof, is a constant feature; see Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Cyprus and Phœn.* figs. 58, 199, 202 (Eng. tr. i. pp. 123, 276, 281); Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœn.* p. 145; or Head, p. 628. Stone cones about a yard in height, also, no doubt, symbolising the goddess, have been found at Athiénau (Golgi), and in Gozzo (Gaulus) and Malta (Perrot et Chip. figs. 205, 223); and a cone is often figured on gems, etc. (*ib.* figs. 29, 232, ch. iv. *end*).

¶ Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* pp. 12, 13; Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, v. 19; Justin, xviii. 5. Cf. the close of the passage of Hdt. (i. 199) referred to above, *ἱνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος*.

* Cf. Antiphanes, *ap. Athen.* vi. 71, p. 257, xiv. 70, p. 655; and the Paphiæ columbæ of Martial (viii. 28), etc. Many representations of doves in marble and terra-cotta have been found in and about the site of the temple. The dove is also often figured on the coins of Paphos, sometimes with the head of Aphrodite on the obverse: see J. P. Six's Essay on the Coins of Cyprus in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1883 (p. 269 ff.), pp. 355–357, 364 (where No. 36 = Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, x. 47), and Pl vii. 18.

† Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions recueillies en Grèce*, etc., 2794, 2798 (here *ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν* dedicates his grandson), 2801: *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, *l.c.* p. 225 ff. Nos. 8, 33, 35, 39, 41, 42, etc.; p. 259.

‡ Perrot et Chipiez, fig. 291, from Tharros in Sardinia; fig. 321, from Cyprus; figs. 374, 375, with strange heads, and huge ears and earrings; figs, 379, 380; fig. 417=Rawl. p. 204 (four well-modelled figures, on a sarcophagus, from Amathus); fig. 550 (two figures, on a decorated patera, now at Athens, with an Aram. inscription, לענר בר מ׳מע: Euting, *Punische Steine*, p. 33 *f.*). In fig. 150, from Cyprus, the hands are on the waist; similarly in a bas-relief from Ashḳelon, fig. 314 (Eng. tr. ii. fig. 38 [fig. 277 of the orig. = fig. 1, vol. ii. of tr.]).

§ Fig. 20; fig. 142=Rawl. *Phœn.* p. 327; fig. 323, from Sardinia. The figures, similar in general appearance, but holding a disc on the breast, may represent the same goddess (*ib.* fig. 193; fig. 233, from Sardinia (these two also in Rawl. p. 142); fig. 290, from Tharros; fig. 324; likewise the seated figures, with the hands on the knees (fig. 299, fig. 322). Whether figures of the type represented in fig. 345, draped, with the hands straight down the sides, also represent her, is uncertain.

‖ E. Curtius, 'Das Phön. Urbild der Mediceischen Venus,' in the *Archäol. Zeit.* 1869, p. 63; cf. Perrot et Chip. pp. 556 *f.*, 627 [Eng. tr. ii. 155, 225].

¶ See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 477; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 379 f. (of the Persian age); Perrot and Chip. *Hist. of Art in Chald. and Ass.* i. 80, 83 (fig. 16); Rawl. *Anc. Mon.*[4] i. 140; Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* (1883), Plate ii. 3, 4; iii. (cf. those from Cyprus, iv., ix. 4, 5, x. 7, xi. 5; and Rhodes, xii. 5); and in the *Rev. Arch.* xxxix. (1885), pp. 1–10.

** Whether the name ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM contains an allusion to this aspect of 'Ashtart ('the 'Ashtarts of the two horns') is uncertain; Ḳarnaim may be the name of a locality ("Ashtaroth of—*i.e.* near—Ḳarnaim").

†† For Ishtar, though sister of Shamash (the sun-god), is *daughter* of Sin (the moon-god), not the moon-goddess herself.

their head, between two cow-horns, the solar disc.* Isis, further, is stated by Plutarch to have journeyed to Byblus (Gebal), where she was called by some 'Ἀστάρτη ;† and in the famous Stele of Yeḥawmelek, king of Gebal, the king is represented as making his offerings before a horned goddess, closely resembling the Egyp. Isis, while the accompanying inscription is a petition addressed by him to his 'mistress, the lady of Gebal.'‡ Philo of Byblus says also that 'Ἀστάρτη ἡ μεγίστη . . . ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου (Sanchoniathon, ed. Orelli, p. 34). In the light of these facts it is not impossible, as Meyer suggests, that the disc and horns with which 'Ashtart was represented may have been misunderstood, and taken to be the symbols of the full and crescent moon respectively.

'Ashtart, then, if what has been said above be correct, was the link connecting Ishtar with Aphrodite and with Venus. Born originally in the far E., the goddess was born again, for the Greeks, from the foam (ἀφρός) by Cyprus; and once brought under touch of the creative genius of Greece, her character was transformed; particular aspects of it were made more prominent; if in one direction she was identified more and more with the sensuous side of human nature, in other directions her attributes were idealised; she furnished art with its most attractive ideals of female grace and beauty (see already *Il.* xiv. 214–217—her κεστὸν ἱμάντα); she became even the personification of the all-pervading, living force of nature. 'Comme la nature même dont se résumaient et se personnifiaient sous ce nom toutes les énergies, Astarté, vraie souveraine du monde, dans son activité sans repos, ne cessait de détruire et de créer, de créer et de détruire. Par la guerre et par les fléaux de tout genre, elle éliminait les êtres inutiles et vieillis; en même temps, par l'amour et la génération, elle présidait au perpétuel renouvellement de la vie.'§ This far-reaching conception of the range of her activity is exhibited strikingly in a passage placed by Plautus in the mouth of an Athenian woman,‖ and in the fine exordium, addressed to the 'Æneadum genetrix,' with which Lucretius opens his great poem, *De rerum natura*.¶

Traces of a corresponding Sem. deity elsewhere.—There was a S. Sem. *male* deity, *'Athtar* (which agrees phonetically with Ishtar; cf. שלש, ثلاث, etc.), mentioned in the Sabæan inscriptions (from Ṣan'â, the capital of Yemen); but little definite is at present known about him, except that the gazelle or antelope was sacred to him.**

There are also some compound names of deities, in which 'Ashtar (or 'Ashtart) forms part. Mesha' relates (Stone, *l.c.*) that he 'devoted' 7000 Isr. captives to עשתרכמש, *i.e.* *'Ashtar-chemosh*, or 'Ashtar of Chĕmōsh. Among the Phœnicians, also, we find *Milk'ashtart*, a deity formed by combination of the attributes of Milk (Molech) * and 'Ashtart (*CIS* I. i. 8[1] 250[5]; and in the Inscr. of Ma'sub †), and *Eshmun'ashtart* (*ib.* 245). Among Aram.-speaking peoples עשתר became עתתר (cf. שלג, תלגא, etc.), which was soon written עתר,‡ whence 'Ατραγάτις (Palmyrene עתרעתה,§ Syr. ܥܬܪܥܬ, also represented by Δερκετώ), *i.e.* *'Athtar of 'Ati*,‖ the name of a deity much worshipped in parts of Syria, esp. at Hierapolis (between Antioch and Edessa), and also (2 Mac 12[26]) at Karnion (probably either near to, or identical with, 'Ashteroth-Ḳarnaim: see ASHTAROTH).

See, further, Roscher's *Ausf. Lexicon der Griech. u. Röm. Mythol.* (1884–1890), arts. ASTARTE (by E. Meyer), and APHRODITE (by Roscher and Furtwängler), pp. 396 ff., 400 ff.; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, chs. xxi.–xxiii. (which appeared since the above article was written).

S. R. DRIVER.

ASHURITES (הָאַשׁוּרִי, B Θασειρεί, A Θασούρ, Luc. Ἐξρι).—One of the tribes over whom Ishbosheth ruled (2 S 2[9]). The name is clearly corrupt, for neither the Assyrians (אשׁור), nor the Arabian tribe (אשׁרים Gn 25[3]) can be intended. Ewald, Thenius, Wellh. follow the Pesh. and Vulg. in reading 'the Geshurites' (הַגְּשׁוּרִי), whose territory bordered on that of Gilead (Jos 12[5] 13[11]), and who might therefore be suitably included here. It has been urged, however, against this view, that Geshur was an independent kingdom at this time (cf. 2 S 3[3] 13[37]), so that Ishbosheth could not have exercised control over it. We must therefore read, with Köhler, Klost., Kirkp., and Budde הָאֲשֵׁרִי 'the Asherites,' *i.e.* the tribe of Asher (cf. Jg 1[32]); this reading is supported by the Targ. of Jonathan (על דבית אשׁר), and agrees well with the context; according to the latter, the dominions of Ishbosheth extended from Asher to Benjamin on the W. of Jordan, and further included the large tract of Gilead on the E.

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ASHVATH (עַשְׁוַת).—An Asherite (1 Ch 7[33]).

ASIA ('Ασία) was the Roman province which embraced the W. parts of the great peninsula now called Asia Minor, including the countries Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and great part of Phrygia, with the Dorian, Ionian, and Æolian coast-cities, the Troad, and the islands off the coast (Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Patmos, Cos, etc.). The name, as thus used, was created by the Rom. administration. The Gr. geographers generally employed the name Asia to denote the whole continent; but the Romans during the 2nd cent. B.C. were accustomed to term the Pergamenian sovereigns (with whom they were in close political relations) 'kings of Asia'; and when Attalus III. bequeathed his kingdom to Rome in 133, it was formed into a province, and named Asia. With rare exceptions, historians and geographers under the earlier Roman Empire use the name Asia only in two senses,—either the Roman province or the entire continent. About A.D. 285, Asia was greatly reduced in size, Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, and Mysia (Hellespontus) being separated from it; and the name Asia was then restricted to the coast-cities and the lower valleys of the Mæander, Cayster, Hermus, and Caicus. In the NT, as is generally agreed, 'Asia' means the Rom. province (Ac 2[9] being a possible exception). At first Pergamos was the capital of the province;

* See representations in Rawlinson, *Hist. of Anc. Eg.* i. 365, 368; or Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilisation*, pp. 132, 175, 177, 187.

† *De Osir. et Iside*, § 15.

‡ *CIS* I. i. 1. See representations in Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœn.* p. 340; or Perrot et Chipiez, i. p. 69; cf. also the imposing bronze figure in the last-named work, p. 78 (fig. 26). The name of this goddess is not given; but it is highly probable that it was 'Ashtart; coins of Byblus exhibit habitually a cone (which, as has been shown, was her symbol), standing in the court of a temple (see the excellent representation in Perrot et Chip. fig. 19 (p. 61), or Rawl. *Phœn.* p. 146).

§ Perrot et Chipiez, p. 69; cf. 321, and esp. 626–628 [Eng. tr. i. 69 f., 331 f., ii. 224–226].

‖ 'Diva Astarte, hominum deorumque vis, vita, salus: rursus eadem quæ est Pernicies, mors, interitus. Mare, tellus, cælum, sidera, Jovis quæcumque templa colimus, eius ducuntur nutu, illi obtemperant, Eam spectant' (*Mercator*, IV. vi. 825 ff.).

¶ See parallels from earlier Gr. poets in Munro's notes *ad loc.*

** Mordtmann and Müller, *Sab. Denkmäler*, 1883, p. 66; W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] p. 466. Cf. Barton, *l.c.* p. 53 ff.; Bäthgen, pp. 117–121. The epithet שׁרקן seems to indicate that he was viewed as the *rising* (morning) star; cf. Hommel, *Süd-Arab. Chrestom.*, 1893, p. 83.

* See the writer's note on Dt 18[10].

† Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Orientale*, i. (1888) p. 81.

‡ Cf. Strabo, p. 785, Ἀταργάτιν δὲ τὴν Ἀθάραν [καλοῦσι]; and see Nöldeke in the *ZDMG*, 1870, pp. 92, 109; E. Meyer, *ib.* 1877, pp. 730–734. The N. Arabian 'Athar of Heaven' has been already mentioned above.

§ De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, No. 3, p. 8. See further Bäthgen, pp. 68–75.

‖ On the deity called *'Ati*, cf. Bäthgen, p. 70 f.

but after a time the superior advantages of Ephesus gave it the pre-eminence, and the rule was that the governors must land there. Under Augustus, and even earlier, Ephesus was the supreme administrative centre of Asia, and the headquarters of the great provincial officials; but the title 'First of Asia' (*πρώτη Ἀσίας*) was keenly contested also by Pergamos and Smyrna. The governor, who bore the title proconsul, was appointed by the Senate by lot from among the senior ex-consuls; not less than five years must have elapsed between consulship and proconsulship; and, owing to the number of ex-consuls, the usual interval became longer as time passed (being twelve or more years in the 2nd cent.). As a rule, the office was annual; but in exceptional cases a second year, and still more rarely even a third year, of office was permitted. Asia was one of the most wealthy and populous and intellectually active of the Rom. provinces; hence the natural sequence of the work done by Paul and Barnabas on their first journey was to preach in the great cities of Asia; and this was evidently St. Paul's intention on his second journey, until he found himself prevented from speaking the word in Asia (Ac 16[6]). The evangelisation of Asia was reserved for the third journey, when, during St. Paul's residence of two years and three months in Ephesus, 'the entire population of Asia heard the word' (Ac 19[10]); partly on account of the frequency with which the provincials came to Ephesus for trade, religion, law, or festivals; partly through missions of St. Paul's coadjutors to the leading cities of the province. In OT Apocr., dating before the formation of the Rom. province, the term Asia denotes the continent. On the Asian Jews, see the cities Cos, Ephesus, Laodicea, etc.

Literature.—The best article on *Asia* is in Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*: see also Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 333–349; Mommsen, *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* (*Röm. Gesch.* v.) ch. viii.; and Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, chs. A–E: the account of the proconsuls of Asia given by Waddington, *Fastes de la Province d'Asie*, requires to be supplemented by the list of governors in the *Dizionario*.

W. M. Ramsay.

ASIARCH (Ἀσιάρχης) was the title of certain officials of the Rom. province Asia, whose number, tenure of office, and mode of appointment are most obscure. Such widely divergent views are still held about the Asiarchate that it is hardly possible to give any adequate account of it in our limited space. The Asiarchs (like the analogous officials, Galatarch, Syriarch, Lykiarch, Pamphyliarch, etc.) were provincial, not municipal officials; and they exercised certain powers in the Association in which the whole province of Asia united for the worship of Rome and the Emperors, called *Commune Asiæ* (Κοινὸν Ἀσίας). That the Asiarchs were the high priests of the temples of the Imperial worship erected by the *Commune Asiæ* in Pergamos, Smyrna, Ephesus, Cyzicus, Sardis, and perhaps other cities (*ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν*, or *ναοῦ τοῦ*, *ἐν Περγάμῳ*, κ.τ.λ.), is denied by some good authorities, but seems to us highly probable: we take the term A. as a popular conversational name, which gradually established itself even in official usage, for these 'high priests of the temples of Asia.' We also regard it as probable (though it cannot be definitely proved) that, beyond the high priests of the temples in the individual cities, there was a supreme high priest as head of the entire provincial cult. These high priests seem, along with probably some other officials, to have formed a sort of Council, which managed the business of the *Commune Asiæ*, and had the disposal of certain funds intended for the maintenance of the Imperial temples and ceremonial. The *Commune Asiæ* celebrated in the great cities of the province festivals with games, called Κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, Λαοδικείᾳ, κ.τ.λ.; and the games were presided over by an A., perhaps the supreme A., if we are right in supposing his existence. It is not improb. that the Council of the Asiarchs sat at stated periods in the great cities alternately; and that they assembled at the city where the Κοινὰ Ἀσίας were being held. In that case the Asiarchs were prob. assembled at Ephesus for such a purpose when they sent advice to St. Paul to consult his safety (Ac 19[31]); and perhaps the festival had both brought together a vast crowd of the Asian populace, and shown clearly to the artisans that their trade in selling small shrines to the pilgrims and devotees who had flocked to the festival was dwindling. The tenure of office of the Asiarchs, acc. to our view, was four years (a term which was very common for such offices in the E. provinces); but some high authorities hold that the Asiarchs were appointed annually. It is certain that the proconsul governing Asia (which see) took some part in the appointment; but the details are doubtful and disputed. An A. enjoyed great dignity in his native city, and coins or inscriptions of very many cities in the province commemorate the names of Asiarchs sprung from thence. They acted, doubtless, as presidents in local festivals as well as in the provincial games (Κοινὰ Ἀσίας), and, of course, incurred in such cases considerable expense, part of which was compulsory, but most was voluntary (from ambition, or generosity, or ostentation).

Literature.—Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopædie*, arts. 'Archiereus' and 'Asiarches'; Monceaux, *De Communi Asiæ*; Büchner, *De Neocoria*; Mommsen, *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. v.) ch. viii.; Lightfoot, *St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*, ii. p. 987 ff.; Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial*; Guiraud, *Les assemblées provinciales de l'Empire Romain*; Hicks, *Ancient Gr. Inscrip. in the Brit. Mus.* iii. p. 87; Ramsay, *Classical Rev.* iii. p. 174 ff., *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 55–58, and ii. ch. xi.

W. M. Ramsay.

ASIBIAS (A Ἀσιβίας, B Ἀσεβείας), 1 Es 9[26].—One of the sons of Phoros or Parosh who agreed to put away his 'strange' wife; answering to Malchijah (2) in Ezr 10[25] (מַלְכִּיָּה, but A Ἀσαβιά, א Σαβ-, B om.).

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ASIDE, that is, on (or to) one side, has a moral sense=astray, in Ps 14[3] 'They are all gone a., they are all together become filthy'; Sir 2[7] 'go not a., lest ye fall.'

J. Hastings.

ASIEL (עֲשִׂיאֵל). —**1.** Grandfather of Jehu a Simeonite 'prince' (1 Ch 4[35]). **2.** (*Asihel*) One of five writers employed by Ezra to transcribe the law (2 Es 14[24]). **3.** (Ἀσιήλ; Heb. עשאל; AV Asael) A forefather of Tobit (To 1[1]). Probably a corrupt form of the name Jahzeel (יַחְצְאֵל Gn 46[24]), a son of Naphtali; A. is said to belong to this tribe.

J. T. Marshall.

ASIPHA (A Ἀσειφά, B Ταση-φά), 1 Es 5[29].—His sons were among the temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel. Called Hasupha (חֲשׂוּפָא) Ezr 2[43], Neh 7[46].

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ASMODÆUS (אַשְׁמְדַאי To 3[8. 17]) is probably identical with the evil demon of the ancient Persian religion, Æshma dæva=the 'covetous' or 'lustful demon.' When the Hebrews borrowed the name, they connected it with שָׁמַד, to destroy. Hence this is the being called ὁ ὀλεθρεύων in Wis 18[25], and אַבַדּוֹן =ὁ ἀπολλύων in Rev 9[11]. In the latter passage he is styled 'angel of the abyss' and 'king' of the destructive creatures shaped like locusts, but with men's faces and flowing hair. The only mention of Asmodæus in the Gr. Bible is in Tobit, where he is described as *τὸ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον*; Vulg. dæmonium nequissimum; but in the Aram. and Heb. VSS 'King of the Shedhim.' By this name he is known

in the Bab. Talmud (*Pesachim* 110*a*), and in the Targ. of Ec 1^{12}. In To 6^{14} (B. Syr. Itala) we are told that he 'loved' Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, and that he slew seven men to whom she was married as soon as they entered the nuptial chamber (3^{8}). When Tobias visited Raguel, he also at once loved Sarah, and yet naturally was afraid to marry her; but his companion, Raphael in disguise, taught him how to exorcise the demon by a fumigation of the heart and liver of a fish. The demon fled to Upper Egypt, where he was pursued by Raphael and bound (To 8^{3}), after which the pious couple lived in peace. The Shedhim are the δαιμόνια of the Gospel narrative. They were conceived by the Jews as distinct from the fallen angels of the Book of Enoch, in being mortal, of both sexes, and, according to some, the offspring of those angels and human mothers (*Chagigah* 16*a*; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, ii. 759–763). As Sammael was head of all the Satans, so Asmodæus was king of the demons, and the long-haired Lilith was their queen (*Erubin* 100*b*). In Talmudic legends, Asmodæus was implicated in Noah's drunkenness; and after revealing to Solomon the whereabouts of the worm Samir, which noiselessly shaped the stones of the temple, he dethroned that monarch for a while, assumed his appearance, and was the real author of the offences which history ascribes to Solomon.

LITERATURE.—Gfrörer, *Urchristenthum*, i. 378–424; Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, p. 72; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, 1893 edition, ch. xvi.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ASNAH (אַסְנָה=Aram. אַסְנָא 'thorn bush,' 'Ασενά). —The head of a family of Nethinim which returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{50}, 1 Es 5^{31m}).

ASOM ('Ασόμ), 1 Es 9^{33}.—His sons were among those who put away their 'strange' wives. Called Hashum (חָשֻׁם), Ezr 10^{33}.

ASP.—See SERPENT.

ASPALATHUS (*ἀσπάλαθος, balsamum*, Sir 24^{15}). —The name of an aromatic associated with cinnamon in the passage cited, but impossible to identify. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii. 52, and xxiv. 68, 69) speaks of a thorny plant known by this name, and which in the first passage he identifies with the Erysisceptrum, and in the second seems to distinguish from it. The same plant is alluded to by other ancient authors, but with such indefiniteness that we are unable to identify it with any known plant. It is probable that there were two or more plants, and more than one vegetable product, known by this name. G. E. POST.

ASPATHA (אַסְפָּתָא, Est 9^{7}).—The third son of Haman, put to death by the Jews. The name is perhaps from the Persian *aspadâta*, 'given by the (sacred) horse' (so Ges. *Thesaurus*, add.).

H. A. WHITE.

ASPHALT.—See BITUMEN.

ASPHAR Pool (λάκκος 'Ασφάρ), 1 Mac 9^{33}.—A pool in the desert of Tekoa, or Jeshimon, where Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees encamped. The site is doubtful. C. R. CONDER.

ASPHARASUS ('Ασφάρασος), 1 Es 5^{8}.—One of the leaders of the return under Zerubbabel. Called Mispar (מִסְפָּר), Ezr 2^{2}, and Mispereth (מִסְפֶּרֶת), Neh 7^{7}.

ASRIEL (אַשְׂרִיאֵל, in AV of 1 Ch 7^{14} **Ashriel**).—A Manassite (Jos 17^{2}, Nu 26^{31}; in the latter the patron. **Asrielite** occurs). Acc. to the LXX of 1 Ch 7^{14} A.'s mother was an Aramitess, a concubine of Manasseh. J. A. SELBIE.

ASS.—**1.** (חֲמוֹר *ḥămôr*; ὄνος, ὑποζύγιον, *asinus*). *Ḥamôr* is the generic name for the ass, and the specific designation of the *he-ass* (Arab. *ḥimâr*).

Few animals are mentioned more frequently in the Scriptures than the ass. It was used for a variety of purposes.

(1) For *riding*. For this purpose it was used by both rich and poor. Moses took his wife and two sons on an ass to Egypt, passing through the Sinaitic desert (Ex 4^{20}); Balaam rode a she-ass (Nu $22^{21\text{-}33}$); the unnamed prophet rode an ass (1 K $13^{13.\ 23.\ 24.\ 27\text{-}29}$); so did Achsah (Jos 15^{18}, Jg 1^{14}), the thirty sons of Jair (Jg 10^{4}), the sons of Abdon (Jg 12^{14}), Abigail (1 S $25^{20.\ 23}$), Ahithophel (2 S 17^{23}), and Mephibosheth (2 S 19^{26}). When it is said that Christ is 'lowly,' because He should ride on an ass (Zec 9^{9}; comp. Mt 21^{7}), the reference is not to any degradation in the riding of an ass, but to the peaceful nature of His advent. The horse was used in war, and a king coming on a horse would be surrounded by military circumstance and pomp. Asses are yet ridden by persons of rank in State and Church. There are many fine breeds of them, and every large city of the interior boasts its special strain. Many of these are sold at very high prices. They have a rapid walk, and an easy shuffling pace or short canter. They are exceedingly sure-footed. Some of them are breast high, and weigh as much as a small horse. White asses (Jg 5^{10}) fetch specially high prices, and are very handsome beasts, while their caparisons are often quite magnificent. These consist of a thick stuffed saddle, often covered with crimson, or dark green, or other rich coloured cloth, bound with braids of brighter colours, and with silver ornaments and dangling tassels of woollen twist. The headstall and bridle are likewise decorated with shells, silver studs, and plates, and not infrequently composed in part of silver chains. A collar of silver links, with a breastplate of the same metal, completes the adornment.

(2) For *burdens*. Abraham probably loaded his ass with wood (Gn 22^{3}); the sons of Jacob loaded their asses with corn (Gn $42^{26.\ 27}$); Joseph sent twenty asses bearing the good things of Egypt to his father (Gn 45^{23}); Jesse sent an ass-load of provisions by David to Saul (1 S 16^{20}); Abigail loaded her present to David on asses (1 S 25^{18}), as also Ziba (2 S 16^{1}); the provisions for the feast at David's coronation at Hebron were brought on asses (1 Ch 12^{40}); asses were used in harvesting (Neh 13^{15}). The ass is still the most universal of all beasts of burden in Bible lands. Small ones can be bought for a pound or two. There is a great variety in the breeds of pack-asses. Some are no larger than a Shetland pony, while others are as large as a small mule, and carry very heavy loads. They are very economical to keep, living on straw, thistles, stubble, and a very small quantity of grain, and standing any amount of exposure and harsh treatment.

(3) For *ploughing*. The expression *ear* (Is 30^{24}) means to *plough* (comp. 32^{20}). It was not allowed to plough with an ox and an ass together (Dt 22^{10}). The writer has seen a camel and an ass yoked together to a plough. The equation of force was made by tethering the ass at the long end of a cross-bar, which was fastened to the front of the plough. Doubtless the reason of this prohibition was the principle of the Mosaic law, that there should be no intermixtures. Thus priests could not have patched or parti-coloured garments. Piebald cattle could not be offered in sacrifice. Cattle could not gender with a diverse kind. A field might not be sown with mingled seed. A garment could not be made of two different sorts of stuffs, as linen and woollen. A person with patches of leprosy, mixed with patches of clean skin, was unclean, while one

covered all over with leprosy was clean. This principle enters into the whole symbolic economy. It is intended to illustrate *simplicity* and *purity*. Asses' milk is used as food by the Arabs, and is recommended for persons of scrofulous and tubercular tendencies. The flesh of the ass was not allowed to the Hebrews as food, because the animal does not divide the hoof and chew the cud. In the famine at the siege of Samaria, however, 'an ass's head was sold for eighty pieces of silver' (2 K 6^{25}). In Jg 15^{16} Samson says, 'with the jawbone of an ass, heaps upon heaps.' In the Heb. there is a fine alliteration, בְּלֶחִי חֲמוֹר חֲמֹרָתָיִם 'with the jawbone of an ass a heap, two heaps,' the word for *ass* and *heap* being the same.

2. The she-ass (אָתוֹן; ἡ ὄνος, ὄνος θήλεια; *asina*, Arab. *'atân*) was Balaam's mount (Nu 22^{21-33}). Saul went to search for the stray she-asses of his father Kish (1 S 9^{3}). The Shunammite rode one (2 K $4^{22, 24}$). It has always been customary to separate the females of the flocks and herds at times. David had an officer charged with the care of the she-asses at such times (1 Ch 27^{30}). It is said that the vigour of the stock of the Egyp. ass is maintained by tying the she-asses at the border of the deserts on either side of the Nile Valley, so that they may receive the visits of the *Asinus Onager*, Pall., the original of the domestic ass of the East.

3. The Heb. term עַיִר, *'ayir*; πῶλος; *pullus asinæ*; Arab. *jahsh*, corresponds to four Eng. equivalents in the AV.—(1) Foal (Gn 32^{15} 49^{11}); (2) ass colt (Gn 49^{11}, Jg 10^{4} 12^{14}); (3) young ass (Is $30^{6, 24}$); (4) colt (Job 11^{12}, Zec 9^{9}). The Arab. equivalent of the Heb. *'ayir* is, as before said, *jahsh*, i.e. *young ass*, and not *'ayir*, which means the ass in general. The stupidity of the ass is proverbial in the East as well as in the West. The allusions to this quality in the Bible are not, however, unequivocal (Is 1^{3}, Pr 26^{3}).

4. Two words are used in the Heb. for the *wild ass*—(1) פֶּרֶא, *pere'* (Gn 16^{12}, where Ishmael is called *a wild ass man*, Job 6^{5} 11^{12} 24^{5} 39^{5}, Is 32^{14}, Jer 2^{24}, Hos 8^{9}); (2) עָרוֹד, *'ârôdh* (Job 39^{5}, Dn 5^{21}, Chald. עַרְדְּיָא). We have no philological grounds for determining the species referred to, nor any certainty that the terms are more specific than their Eng. equivalents. The parallelism in Job 39^{5} does not necessarily imply two species. The Arabs have a large number of names for the lion, the camel, the horse, the ass, and other familiar animals. Tristram gives two species of wild asses as found in the deserts contiguous to Palestine, *Asinus Onager*, Pall., which he considers to be *'ârôdh*, and *Asinus hemippus*, St. Hil., which he regards as *pere'*. For neither of these specifications does he give any philological authority. It is safe to believe that the scriptural writers had no particular species in view, but the general characteristics of all known wild asses.

G. E. Post.

ASSAMIAS (B 'Ασσαμίας, A 'Ασαμίας, AV Assanias).—One of twelve priests entrusted with the holy vessels on the return to Jerus., 1 Es 8^{54}.

ASSAPHIOTH (B 'Ασσαφείωθ, A 'Ασαφφιώθ, AV Azaphion), 1 Es 5^{33}.—His descendants returned with Zerubbabel among the sons of Solomon's servants. Called Hassophereth (B 'Ασεφῆραθ, A 'Ασεφόραθ), Ezr 2^{55}; Sophereth, Neh 7^{57} (B A Σαφάραθ, ℵ -θι).

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ASSASSIN.—Used in RV of Ac 21^{38} as a translation of the Greek σικάριος (AV 'murderer'). St. Paul is said to have been mistaken by Lysias, the chief captain, for the Egyptian who had 'led into the wilderness the 4000 men of the Assassins.'

According to Jos. there arose in Judæa during the procuratorship of Felix a body of men called σικάριοι. They were robbers, who carried under their garments a short sword, about the size of a Persian scimitar (ἀκινάκης), curved like a Roman *sica*, whence their name, which was of Latin origin. They used to commit their murders openly, and by day, mingling in the crowd at feasts. Their first conspicuous exploit was the murder—according to Josephus at the instigation of Felix—of Jonathan, son of Annas, who had been high priest (prob. in 55 or 56 A.D.). After this, men lived in constant dread of them. They were conspicuous under Felix, who sent troops against them, and at a later date they took a leading part in the Jewish War, and in the disturbances which led to it, being always amongst the most violent of the combatants. They held Masada, and from thence pillaged the country. Eventually some of them dispersed to Egypt and Cyrene, where, under the combined influence of want and fanaticism, they introduced a reign of terror.

Josephus never definitely connects them with the Egyptian (wh. see), as does St. Luke.

Apart from the illustration afforded to the narrative of the Acts, the robbers and impostors who were so numerous at this time, illustrate the fanaticism, both religious and political, which culminated in the fall of Jerusalem.

Literature.—Jos. *Ant.* xx. viii. 6, 10, ix. 3; *BJ* ii. xiii. 3, xvii. 6, iv. vii. 2, ix. 5, vii. viii. 1, 2, 4, 5, x. 1, 2; Schürer, *HJP* i. ii. 178 ff.

A. C. Headlam.

ASSAULT.—See Crimes and Punishments.

ASSAY is not found as subst. As verb it has two general meanings: **1.** *Test, prove*, of which the only example is in the Preface, 1611, 'To a. whether my talent . . . may be profitable in any measure to God's Church.' **2.** *Set oneself to do* (more than merely *attempt*); so all the occurrences in AV: Dt 4^{34} 'Hath God a^{ed} to go and take him a nation?' Job 4^{2} 'If we a. to commune with thee' (both נָסָה); 1 S 17^{39} 'David girded his sword upon his armour (RV apparel), and he a^{ed} to go' (יָאַל); Ac 9^{26} 'he a^{ed} to join himself to the disciples,' 16^{7} 'they a^{ed} to go into Bithynia,' 2 Mac 2^{23} (all πειράζω); He 11^{29} 'which the Egyptians a^{ing} to do' (πεῖραν λαβόντες). RV retains all these, and adds Ac 24^{6} 'who, moreover, a^{ed} to profane the temple' (πειράζω, AV 'who also hath gone about to'); 26^{21} 'the Jews . . . a^{ed} to kill me' (πειράομαι, AV 'went about to kill me').

J. Hastings.

ASSEMBLE, now almost entirely intrans., is trans., intrans., and reflex. in AV, as Mic 4^{6} 'In that day, saith the Lord, will I a. her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven away'; Dn 6^{11} 'Then these men a^{ed} (RV 'a^{ed} together'), and found Daniel'; Nu 10^{3} 'all the assembly shall a. themselves to thee' (RV 'gather themselves unto thee'). 'A. together' occurs as tr. of the same verbs without change of meaning; and even 'a. together with,' Ac 1^{4} 'and [Jesus] being a^{ed} together with them' (συναλιζόμενος, with αὐτοῖς understood; AVm and RVm 'eating with them' after Vulg. *convescens*. The reference would then be to Lk 24^{41}, Jn 21^{12}, where Jesus is spoken of as 'eating with' the disciples. But this meaning of συναλίζω, as if derived from ἅλς, 'salt,' instead of ἀλής, 'crowded,' is scarcely made out). In He 10^{25} 'not forsaking the a^{ing} of yourselves together,' the Gr. is a noun (ἐπισυναγωγή). 'A. into' is found Jer 21^{4} 'I will a. (RV 'gather') them into the midst of the city.'

J. Hastings.

ASSEMBLY.—A. is employed in AV as the rendering of several Heb. words, the two most important of which are עֵדָה and קָהָל. The Revisers, however, have endeavoured (as they have them-

selves explained in their Preface) 'to preserve a consistent distinction' between the words 'assembly' and 'congregation,' 'without aiming at absolute uniformity.' This they have done by rendering קָהָל and its cognate verb by 'assembly' and 'assemble,' retaining 'congregation' for עֵדָה. This last is the older word of the two, denoting a gathering or assembly of any kind, whether for deliberative (as Gn 49[6]) or other purposes. Gradually, however—mainly through the influence of Dt—קָהָל assumed a more technical signification as denoting the Israelitish community, in whole or in part. Thus קְהַל יהוה, Dt 23[2ff.], denotes the theocratic community. 'The assembly' *par excellence* is frequent in P in the sense just given, although not so characteristic of this document as the synonymous term עֵדָה, which occurs over a hundred times in the technical sense of the theocratic community or congregation of the Exodus. It is doubtful if עֵדָה occurs in any genuine pre-exilic text in this sense. See CONGREGATION.

LITERATURE.—Moore, *Judges*, 20[1], crit. note; Giesebrecht in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, i. 243 f. On קָהָל read Holzinger, *ibid.* ix. 105 f. On *ἔννομος ἐκκλησία* (Ac 19[39]), Ramsay in *Expos.* 5th Ser. iii. 137 ff.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ASSENT, the subst., in the archaic sense of accord or consent, occurs 2 Ch 18[12] 'the words of the prophets declare good to the king with one a.' (פֶּה, RV 'mouth'). Cf. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, 'Travelling with one a. on the broad way.' The verb is found Ac 24[9] 'the Jews also a[ed]' (TR *συνέθεντο*, edd. *συνεπέθεντο*, RV 'joined in the charge').

J. HASTINGS.

ASSESSOR.—An a. is one who sits beside a magistrate to act as his adviser. The word occurs only 1 Es 9[14] RV, 'Mosollamus and Levis and Sabbateus were a[s] to them' (*συνεβράβευσαν αὐτοῖς*, lit. 'judged alongside of them'). The simple verb *βραβεύω*, 'to act as umpire, arbitrate,' occurs Col 3[15] 'Let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts,' RVm 'arbitrate'; see Meyer and Lightfoot, *in loc.* The compound *καταβραβεύω* is found Col 2[18] 'Let no man beguile (RV 'rob') you of your reward'; *κ.* = 'to decide against one,' and 'to decide against one unjustly,' hence 'to rob.'

J. HASTINGS.

ASSHUR.—See ASSYRIA.

ASSHURIM (אַשּׁוּרִים).—An Arab tribe, descended from Abraham and Keturah (Gn 25[3]), whose identity cannot be traced. (Cf. Dillmann and Delitzsch *l.c.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

ASSIDUOUS, only Wis 8[18] RV 'in a. communing with her is understanding' (*ἐν συγγυμνασίᾳ ὁμιλίας*, *i.e.* 'in constant exercise of fellowship.' The simple *γυμνασία* is used 1 Ti 4[8] *σωματικὴ γ.*, 'bodily exercise').

J. HASTINGS.

ASSIR (אַסִּיר).—**1.** A son of Korah (Ex 6[24], 1 Ch 6[22]). **2.** A son of Ebiasaph (1 Ch 6[23. 37]). **3.** A son of Jeconiah (AV and RVm of 1 Ch 3[17]). It is prob., however, that RV correctly renders 'Jeconiah *the captive*' (אַסִּר). See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*

J. A. SELBIE.

ASSOCIATE.—Only Is 8[9], and there reflex., 'A. yourselves, O ye people.' Heb. רֵעוּ, not from רָעָה 'to be friendly,' 'combine together,' as Targ., Vulg., AV, etc.; but from רָעַע 'to make a noise,' RV 'Make an uproar'; though Del. prefers רָעַע 'to be evil'; while Cheyne follows LXX, *γνῶτε* (*i.e.* דְּעוּ), 'take knowledge.'

J. HASTINGS.

ASSOS (Ἄσσος), in the Roman province of Asia, was an ancient city on the S. coast of the Troad, some miles E. of Cape Lectum; the Æolic dialect was spoken in it; and it was said to be an Æolic colony. It was planted on a hill that rises with a long steep ascent from the water's edge; and the natural strength was increased by walls, which still stand in wonderfully good preservation. The sculptures of the temple of Athena on the summit of the hill (most of which are now in Paris, the rest being in Constantinople and Boston, U.S.A.) are among the most important remains of archaic Gr. art. The harbour of A., formed by an artificial mole, was situated at the foot of the hill on which the city stood; and beside it now cluster the houses of the modern village Behram. This harbour gave the city considerable importance in the coasting trade of ancient times (Ac 20[13]), as is attested by its coinage, which begins early in the 5th cent. (when the city was released from the Persian domination), and continues as late as A.D. 235. The importance of A. under the Pergamenian kings is shown by its re-foundation with the name Apollonia, a favourite Pergamenian name (Pliny, *NH* v. 123). The trade of great part of the S. Troad has passed through the harbour of A. at all periods of history. It was connected by a Roman road with Troas and the coast of the Troad generally, and the road from Troas to A. required less time than the voyage round the long projection of Cape Lectum (Ac 20[13]). Wheat was extensively grown in the district, according to Strabo, p. 735; but valonia is the chief modern export.

LITERATURE.—The best account of A. is by J. T. Clarke, *Report on the Investigations at Assos*, Boston 1882. Many inscriptions are published by Sterrett in *Papers of American School at Athens*, i. pp. 1–90.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ASSUR (2 Es 2[8])=ASSHUR, ASSYRIA.

ASSURE, ASSURANCE.—Assure in the sense of 'give confidence to,' 'confirm,' is used in 1 Jn 3[19] 'hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall a. our hearts before him' (*πείθω*, lit. 'persuade'). Cf. 2 Ti 3[14] 'Abide thou in the things which thou . . . hast been a[ed] of' (*πιστόω*), and Ac 17[31] 'He hath given assurance (*πίστις*) unto all men.' **Assurance** is RV tr. of *ὑπόστασις* (AV 'substance'), He 11[1], a word of great importance in Gr. philosophy and Chr. theology, and which occurs in NT 2 Co 9[4], RV 'confidence'; 11[17] RV 'confidence'; He 1[3] RV 'substance'; 3[14] RV 'confidence.' 'Full a.' is the tr. of *πληροφορία*, Col 2[2], He 6[11] (RV 'fulness'), 10[22] (RV 'fulness'); but the same word is tr. 'much a.' in 1 Th 1[5]. A. is found also Wis 6[18] 'the a. of incorruption' (*βεβαίωσις ἀφθαρσίας*). Cf. Ac 16[10] 'assuredly gathering' (*συμβιβάζοντες*, RV 'concluding').

J. HASTINGS.

ASSURANCE.—The religious and moral value of firm conviction is fully recognised in Scripture. It is the very aim and object of the divine message in whatever form it comes to produce it. Without it there cannot be that peace and joy in the soul which constitute the highest blessing of religion, nor that inward strength which alone can fit man for moral conquest. The want of it makes the 'double-minded man,' who is compared to the 'surge of the sea, driven by the wind and tossed' (Ja 1[6]). Even in OT times it was realised, as shown in the beautiful description of Isaiah (32[17]), where for AV 'quietness and assurance' RV reads 'quietness and *confidence*,' the original word denoting 'to hang upon something,' hence fig. 'to trust.' A word by which St. Paul expresses this state of mind is *πέπεισμαι*, 'I am persuaded,' whether he refers to the certainty of God's love in Christ (Ro 8[38]), or to that which he had committed to his Lord (2 Ti 1[12]). The term, however, most frequently used for A. in NT and also in patristic writers is *πληροφορία*. From the fact that the cognate verb appears probably for the first time in

the LXX of Ec 8^{11}, where it is a tr^{n} of the Heb. אֶמֶת, Cremer (*Bib. Theol. Lex.*) infers that it was of Alex. origin. It means 'to be fully persuaded, to be fixed and firm' (Ro 14^{5}, Col 4^{12}). The noun occurs in Col 2^{2}, πλ. τῆς συνέσεως, 'full a. of understanding'; 1 Th 1^{5} ἐν πλ. πολλῇ; He 6^{11} πλ. τῆς ἐλπίδος; He 10^{22} πλ. πίστεως. In the last two passages RV (also Westcott *in loc.*) renders πλ. by the simpler word *fulness* rather than *full assurance* (as AV), 'the full measure or development of hope,' 'faith which has reached its mature vigour.'

A. STEWART.

ASSURBANIPAL.—Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, died in B.C. 668, while on his way to suppress a rebellion in Egypt. Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Σαοσδούχινος of Ptolemy), an illegitimate son, had been set over the province of Babylon. Aššurbânipal was heir to the throne at Nineveh. A Heb. writing of the name is probably found in Ezr 4^{10} אָסְנַפַּר (Schrader, *COT* ii. 65; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 329; contra, Halévy, *Revue Études Juives*, ix. 12). His own cuneiform annals and letters give us an abundance of information regarding his long reign. His first expedition was the prosecution of the unfinished campaign of his father against the Ethiopian Tirhakah. This rebellious leader fled to Ethiopia only to await the withdrawal of the Assyr. forces. The native governors of the provinces, as Necho and Šarludari, were aroused by Tirhakah to form a coalition against foreign authority. But Assyria pounced down upon them, carried off prisoners, and drove Tirhakah back to his lair, where he died about B.C. 664. Egypt was again tranquil, though hiding a volcano. An invasion of Egypt by Tanûtamon (Assyr. *Urdamani*) precipitated the last and decisive campaign of A. In B.C. 662 the Assyr. army fell upon Egypt, and drove Tanûtamon out of its bounds, captured and plundered Thebes, and carried off to Nineveh great booty. This concluded the sway of Ethiopia over the land of the thrifty Egyptian.

A.'s next expedition enveloped the E. coast of the Mediter. Sea, which rendered him submission. The king of Lydia, Janus-like, gave presents to A., and made a league with Tušamilki of Egypt. This combination succeeded finally in throwing Assyria out of Egypt. The country of Van next fell before the arms of A. Elam, which had for centuries stood as a peer of its neighbours, fell at last, after several bloody battles continuing through a course of years, at the feet of the conqueror from Nineveh. His half-brother at Babylon, elated with flatteries and thirsting for independence, threw off the yoke of Nineveh. A. swept down upon Bab., overthrew the opposition, and captured the city. The seceding ruler, fearing the wrath of A., took refuge in his palace, and burned it over his head (B.C. 648). The secession of Šamaš-šum-ukîn is probably (Schrader *COT* ii. 53–59) but a hint at a general uprising against Assyria throughout the S.W., in which Manasseh of Judah was involved (2 Ch 33^{11}). The Arabians likewise were forced to submission, and A. was again lord of his empire.

This great warrior was also an enthusiast in other occupations. With the help of Aššur and Ištar he was able to cope with and slay lions. One of his chief sports seems to have been fighting lions, either those which were wild in the forests or those which were loosed from cages for the purpose.

But the most important feature of his career for us was his interest in literature. His library in Nineveh, which was uncovered by G. Smith, has preserved for us thousands of clay tablets, which were copied from older tablets in other libraries of his land. The topics treated are historical, ethical, linguistic, religious, and many others—all pertaining to Assyria and Babylonia.

As a builder, he was equal to his predecessors. The remains of his palace at Kouyunjik testify to the architectural ingenuity and taste of the monarch. In many cities of his empire he built beautiful temples to the gods, and adorned all with exquisite pieces of art. He laid every available source under tribute to his royal enterprises.

As a ruler and warrior, as a builder, as a litterateur, he is well deserving the title given him in Ezr 4^{10}. The last years of his reign are comparatively wrapped in obscurity.

LITERATURE.—In the original, G. Smith, *Hist. of Assurb.*, original and interlinear tr. 1871; *As. Disc.* p. 317 ff.; Rawlinson, *West. Asiatic Inscrip.* iii. 17–27, 30–34, v. 1–10, iii. 28, 35–38, iv.^{2} 45–47; S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurb.* Heften ii. und iii. In tr. *RP* vol. i. 1st series, p. 55 *f.*; *Keilinsch. Bibliot.* ii. pp. 152–269; S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurb.* Heft. i.

IRA M. PRICE.

ASSWAGE (so AV, after the common, though not invariable, spelling of the 16th to 18th cent., RV 'assuage') is used trans. Job $16^{5.6}$, Sir 18^{16} 'shall not the dew a. the heat?'; and intrans. Gn 8^{1} 'the waters a^{ed}.' J. HASTINGS.

ASSYRIA (אַשּׁוּר).—

i. Natural Features and Civilization.
ii. History.
  1. Sources.
  2. Chronology.
  3. Annals of the Kings.
iii. Literature.

A. is the country, famed in antiquity, on the east of the middle Tigris between 35° and 37° N. lat. The only town on the west of the Tigris, on the Mesopotamian tableland, was the old capital of the kingdom, **Assur**, from which the whole land takes its name. Its northern boundary is formed by the wilds of the Armenian-Kurdish mountains, in which the Tigris rises, and through which it flows till it enters the plain near Nineveh, over against the town which is now called Mosul. On the east it is bounded by the ranges of Zagros, which derive their name from the Assyrian *zakru*, 'pointed, high.' These ranges form a continuation of the Armenian mountains, and reach as far as Elam. They are the source of the great and little Zab, which flow into the valley of the Tigris. Of the other tributaries of the Tigris the *Khusur* may be mentioned (the *Khôser*, *Khosr-Su* of to-day), which empties itself into the Tigris between the ruin-mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebi-yunus, and thus flows right through the midst of ancient Nineveh. Ancient Assyria extended in later times beyond these narrow boundaries; on the north-west to the left source of the Tigris, the *Subnat* (now Sebbeneh-Su); on the west to Khabur and Belikh, two well-known tributaries of the Euphrates in Mesopotamia; and on the south to the Radânu and Turnat, tributaries of the Tigris—one of which is to be identified with the modern Diyâla.

The **Climate** of Assyria—as we might imagine from its comparatively northern situation—may be said to be really very temperate. The general nature of the country is preponderatingly mountainous. Only the capitals were situated on the Tigris in the valley, *e.g.* ancient Assur, Nineveh, and Kalakh (Calah Gn 10^{12}). The new royal residence built by Sargon, *Dur-Sarrukin* (Sargon's castle), the modern Khorsabad, was situated to the north of Nineveh, just at the foot of the mountains; while the well-known city of Istar, the market-town Arbela (Arbaïlu, *i.e.* Town of the Four Gods—now called Erbîl), together with the great military place to the south-west of it, *Kakzi* (modern Schemamek), etc., were situated in the higher parts of Assyria.

With regard to the **Flora** of Assyria, the slopes of the last-mentioned mountain districts were

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covered with oak, plane, and wild pine trees; while on the plain proper, besides abundance of nuts, fig and olive trees flourished, together with the vine plant. These last were originally unknown to the East-Semitic districts, and were first imported by the Assyrian kings from Syria. Agriculture was confined mainly to the cultivation of wheat, barley, hemp, and millet.

The **Fauna** was formerly far more varied than it is to-day, as the pictures on the monuments and the statements in the inscriptions prove beyond the possibility of doubt. In addition to hares, roes, stags, and mountain goats, lions and wild oxen (*rîmu*, Heb. *rĕ'ēm*) were found in great numbers—the former in the tall reed plantations on the banks of the Tigris, the latter in the mountain districts, the happy hunting-grounds of the Assyrians. Magnificent horses — the famous Assyrian chargers, which were probably of the Medo-Elamite type—and cattle, goats, and sheep pastured on the slopes; while wild asses and camels are known only in later times, through the Assyrian incursions into the Syro-Arabian desert. The culture of bees was also actively carried on. Of domestic animals, the dog may be mentioned; of wild beasts, the panther, the wolf, the bear, and some others.

With regard to *kinds of stone*—alabaster (*pîlu*), which was employed for the Assyrian bas-reliefs, was found on the left bank of the Tigris in abundance. Of *metals*—iron, copper, and lead were found in any quantity in the Tiyari mountains near Nineveh.

Not only is Assyria far more rugged by nature than Babylonia, which is much more southerly and lies nearer the sea, but the inhabitants of the two countries differed in character, the Assyrians being of a much more powerful and rugged type than their Babylonian brothers, in spite of the fact of their common Semitic origin and speech. The Babylonians have been very appropriately called the Greeks, and the Assyrians the Romans of the ancient East. Especially striking is the resemblance between the Assyrian type of face, as it appears in pictorial representations on the monuments, and the features which we meet with to-day in the majority of Jews; while the pictures of the Babylonian kings suggest no such associations to our minds. The ancient Assyrians had purer Semitic blood in their veins than the Babylonians, for the latter in very early times show traces of an admixture of other races. The best authorities advocate the view implied in the table of races in Gn 10, which reckons only Assur and Aram (not Babel or Shinar) among the sons of Shem. In proof of this, v.[11] may be cited ('out of that land,' viz. Shinar or Babylonia, 'he [*i.e.* Nimrod] went forth into Assyria and builded Nineveh,' etc.), a statement which is confirmed by the monuments. As Assyria was originally only an offshoot from Babylonia, its language—at any rate the language of its literature, which is the only one known to us—is also Babylonian. The writings themselves, as well as the art and science, bear the clearest witness that they are equally dependent upon the motherland of Babylonia. It is noteworthy that while the oldest Assyrian inscriptions exhibit most clearly the old Babylonian cuneiform characters, after the time of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* B.C. 1100) they evolved a style of writing which fell back upon what can be proved to be a debased form of Babylonian writing, which previously existed only in North Mesopotamia. Hence there arose, in distinction from the new Bab. writing, a special form of new Assyr., in which were written most of the Assyr. royal inscriptions, and, above all, the many clay tablets of the Assyr. court libraries, up to the time of Assurbanipal.

The Assyrian **Religion**, too, is essentially the same as the Babylonian, with some modifications. When, for instance, on the so-called Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 859–825) mention is made of the following gods: Asur, Anu, Bel, Ea, Sin, Ramman, Samas, Merodach, Nindar (or Ninib), Nergal, Nusku, Belit, and Istar, this list is identical with the Babylonian Pantheon (see BABYLONIA), with the exception of the god Asur, who heads the list, but is entirely wanting to the Babylonians. This Asur, the chief god of Assyria, was originally only a differentiation of Anu, or the god of heaven. His name An-sar, which afterwards became Assar, Assur, Asur, 'Host of Heaven,' appears in the Bab. cosmogony, but plays in the Bab. religion a far less important part. Probably on account of the similarity of sound between the name of the god and the name of the country Assur (originally Asur, from the Sumerian A-usar 'water plain'), the originally more abstract god of heaven, Asur, was exalted to the highest place and became king of the gods. Special reverence was also paid to the storm god *Ramman*, who in the most ancient times cannot be very clearly distinguished from the god of the air, In-lilla or Bel. Assur and Ramman, therefore, held a similar place in Assyria to Anu and Bel, who were the two chief divinities of the old Babylonians. Further, we find an Istar of Nineveh, an Istar of Arbela, and an Istar of Kitmur, the two former being goddesses of war, while the latter appears to be a goddess of love; and finally, two masculine divinities of hunting and war, Nindar (Nin-ib) and Nergal. Proper names, especially those of the kings, always serve as a test which enables us to determine the amount of favour meted out to the different divinities. Here we meet most frequently with Assur and Ramman (=Bel, cf. Rammân-nirârî, 'Ramman is my help,' with Bel-nirârî).

In the case of the word Shalman-asarid (Shalmaneser), the name Shalmân appears to be a cognomen of the god Nindar. The latter the Assyrians preferred to call *Asharid Ilâni*, 'Prince of the gods.' The pronunciation Adar instead of Nindar (written Nin-ib) has no foundation to rest on.

While in Babylonia, the mother country of Assyria, the priests were always more powerful than the kings, in Assyria the king himself was also chief priest, and upon him the priesthood was completely dependent. Primarily, however, the king of Assyria was a general. The army always played the chief rôle in Assyria. The king was also the chief judge. All his subjects might come direct to him with their petitions and suits, which were always decided with the strictest impartiality and in accordance with the provisions of the laws, to which the king himself always bowed. Hence disobedience and rebellion were severely punished, as all the enemies of the king were regarded as rebels against Assyria as well. In the treatment of captives and prisoners the Assyrians displayed an inhumanity which we rightly regard as revolting. The court, as the political power of the nation increased, became ever more and more magnificent.

In **Architecture**, again, the Assyrians seem, in course of time, to have surpassed their original teachers, the Babylonians. It is characteristic of the Assyrians, that far more magnificence and wealth were expended on the palaces than on the temples. For although the kings in their inscriptions never omit to lay due emphasis on the temples which they built, yet, as a matter of fact, the excavations (see below) have brought to light the remains of far more palaces than temples. The *statues* of the kings, like those of the gods, were made with great skill and care, but pre-eminence was reached by the Assyrian artists in *bas-relief*, with

which the walls of the palaces were adorned. The older specimens are rather stiff and clumsy; but the productions of the age of Sargon and Sennacherib show a very marked improvement, and the highest perfection was reached in the reign of Assurbanipal. The British Museum affords the best opportunity for admiring the war scenes, the triumphal processions, the pictures of private life, and especially the realistic hunting pictures, which form the masterpieces of the Assyrian artist. But the impulse to this development of Assyrian art will probably have come from without. With the increasing growth of the Assyrian empire, immense treasures of merchandise and art poured into Nineveh and Kalakh (cf. Nah 2^9) from the newly-conquered provinces; and these importations stand in direct relation to the refinement that took place in the taste for art.

In **Literature** the Assyrians entirely followed Bab. models, as, to take a single illustration, the prayer of Assur-naẓir-pal II. (*c.* B.C. 1050) to the goddess Istar proves. In most cases they contented themselves with simply copying out Babylonian literature. But in this way they did us a greater service than if they had composed 100 or 1000 poetical imitations of a second-rate character. For it is owing entirely to the activity of the Assyrians as collectors of books, and especially of Assurbanipal, the Mæcenas of literature, that the bulk of Bab. literature has been preserved for us. In scientific literature too—astronomy, mathematics, medicine, grammar, lexicography—all alike were simply copies of Bab. originals. It was only in practical mechanics that the Assyrians advanced beyond their Bab. masters, as can be proved from the process they adopted for transporting the colossal images of bulls, as it is depicted on the bas-reliefs. In this connexion brief reference may also be made to the convex lenses found in Nimroud, used perhaps for the purpose of magnifying the writing on the clay tablets, which was often very minute.

As far as **Agriculture** is concerned, Assyria was not, owing to its more northern aspect, the rich corn-bearing land that Babylonia was; but all the more on this account efforts were made on the part of the kings, by the construction of canals and weirs, to increase the fertility of the soil. The water needed for the land, which was supplied in such abundance by the mountain streams, was in this way properly regulated and distributed.

HISTORY OF ASSYRIA.—Thanks entirely to the excavations of the ruins of the old cities, especially Nineveh and Kalakh, the history of Assyria from its earliest beginnings, *c.* 2000 B.C., to the fall of Nineveh, can be set forth with great detail and exactness. The great number of inscriptions * which have been brought to light puts us in the position of being able to write an uninterrupted history of the Assyr. empire for many centuries. In these **Discoveries** the palm belongs without doubt to Englishmen—especially to Sir Austin Henry Layard (d. 1894) and Hormuzd Rassam.

It was *Claudius James Rich* who first discovered the ruins of Nineveh, and drew the attention of investigators to this city, which is of such importance to antiquarians. After visiting Mosul three times (the first visit being paid in 1811), and superficially examining the rubbish-mound which is to be found on the opposite bank of the Tigris, he resolved in the year 1820 to make a thorough examination of it, the results of which were published sixteen years later (1836), in accordance with the terms of his will. The scanty remains of sculptures and inscribed stones brought by him to Europe formed the basis of the Assyrian collection in the British Museum, which has since become so splendid, and confirmed the conjecture made by Joseph Hager in 1801, that the same cuneiform writing which had been found in Babylon at the end of the previous century was the foundation of the culture of the Assyrian world-empire. New paths of rich promise were thus pointed out to Oriental archæology.

The excavations of the Frenchman *P. E. Botta*, 1843–45, at Khorsabad, a village five miles to the north of Nineveh, and, above all, of the Englishman *Austin Henry Layard* at Nimroud, the site of ancient Kalakh (end of 1845 to middle of 1847), and at Kouyunjik, ancient Nineveh (1849–51), brought to light a whole series of Assyr. palaces and a multitude of sculptures and inscriptions, after a slumber of 2500 years. It was Layard who urged Botta to persevere with his excavations, which at first were fruitless; and some years afterwards, when Layard himself commenced to excavate, he found in the consul, *Hormuzd Rassam*, an indefatigable helper—a fact which was first clearly recognised and duly acknowledged some ten years later. At Khorsabad, Botta had the good fortune to lay bare the first Assyr. palace, which had been built by king Sargon (Is 20^1), Dur-Sarrukin (castle of Sargon), the bas-reliefs and inscriptions of which now embellish the Louvre in Paris; while Layard, in Nimroud and Kouyunjik, excavated no fewer than five great palaces, of which the antiquities were brought to the British Museum. By this stroke of good fortune the greater part of the famous clay tablets of the library of king Sardanapalus (Assurbanipal) now came to light.

Additions were made in the following years to these discoveries of Botta and Layard by the after-gleanings of *Rassam*, from 1851–54, in Kouyunjik, and of the French architect *Victor Place* in Khorsabad. In 1854 Rassam excavated the North Palace of Assurbanipal, and by this stroke of fortune discovered a fresh portion of the library mentioned above.

During the next decades Assyr. excavation was at a standstill; but, to make up for this, the first three volumes of the great work on Assyr. inscriptions, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (1861, 1866, 1870), were published during that period by Henry Rawlinson, Edwin Norris, and George Smith. This book was preceded by a volume of Assyr. inscriptions, edited by Layard, 1861, a work which, it must be admitted, was not nearly so accurate as that of Rawlinson. To this period also belongs the preliminary settlement of the grand problem of decipherment inaugurated by Rawlinson, Hincks, and Oppert.

In the years 1873 and 1874 the excavations in Nineveh were resumed, the unfortunate George Smith, who died of fever in Aleppo on Aug. 19, 1875, making two journeys of investigation, which produced rich results. Amongst many other finds, this enthusiastic and gifted young investigator discovered a number of clay tablets belonging to the library of Assurbanipal, amongst them being the Bab. account of the Flood and other allied mythological texts (see BABYLONIA). These discoveries won for him a celebrity and popularity such as few others have attained.

The work which had been resumed by Smith, and which was unfortunately cut short by his premature death, was continued by the veteran *Hormuzd Rassam* in a further expedition in the years 1877–78, from which he came back with far richer spoil than even G. Smith's. Mention must here be made of the discoveries of a temple in Nimroud, the famous bronze gateway of Bala-

* With regard to the *decipherment* of these inscriptions, without which they would remain a dead mass, see the article on the subject in Hommel, *Geschichte Bab. u. Assyr.* Cf. the literature of the subject at the end of this article.

wat, with its sculptures dating from the 9th cent. B.C. (see below, under Shalmaneser II.), and 1400 more tablets from the library of Assurbanipal, not to speak of the 'finds' on Bab. ground made in 1878–79 and 1880–81. Since then no further systematic excavations have been organised in Assyria, but every year some fresh Assyr. relics are brought to England through the agents of the British Museum.

Several Assyr. monuments and inscriptions have also come to light outside Assyria. To this class belong, first of all, the statues of the Assyr. kings found at Nahr el-Kelb, or Dog River, two leagues north of Beîrut; next, some inscriptions of the kings found in the district at the source of the Tigris, and in the ruins of Kurkh, 20 miles beyond Diarbekr; and, above all, the tablets, dating from B.C. 1500, discovered about the end of 1887 at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt. Among these were the letters written in cuneiform characters and directed to the Pharaohs Amenhotep III. and IV., the greater number of which are now in the Berlin Museum, though a good many are in the British Museum, and a few in Cairo. The last included a letter written by the Assyr. king Assur-uballit to Amenhotep IV. It may be here remarked that the letters of the kings of Mitanni (on the middle Euphrates), which belong to the Tel el-Amarna find, are also written in Assyr. cuneiform characters, as is the case with the so-called Van inscriptions of the Armenian kings, which belong to a later time, B.C. 800. Assyr. inscriptions have also been found in Cappadocia, which probably date about B.C. 2000, but unfortunately they do not contain the names of any kings.

Finally, a short account must be given of the valuable find some years ago—also made outside Assyria—in Zinjirli near Mar'ash, on the borders of Cilicia and Syria, by the Oriental ethnologist *Felix von Luschan*. After the discovery by L. Ross in 1845 of a stele of Sargon in Cyprus, Luschan found in the neighbourhood of Zinjirli (the Assyr. vassal state of Sam'al) a monument of the Assyr. king Esarhaddon, with a full inscription, besides eighteen Hittite sculptures and three old Aramaic inscriptions. Both the monument of Sargon and that of Esarhaddon are in the Royal Museum at Berlin, which also contains the many relics dug up in Zinjirli.

The excavations just described have brought to light Assyr. inscriptions which constitute our *primary sources* for Assyr. history. These sources are most copious, being composed not only of annals and the so-called votive inscriptions which form the most important element, but also of decrees, letters, reports, sale-contracts, etc. Chronicles too, which form the first beginnings of real historiography, were discovered. While the inscriptions of the kings were written either on the walls of the palaces or on obelisks and monoliths, or even on the sides of rocks, the chronicles were found in the Assyr. libraries. The two most complete works that have come down to us are: (1) the so-called *Synchronistic History of Babylonia and Assyria*, from *c.* B.C. 1400–800, in which there is unfortunately a great gap between B.C. 1050–900; and (2) the *Babylonian Chronicle*, which covers the time from Nabonassar to Assurbanipal (744–668). Since Babylonia all through this period was subject to the supremacy of Assyria, the last-mentioned document, which is of paramount importance, affords far more valuable contributions towards Assyrian than towards Babylonian history. Most welcome light is also thrown on Assyrian history by other Babylonian documents, of which we may mention a long inscription, which has been brought to Constantinople, of the Babylonian king Nabonidus, dealing with the invasions of Assyria by the Medes.

Second in importance as sources for the history of Assyria come the *Books of the Kings of Israel*, which form a most valuable complement to the official account of the Assyr. kings, the latter being sometimes a little coloured and not always absolutely true to fact. Furthermore, we have the *Prophetic Literature* of the OT, which is in many respects more important for our subject than the historical records. Last of all may be mentioned the records of the *Classical Historians*, which, however, with the single exception of the famous Canon of Ptolemy, as it is called, are of very little use.

This table of rulers, which begins with Nabonassar, B.C. 747, brings us to the question of **Chronology**. It contains the list of Bab. kings (including also the Assyrians Poros [Puru, Tiglath-pileser], Sargon, and Esarhaddon), with accurate particulars of the dates of their reigns, down to Nabonidus. Then it gives their Achæmenidæan successors down to Alexander the Great, and ends with the rulers of Egypt (the Ptolemies and the Romans). The Canon of Ptolemy was appended to the well-known astronomical work of Claudius Ptolemæus, as a commentary (based on Bab. and Alex. computations) upon the eclipses of the sun and moon alleged to have been seen; and consequently it bears within itself the guarantee of its trustworthiness. The statements of the Bab. Chronicle and the many chronological notes on Assyr. and Bab. inscriptions were confirmed by it, and, conversely, confirmed its accuracy. It also furnished the key for determining the chronology of the most important Assyr. chronological document, the *Eponym Canon*, found in the library of Assurbanipal.

From B.C. 900 to 667 (that is, to the time of Assurbanipal) these incomparable and invaluable lists give year by year the chief officers of state, and always make a special point of noting the accession of every new king to the throne. After the time of Samsi-Ramman IV. (B.C. 824–812) this list is further supplemented by the contents of the so-called 'List of Expeditions' (extending to B.C. 700), in which, opposite to every name, there is a short notice of the different campaigns carried out in each year. But it was by the help of the Canon of Ptolemy that we were first able to bind the Eponym Canon together in chronological order from beginning to end, and thus establish the fact that the first officer mentioned in it, Assurdan, belongs to the year B.C. 902, the last, Gabbaru, to B.C. 667. It is therefore possible to fix the exact dates of the reigns of all the Assyr. kings who fall within this period, from Rammân-nirârî II. to the accession of Assurbanipal.

The earlier epochs, also, can be dated from these fixed points, at any rate partially and approximately. The rulers of Assyria have left us some special chronological notes in their inscriptions which refer to kings who lived long before them.

(*a*) Sennacherib relates that the Bab. king Marduk-nadin-akhi carried off to Babylon, at the time when Tiglath-pileser I. was king of Assyria, two images of gods, which he himself, 418 years later, had brought back. It is clear, therefore, since this statement belongs to the year of the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib, viz. B.C. 689, that the year B.C. 1107 may be definitely fixed as a certain date in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. (*c.* B.C. 1120–1100?).

(*b*) The same Sennacherib remarks, on another occasion, that he recognised amongst the Bab. treasures a seal of Tuklat-Nindar, the son of Shalmaneser I., which had been taken to Babylon 600 years before. This fixes the reign of Tuklat-Nindar somewhere about B.C. 1300 (more exactly 1289). We must take into consideration, how-

ever, the fact that the round number 600 may, if necessary, stand for 560, or even 550; in this latter case, we should have the average date of B.C. 1250.

(*c*) Finally, Tiglath-pileser I., whose date is approximately fixed by consideration (*a*), says that, 60 years before, his great-grandfather, the long-lived Assur-dan, pulled down a temple which had fallen into ruins, and evidently had not finished rebuilding it when death overtook him. Thus Assur-dan died somewhere about B.C. 1175.

(*d*) The same Tiglath-pileser, in the same passage, had previously remarked that the temple in question was built by the old high-priest Samsi-Ramman, son of Ismi-Dagan, 641 years before. The date of Samsi-Ramman is therefore fixed about B.C. 1815.

A series of specially important dates for Bab. chronology is to be found in the inscriptions of the Bab. king Nabonidus (B.C. 555–539). (See BABYLONIA.) We possess also a list of the kings of Babylon, which unfortunately is not quite complete, beginning *c.* 2000 B.C., as well as the so-called 'Synchronistic History' (see above), which gives side by side a complete enumeration of the kings of Babylon and their Assyr. contemporaries. From these sources we secure, although indirectly, some fresh basal points for Assyr. chronology.

Finally, we conclude, from some astronomical notices in Egyp. inscriptions, that Tahutmes III. reigned from 1503–1449, and further obtain B.C. 1400 as the date of the death of Amenhotep III. and the accession of Amenhotep IV. Thus the date of both these kings, with their Bab. and Assyr. contemporaries, is approximately fixed (see above, on the discoveries at Tel el-Amarna).

The first beginnings of **Assyrian History** will probably always remain veiled in darkness. That the Assyrian state was originally an offshoot from Babylonia may be regarded as certain from its writing, language, and religion, as well as from the witness, by no means to be despised, of Heb. tradition (Gn 10^{11}), which confirms this inference, and which is itself of Bab. origin. It is certain, too, that the oldest rulers of Assyria known to us styled themselves 'priests (Sumerian, *pa-te-si*; Assyr. *iššaku*) of the god Assur.' Besides the two priest-kings mentioned in the chronology, viz. Samsi-Rammân * and his father Ismi-Dagan,† we know of others whose tablets have come down to us, viz. a certain *Irisu* and his father *Khallu*, as well as of a second *Samsi-Rammân* and his father *Igur-* (or *Bel-*) *kapkapu*. ‡

It is noticeable that the title 'Patesi' is not bestowed on the last-named, so that it looks as if he or his son Samsi-Rammân was the first founder of the Assyr. state. In that case we must, of course, place this Samsi-Rammân before B.C. 1816, probably about B.C. 1850 or even B.C. 1900. On the other hand, the later king, Rammân-nirârî III. (*c.* B.C. 800) calls himself 'the descendant of the old king *Bel-kapkapu*, who ruled even before the primitive period of the reign of the Sulili.' Finally, Esarhaddon, grandson of the usurper Sargon, claims to be 'the perpetual descendant of *Bel-bani*, son of Adasi, king of Assyria.' By this Bel-bani is probably meant one of the kings who sat on the Assyr. throne during the period between B.C. 1800 and 1500. It was during this period that the rulers of Assyria assumed the official title 'King of Assur,' instead of the old title 'Patesi.' About B.C. 1800 we find in Assyria the arrangement by which the year (*limmu*) was called after the chief officer of state; and even at that time Assyria, which, owing to the position of its old capital Assur on the west bank of the Tigris, had begun to gravitate unduly towards the north-west, must have cultivated commercial relations with *Cappadocia*. Only on this supposition can we account for the fact that a considerable number of Assyr. contract-tablets, containing lists of contracts in ancient writing, which belong to this period, have been discovered in Cappadocia. We may also infer that the intermediate territory, especially Mesopotamia and Harran, was probably at times under Assyr. rule, or, at any rate, Assyr. influence.

To the period when the Assyrian rulers bore the title 'Patesi' probably belong most of the half-mythological, half-historical narratives which have been preserved for us in the Assyrian libraries. In one of these a description of the building of temples in Sirgulla, Nippur, and Nisin is followed by an account 'of terrible wars, and a famine so fearful that brothers ate one another, and parents sold their children for gold, and the treasures of Babylon were carried to the land of Su, the king of Babylon allowing the treasures of his own palace to be handed over to the prince of Assur.' It is of some importance that in this text the ruler is called, not 'king,' but 'prince' (*rubû*) of Assur at that time. The so-called 'Legends of the Plague-Demon' (see BABYLONIA) seem to refer to the same events. The inhabitants of Su, the wild Sutæans, who at that time possessed the greater part of Assyria, and a part of Mesopotamia as well, are proved to have been the originators of the fearful devastations in Babylonia; and it appears from the same text, that not the Sutæans, but the Elamites, those old foes of Babylon and Assur, were the instigators. Finally, the disastrous wars were diverted from the territories of the Euphrates and Tigris to the west, from which we may surmise that the predatory Sutæans poured also over a part of Syria and Palestine. As a matter of fact, some centuries later, in the Tel el-Amarna letters, the Sutæans are mentioned as the enemies of the Phœn. town Gebal (Byblos). In the Egyp. inscriptions of the New Kingdom (somewhere about B.C. 1600) a similar name (*Šetet*) proves that the Asiatics in general, and more particularly the Asiatic hunting tribes, as well as the Bedawin of the Syro-Arabian desert, extended their marauding expeditions at that time, just as they do to-day, to Palestine and Phœnicia, on the one side, and beyond Mesopotamia and the territory to the east of the Tigris, on the other.

Accurate and uninterrupted knowledge of Assyr. history begins about the year B.C. 1500. Possibly, however, the two kings *Assur-nirâri* and *Nabudan* belong to the previous centuries, which as far as our knowledge is concerned are complete blanks. All that we know about these kings is that they were contemporaries of a king—about whom also we know nothing—*Ramman-musheshir* of Kardunias (*i.e.* of Babylon, at the time of the Kassite rulers). From B.C. 1500 to B.C. 1430 *Asur-belnishê-shu*, who was contemporaneous with the Bab. Kara-indash, and *Puzur-Assur*, the contemporary of Burnaburias I., ruled over Assyria. The Synchronistic History relates that they settled the boundaries between Babylonia and Assyria. We do not know whether Puzur-Assur ('security of the god Assur') was the direct successor, or, as is possible, the grandson of Asur-bel-nishê-shu ('Assur is lord of his people'). It must have been one of these kings, however, who sent presents to the powerful Pharaoh Tahutmes III. (B.C. 1504–1450) in token of his allegiance, as was also done by

* *I.e.* 'my sun is Ramman' (Bel).

† *I.e.* 'Dagan heard.' Dagan is another name for Bel. An old Bab. king of Nisin bore the same name.

‡ *I.e.* 'Bel is mighty.' Igur (Ocean of Heaven) is another name for the god Bel.

the kings of *Mitanni* and *Sangar* (West and East Mesopotamia) and the king of *Arrapach* (east of Assyria, in the mountainous district, at the source of the lower Zab). The presents of the king of Assyria and those of his nearest neighbours stand out pre-eminently on the Bab. Blue Stone (lapis-lazuli, Assyr. *uknû*) which has been brought from Mt. Bikni in Media.

From *Asur-nadin-akhi* (*c.* B.C. 1430) to the year B.C. 1050 we possess an absolutely complete series of the kings—the son as a rule succeeding his father. Almost all these rulers are to be found mentioned on the inscriptions, and the 'Synchronistic History' gives us further information about most of them. We can with perfect certainty, therefore, draw out the following list:—

Assyria.	Babylon.
Assur-nâdin-akhi.	*Kurigalzu I.* (?)
Asur-uballit, son of above (*c.* B.C. 1400).	*Burnaburias II.*
	Karakhardas.
	Kadashman-kharbi.
Bel-nirâri, son of above.	*Kurigalzu II.*
Pudu-ilu, son of above.	,,
Ramman-nirâri I., son of above.	*Nazi-maraddash.*
Shalmaneser I., son of above.	*Kadashman-turgu.*
	Kadashman-burias.
(probably also)	*Shagarakti-shuriash.*
Tuklatî-Nindar, son of above.	*Bibëiash* to *Ramman-shum-uzur.*
Assur-nazir-pal I., son of above.	*Ramman-shum-uzur.*
Bel-kudur-uzur.	,, ,,
Nindar-pal-isharra (probably son of above).	
Assur-dan, son of above (d. *c.* B.C. 1170).	*Zamâma-shum-idina*, *c.* B.C. 1180.
Mutakkil-Nusku, son of above (reigned till *c.* 1150).	
Assur-rish-ishî, son of above.	*Nabu-kudur-uzur I.*, *c.* B.C. 1145–1122.
Tuklat-pal-isharra I. (Tiglath-pileser), son of above.	*Marduk-nâdin-akhi.*
Assur-bel-kala, son of above.	*Marduk-shapik-zirim.* *Ramman-pal-idina.*
Samsî-Rammân, brother of above.	
Assur-nazir-pal II., son of above (*c.* B.C. 1050).	

While at the beginning of this period (*c.* B.C. 1400) Babylonia had still the supremacy in the Euphrates and Tigris districts, and aspiring Assyria possessed in *Mitanni* a powerful and dangerous rival, in a few centuries the picture was totally changed. As early as the reign of Ramman-nirâri I., who has given us the first long royal inscription that we possess, Assyria commenced the upward march which was afterwards so steadily maintained, and the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I. laid the foundation of the great world-empire which Assyria became in later times.

Assur-uballit * *I.* is well known to us from a letter which he wrote to the Pharaoh Amenhotep (Amenophis) IV. expressing his allegiance to him, in which he describes himself as the son of Assur-nadin-akhi. He is also distinguished for his energetic attempt to secure, by family relationships, the right of interference in the affairs of Babylon. The Bab. crown prince *Kara-khardas* had become his son-in-law. Assur-uballit lived to see not only his accession to the throne, but also the accession of his grandson *Kadashman-kharbi.*

The last-named, however, was overthrown by the Kassites, who were then predominant in Babylon, because the interference of his royal Assyr. mother *Muballitat-sherûa* and of his grandfather proved dangerous to them. The murderers of *Kadashman-kharbi* placed a certain *Suzigas* (or, according to another tradition, *Nazibugas*) upon the throne in his stead. But the aged Assur-uballit did not allow him to be unavenged. He got Suzigas put to death, and placed his own great-grandson, *Kurigalzu*, who was still a minor, upon the throne. The last-named king, who reigned *c.* 50 years, came into conflict with two Assyr. kings, *Bel-nirâri* and his grandson *Ramman-nirâri*, about the possession of a portion of Mesopotamia.

Under *Assur-uballit* and his grandson *Pudu-ilu*, the Assyrians succeeded in freeing themselves from the suzerainty of the kings of Mitanni. *Tushratta*,* the powerful king of Mitanni, who was the contemporary of Assur-nadin-akhi (the father of Assur-uballit), as well as of Assur-uballit himself, lent the image of Istar of Nineveh to Egypt, obviously in order that his daughter, who was married to the Pharaoh, might be able by its help to practise her native cultus. The natural inference is that Assyria was then a mere vassal state of Mitanni, and that Nineveh had become, to say the very least, the common Istar sanctuary for both Mitanni and Assyria. In the language of Mitanni, which is a Hittite and not a Semitic dialect, Istar of Nineveh is called *Sha'uspi*; and Sargon, 700 years later, lifted up his hands to 'Sha'uspi, the ruler of Nineveh' (Cylinder Inscrip. l. 54), thus calling Istar by a name which reminds us of the times of Tushratta. Now it is expressly stated that *Assur-uballit* destroyed the military forces of the extensive region of Shubâri (*i.e.* Mesopotamia), and that *Pudu-ilu* not only subjugated the mountaineers of Guti (Arrapachitis), but also defeated the Akhlami and Sutæans, the predatory nomads of Mesopotamia. These territories, however, in the days of Tahutmes III. were under the absolute and uncontrolled rule of the independent kings of Arrapach and Mitanni. We may regard it as almost certain, that even in the days of Bel-nirâri the once powerful Mitanni was overthrown by the sudden attacks of these Sutæans, a result which was heartily welcomed by the aspiring Assur.

Ramman-nirâri I., in the inscription mentioned above, briefly recounts all these events in the reigns of his three immediate predecessors, in order to relate how he rebuilt the towns which had been destroyed in the previous wars which devastated the territories on the east and west of Assyria. Owing to the fact that the land of the Guti (Goiim, Gn 14) had been overthrown by his predecessors, some boundary disputes arose with Babylonia, since the territory in question had formerly been within the Bab. sphere of influence.† The Bab. king Nazi-maraddash, however, was conquered by Ramman-nirâri, and compelled to consent to a fresh delimitation of the boundaries, more favourable to Assyria.

Under the rule of his son *Shalman-asharid* (Shalmaneser) *I.*, *c.* B.C. 1300, Assyria made an important advance. This king undertook a whole series of campaigns against the mountainous regions to

* Or Asur-uballit, or Ashur-uballit. The Assyrians sometimes spell the name of their national god Assur, and sometimes Asur. The sibilant is properly pronounced sh, but was very early pronounced s in Assyria, in contradistinction to Babylonia.

* Son of Sutarna, who was the son of Artatama, a contemporary of the Pharaoh Tahutmes IV. Tahutmes IV. was related by marriage to the kings of Mitanni. An elder brother of Tushratta, who died early, was called Arta-shûmara.

† There exists an inscription of a king of Guti, written in old Bab. cuneiform characters, which vividly calls to mind the era of old Sargon of Agade, *c.* B.C. 3700.

the north of Mesopotamia, between the modern Diarbekr and Malatîyeh, advancing into the interior of Western Armenia as far as the country which is often called in the cuneiform inscriptions *Musri* (Musur-dagh on the Upper Euphrates). It is interesting to note that North Mesopotamia, near the mountains of Masius (Assyrian, mts. of Kasyar), is always called the land of *Arimi* or the *Aramæans*, not only in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I. himself, but also in a later account of the campaign, which dates from the time of Assur-nâẓir-pal II. We naturally compare with this the biblical derivation of the four peoples, Uẓ, Ḥul, Gether, and Mash (this latter = Mt. Masius), from *Aram* (Gn 10^{23}). As a matter of fact, shortly before the reign of Shalmaneser, the Aramæan nomads must have been driven away from the Bab.-Elamite frontier (the biblical Kîr, Am 9^{7}, cf. Is 22^{6}, Kîr near Elam), their original home, into Mesopotamia. The *Akhlami* too (after whom a stone in the breastplate of the Heb. priests was called *Akhlamah*, Ex 28^{19}), who were conquered by Pudu-ilu, are expressly stated by Tiglath-pileser I. to have been Aramæans. Shalmaneser I. took from the Bab. king *Kadashman-buriash* several towns in the district of Dûr-Kurigalzu (near the modern Baghdad). He wished, too, to be regarded as a builder. He laid the foundation of a new residence *Kalakh* (Gn 10^{12}), Assur having up to this time been the capital town, and built afresh the sanctuary of Istar in Nineveh, which Assur-uballit had only very roughly restored. And, finally, it is worth remarking that he was the first Assyr. king who assumed the title 'King of the World' (*šar kiššati*) on his inscriptions, a circumstance which obviously stands in special relation to the conquest of Mesopotamia, and more particularly to the acquisition of the primitive sanctuary-town Harran.

Shalmaneser's son *Tuklat-Nindar I.** was probably still a contemporary of the Babylonian king *Shagarakti-shuriash* (c. B.C. 1269–1257(?)), certainly of his successors *Bibëiash* (B.C. 1256–1249(?)), *Bel-nadin-shumi* (B.C. 1248), *Kadashman-kharbi* (B.C. 1247–6), and *Rammân-shum-idina* (B.C. 1246–1240 (?)). The last-mentioned was king only in name, for after Babylon had been enfeebled by the invasion of the Elamite king *Kidin-khutrutash*, Tuklat-Nindar seized the Bab. empire for himself for seven years, calling himself king of Sumer and Akkad. Finally, however, he was overthrown by his own son *Assur-nâẓir-pal I.*, while the throne of Babylon was successfully occupied by *Rammân-shum-uẓur*,† son of Ramman-shum-idina. A seal with the inscription 'overthrow of Kardunias,' which was struck at Babylon in the time of *Tuklat-Nindar*, was brought to Assyria 600 years later by Sennacherib. Of course 600 is a round number, and the event may reasonably be connected with the year 1246 of the Chronicle of the Kings of Babylonia (comp. above, p. 179[b]).

We do not know whether the next Assyr. king, *Bel-kudur-uẓur*, was a son, or, as is possible, a brother of Assur-nâẓir-pal I. The Synchronistic History informs us that he was conquered by the powerful Babylonian king Ramman-shum-uẓur (B.C. 1239–1209 (?)) and lost his life in the battle. His successor *Nindar-pal-isharra* had great difficulty in repulsing Ramman-shum-uẓur's attack on the town of Assur. It appears, however, that he was successful at last in victoriously driving back the Bab. army. He was succeeded by his son *Assur-dan I.*, who lived to an advanced age, and towards the end of his reign (B.C. 1181) conquered *Zamâma-shum-idina* of Babylon, and by this means extended the Assyr. frontier beyond the lower Zab.

In the reign of Assur-dan's son *Mutakkil-Nusku*, the Mosks (the biblical משך), a people from Asia Minor, made an incursion into North Syria and the contiguous district of North-West Mesopotamia. This incursion seems to have set in motion other waves. The Akhlami (who had been formerly subdued by the Assyrians) on the Middle Euphrates, the Lullumi * and the Guti to the north and east of Assyria, lifted up their heads again; and so Mutakkil-Nusku's son, the energetic *Assur-rîsh-ishî* ('Assur lifted up his head'), had to undertake the great task of reconquering these old enemies before he could think of subduing the Mosks. His Bab. contemporary *Nabu-kudur-uẓur I.* (c. 1145–1122) had the glory of conquering the same Lullubi (as the Babylonians call them, instead of Lullumi), who had extended their settlements into the mountains between Armenia and Media, some distance within the frontiers of Assyria and Babylonia. Probably it came at last to a struggle between the two kingdoms, which was settled by the Assyr. king obtaining a victory over Nebuchadrezzar I., who was, notwithstanding, a distinguished and powerful prince.

The first really great Assyr. conqueror, however, was Assur-rish-ishi's son *Tuklat-pal-isharra* (Tiglath-pileser) *I.*, whose name means 'Help of the son of Isharra' (*i.e.* the god Nindar). While, in former times, only the Babylonian kings—and last of these Kadashman-kharbi and Nebuchadrezzar — had penetrated as far as the so-called 'Westland' or Martu, he was the first Assyrian king to undertake campaigns in this direction, reaching even the frontiers of Palestine. He journeyed on ships of Arvad in the north of Phœnicia, to the Mediter. Sea, and killed a great sea monster called a *nâkhir* ('snorting'), probably somewhere between Arvad and the Gulf of Issus. He also hunted wild oxen (*rîmu*, Heb. re'em) at the foot of Lebanon. His renown reached even to Egypt, and the Pharaoh of the day sent to Assyria a female *pagû* (probably an ape), a crocodile, and a hippopotamus for his zoological gardens.

In his annals, which contain about 800 lines, there is a detailed account of his first six campaigns (B.C. 1120–1115), the results of which are summed up in the following words: 'Altogether 42 countries with their rulers, reaching from beyond the lower Zab—the districts of the mountain forests on the other side of the Euphrates—to the land of the Khatti and the Upper Western Sea (Gulf of Issus), from the beginning of my reign to the end of the fifth year, have been conquered by my hand, and I have received tribute and taxes from them.' A further campaign, which carried him to Lebanon, is not included, as it was undertaken in a later year. Unfortunately, up to the present we know of this last-named campaign only incidentally through another inscription which describes his hunting expeditions. Tiglath-pileser was also the first Assyr. king who, besides the title 'King of the World' (*šar kiššati*) which his predecessors had borne before him, assumed another title known to old Babylonian history, viz. 'King of the Four Quarters of the World,' and rightly, for he was the first to reach the Mediterranean Sea. With regard to his special campaigns, by far the most important was the war against the Mosks of Asia Minor (Meshech, Gn 10^{2}, Ezk 27^{13} 38^{2}), who, 60 years before, had made an

* Or Tukulti-Nindar (*i.e.* 'Nindar is my help'). The Hebrews write a similarly formed name, *Tukulti*-pal-isharra as Tiglath-pileser. They seem therefore to have written Tuklat-p- instead of Tukulti-p-.

† The name ideographically written is *Ramman-MU-SIS*. Possibly Rammân-nadin-akhi could also be read.

* Lulimtu means 'ring.' Probably by the Lullumi are meant the mountain races in general which were scattered round about, and formed, as it were, a ring from the Upper Euphrates to the little Zab, reaching to Mesopotamia and Assyria and even the frontiers of Babylonia.

incursion into North Mesopotamia and conquered the land of *Kummukh* (Commagene, on the farther bank of the Euphrates). The Kurkhi (Kurdi?), who lived in the mountainous districts towards Armenia, had also joined the Mosks as allies. The scene of the war lay between Commagene on the Euphrates and the Gordyan mountains on the Upper Tigris. We may conclude from their names that the tribes of these districts were all of Hittite and non-Semitic nationality. The names of two of the hostile kings conquered by Tiglath-pileser are of special interest, *Kili-Tishup* son of *Kali-Tishup*, and *Sadi-Tishup* son of *Khatu-shar*. Tishup was the name of one of the Hittite gods. In the time of Ramses II. we hear of a Hittite named Tar-Tishbu. Moreover, the old storm god of Armenia and Mitanni was called Tishupash; and, finally, the same name for a god turns up again in Susa as Tishpak. Khatu-shar, too, is identical with Kheta-sar, by which name a Hittite foe of Ramses II. is called. Now *Khatu* was a divinity of the Hittite population scattered about from the west of Asia Minor to Elam. The names of the Lydian kings, Aly-attes and Sady-attes, which were formed like Kali-Tishup and Sadi-Tishup, prove this, for the god Attes, spelt in Aramaic inscriptions *ghatê* (יתי, *-γατις* in *Αταρ-γατις*; *-κετω* in *Δερκετω*), cannot be any other than the one which appears in Khatu-shar.

North of Kummukh, Tiglath-pileser made tributary the land of *Khani-rabbat*, so often mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (the great Kheta-land of the Egyp. inscriptions), near Milid (Malatîyeh). This country (erroneously transcribed Khani-galbat by some Assyriologists) was the old mother-land of the Hittites. There was no longer, however, a great Hittite empire at the time of Tiglath-pileser, but the Aramæans had attempted to establish themselves in several places in the north of Syria and Mesopotamia. Tiglath-pileser expelled them from the region between the Euphrates and Belikh, the original country of the Mitanni, and plundered their pasture-grounds which were situated along the farther bank of the Euphrates, the land of *Sukhi* (Shuah, Gn 25^2; Job 2^{11}, 'Bildad the Shuhite'). He also conquered by force of arms the land of *Musri* in West Armenia, against which Shalmaneser I. had formerly waged war, and the Cappadocian district of Kumânu, which was in alliance with it. Thus he not only restored his kingdom to the size it had attained in the time of Shalmaneser I., but expanded it still farther, especially in the direction of Armenia; and by pushing forward towards North Syria and the Mediterranean, mapped out the path for Assyr. expeditions in the future. The Bab. king *Marduk-nadin-akhi* (cf. above, p. 179[b]) succeeded in robbing the Assyrians of the images of Ramman and his consort Shala which belonged to the (Mesopotamian?) town Ikallâti, but Tiglath-pileser inflicted a signal defeat upon him in his own country. Amidst all these expeditions, architecture and the material welfare of the country were not neglected by Tiglath-pileser, who bestowed special attention upon the restoration of the old temple of the gods Anu and Rammân in the ancient capital Assur (cf. above, p. 180[a]).

Tiglath-pileser was succeeded by his son *Ashur-bel-kala* ('Assur is Lord of All'), who removed the royal residence from Kalakh to Nineveh. He married the daughter of the Bab. king Rammân-pal-idina, but evidently died without children, since his brother *Samsi-Rammân III.* succeeded him on the throne. We possess an earnest petition of the son of the latter, *Assur-nazir-pal II.*, to the goddess Istar of Nineveh, in which he prays that he may be cured of an illness. After this (*c.* 1050) Assyria underwent a period of decline, during which not even the names of the kings have been preserved. We only know of one of them, *Assur-irbi* (*c.* 990?), who set up an image of himself at the Gulf of Issus, and from whom the Aramæans took away the two fortresses on the Euphrates, *Pitru* (Pethor, Nu 22^5, Dt 23^4) and *Mutkînu*, which had been conquered in the time of Tiglath-pileser I.

The powerful development of the Aramæans at this time is also clearly reflected in OT, in the history of David (see 2 S 10^{16}, where Hadadezer brings Aramæans from the other side of the Euphrates). The growth of the power of Israel under Saul, David, and Solomon forms a striking contrast to the decline of Assyria about B.C. 1000.

Probably the immediate successor of this Assur-irbi was *Tuklat-pal-išarra* (Tiglath-pileser) *II.* After him we have an accurate and genealogical list of kings, without any gaps at all.

Tiglath-pileser II. *c.* 970.
Assur-dan II. (son of above) *c.* B.C. 930–913.
(*Here the Eponym Canon begins*).
Ramman-nirârî II. (son of above) B.C. 912–891.
Tuklat-Nindar II. (son of above) B.C. 890–885.
Assur-nazir-pal III. (son of above) B.C. 884–860.

Under the last-named king a new period of development commenced for Assyria. Of the four predecessors of Assur-nazir-pal, we only know that Ramman-nirâri II. waged some wars against his Bab. contemporaries *Samas-mudammik* and the latter's successor *Nabu-šum-iskun*; and that Tuklat-Nindar advanced to the sources of the Tigris, and threw his heart into the task of again reducing to subjection the mountainous districts in the north, a work which was continued by Assur-nazir-pal and Shalmaneser II. For the conquests made by Tiglath-pileser I., after so much effort, had been lost again long ago.

Assur-nazir-pal rebuilt Kalakh, and selected it for his royal residence in memory of his great predecessor Shalmaneser I., after whom he also named his son (Shalmaneser II.). His main ambition was to annex the whole of Mesopotamia to Assyria, which he succeeded at any rate partially in accomplishing. The little Aramæan principality *Bît-Adini* (which is called *Benê-Eden* 2 K 19^{12}, and is situated between the Euphrates and Belikh) offered strong resistance to the Assyrians, and Assyria only succeeded in getting the payment of a temporary tribute from it. Greater results, however, were achieved among the mountain tribes on the east, between the lakes Van and Urmia, in the countries of *Mannai* (Minnî, Jer 51^{27}, which certainly ought to be vocalised מני, near Ararat), *Kirrur*, and *Zamua*, the last-mentioned being situated to the south of the lake of Urmia. In North Syria further opposition was experienced from the little states that had sprung up on the wrecks of the Hittite empire, whose princes still bore Hittite names, though the populations were Canaanite. The most noteworthy of these was *Karkhemis*, where king Sangar reigned; and next to that the land of *Unki* ('Amk) or *Khattin** on the Orontes, the capital of which was called Kunulua, and the king Lubarna. Both these territories were traversed by the Assyrians. The Assyrians advanced right up to Lebanon and the coast of Phœnicia, so that the towns of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Arvad, etc., were compelled to send valuable presents in order to induce the hostile forces to march away. The Bab. contemporary of *Assur-nâzir-pal* was *Nabu-pal-idinâ*. (See BABYLONIA.)

The reign of Assur-nâzir-pal's son *Shalmanu-asharid* (Shalmaneser II.), B.C. 859–825, marks a turning-point in Assyr. history in several direc-

* Written *Pa-ti-in*, but probably *Khattin* (the Hittite) is the right reading.

tions. Instead of being satisfied with merely sending threatening expeditions to exact a fresh payment of tribute, he introduced a systematic plan — afterwards always adopted — of placing governors over conquered territories, and thus making them actual provinces and putting them under direct Assyr. control. Moreover, it was in his reign that the first contact between Assyria and the kings of Israel (Ahab and Jehu) took place. Lastly, it was his reign that saw the first beginnings of the Armenian empire under the kings Arimi and Sarduri (Siduri, or, more accurately, Sardu'arri), whose successors gave Assyria so much trouble, till they brought it to the brink of ruin. Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon were the first to succeed in breaking its power, and in helping Assyria forward to new development. The oldest Armenian inscriptions, which date from Sarduri I., are written in Assyr. cuneiform characters and Semitic-Assyrian, while his successors employ their own Armenian dialect (related to the Georgian), though they use the Assyr. method of writing as well.

We are very fortunate in possessing *pictorial* representations of several events in the reign of Shalmaneser. These are to be found chiefly in the magnificent reliefs on the bronze doors of Balawat (Imgur-Bel), and also in the remarkable pictures on the 'Black Obelisk,' as it is called. In five series and on four panels are to be seen ambassadors from Gurzan (on Lake Urmia), from king *Jahua* (Jehu) *of Israel*, from the land of *Musri* in West Armenia, from *Marduk-pal-uẓur* of Suchi, and from *Karparunda* of Khattin. Both monuments are in the British Museum. The inscription on the series devoted to the land of Musri says: 'Tribute from Musri. Camels with double humps, oxen from the river Sakîya (or Irkia?), a *sûsu* (kind of antelope), female elephants, and apes.' The words of the inscription are confirmed by the pictures, which actually contain double-humped camels, wild steers, an antelope, an elephant, and four apes. This land of Musri, which must be looked for neither in Afghanistan nor in India, but to the north-east of Cilicia, is mentioned in the Bible, 1 K 10^{28}, according to which Solomon brought his horses from Muẓrîm and from Ku'i (Cilicia), as the emended reading runs. Double-humped camels (Assyr. *udrâti*, from the Arm. *uldu*, Sansk. *ustra*) were to be found in different parts of Armenia, and Assur-nâẓir-pal boasted, as did also Tiglath-pileser I. and Tahutmes III., that he had killed elephants in Mesopotamia. Shalmaneser made his way into the land of Tabal (the biblical Tubal), which lies to the west of Malatîyeh, where he took possession of the silver, salt, and alabaster works which he found on the mountains, and took the opportunity of exacting tribute from the neighbouring Musri; then he invaded the land of Ku'i (on the Cilician coast), reaching the city of Tarzi, the well-known Tarsus, the birthplace of the apostle Paul. He advanced into Armenia as far as the sources of the Euphrates; then he proceeded eastward to *Parsua*, the motherland of the Persians, lying to the east of Lake Urmia, and southwards to *Namar*, which was formerly a Protectorate of Babylon, lying to the south of Lake Urmia. His journeys were thus more extensive than those of any of his predecessors. In Babylonia, in the year B.C. 853, Nabu-pal-idinâ was overthrown by his son Marduk-shum-idinâ, whose brother Marduk-bel-usâti, however, raised a revolt against him. Thereupon Marduk-shum-idinâ relinquished to his brother the southern part of Babylonia, formerly known as the land of Kaldu* (or Imgi), at the same time calling upon the king of Assyria for assistance. Shalmaneser attacked and killed the rebellious brother of the Babylonian king, and naturally claimed an extension of frontier in return for his services.

Of far greater interest for biblical history is the campaign of Shalmaneser against the town of Hamath (Amattu or Amâtu) on the Orontes, and its allies, in B.C. 854, the sixth year of his reign. Shalmaneser had scarcely conquered (B.C. 856) and imprisoned one of his most stubborn opponents, king Akhuni of Bit-Adini (see above), when a powerful army came out to meet him near Karkar (on the line of march from Aleppo to Hamath):

	Chariots.	Horsemen.	Foot.
Bir-idri of Damascus . .	1200	1200	20,000
Irkhulini of Hamath . .	700	700	10,000
Akhabbu of Sir'il . . .	2000	..	10,000
Guï	..	..	500
Musri	..	..	1,000
Irḳanat . . .	10	..	10,000
Matin-ba'al of Arvad . .	..	..	200
Usanat . . .	..	..	200
Adunu-ba'al of Shiana .	30	..	10,000
Ba'sa (son of Rukhub) of Ammon	..	..	1,000 Camels.
Gindibu the Arab . .	..	..	1,000

A mere glance at this table shows that the three most important princes of this league were *Bir-idri* (Benhadad) of Damascus, *Irkhulini* of Hamath, and *Akhabbu* of Sir'il. Besides these, two Phœn. cities were prominent in supplying troops, Irkanat (probably = 'Arka, עַרְקִי Gn 10^{17}) and *Shiana* (or Siana, סִינִי of Gn 10^{17}, which must be corrected to סִיגִי). Akhabbu of Sir'il is no other than *king Ahab of Israel*, who chose Jezreel (the modern Zer'în) for his royal residence; and who, in his last year (B.C. 854), before he went to the war against the Syrians, in which he lost his life, had undertaken the obligation of leading an army against the Assyrians. Shalmaneser's victory over Damascus and Hamath does not seem to have been very permanent, since on two occasions, in B.C. 849 and 846, his annals give an account of the repulse of the Syrians and their twelve allies. On the first occasion (B.C. 849), in all probability, the Israelites were present in the battle under the leadership, not of Ahab, but of his son Joram. Joram, however, soon after was attacked by Benhadad, and Samaria was in a state of siege. The Syrians withdrew only upon receiving information that a hostile force was marching against Damascus. The foes, however, were not Hittites and Musrites (2 K 7^{6}, *i.e.* from the land of Musri in West Armenia), as the Syrians in their panic at first believed, but there is the highest probability that they were the Assyrians who, in the year 846, made a new expedition against Damascus. Finally, in the year 842 Shalmaneser made a fresh attack on Syria, this time against Bir-idri's (Benhadad's) successor Khaza-ilu (Hazael), whom he defeated, and ultimately besieged in Damascus. The surrounding country was devastated, and Shalmaneser took the opportunity of exacting tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and '*Jahua of the house of Omri*.' On the black obelisk already mentioned there are pictures of the ambassadors of this same Jahua, bringing gifts, with the following inscription: 'Tribute of Jahua, son of Khumri: silver, gold, a vessel of gold, a ladle of gold, golden drinking cups, golden buckets, tin (or *lead*), a staff for the king's hand, and spear-shafts (*budilkhâti*) I received.'

That this Jahua, in spite of the inaccuracy of the expression 'son (*i.e.* according to the Assyr. use of the word, 'of the dynasty') of Omri,' must be identified with *Jehu of Israel*, is a fact which does

* The name existed at an earlier date in an older form, Kardu (whence Kardunias). The form Kasdu (Heb. Kasdim) is only a dialectic variant. By this we see, at the same time, that the Heb. expression Ur-Kasdim had its origin long before the time of Shalm. II.

not admit of the least doubt. Although at first a good deal of difficulty was felt on account of the dates (Ahab B.C. 854, Jehu 842), the identification of Ahab with Akhabbu of Sir'il, and of Jahua with Jehu, must now be regarded as settled. The chronology of the period of the kings of Israel, as is generally admitted, has been confused by later redactors, a fact which is clearly proved from the summary of the length of the reigns * alone. Now that the dates 854 and 842 have been absolutely fixed, we have obtained data of the highest value for restoring the original numbers in the text of the Bible (see below, under Tiglath-pileser III.).

The great Shalmaneser II., who lost his life in a rebellion, was succeeded by his son *Samsi-Ramman IV.* B.C. 824–812, who led expeditions against the Bab. kings *Ba'u-akhi-idina* and *Marduk-balat-su-ikbi*, and also against the land of Kaldu. Advancing into Media as far as the so-called 'White Mountain,' Elwend, near Ecbatana (Hamadan), he sought to make the lands of Mannai and Parsua, to the north and east of Lake Urmia, secure against the ambition of the Armenian king Ispuînis, son of Sardu'arri I., who was eager to conquer them.

His son *Ramman-nirâri III.* (B.C. 811–783) succeeded in advancing still farther into the heart of Media—right up to the Caspian Sea. He was very young when he came to the throne. In all probability his mother, the Bab. princess *Sammu-ramat* (the Semiramis of Greek legend), held the regency for him at first. In Armenia, his powerful rival Menuas, who lived at Turuspa (Thosp) on the Lake of Van, caused him much trouble, wresting from the Assyrians several powerful vassal states, *e.g.* Khani-rabbat (Melitene) and Dayaïni. It is to be regretted that the account of Rammannirari's campaigns against Syria and Palestine are so very scanty: 'From the upper part of the Euphrates to the land of Khatti (North Syria), Amurri (Coelesyria) to its farthest borders, Tyre, Sidon, the *land of Omri* (Israel), Udumu (Edom), and Palastu (Philistia), right up to the great western sea, I reduced to subjection and exacted tribute and imposts: I marched against the "land of asses" (Damascus), and shut up *Mari'a*, king of the land of asses (*mât imîri-su*), in his chief town Damascus. Dread of renowned Assur struck him to the earth: he clasped my feet and gave himself up. . . . His countless wealth and goods I seized in Damascus; his residence in the midst of his royal palace.' The Assyr. list of officers for the year 804 mentions an expedition to the town of Ba'ali (=בעל־גר at the foot of Hermon ?), and for the year 797 one to Manṣu'âti (מַעֲבוֹת ? ?), which is evidently a town of the Israelites. In one of these years Rammannirari's expedition against Damascus, Edom, and Philistia must have taken place. It happened either at the end of the reign of the Isr. king Jehoahaz, or at the commencement of the reign of his successor Joash. According to the Bible, Benhadad son of Hazael was king of Damascus at the time. If this be so, Mari'a is only a title, like the Aramaic Mâryâ', 'Lord,' unless we see in Mari'a a brother of Hazael of whom nothing else is known.

Under the successors of Ramman-nirari, *Shalmaneser III.* (B.C. 782–773), *Assur-dan III.* (B.C. 772–755), and *Assur-nirâri II.* (B.C. 754–745), Assyria was always losing more territory to the Armenians. Armenia was ruled at this time by the mighty kings Argistis (*c.* B.C. 780–760) and Sardu'arri II. (B.C. 760–730), and ultimately all 'the lands of Na'iri' to the north of the Tigris, from Melitene to Lake Urmia, came into its possession.

This period of deepest eclipse (whilst Israel flourished at the same time under Jeroboam II.) was followed by an era of prosperity, which lasted for a long time without a break under the usurper Pûlu or (to give him his official title) Tuklat-palisharra III., called in the Bible *Tiglath-pileser* (B.C. 745–727), who raised Assyria to a height unreached before, and may therefore be called, and with much reason, the real founder of the great Assyrian monarchy (in its largest sense). For the first time in history Tiglath-pileser brought Babylonia, where Nabu-nâṣir (Nabonassar) reigned from B.C. 747–732 and Nabu-nadinzir from B.C. 733–732, directly under the sway of the Assyr. sceptre. He also reconquered the territories that had been lost to Armenia, and annexed to the Assyr. empire a great part of Syria, where before there had only been at the best of times some vassal states—never any properly constituted provinces. In *Babylonia*, Tiglath-pileser had next to deal with the Aramæan tribes on the frontiers of Babylon and Elam, among whom the Pukûdu (Pekôd, Ezk 23^{23}, Jer 50^{21}) and Gambulu played the chief part, and to whom also belonged the Nabatu,* who at later times emigrated to the north-west of Arabia. The instigators of this rebellion were probably the small states of the *Kaldi*, or *Chaldæans*, in the south and middle of Babylonia. The prime mover was a certain Ukinzir (Chinzeros) from Bit-Amukkan, who ultimately, in B.C. 731, succeeded in seizing the Bab. throne. Already after the defeat of the Aramæans in 745, Tiglath-pileser had assumed the title 'King of Sumer and Akkad,' but now, after his victory over Ukin-zir, he got himself crowned 'King of Babylon' with great solemnity at the new-year festival of B.C. 728.

In the year B.C. 744 Tiglath-pileser marched through the land of Namri (see above) right into the interior of *Media* to the Bikni mountains, to Demavend, that lies to the south of the Caspian Sea, in order to reassert Assyr. influence, which had been destroyed by the Armenians. He reconquered also (B.C. 737) the provinces of Parsua and Bustus, that lie between Armenia and Media. In the *North of Syria* the Armenians had been driven out by Mati-el of Jakhan (also written Akhan), who was called, in accordance with his descent, Prince of Bit-Agûsi. Tiglath-pileser besieged him in his royal residence at Arpad (Tell Erfûd, north of Aleppo, the biblical Arpad), which, after three years' resistance, fell into his hands in B.C. 740. He had previously (B.C. 743) repelled the Armenian army which tried to impede the siege of Arpad, and had defeated it in a decisive battle on the Upper Euphrates.

Tiglath-pileser was now able for the first time to advance into the interior of Syria. In the year B.C. 738 he conquered the town of *Kullani* (Calno, Is 10^{9}), which lies to the north of Hamath, and overpowered 'Asriya'u of Ja'udi.' † Nineteen districts of Hamath fell before him and were captured, while Kullani, which was evidently the residence of Asriya'u, became the seat of an Assyr. governor. Thereupon all the independent kings of Syria who lived in the neighbouring regions (Kustaspi of Kummukh, *Razunnu* of *Damascus*,

* From Rehoboam to the sixth year of Hezekiah there are 260 years, while from Jeroboam I. to Hoshea (conquest of Samaria) there are only 241. As a matter of fact, from the death of Solomon to B.C. 722 there are only 218 years. The mistake arises with regard to Pekah. Instead of Pekahiah 2 years, Pekah 20 years, we ought simply to read Pekah 2 years. Pekahiah is only the fuller form of the name Pekah.

* The Arabian *Nabayâti* mentioned in Assurbanipal's inscription are a totally different people. They are the *Nebaioth* of the OT. The Nabatu (Arab. נבט), on the other hand, are the well-known Nabatæans. They were of Aramæan origin, as the Nabatæan inscriptions inform us.

† Not Judah יְהוּדָה), but a country in the north of Syria (יאדי), as the inscription of king Panammu of Sam'al makes obvious.

Minikhimmi of *Samirîna*, Hiram of Tyre, Sibittibi'il of Gebal, Urik of Ku'i, Pisiris of Carchemish, Ini-el of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarkhulara of Gurgum), and some also who lived in more remote districts, viz. the princes of Milid (Malatîyeh) and Tabal (Tubal), and a North-Arabian queen, Zabibi,* came to do homage to the great king. Another expedition to the West followed in the year B.C. 734, which was specially directed against Philistia, where king Khanunu (Hanno) of *Gaza* was defeated.

The main campaign against Damascus and Israel, however, belongs to the years B.C. 733 and 732. In Israel, Pekah (Assyr. *Pakakhu*) had just succeeded Menahem on the throne. Rezin (Raẓunnu), king of Syria, was defeated. Damascus was besieged (B.C. 733) and captured (B.C. 732). In Israel, Tiglath-pileser took a series of towns, including the whole land of Naphtali (2 K 15^{29}), and Pekah was compelled to pay a very considerable tribute. In the year B.C. 731 he was murdered, and Hoshea (Assyr. *Ausi'i*) was confirmed by Tiglath-pileser as king of Israel. After the fall of Damascus (B.C. 732), which forthwith became the seat of an Assyr. governor, the following princes, Sanib of *Ammon*, *Salamân* of *Moab*, Mitinti of Ashkelon, *Ja'ukhazi* (*i.e.* Joahaz=fuller form of Ahaz) of *Judah*, and Kaus-malak of *Edom*, were compelled to pay tribute. Ahaz had some time previously called in Tiglath-pileser to protect him against Pekah and Rezin, who had robbed him of the harbour of Elath. The Arabian queen Samsî was also conquered by the Assyrians, who took the opportunity of advancing into the north of Arabia for the first time. Thereupon certain Arab tribes, even the remote Sabæans, sent him rich presents.

The following synchronisms in Tiglath-pileser's annals, which may be safely trusted, are of supreme importance for the chronology of Israel and Judah :—

738 B.C., Menahem of Israel.
733–2 ,, Pekah of Israel.
732 ,, Ahaz of Judah.
731 (?) ,, Hoshea of Israel.

To this it may be added that Rezin of Damascus, as is stated both in the Bible and in the inscriptions, was the contemporary of all these kings.

If we accept B.C. 854 as the last year of Ahab, B.C. 842 as the first year of Jehu, and B.C. 722 as the date of the destruction of Samaria, we may construct the chronology of Israel as follows :—

842	B.C.,	1st year of Jehu, who reigned	28	years.
814	,,	1st year of Joahaz, ,,	17	,,
797	,,	1st year of Joash, ,,	16	,,
782	,,	16th year of Joash and 1st year of Jeroboam II. ,,	41	,,
742	,,	41st year of ,, Zechariah reigned 6 months.		
741	,,	Shallum one month. 1st year of Menahem, ,,	10	,,
732	,,	10th ,, ,, ,, 1st year of Pekah.		
731	,,	2nd year of Pekah.		
730	,,	1st year of Hoshea, ,,	9	,,
722	,,	9th year of Hoshea and conquest of Samaria.		

There is room in this arrangement for only a two-years' reign of Pekah. Exactly the same things are related of Pekahiah as of Pekah, and the two names are virtually the same (see above). It is clear that the original text of the Bk. of Kings had only one Pekah (or Pekahiah), who reigned two years, between Menahem and Hoshea. The addition of Pekah's twenty years to Pekahiah's two was the work of a later editor, and, as a result, all the synchronisms of Israel and Judah for this period naturally fell into disorder. Instead of there being an irreconcilable antagonism between the Bible and the inscriptions in relation to chronology, the latter rather help us to correct an old error in the *text* of the Bible (not in the Bible itself as the word of God—only in the text), while they have essentially confirmed the truth of the biblical narrative throughout.

We have still to speak of a policy which Tiglath-pileser was the first to introduce, and which essentially contributed to the strengthening of the Assyrian empire. In forming new provinces, he and his successors adopted the following plan. As the cuneiform inscriptions and the Books of Kings (*e.g.* 2 K 15^{29} 17^{6}) relate, all sections of the population were transplanted into distant provinces, and, conversely, the territories thus left empty were settled with other prisoners of war.

Finally, with regard to king Panammu of *Sam'al*, mentioned above in connexion with the year B.C. 738, the Berlin Museum now possesses several inscriptions from Zinjirli (south of Mar'ash, Assyr. *Markasi*) belonging to Panammu's son *Bir-Rokeb* (ברכב), which are written in old Phœn. characters, and composed in a dialect which is a mixture of Can. and Aramaic. These inscriptions mention Tiglath-pileser,—the word being spelt in the same way as in the OT, תגלתפלסר (it is also on one occasion spelt תגלתפליסר) — calling him מלך אשור, and on one occasion 'Lord of the four quarters of the earth' מרא רבעי ארקא (Assyr. *shar-kibrat-irbitti*, king of the four quarters of the world). Panammu, son of Bir-ẓur, died in the camp of Tiglath-pileser at Damascus B.C. 733 or 732, whereupon Bir-Rokeb was appointed king of Sam'al by the Assyr. king. The inscriptions of Zinjirli relate that Bir-ẓûr, the grandfather of Bir-Rokeb, was murdered by a usurper (probably the Asriya'u mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-pileser) from the neighbouring country of Ja'udi (יאדי), whereupon Panammu turned to Tiglath-pileser for protection. It seems that in previous times another Panammu, son of Karal, had ruled over Ja'udi (יאדי), one of whose inscriptions (in somewhat ancient writing) has lately been found. Both these Panammu belonged to the dynasty of Gabbar, which in the time of Shalmaneser II. was in possession of Sam'al, and whose kings were called מלכי כבר (kings of Kabbar). The gods of Sam'al and Ja'udi are Hadad-El, Rokeb-El (who was also called בית בעל=Lord of the House), Shemesh, and Reshep — the last-named being a special god of Ja'udi. The name of the usurper Asriya'u (most probably=עוריה) points to an Israelitish descent. A usurper of Hamath in the time of Sargon was called sometimes *Ilû-bi'di*, sometimes *Ia'u-bi'di*, which also points to his Isr. origin. The redactors of the Books of Kings appear to have possessed information about this Asriya'u of Ja'udi, since they evidently identified him with king Uzziah* of Judah, and in many places the name עוריה has been substituted in the text for עויה. Sam'al, too (=Northland), was not unknown to the Bible, for Nu 24^{24} evidently ought to read: 'A vessel (?) shall come from Sam'al (משמאל) and boats from Kittim (Cyprus) which shall afflict Asshûr (not Assyria, but=Asshurîm, Gn 25^{3}, 2 S 2^{9}), and shall afflict Eber; moreover, he himself also (=Og of Bashan, cf. LXX) shall come to destruction.' The whole passage refers to the attacks made by the populations of the Mediter.

* Probably she was the princess of the Bir'æans (for which we may, however, substitute Sab'æans, סבא, not to be confounded with the Sab'æans, שבא), an Arabian tribe which is always mentioned first in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser that speak of the tribute of the Arabians. (Mas'æans=משא, Temæans=תימא, Sabæans=שבא, Khayappæans=עיפה, etc.)

* Prophetic literature clearly shows that Uzziah was his only name, as also does the well-known old Heb. seal 'of Shebanyô, servant of Uzziyô,' לשבניו עבד עויו.

(Europe and Asia Minor) upon Syria and Egypt in the days of Ramses III.

Tiglath-pileser was followed by Shalman-asharid IV., the *Shalmaneser* of the Bible (B.C. 726–722), who was probably his son. As king of Babylon he was called Ululaï (Elulæus), *i.e.* 'he who was born in the month Elul.' Immediately after his accession to the throne, before the year B.C. 727 was over (726 was the first *official* year of his reign), he conquered the Assyr. town Shabaraïn (Sepharvaim, 2 K 17^{24}?). In the year B.C. 724 he began to invest *Samaria*, which fell at the end of a three years' siege, in the first month of the reign of his successor *Sargon*, who took all the credit for this achievement, as well as for the transportation of the ten tribes, without thinking of his predecessor. The Bible account, however, very justly connects the name of Shalmaneser with the fall of the Northern Kingdom (B.C. 722).

Israel now, like the kingdom of Damascus before, became an Assyr. province, Samaria being the seat of the governor.

The zenith of Assyr. power was reached in the reign of the usurper Sargon * (Assyr. Sharru-ukin = 'the king has restored order'), B.C. 721–705, who is only once mentioned in the Bible (Is 20^{1}), in connexion with the taking of Ashdod. In the very year that he entered upon his reign ('at the beginning of his reign,' as the official expression runs), B.C. 722, he carried off the inhabitants of Samaria, 27,290 men, to the rivers Belikh and Khabor, the river of Gozan, and the cities of Media (2 K 17^{6}), settling Babylonian (Cuthäites) and other colonists in the territories of the conquered city.

Sargon's main political ambition was the consolidation of Babylonia, as well as the provinces of Assyria which bordered upon Armenia, and finally Syria. This ambition was realised by the final reduction of *Armenia*, whose king at that time was Rusa (or Ursa), the son of Irimenas, and also by the humiliation of the Mannæans † (מַנַּי Jer 51^{27}), who were the most powerful allies Armenia possessed, and of the Sagartæans (Assyr. Zikirtu), an Eranian nomadic tribe which lived to the east of the Mannæans; and finally by the war against Elam. The last-named state was henceforth the most dangerous foe the power of Assyria possessed, and was always in firm alliance with the small states of South Babylonia (the so-called Chaldæans), and above all with *Bit-yakin*. The prince of Bit-yakin, Marduk-pal-idina, immediately after the death of Shalmaneser, had seized the throne of Babylonia for himself. In B.C. 721 Sargon, who had till then been occupied with other duties, marched against him and his ally Khumbanigas of Elam. The battle was indecisive; and Sargon had to march against the Armenians; so that it was not till B.C. 710 that he was successful in defeating Marduk-pal-idina, and getting himself crowned king of Babylon (B.C. 709–705). This Marduk-pal-idina is the Merodach-baladan of the Bible, whose embassy to Hezekiah, which is related in 2 K $20^{12ff.}$ as a supplement to Sennacherib's campaign, belongs either to B.C. 715 (first year of Hezekiah's reign) or to 703, in which year Merodach-baladan was king of Babylon a second time.

Of Sargon's other campaigns, those against Syria, Palestine, and Arabia have special interest for the OT student. The first, B.C. 720, was an expedition to suppress an insurrection which a certain Ilû-bi'di,* who is also called Ia'u-bi'di, had raised in *Hamath*. This Ilû-bi'di had not only induced the Assyr. provinces of Arpad, Simyra, Damascus, and Samaria to revolt, but had also formed an alliance with Khanûnu (Hanno) of Gaza and Sib'i (סוא 2 K 17^{4}, *i.e.* Sev'e) of *Egypt*. Probably Judah, where Ahaz was still on the throne, was also included in the alliance, since Sargon once calls himself (indeed before he speaks of Hamath at all) the 'Conqueror of the remote land of Judah.' The Egyp. army was, however, defeated at Rapikhu (Raphia, south of Gaza), and Hanno found himself in an Assyr. prison, while Ilû-bi'di and his other allies were defeated and destroyed at Karkar (in the neighbourhood of Hamath).

In the year 715 Sargon undertook a campaign into the interior of North Arabia 'against the remote Arabians of the Desert, of whom the wise and learned knew nothing.' The tribes of Thamûd, Ibâdid, Marsiman (Gn 25^{13} מבשם, according to LXX Μασσαμ, 1 Ch 4^{25} Μασεμαμ?), and Khayappa (עיפה, LXX Γαίφα) were conquered, and partially settled in Samaria. Thereupon Pir'u (cf. פראם Jos 10^{3}, scarcely equivalent to Pharaoh) of Musur (the territory called Ma'în-Muṣrân of the South Arabian inscriptions, in the north of the peninsula of Sinai?), queen Samsi of Aribi (a part of North Arabia), and the Sabæan Ita'amar (יתאמר of the South Arabian inscriptions), 'the kings of the sea-coast and the desert,' brought rich presents, among which were 'sweet-smelling spices of the mountains' (frankincense), gold, precious stones, horses, and camels.

In the year B.C. 711, the same year in which the North Syrian state Gurgum (capital town Markasi, modern Mar'ash) became an Assyr. province,† a certain Yamani, who is also called Yatna,‡ overthrew king Akhimiti of Ashdod. When the Assyrians despatched an expedition against Ashdod (cf. Is 20), Philistia (Pilistu), Judah (Ja'ûdu), Edom (Udumu), and Moab (Mâ'ab), instead of sending their presents to Assur, sent them to king Pir'u of Musur, who has been already mentioned, because they trusted to him and to Arabia (Cush, Is 20^{3} and often in the OT). Ashdod and Gath (Gimtu) were conquered and made into an Assyr. province, but Yamani fled to the 'king of Milukh' (north-west of Arabia, cf. Job 39^{6} מְלֵחָה, parallel to עֲרָבָה). It is evidently the same Pir'u of Musur who is alluded to in a parallel passage which runs, 'He (Yamani) fled to the territory of Musur which belongs to the district of Milukh,' the last phrase being added to distinguish this Musur from the Musur which is the equivalent of Egypt.

Besides these campaigns of Sargon's, which are of great importance for the study of the Bible, we may further mention that in B.C. 709 he received presents from seven *Cyprian* kings. An image of him, which is now in Berlin, was discovered on the island of Cyprus (see above, p. 178[a]).

The new residence which Sargon built for himself in Khorsabad (see above, p. 178[b]) was consecrated in the year B.C. 707. In the year B.C. 705, however, he fell by the hand of an assassin, who was probably instigated by his own son Sennacherib. The latter, strangely enough, never mentions his father in his inscriptions. As far as the character of Sargon is concerned, it is sufficiently clear from

* The Hebrew סַרְגֹן is based upon a similar word in popular use, Sargânu (='mighty').

† In the year B.C. 745 a Mannæan governor *Daiukku* is mentioned in the annals of Sargon, and in B.C. 713 a land of Bît-Daiukku between Man and Illip (in the west of Media). In Assyrian it is called *Mât Bît*-Daiukku, 'Land of the Dynasty (House of the Prince) of Daiukku.' This Daiukku is evidently the *Dejokes* (Deioces) of Greek tradition, who, according to the later story, was the first king of Media. Gamir also (Gomer, Gn 10^{2}) is mentioned as having broken into Armenia even in the time of Sargon.

* On this name, see above. Others read Ilu-ubi'di and Ja-ubi'di (or Ilîa-ubi'di) with much less probability.

† Already, in B.C. 717, a similar fate had befallen the powerful town of Carchemish (cf. Is 10^{9}). Kummukh (Commagene), too, came under the power of Assyria in B.C. 708.

‡ Compare the Assyrian name for Cyprus, Jatnana, of which perhaps Jaman, Javan (Ionia) is a parallel (dialectical) form.

his inscriptions that as 'Father of his country' he deserves the praise of being called a 'righteous and noble prince' (cf. especially on this point the very instructive cylinder inscription which has been translated by Lyon).

Sin-akhi-irba ('Sin multiply the brothers'), the biblical *Sennacherib*, reigned from B.C. 704–681. He it was who removed the royal residence from Kalakh back again to Nineveh, which, by extensive building operations, and at the expense of Babylon, which he destroyed in a very barbarous fashion, he elevated into the capital of the united empire of Assyria and Babylonia. The great palace, too, in the south-west of Kouyunjik deserves to be specially mentioned—the 'peerless palace,' which in later times the grandson of Sennacherib, Assurbanipal, surrounded with buildings. Nor must we forget the great arsenal (*bît kutalli*) at Nebi-yunus, which Esarhaddon extended, and the magnificent waterworks in the neighbourhood of Nineveh.

The most important political undertakings of Sennacherib were his wars against Elam and Babylonia on the one side, and his expeditions to the West on the other. The only other campaign worth mentioning was one against *Cilicia* (properly *Khilakku*, the mountainous district in the interior* of Cilicia) and *Tabal* (the biblical Tubal), which probably belongs to the year B.C. 695. Probably it is this expedition that is referred to in the remark of Berosus, that Sennacherib, 'after a severe struggle conquered the Ionians who dwelt on the Cilician coast, and then [re]founded Tarsus.' The Assyrians had also to deal with this district a second time in the days of Sennacherib, in the year B.C. 681; for at the moment when Sennacherib was murdered, the crown prince Esarhaddon was in Khani-rabbat (east of Tabal) with his troops.

In *Babylonia*, Merodach-baladan the Chaldee, who is so well known from the inscriptions of Sargon, had established himself once more upon the throne, having allied himself for this purpose with Kudur-nankhundi of *Elam* and the Aramæan nomad tribes. Sennacherib conquered Merodach-baladan and his allies, and placed a certain Bel-ibni on the throne of Babylon. After several vicissitudes, when the Elamites, as allies of Babylonia, always had a hand in the game (Merodach-baladan himself on one occasion taking part in the struggle again), in B.C. 691 the bloody battle of *Khalûlin*, which ended unsuccessfully, or at any rate indecisively, for Sennacherib, was fought against the united armies of the Elamites, Babylonians, Aramæans, Chaldæans, and certain districts of Media. The Median districts Anzan (also written Anshan), where the dynasty of Cyrus originated, and Illip, were now, as allies of Elam, for the first time called after Parsua, the motherland of the later Persians. At last, in the year B.C. 689, Sennacherib succeeded in taking possession of Babylon, and in wreaking fearful vengeance upon it. It was levelled to the ground, and only rebuilt again in later times under Sennacherib's gentler and nobler-hearted son Esarhaddon.

Sennacherib's great expedition to the West, which was undertaken in the year 701, began with the punishment of king Luli (Elulæus) of *Sidon*, who fled 'into the sea,' possibly to Cyprus or else to the island of Tyre, which, if we are to trust our Greek sources of information, was besieged by the Assyr. king in vain.

In Sidon a new king, *Tuba'al* (Ethobaal), was appointed, to whom Sarepta, Akko, and other Phœn. states were given. Arvad and Gebal (Byblus), however, like Ashdod of Philistia and the states bordering on Judæa, *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, offered a voluntary tribute. The town of Ashkelon in Philistia, whose king Sidkâ (Zedekiah) refused to pay tribute, together with Joppa (Yappû) and other towns, were conquered and plundered. The town of Ekron (Amkarrûna) handed its king Padî, who had submitted to the Assyrians, over to Hezekiah (*Khazakiya'u*) of Judah. Ekron and Judah called in to their assistance the king of Musur (see above) and the archers of the king of Milukh, but were defeated by Sennacherib at Eltekeh (Altaku). Sennacherib next besieged and conquered 46 fenced cities and villages of Judah, and carried off 200,150 of their inhabitants as prisoners, until at last he pitched his camp in *Lachish* (Assyr. *Lakishu*), the extreme south-western corner of Judah. Up to this point the passage in 2 K 18^{13} agrees with the Assyr. narrative: 'In the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah (B.C. 701) did Sennacherib, king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them.' Then the Bible account goes on to say that Hezekiah sent a message of peace to Sennacherib at Lachish, and that Sennacherib promised to abstain from further hostilities on the payment of 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold (2 K 18^{14-16}). In spite of this, as the biblical narrative continues (2 K 18^{17} to 19^{8}), Sennacherib sent his chief officer with an army to invest Jerusalem, but was obliged to return to Assyria again without having effected his purpose. The main points of this record agree with Sennacherib's own account: 'and Hezekiah himself I shut up like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem (Ur-Salimmu), his royal city. I threw up entrenchments against him, and when any one came out of the gate of the city, I punished him. The cities that had been taken away from him I cut off from his land and gave them to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron (Padî), and Gaza. In addition to his former assessment (see above, 'the 300 talents of silver and the 30 talents of gold'), I added other tribute, and exacted it from him. Dread of the greatness of my majesty overwhelmed Hezekiah; while the Bedawin (? Assyr. *amel Urbi*) and his own special warriors, whom he had collected together to defend Jerusalem, rendered him no assistance (*iršu baṭlâti*). In addition to the 30 talents of gold and 800 * talents of silver, precious stones, antimony † . . . his daughters and women from his harem, male and female slaves, he sent his ambassadors after me, to bring to Nineveh an extra gift of tribute and an expression of his fealty.'

To a later period (this we must infer from the fact that mention is made of the Ethiopian king Tirhakah, called Tarḳû by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal), belongs the account given in the Bible (2 K 19^{9-37}). It really appears as if Sennacherib had undertaken, shortly before his death, an expedition against the Arabians (cf. the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, and Herodotus II. 141), and had made use of the opportunity to march a second time against Hezekiah as well.

Shortly after this, on the 20th of Tebet 681 B.C., he was murdered by his own son, or, according to the account in 2 K 19^{37}, by his two sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer. The rebellion lasted till the 2nd of Adar, about a month and a half, because Esarhaddon, who had been appointed by Sennacherib to succeed him, was at that time absent in Armenia, whither the conspirators marched against him, only, however, to be defeated.

Esarhaddon thereupon ascended the throne

* Ku'i (קוה 1 K 10^{28}), on the other hand, is the Cilician coastland. Khilakku probably occurs in the Bible, Ezk 27^{11} ארוד וחילך, Arvad and Khelak. Thus both names for Cilicia are found in the OT.

* The annual tribute of 300 talents of silver imposed on Hezekiah was thus increased by 500 talents.

† Here follows an enumeration of a series of other special presents.

amidst general rejoicing, on 18th of Adar 681 B.C., and set himself to the task of rebuilding the town of Babylon, towards which he had always shown special favour.

Ashur-akhi-idina (*i.e.* 'Asur give still a brother'), the *Esarhaddon* of the Bible, reigned from B.C. 680–669. During his reign a great danger threatened Assyria, on account of an invasion of the Cimmerians (Gimirraï; their land was called Gamir; see above, p. 187[a], note), who joined with the Medes and burst like a storm upon the country. These Cimmerians were Eranian nomads, who, according to classical tradition, had originally come from the north coast of the Black Sea, and who had threatened even in the time of Sargon to cross the Caucasus into Armenia. There was a certain *Dusanni* of *Saparda* (סְפָרַד, Ob v.[20]), an *Ispakaï* of *Ishkûza* (אשכנז), a Median chief *Mamitiarsu*, and a *Kâstarit* of *Karkassi* (the Karkasia of the inscriptions of Sargon) in Media, who, in conjunction with the Mannæans, and with *Tiuspa*, leader of the Gimirraï, threatened the east frontier of Assyria, and more especially *Kishassu*, which, since the time of Sargon, had been an Assyr. town, and which probably they were successful in taking. Ashur-akhi-idina, however, advanced into Media as far as Patus'arra (Παστιγορεις, Strabo xv. 3), 'to the borders of the salt desert at the verge of the Bikni mountains' (or Demavend). In the north-west he conquered the Cilicians, who had allied themselves with Ishkallu of Tabal, Muggallu of Milida, and the Kuzzurakaï, enlisting Greek soldiers against them, as Berosus narrates.

Ashur-akhi-idina's chief successes, however, were in the West. After he had conquered and beheaded (676) the king of *Sidon*, Abdi-Milkut, he besieged king Ba'al in *Tyre*, and brought to a successful issue a very hazardous expedition to the remote land of *Bâzu* (בוז of Job 32[2]), in the interior of Arabia. He also led on two occasions (B.C. 674 and 671) expeditions to Egypt against the Pharaoh Tirhakah. He conquered Memphis (B.C. 671), and established over it an Assyr. vassal-king, Necho by name. The Assyr. troops advanced as far as Thebes (Ni'i, נא), so that Tirhakah was compelled to flee into his Ethiopian motherland. Ashur-akhi-idina was the first Assyr. king able to assume the proud title 'King of Assyria, Egypt, Paturisi (=Upper Egypt, פתרוס), and Kûs (Nubia or Ethiopia).' He boasted of the palaces he built, and especially of the great arsenal in Nebi-yunus, for the rebuilding of which, he tells us, 22 kings (of whom 10 were princes of towns in Cyprus) were compelled to send materials: Ba'al of Tyre, *Manasseh* (Minasî) of *Judah*, Kausgabri of Edom, Musur of Moab, and the kings of Ammon, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, Ashdod, Gebal, and Arvad.

Manasseh is also mentioned in the time of Assurbanipal, though only briefly, at the commencement of his reign (B.C. 668); and as the Bible account says that he reigned till 642, his transportation to Babylon, mentioned in the Books of Chronicles, must have taken place under Assurbanipal, and not under Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon was about to invade Egypt a third time, in B.C. 669, when he was taken ill on the journey. He died on the 10th of Araḫsamna (Marcheshvan) in the same year.

His son and successor, *Assur-bani-pal* (the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, the Osnappar of the Bible, Ezr 4[10]), B.C. 668–626, was marked out by Esarhaddon as heir to the throne with great solemnity on the 12th of Iyyar B.C. 669. After coming to the throne, he allowed his brother Šamaš-sum-ukin (Sammughes, or Saosduchinos), in accordance with Esarhaddon's wishes, to be crowned king of Babylon (in Iyyar B.C. 668). He was the last great king of Assyria. In his reign we clearly see the downfall of the Assyr. world-empire approaching. Assur-bani-pal had been educated from early youth in the arts and sciences of the Babylonians, and it is entirely owing to his literary tastes that we possess so many remains of old Bab. literature in new Assyr. copies (see above, p. 178[a]). He was a real Oriental despot, keeping his generals and armies busy in the provinces and along the frontiers, while he himself lived at home, with his wives, his sciences, and the service of his gods.

One of the first of Assur-bani-pal's undertakings was directed against Egypt. Tirhakah had regained possession of Memphis. The expedition, which had been broken off owing to the death of Esarhaddon, was resumed. Tirhakah was defeated and pursued to Thebes, whence, however, as before, he escaped to Ethiopia. The smaller princes of the delta were enrolled as Assyr. vassal-kings. Some of them (such as Necho of Sais) who tried to throw off the Assyr. yoke, and called in Tirhakah to help them, were compelled to go in chains to Nineveh. Necho obtained favour with Assurbanipal again, and was reinvested with the rule of Sais.* Meanwhile Tirhakah had died, and his nephew Tandamani (Tanut-Amon), son of Sabako, conquered Thebes and On (Heliopolis). Assurbanipal marched against Egypt a second time, drove out the king of Ethiopia, and made Necho's son Psamtik (Assyr. Pisamilku) Pharaoh B.C. 663. Afterwards Psamtik, by the help of the Ionian and Carian troops which Gyges, king of the Lydians, had sent to him, succeeded in freeing himself from the control of Assyria. The Gyges, just mentioned (Assyr. Gûgu), requested help from Assurbanipal, when the Cimmerians (see above) invaded Lydia in B.C. 657. His son Ardys drove out the Cimmerians from Lydia, and afterwards conquered the whole of Asia Minor up to the river Halys.

The might of Assyria spent itself, in the time of Assurbanipal, in the conflict with Babylonia and Elam. It was only after a furious struggle that Assurbanipal succeeded in defeating his insurrectionary brother *Samas-sum-ukin* (who in B.C. 648 threw himself, in despair on account of his defeat, into the flames of burning Babylon), and his allies the Elamites, and in conquering Susa B.C. 640, thus putting an end to the kingdom of Elam. *Samas-sum-ukin's* other allies, the Chaldæans, the Babylonian Aramæans, the kings of the West (probably Manasseh was amongst them) and of Arabia (specially of Ḳidru, *i.e.* קֵדָר, and Nabayati, *i.e.* נְבָיוֹת) were also subdued. These contests, however, so weakened the resources of Assyria, that revolt following on revolt was the order of the day, especially in the Mannæan and Median districts (between Armenia and Elam). Some expeditions against Akhsir, king of the Mannæans, against Birishkhadri, a Median, and against the sons of *Gâgi* (cf. Ezk 38 and 39, Gog and Magog, *i.e.* the land of Gog) and of Sakhi (the Sakes?), could not keep back for many decades the storm that was even now beginning to rage. With regard to the attacks instigated by *Tugdammi* (cf. Lygdamis, captain of the Cimmerians, Strabo i. 3. 21?) and his son *Sanda-kshatra* against Assyria, our information is based on dark hints contained in a prayer of Assurbanipal to Merodach, the god of the city of Babylon. Whether Assurbanipal reigned from B.C. 648–625 over Babylonia, under the name Kandalânu, known to us from contract-tablets and through Ptolemy, or whether this was the

* The same thing also probably happened in the case of Manasseh, only at a later time, when Assur-bani-pal was staying in Babylon (instead of Nineveh), probably shortly after the death of his rebellious brother Samas-sum-ukin (B.C. 648), whose ally Manasseh had been.

name of a rival king, cannot be definitely determined. We only know that after the death of Assurbanipal, the Chaldæan *Nabopolassar* (Nabû-pal-uṣur), who was originally one of Assurbanipal's generals, obtained for himself the Bab. throne (B.C. 625–605). In Assyria itself Assurbanipal was succeeded by his son *Asur-itil-ilâni* (the fuller form of which was Assur-itil-ilâni-ukin), who ruled at least four years, and by his other son *Sin-shar-ishkun* (at least seven years), who was probably the Sarakus of Berosus, and hence the last king Assyria ever had. It was in his day that the swamping of anterior Asia, by the Sakæan Scythians (mentioned in OT), the Umman-manda (or hordes of the Manda) of the Assyr. inscriptions, took place. This was only the prelude to the end. As a newly-discovered cylinder of the Bab. king Nabonidus relates, fifty-four years before the consecration of the temple of Sin in Harran, which had been destroyed by the Manda hordes, a Manda king, who was probably called Arbak,* working in conjunction, as the cylinder just mentioned clearly proves, with Nabopolassar (Belesys), razed to the ground the famous Assyrian capital. Nineveh probably fell into the hands of the Medes in 607, after a two years' siege, since the completion of the temple of Sin seems to belong to somewhere about the third year of Nabonidus (553).

Nahum's prophecy was literally fulfilled, and the whole of Western Asia breathed freely again when the stronghold of their tyrants was demolished. The small remaining territory (since the Pharaoh Necho II. had taken away Palestine and Syria) was divided between the Scythians, to whom the Medes of classical tradition (Cyaxares) belonged, and the Babylonians, Mesopotamia falling to the latter. The names Assur and Nineveh survived, to a large extent, because of the lasting effects of the influence of the Assyr. empire in politics and culture alike. Even down to the Christian era this is proved by (among other reasons) the fact that the whole district of the Euphrates and Tigris (including Babylonia) was called Assyria by the Greeks and Romans, and even to-day we call the science which has to do with the antiquities of both Assyria and Babylonia, and which has thrown new light on many important passages in Holy Writ—Assyriology.

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F. Hommel.

ASTAD (A 'Ασταά, B 'Αργαί, AV **Sadas**).—1322 or 3622 of his descendants are mentioned as returning with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5[18]). He is called Azgad (עַזְגָּד) in the can. books; and 1222 descendants are mentioned in the parallel list in Ezr 2[12] (B 'Ασγάδ, A 'Αβγάδ), 2322 in Neh 7[17] (B 'Ασγάδ, ℵ 'Αστάδ, A Αγεταάδ). He appears as Astath ('Αστάθ), 1 Es 8[38], when a second detachment of 111 return under Ezra (=Ezr 8[12], B 'Αστάδ, A 'Αζγάθ). Azgad appears among the leaders who sealed the covenant with Neh. (Neh 10[15] B 'Ασγάδ, A 'Αζγάδ).

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ASTATH.—See Astad.

ASTONIED, the past part. of the old verb *astony*, of which *astonish* is a later corruption,* is found only in OT, but there ten times, Ezr 9[3. 4], Job 17[8] 18[20], Is 52[14],† Jer 14[9], Ezk 4[17], Dn 3[24] 4[19] 5[9]. RV retains 'astonied' (and even changes 'astonished' into 'astonied' at Ezk 3[15]); but Amer. RV prefers 'astonished,' except Dn 5[9] where RV and Amer. RV give 'perplexed' (נְבָךְ, the only occurrence). See Astonished.

J. Hastings.

ASTONISHED.—This part. (the finite verb does not occur) had undoubtedly more force when AV was made than it has now. Perhaps the verb *astound*, which started off later from the orig. *astonien* or *astunien*, has carried away some of its strength. The orig. idea was to stun or stupefy as with a thunderbolt (Lat. *extonare* 'to thunder'; cf. Milton, *Hist. of Britain*, 'Astonished and struck with superstition as with a planet'; and the Argument to *Par. Lost*, Bk. i., 'Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished'); then to shock mentally, bewilder. The earliest occurrence of the part. seems to be in Coverdale's Bible (1535) at Jer 2[12], which was retained in AV, 'Be a., O ye heavens, at this, and be horribly afraid.' It is used 14 times in OT as tr. of שָׁמַם, once (Job 26[11]) of תָּמַהּ. In NT it is tr[n] of ἐκπλήσσω 10 times (9 times in Gosp., and always in ref. to Christ's words, except Mk 7[37] of His works; once in Ac 13[12] 'being a. at the teaching of the Lord'); of ἐξίστημι 6 times, of θαμβέω and θάμβος

* According to Ctesias, he was called Arbakes. A clear allusion to this name is found in Nabonidus' cylinder inscription, 'Vengeance took (*irība tukti*) the fearless king of Manda'; cf. *turru tukti* (=shakan gimilli), to take vengeance, and Heb. ריב, 1 S 25[39]. Justin i. 3 gives the fuller form Arbactus (prob. the Eranian Arba-tukhta, of which Arbak is a form of endearment).

* 'The suffix *ish* is, in most other words, only added where the derivation is from a French verb ending in *-ir*, and forming its pres. part. in *-issant*; so that the addition of it in the present case is unauthorized and incorrect. It was probably added merely to give the word a fuller sound, and from some dislike to the form *astony*, which was the form into which the M.E. *astonien* had passed.'—Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*[2] *s.v.*

† In this great passage (Is 52[14]) the edd. of AV subsequent to 1638 have generally changed what Scrivener calls 'the pathetic *astonied*' into 'the more commonplace *astonished*.' The Camb. Bible restores it.

περιέχει once each.* RV retains 'a.' throughout OT, but in NT changes it into 'amazed,' when the Gr. is other than ἐκπλήσσω. Astonishment is found only once in NT, Mk 5[42] 'they were a[ed] with a great a.' (RV 'amazed with a great amazement,' Gr. ἔκστασις) in ref. to the raising of Jairus' daughter. But RV adds Mk 16[8] 'trembling and a. had come upon them' (Gr. ἔκστασις, AV 'they trembled and were amazed'). In OT a. is more frequent. In Ps 60[3] 'thou hast made us to drink the wine of a.' (תַּרְעֵלָה, RV 'staggering'), the obs. physical sense of stupefaction is conveyed. (Cf. Is 51[17] 'thou hast drunken the bowl of the cup of staggering [same Heb.], and drained it.') As tr[n] of שַׁמָּה 'a.' freq. means *an object of a.*, and always in a strong sense; esp. in Jer., as 25[18] 'to make them a desolation, an a., an hissing, and a curse.'

J. HASTINGS.

ASTROLOGIAN is the more accurate form, having the classical termin. *-anus* added to a class. root. But while the analogous form *theologian* held its ground, astrologer with the Eng. term. *-er* drove this out. It is found in Dn 2[27], AV 1611, and Camb. Bible, but is replaced by astrologer in nearly all mod. editions. J. HASTINGS.

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY. — Heavenly bodies, in Genesis, are called 'lights' or 'bodies giving light' (מָאוֹר, pl. מְאוֹרֹת *ma'ôr, mĕ'ōroth*). Dillmann (*Genesis*) remarks that in no other work (of creation) is the object of their creation so fully indicated, and asks whether a silent contrast to heathen superstition, which was attached to the stars, may not lie therein. The object of the heavenly bodies is stated to be 'to divide between the day and the night,' and 'for signs, for seasons, and for days and years,' and it is for this purpose that they are fixed (lit. 'given,' נִיתַּן אֹתָם, 'and he [God] gave them') in the firmament. The whole account of the creation and placing of the heavenly bodies is, in fact, based on the old geocentric view of the ancient astronomers, which mainly prevailed until the birth of modern astronomy. The account as given in Gn, however, is correct for the time at which it was written, and suited the needs of the people to whom it was addressed. The heavenly bodies were among the great marvels of the creative power of God, and they are taken purely and simply from the point of view of what they are for us, and the effect they have upon our minds, regardless of any preconceived or acquired scientific ideas and theories that we may possess.

Not less than the Hebrews did the Babylonians and Assyrians regard the heavenly bodies as for signs and seasons, days and years; and this view was associated with their usual heathen ideas that the heavenly bodies were divinities. The following translation of the portion of the Bab. creation story, corresponding with Gn 1, will form a basis of comparison with the two accounts :—

'He (Merodach) formed the stations of the great gods—
stars were their likeness; he caused the *lumaši* † to be set;
he designated the year; he outlined the forms (of the constellations?);
he caused three stars ‡ to be assigned to each of the 12 months;
from the day of the year § he formed the figures;
he caused the station of Jupiter ‖ to be founded to make known their limits,
that an error might not be made, that none might sin.
He set with him the station of Bel and Ea;
he opened then great gates on both sides,
the bolt he made strong on the left and the right—
in its middle-point the zenith.
He caused Nannaru (the moon) to shine, (and) he ruled the night,
he designated him also as the thing of the night, to make known the time.
Monthly, without failing, he enclosed (him) in a ring,
at the beginning of the month to shine in the evening,
the horns proclaiming to make known the division (of time)—
on the seventh day with a [half]-ring.'

At this point the text is mutilated; but after the placing of the moon, the chief god of the Babylonians is represented as turning his attention to the sun, and 'when the sun arrived on the horizon of heaven,' he seems to have addressed and directed him as to his course. Imperfect as the Bab. text here is, it is nevertheless easy to see that it is the account of a nation who knew much more of astronomy, on the whole, than the Hebrews. This is, in fact, indicated by the large number of tablets from Babylonia and Assyria referring to astrology that have been found, as well as those referring to astronomy proper, in which the stars and planets are enumerated and classified, and their positions sometimes described. Catalogues of these works were made, and explanations how to use them were given. References, not only to stars, but also to comets, are found, but they are comparatively rare.

The Hebrews, in OT, do not seem to have looked on the stars from an astronomical or astrological point of view, but rather as signs placed in the heavens, one of their most important functions being to show the power of the Almighty. Thus we are told that He created them (Gn 1[16], Job 9[9], Ps 8[3] etc.), counts them, names them (Ps 147[4]), and has the whole of them in His power (Job 9[7]). To the horrors of His judgment-day it belongs that the stars lose their brightness (Is 13[10], Ezk 32[7], Lk 21[25], Jn 3[20], Rev 8[12]), fall from heaven like withered leaves (Is 34[4]—the stars are here called 'all the host of heaven'),—a simile in all probability derived from the observation of falling or 'shooting' stars, just as the reference, in Jude v.[13], to 'wandering stars' possibly derived its origin from the comets which came to excite the wonder and terror of the world. In the expression 'courses' of the stars (Jg 5[20]) it is the planets that are referred to. The distance of the stars from the earth seems to have struck the nations of the ancient world, hence the mention of the stars in Job 22[12], cf. also Is 14[13]. The comparison of their brightness is made in 1 Co 15[41], and their great number referred to in He 11[12].

The stars are, as a rule, indicated by the usual word כּוֹכָב *kôkāb*, Arab. *kawkab*, Syr. *kawkebâ*, Eth. *kawkab* and *kōkab*, Assyr. *kakkabu*. One of the poetic expressions for 'stars' is כּוֹכְבֵי בֹקֶר 'stars of the morning,' an expression applied apparently to the angels (Job 38[7]); and the words 'morning star' could also be applied to a man who was considered to be great, like the high priest Simon (Sir 50[6]); to a thing greatly to be desired, as 'salvation' (2 P 1[19]) and 'heavenly glory' (Rev 2[28]); and, finally, to Christ Himself (Rev 22[16]).

The date at which the stars were divided into constellations is very remote, and there is considerable uncertainty as to the approximate period and the people with whom this division had its origin. In all probability, however, it is due to the Chaldæans, who seem to have had it from the Akkadians, most of the names of the signs of the zodiac and constellations being written in the non-Sem. dialect of ancient Babylon. The Hebrews, in their turn, may have obtained their knowledge of the constellations from the Chaldæans, but we have no real evidence of the fact.

The well-known constellation of the Great Bear, עָשׁ *'āsh* (Job 9[9]) or עַיִשׁ *'ayish* (fem. Job 38[32]),* is said to be connected with *na'sh* 'a bier,' the name of that constellation in Arabic. The 'sons' of *'Ayish* (עַיִשׁ) are spoken of in Job 38[32], and are regarded as the three stars in the tail of the bear, a parallel to the Arab. expression *banāt na'sh* 'the daughters of the bier,' which means the

* Besides ἐξίστημι (Jth 11[16] 13[17] 15[1], Sir 43[18], 1 Mac 16[22]) and θαμβέω (Wis 17[3], 1 Mac 6[8]), the Apocr. gives 'a.' as tr[n] of ταράσσω (Jth 14[7]), πτοέω (Jth 16[11]), ἐκπλήσσω (Wis 13[4]), and κατακπλήσσω (2 Mac 3[24]), thereby showing more clearly the force of the Eng. word.

† The *lumaši* were seven in number, and seem to have been constellations, among them being *Arcitenens*.

‡ Or, possibly, constellations.

§ Apparently = new year's day.

‖ So Jensen. The original word is Nibiru, regarded by Fried. Delitzsch in 1885 as being = Heb. מַעְבָּר *ma'abhār*, 'place of passing,' here = 'zodiac.'

* For 'the bear' of the RV the AV has 'Arcturus.'

same thing. The Arab. legend connected with the constellation of the Great Bear is as follows :—

Na'sh having been killed by Gedî (the pole star), the children of Na'sh (the sons in front with the body of their father, the daughter behind with the nurse, who carries a child in her arms) go round nightly seeking the murderer, with the hope of avenging their father's death. Canopus (Arab. *Suhêl*), however, wishes to go to the help of Gedî, but, having set out too late, finds himself always foiled, not being able to reach his point in time to prevent the approaching catastrophe. Whether some legend similar to this was attached to the constellation by the ancient Hebrews is uncertain, and, whilst admitting a likeness in the Heb. and Arab. names, the differences in their forms must, nevertheless, not be forgotten. Fried. Delitzsch points out that the Heb. עָשׁ elsewhere (Job 4^{19} etc.) means 'a moth,' and that a star bearing that name (*sâsu* 'moth') seems to have been known to the Assyro-Babylonians (*WAI* ii. 49, 64). M. A. Stern (in the *Jüd. Zeitschr.* 1866) regards this constellation as the Pleiades.

Another constellation mentioned is Orion, in Heb. כְּסִיל (Job 9^9 38^{31}, Am 5^8), pl. כְּסִילִים (Is 13^{10}).* The word means, literally, 'the fool,' or 'impious one,' corresponding with Arab. *jabbār*, Syr. *gabbārā*,† Chald. *niphla* 'the giant,' the name given to this constellation by the Semites of old because regarded as the figure of a man—probably one of the larger male figures seen on those Bab. boundary-stones which show figures of the constellations. Gesenius suggests that they (the Hebrews, etc.) seem to have looked on this constellation as the figure of an impious giant bound in the sky, whence Job 38^{31} 'Canst thou loose the bands of Orion?' The plural in Is 13^{10} 'constellations,' means, literally, 'the Orions'—the giant constellations of the sky, prominent by their brightness. A very ingenious suggestion is that quoted in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Cedrenus, John of Antioch, and others, from Pers. sources, that Chesil or Orion is the impious giant Nimrod chained to the heavens. This, however, is late, and probably has no solid basis as its origin.

The well-known passage in Job (9^9) supplies us also with the word for the Pleiades, כִּימָה *kîmah*, Syr. *kima*, Arab. *thurayyā*, words meaning 'heap,' 'cluster,' 'plenty,' 'multitude,' from the seven larger stars and the smaller ones closely grouped therewith. The Arabs also call the Pleiades *an-najm* 'the star,' or 'cluster' *par excellence*, said to be so named on account of their monthly conjunction with the moon, by which they served to measure time, and thus rule the calendar. In Job 38^{31}, מַעֲדַנּוֹת כִּימָה, 'the cluster (AV 'sweet influences') of the Pleiades' is mentioned, corresponding with the Arab. *'aḳd ath-thurayya*. The Rabbis (see R. David Kimchi in his Lexicon) thought that the 'bands of the Pleiades' referred to their influence upon vegetation, *kîmāh* having great cold, and binding up the fruit, though R. Isaac described the influence of the Pleiades as being the reverse of this, ripening the fruits. In the Pers. poets (Sadi, Hafiz, etc.) these stars are regarded as a brilliant rosette with a central star, etc.

The popular name used by Luther, 'die Glucke,' *i.e.* 'the clucking hen,' reminds one of the English name 'hen and chickens,' and the French *poussinière*, O.F. *pulsinière*. The appearance of the constellation of the Pleiades being conventionally that of a large star surrounded by several smaller ones, was likened to a brood-hen with her chickens under her wings, hence this name; and for this reason the Pleiades were also supposed to be the same as Succoth-benoth, which is rendered by R. David Kimchi 'hen (with) chickens.' This name for the Pleiades, which occurs in the Targ. to Job, is said also to be usual with the Arabs. Whether the Hebrews of ancient times had also this idea, is uncertain, and seems to be improbable. It is to be noted that Fried. Delitzsch denies the meaning 'star-cluster' for this constellation, and connects כִּימָה *kîmah* with the Assyr. *kimtu* 'family,' explaining it as the 'family of stars,'—an etymology which does not invalidate, as will be seen, the popular legends concerning it.

נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ 'the fleeing serpent,' or 'swift serpent' (Job 26^{13}), has been regarded as the sign of the dragon, between the Great and the Little Bear; but this identification is very uncertain. It would seem, however, to be something connected with the sky, as is indicated by the first part of the verse: 'By his spirit are the heavens garnished' (RV), or, 'beauty' (m).

The sign of the Twins (Castor and Pollux, AV; The Twin Brothers, RV; Gr. Διόσκουροι) is mentioned as the name of a ship in Ac 28^{11}.*

The word מַזָּרוֹת *mazzārôth* (a plural form, Job 38^{32}), is, with common consent, regarded as signifying 'the signs' of the zodiac, which come forth 'in their season,' and, as is implied, could not be led forth by a man. In 2 K 23^5 occurs the word מַזָּלוֹת *mazzālôth*, translated 'planets' in the AV and RV, with the marginal reading 'twelve signs' of the zodiac. This word is compared by Jensen and others with the Assyr. *manzalti*, *WAI* iii. 59. 35, a comparison which is not without its difficulties, as, if correct, it would imply complete ignorance of the root of the Assyr. word on the part of the Heb. scribes, *manzalti* being for *manzazti*,† by a common law of interchange between *z* and *l*—ignorance which would not, however, be altogether inexcusable, as the Chaldee form is מַזָּלְיָא *mazzālayā*, and, though unprovided with the feminine ending, would present the same root, the individual signs being מַזָּל, *mazzāl*. The Chaldee forms themselves, however, seem rather to increase the difficulty of connecting מַזָּלוֹת with the Assyr. *manzalti*.

That expression in Job 9^9 which accompanies the names of the constellations, namely, חַדְרֵי תֵימָן *ḥadrê têmān*, 'the chambers of the south' (=Arab. *akhādīr al-janūb* or *mukhādi' al-janūb*), is one of peculiar interest. Gesenius would render it 'the most remote southern regions'; but it seems better to regard it as meaning 'the southern constellations,' some of which, in all probability, represented pictorially 'chambers,' from which heathen (divine) creatures looked out, similar to the reliefs representing the constellations on the Bab. boundary-stones. Should this explanation be correct, 'the chambers of the south' would be in contradistinction to *mazzaroth* or *mazzaloth* 'the constellations' (of the north), but the uncertainty of the exact signification of the two expressions makes every attempt at explanation unsatisfactory. A point to be noted is that an Arab. translation of Job 9^9 mentions 'the heart of the south,' a name of Suhel or Canopus, the principal star in the constellation of the Ship (Delitzsch, *Job*, 2nd ed. p. 128 n.), which marks, by its rising,

* The LXX has Ἕσπερος in Job 9^9; Ὠρίων in Job 38^{31}. The LXX of Amos 5^8 differs entirely from the received text of the Heb.

† Also called in Syr. *'iyûthā*, a word which is said also to mean Aldebaran, Capella, and the Pleiades.

* The Bab. names of the signs of the zodiac were (about B.C. 500) as follows: The Workman=the Ram; *Mulu* and the Bull of Heaven=Taurus; *Sîb-zi-anna*, and the Great Twins=Gemini; *Allul*=Cancer; the Great Dog=Leo; the Ear of Corn=Virgo; *Zibanit*=Libra; the Scorpion=Scorpius; *Papilsag*=Arcitenens; the Fish-goat=Caper; Gula=Amphora; the Water-channel and the Tails=Pisces. There were also many other constellations, the number of which is uncertain.

† The changes would be *manzazti*, *manzarti*, *manzalti*, *mazzalti*.

the season in which the fruit becomes ripe through the increase of the heat. The 'heart of the south' would seem to go with and explain the 'chambers of the south.'

Venus is apparently mentioned (Is 14^{12}) under the name הֵילֵל *hêlēl*, 'the shining one,' with the addition בֶּן־שָׁחַר 'son of the morning,' *i.e.* Lucifer, the day-star, a name of Venus as the morning star, to which the king of Babylon is, in this passage, compared. This Heb. word agrees in meaning with that used for Venus in Arab., namely, *zuharah* 'splendid (star),' and is from the same root as the Assyr. *êlēlu* 'to be bright.' Strange to say, however, no Assyr. name for Venus from this root has been as yet found, the word generally quoted, *muštililu*, being a ghost-word, due to a faulty copy.* As the Assyrians knew, from the earliest times, that Venus as a morning and as an evening star was the same, it is probable that the Hebrews were aware of the fact also.†

In Am 5^{26}, where it is said, 'Yea, ye have borne Siccuth your king, and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves' (RV), there is hardly any doubt that Chiun (כִּיּוּן *kiyyûn*) is the Assyr. *kâwanu* (or, as read by some, *kaiwanu*), the planet Saturn, which was known to the Bab. and Assyr. under that name, preserved in Arab. under the form *kaiwān*, and in the Peshitta as *kaiwānā*, and of which the Ῥαιφάν of the LXX is supposed to be a corruption. The pointing of the Heb. form is regarded by Schrader as incorrect, and he therefore writes, upon the model of the Arab., etc., כֵּיוָן *kēwān*.‡ Chiun or Kēwān does not properly belong to Heb. astronomy, but it probably gives us the name of the planet Saturn among the Hebrews, who seem to have worshipped him under the form of the star which represented him.

Mention of the **sun** is common, but the passages in which it is referred to are rather general than truly astronomical. It is used to indicate the time of the day, as 'when the sun went down' (Gn 15^{17}), 'till the sun be hot' (Neh 7^{3}); comparison, as 'clear as the sun' (Ca 6^{10}), etc. etc. In the account of the Creation it is called the 'greater' of the 'two great lights' (Gn 1^{16}), made 'to rule the day,' and set in the firmament of the heaven 'to give light upon the earth,' and, with the lesser light, 'to divide the light from the darkness' (vv.$^{16\text{-}19}$). The sun would also be included among the lights in the firmament of the heaven in v.^{14}, which were 'for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years.' It will be seen from this that the astronomical ideas of the Hebrews with regard to the sun were strictly those of an observer on the surface of the earth, and were based upon the strictly practical view of its value in the matters of everyday life—in fact, they were the ideas generally held by the people of that and succeeding ages until the birth of modern astronomy. If we had the Bab. account of the Creation complete, we should in all probability find therein views embodying those in the first chap. of Genesis. What may be regarded as a poetical astronomical view of the sun in his course is that contained in Ps $19^{4\text{-}5}$, where the 'tabernacle of the sun' is mentioned, and he is compared to 'a bridegroom coming out of his chamber,' and 'rejoicing as a strong man to run his course.' This poetical description of the sun, however, reminds one of those Bab. cylinder-seals on which the sun-god is represented as a man, from whom rays of light stream forth so dazzling that the divine attendants who open the doors which enclose him are obliged to look the other way whilst performing this duty.* The going forth of the sun 'from the end of heaven,' and the 'circuit unto the ends of it' (v.^{6}), refer, naturally, to the daily journey of the sun, which, as it would seem from this passage, had been noticed to be a curved course in the heavens. As with the Babylonians and Assyrians, the sun was used to mark the points of the compass, east being 'the rising sun,' west 'the setting sun,' etc. The indication of the different parts of the day from the position of the sun was, no doubt, from actual observation, the use of sun-dials (see below) not being by any means common in the ancient East. For further information see SUN.

There is no express mention of **eclipses** in the Bible, but certain expressions, such as 'I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day' (Am 8^{9}), have been regarded as referring to something of the kind. In the case of the above quotation, the fact that noon is mentioned in connexion with the sun going down might well refer to an eclipse; but in the case of Mic 3^{6}, Zec 14^{6}, Joel $2^{10.\ 31}$ 3^{15}, which were formerly taken to refer to eclipses, this can hardly be the reference, as the phenomena accompanying the obscuration of the sun and the moon do not favour that view. So also the passing reference in Jer 15^{9} 'her sun is gone down while it was yet day,' can only mean that 'good fortune has ceased for her.' Reference to an eclipse has been seen also in 2 K 20^{11}, Is 38^{8}, where the shadow going back ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz is spoken of; but real observation under natural conditions would be necessary before accepting this as being conclusive or even probable. This supposed eclipse has been identified with an annular eclipse of the sun in 689 B.C. (Bosanquet in the *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 31 ff., vol. v. p. 261, etc.). The same writer also understands Ezk 30^{18} $32^{7\text{-}8}$ to refer to the total eclipse of the sun in B.C. 556; but there is the same objection to this as to the supposed references in Micah, Zech., and Joel.

The Hebrews had more than one word for the **moon** (see MOON), serving to designate the luminary in a general sense, when full, and when new. The apparent motions of the moon were well known to the Hebrews, as it was by that heavenly body that their festivals were fixed; and it has a special importance, because the Heb. year, like that of the Babylonians, was lunar, and was used to fix 'signs and seasons' more, probably, than any other heavenly body. The moon played a part just as important in Bab. astronomy, for there was not only a large series of forecasts connected with its movements, but it was also used, as with the Hebrews, to determine the beginning of the month, and thus to fix the dates of the various festivals, etc. (FESTIVALS). The Heb. idea of the moon as 'the lesser light to rule the night,' finds its echo in the Bab. account of the creation of the heavenly bodies (translated above), in which she is described as the ruler of the night, the indicator of the beginning of the month, and apparently (by her changes) the divider of the month into weeks. It is not unlikely that the Hebrews learned these astronomical uses of our satellite from the Babylonians, probably at some early period, and also during the Captivity, by which time Bab.

* The Assyr. word for the planet Venus is generally read Dilbat, more correctly Delebat (Δειλέφατ), explained as *Nabat kakkabu* 'the star Nabat,' or '(she who) proclaims.'

† It is to be noted that the Heb. word *hêlēl* is masc., and in this resembles Heosphoros (Hesperus); but the name in Assyr., Arab., etc., is fem. The name Lucifer, applied to Satan, is due to Hieronymus and the Fathers of the Church, and apparently had its origin in the legend of the fall of the angels, introduced into the works of Bishop Avitus, the poet Cædmon, and Milton in *Par. Lost* (cf. Lk 10^{18}, Rev $12^{7\text{ff.}}$).

‡ Schrader reads in the same passage *Sakkûth* for *Siccuth*, and compares this word with the cuneiform Sak-kut, one of the names of the god Ninip, worshipped of old in Babylonia.

* A very poetical hymn to the sun-god, from Borsippa, describes him when going to rest, and speaks of the greetings of the bolts and the satisfaction of the door of heaven on his arrival at the end of his daily journey.

astronomy had made great progress. Eclipses of the moon seem not to be referred to in the Bible.

In all probability most of the nations of the ancient East had, like the Babylonians and Assyrians, professional astrologers, by whom the stars were consulted, horoscopes drawn, and lucky days predicted, for such as wished to know what the future had in store for them, so that they might 'know the ordinances of heaven,' and their 'dominion in the earth' (Job 38^{33}). The Hebrews, however, seem to have been less of astrologers than the nations around, for the prophet Jeremiah (10^{2}) exhorts them not to learn the way of the nations, and not to be dismayed at the signs of heaven, for the nations were dismayed at them, implying that the Hebrews, at least at that time, did not imitate 'the nations' in the matter of astrology to any great extent, though there was, in truth, a tendency to do so. The antiquity and reality of the belief in the influences of the stars in the ancient East is well brought home to us in Deborah's triumphal song, where she says 'the stars in their courses fought against Sisera' (Jg 5^{20}), which, though only a poetical figure, is sufficiently characteristic.

Older, however, than the above, are the many tablets of the Babylonians and Assyrians referring to forecasts. Through a long series of years, probably extending into four millenniums, these nations seem to have carried on observations, which they quoted, with the omens derived from current events, for future reference. Again and again, moreover, we meet with communications which passed between the Assyr. kings and the astrologers, in which the former inquired what the stars indicated with regard to Assyria and the nations around. Thus we meet with such predictions as, 'If, upon the 16th day (of the month Ab), an eclipse happen, the king of Akkad will die, Nergal (*i.e.* pestilence) will destroy the land.' 'If, on the 16th day (of the month Elul), an eclipse happen, the king of a foreign land or the king of Ḫatte will come and take the throne. Rain from heaven and flood from the channel will overflow.' The planets and the sun and moon also furnished omens of a similar nature, for it was supposed that what had happened before would, under similar astral influences, happen again.

When, accordingly, the Hebrews came into close contact and relationship with the Assyrians and Babylonians, they found them to be nations among whom astrology, far from being forbidden and in disfavour, was a recognised institution, resorted to by all, from the king downwards—a venerable 'science.' The desire to know the future was, no doubt, as strong in the breasts of the Hebrews as in those of their conquerors, and they must often have resorted to those 'astrologers,' 'stargazers,' and 'monthly prognosticators' (Is 47^{13}) of whom the prophet speaks so contemptuously. The astrologers are called חֹבְרֵי שָׁמַיִם (Ḳerê), generally rendered 'dividers of the heavens'; the stargazers הַחֹזִים בַּכּוֹכָבִים, lit. 'those who gaze on the stars'; the monthly prognosticators מוֹדִעִים לֶחֳדָשִׁים, AVm 'that give knowledge concerning the months'—probably those who predicted at every new moon what was likely to happen during the coming month. In Dn 1^{20} 2^{2} etc., the RV has rightly 'enchanters' for the 'astrologers' (אַשָּׁפִים) of the AV, and the same remark holds good for the Aramaic form אָשָׁפִין in v.^{27} etc. These biblical expressions for the various kinds of astrologers, it must be noted, are, to all appearance, true Hebrew words, not borrowings from the Assyrians and Babylonians, showing, in all probability, that celestial forecasts were far from being altogether novelties with the Hebrews. Nevertheless, as has been already remarked, they seem to have been generally averse to divination of this kind, partly on account of the general prohibition against the use of divination and the practice of augury (Dt 18^{10-14}, 2 K 21^{6}), partly because such of the people as were rigid monotheists (and among these we must class all OT writers) looked upon the heavenly bodies as the objects of adoration by the heathen nations around, and mentioned them therefore but seldom—partly because they had but little need to speak of them, but also because they wished to avoid reference to those things likely to call up in the mind of the reader heathen practices.

T. G. PINCHES.

ASTYAGES (Ἀστυάγης, so Herodotus, Xenophon; Assyr. *Istuvigu*) was the son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, B.C. 584. His wife was the daughter of Alyattes, king of Lydia, his sister was the queen of Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, and Cyrus was his daughter's son by a Persian father. According to *Bel and the Dragon* (v.^{1}), when A. was gathered to his fathers, 'Cyrus of Persia received his kingdom.' Not, however, in the way of ordinary succession. Herodotus (i. 127–130), confirmed by the *Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus* (*RP* 2nd Ser. v. 159) records that when A. marched against the disaffected Persians under Cyrus, his own troops deserted him or would not fight, and he was defeated and taken prisoner, thus losing his crown in B.C. 549, after a reign of 35 years. He was the last of the line of Median kings (known on the monuments as kings of the Manda), who had reigned 150 years—the list being as follows:—Deioces (Daiukku), B.C. 699–646; Phraortes (Fravartis), B.C. 646–624; Cyaxares (Kastariti), B.C. 624–584; Astyages (Istuvigu), B.C. 584–549.

LITERATURE.—*Herodotus*, i. 123–130; *RP* v. 144 ff. (cf. vol. iii. p. xiii ff.); *Story of the Nations*, Media, chs. viii., ix.; Sayce, *HCM* p. 499 ff.; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Geschichte*, pp. 463, 468.

T. NICOL.

ASUR (Ἀσούρ, AV Assur), 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons returned among the temple servants under Zerubbabel. Called Harhur (חַרְחוּר, Ἀρούρ), Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ASYLUM.—See REFUGE.

ASYNCRITUS (Ἀσύγκριτος, Ἀσυν-, *Asyncritus*), Ro 16^{14}.—A Christian greeted by St. Paul with four others 'and the brethren that are with them,' perhaps members of the same small community. The name occurs in Rom. Ins. *CIL* vi. 12,565, of a freedman of Augustus. See Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 427. For later traditions, which may be neglected, see *Acta Sanct.*, April, i. 741; June, iv. 6.

A. C. HEADLAM.

ATAD (גֹּרֶן הָאָטָד, 'thorn'), Gn 50^{10-11}.—Appears to have been 'over Jordan' (see ABEL-MIZRAIM), a threshing-floor on the road to Hebron. The site is unknown.

ATAR (A Ἀτάρ, B omits, AV Jatal), 1 Es 5^{28}.—His sons were among the porters or door-keepers who returned with Zerubbabel. Called Ater, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

ATARAH (עַטָרָה), wife of Jerahmeel and mother of Onam (1 Ch 2^{26}).

ATARGATIS.—The worship of this Syrian goddess is nowhere named in the canonical books, but in 2 Mac 12^{26} mention is made of a temple of Atargatis (RV Atergatis) at Carnion in Gilead (Ἀταργατεῖον, Ἀτεργατεῖον, A, the former being shown by inscriptions to be the more correct form of the name). In inscriptions discovered at Delos this goddess is generally joined with Adad, and once she is styled Ἀφροδίτη Ἀτάργατις. In Palestine the principal seat of her worship was at Ashkelon, where she was probably identified with the Heavenly

Aphrodite (whose temple is named by Herodotus, i. 105). Another famous shrine of Atargatis was at Hierapolis, or Bambyce (Mabug), on the Euphrates (Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 14; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 23). At both these shrines sacred fish were kept, and at Ashkelon the goddess herself was represented as a woman with a fish's tail (Lucian, *l.c.*; comp. Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 44–46). According to the Gr. version of the legend, Atargatis, or Derceto (to use the shorter form of the name, more commonly found in Gr.), was a maiden, inspired by Aphrodite with love for a youth who was worshipping at her shrine. By him Derceto became the mother of a daughter; but, filled with shame, she threw herself into the water at Ashkelon, or at Hierapolis, whereupon she was changed into a fish (Diod. Sic. ii. 4). According to Hyginus, *Astron*, ii. 30, she was saved by a fish. The child, who had been exposed, was brought up at the temple of Aphrodite, and became the famous Assyrian queen Semiramis.

Older derivations of the name have become obsolete since the discovery on coins and Palmyrene inscriptions of the true Sem. form of the name עתרעתה or עתרעתו. In the first part of this word we may recognise the Aram. form of the name which appears in Assyr. as Ishtar, in Heb. as Ashtoreth (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת), and in Phœnician as Astarte (עַשְׁתָּרֹת). Comp. also *Ἀθάρα* in Strabo, xvi. 27. The second portion of the name is usually understood to be the title of another deity, Ati or Attah, whose name is found in Melito, *Apology* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* v. 1228), on inscriptions from Phœnicia and (in proper names) from Palmyra, and perhaps also in such personal names as Alyattes, Sadyattes, etc. For the compound name we might then compare Astar-Chemosh of the Moabite Stone. Lagarde, however, shows (*Mittheilungen*, i. 77) that this explanation is not free from difficulties. The Gr. legend, the sacred fish at Ashkelon and Hierapolis, and the representations of Atargatis as half woman, half fish, all point to an original connexion between this goddess and the water; and she is probably a personification of the fertilising power of water.

Carnion, a town which may probably be identified with Ashteroth-karnaim (Gn 14^5), was taken and destroyed by Judas Maccabæus during an expedition into Gilead about B.C. 163, and the inhabitants who fled to the temple of Atargatis were put to death (2 Mac 12^{18-29}, cf. 1 Mac 5^{24-45}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 4).

LITERATURE.—On Atargatis, see, further, Baudissin in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*² i. 736–740; Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, p. 1199; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 13 f., Index, p. 91 f.; W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 159 f. H. A. WHITE.

ATAROTH (עֲטָרוֹת, עַטְרוֹת, 'crowns'), the name of several towns east and west of Jordan.—**1.** Ataroth, Nu $32^{3.34}$, is in both places named next Dibon, which is identified with the present *Dhibân* (see DIBON), and Ataroth is doubtless *Khŭrbet 'Attarûs* on *Jebel 'Attarûs*, which latter may be the Atrothshophan of v.^{35}. It is 3 or 4 miles east of Machærus, where the Baptist was imprisoned and murdered. The objection that it is said to have been built by the children of Gad, while this site is in the territory of Reuben, would apply also to Dibon and Aroer; it only proves that the tribes were greatly intermingled, or at first aided one another (as Jg 1^3) in conquering and possessing their territories. **2.** Jos 16^2, a town on the border of Benjamin and Ephraim, towards its western extremity. Conder recognises it in the modern *Ed-Dârich*, on the W. slope of the hill which lies south of Bethhoron-the-nether. **3. Ataroth-addar**, Jos 16^5 18^{13}, apparently the same as the preceding. **4.** Jos 16^7, a town on the same boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh, but towards its *eastern* extremity, next Naarath (which see). Conder suggests Tell et-Trûny in the Jordan Valley, or Khŭrbet Kaswal, also called Kh. et-Taiyireh. The name is lost. Dômeh, the Edumia of the *Onomasticon*, with its ancient rock-cut tombs, is about the place one would look for it. Three places, one 4 miles north of Samaria, a second, 6 miles north of Bethel, a third, 7 miles north of Jerusalem, now bear the name Atâra, but are unnamed in Scripture. **5. Atroth-beth-Joab**, 1 Ch 2^{54}, possibly = Atarites. A family is more probably meant than a place.

A. HENDERSON.

ATER.—**1.** (אָטֵר 'binder'?) The ancestor of certain temple porters who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr $2^{16.42}$, Neh $7^{21.45}$. **2.** (A *Ἀτήρ*, B *Ἀζήρ*, AV **Aterezias**, reading *Ἀτὴρ Ἐζεκίου* as one word) 1 Es 5^{15}; cf. Ezr 2^{16}. His sons returned with Zerubbabel. The title '(son of) Hezekiah' was probably given to distinguish him from Ater (**1**).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ATERGATIS.—See ATARGATIS.

ATETA (A *Ἀτητά*, B om.: AV Teta, from the Aldine *Τητά*), 1 Es 5^{28} = Hatita, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

ATHACH (עֲתָךְ), 1 S 30^{30}.—An unknown town in the south of Judah.

ATHAIAH (עֲתָיָה).—A man of Judah dwelling in Jerus. (Neh 11^4). See GENEALOGY.

ATHALIAH (עֲתַלְיָה 'whom J" has dragged roughly'),* daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (2 K 8^{18}), called daughter of Omri, 2 K 8^{26}, 2 Ch 22^2. She married Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (2 K 8^{18}, 2 Ch 18^1 21^6); and as she inherited her mother's strong character, her influence for evil was predominant over both her husband and her son (2 K $8^{18.27}$, 2 Ch $22^{3.4}$). Under her influence the cult of the Zidonian Baal prevailed in Judah to such a degree that the temple of J" was 'broken up' (2 Ch 24^7),—the materials being probably used for the temple of Baal,—so that a thorough restoration was needed in the following reign. On the death of Ahaziah, Athaliah, who enjoyed already much authority as queen mother, and probably had a considerable following among the people, procured the massacre of all her grandchildren, Joash alone escaping, and Athaliah was queen of Israel for six years. No particulars are recorded of her reign, but the circumstances of her deposition are related minutely. According to 2 K 11, the high priest Jehoiada, having won over 'the captains over hundreds, of the Carites and of the guard,' arranged that the portion of them who formed the temple guard on the Sabbath day should be posted in three equal divisions at the three main approaches to the temple, *i.e.* (*a*) the entry from the palace (Jos.; cf. 1 K 10^5, 2 K 16^{18}); (*b*) 'the gate Sur'; (*c*) 'the gate behind the guard' (Ewald's idea [*HI* iv. p. 135], that 'the watch of the king's house' means the usual palace guard, seems inconsistent with Jehoiada's words in v.^{6}); while the other two companies should not go off guard as usual, but 'compass the king round about' wherever he went. Additional solemnity was given to the proceedings by the use made of David's dedicated armour. See JEHOASH. Roused by the unusual noise caused by the acclamations which greeted the coronation of Joash, Athaliah came into the temple alone, her guard having been prevented from following her (Jos. *Ant.* IX. vii. 3). The truth flashed upon her at once; 'she rent her clothes, and cried, Treason, treason!' Any

* Cheyne suggests the Assyr. root עתל 'to be or become great' (as in *etellitu*, 'lady,' 'queen'); then Athaliah = 'J" is exalted.' (See *Expos. Times*, vii. 484, 568, viii. 48.)

sympathy that might have been evoked was cowed by the overwhelming display of force. The sacred precincts might not be polluted with her blood, 'so they made way for her,' and she passed out, and was struck down 'by the way of the horses' entry to the king's house.' The variations of the Chronicler (2 Ch 23) from this account are characteristic. Under the second temple, uncircumcised foreigners were not permitted to approach holy things; he therefore substitutes for 'the Carites and the guard' the courses of priests and Levites whose weeks of service began and ended respectively on that Sabbath. They are posted at (*a*) 'the king's house,' (*b*) 'the gate of the foundation' (מוֹסָד for סוֹר), (*c*) 'the doors.' The captains—five in number, whose names are given—having been thus deprived of their men, are represented as 'set over the host' (v.[14]), *i.e.* the whole population capable of bearing arms, and are obliged to 'go about in Judah, and gather the Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the heads of fathers' houses,' to Jerusalem. The young king is publicly presented to 'all the congregation,' not, as in Kings, secretly to the captains alone. The people, who take a very subordinate part in Kings, fill, with the Levites not on duty (cf. 2 Ch 5[11]), the temple courts. Thus, while in Kings the deposition of Athaliah is effected by a sudden *coup d'état* carried out by the high priest and foreign mercenaries, and every precaution is taken against a popular rising in Athaliah's favour; in Chron. it is the act of the whole nation, constitutionally represented by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and it is executed in the most deliberate and orderly fashion.

'The sons of Athaliah,' 2 Ch 24[7], has been explained to mean (*a*) Ahaziah and his brethren before they were carried away, 2 Ch 21[17] (Jos. *Ant.* IX. viii. 2); or (*b*) the priests of Baal (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.*, *in loc.*); or (*c*) her illegitimate children.

2. 1 Ch 8[26], a Benjamite dwelling in Jerus. **3.** Ezr 8[7], father of Jeshaiah, who was one of Ezra's companions. N. J. D. WHITE.

ATHARIM (דֶּרֶךְ הָאֲתָרִים), Nu 21[1].—Either, a proper name of a place from which the route was named; so RV 'the way of Atharim,' as LXX,—or, 'the way of tracks,' *i.e.* a regular caravan road (cf. Arab. *'Ithr*, a trace). The rendering of AV, 'way of the spies,' follows Targ. and Syr.; אתרים may then be a plur. of אתר in a sense slightly different from that given above, or = מְרַגְּלִים 'spies.' The 'way of Atharim' will then be that described in Nu 13[21-25]. See HORMAH. A. T. CHAPMAN.

ATHENIANS (Ἀθηναῖοι, Ac 17[21]; Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 17[22] AV, RV 'men of Athens').—Inhabitants of ATHENS.

ATHENOBIUS (Ἀθηνόβιος, 1 Mac 15[28-36]), a friend of Antiochus VII. Sidetes. When Antiochus had gained some successes against Tryphon, he sent Athenobius to Jerusalem to remonstrate with Simon Maccabæus for the occupation of Joppa, Gazara, the citadel of Jerusalem, and certain places outside Judæa. Simon was ordered to surrender his conquests or to pay an indemnity of 1000 talents of silver; but he refused to promise more than 100 talents, and with this answer A. was obliged to return in indignation to the king. H. A. WHITE.

ATHENS (Ἀθῆναι).—St. Paul having sent Timotheus away, 'thought it good to be left at Athens alone' (1 Th 3[1]). From Ac 17 we learn what he did and said during his solitary stay. Leaving aside the history of A., I shall describe the aspect of this famous city in St. Paul's epoch. St. Paul, like Apollonius of Tyana, landed at the Piræus, and, like him, would have walked to A. by the new road, called Hamaxitos, which ran north of the ancient roadway, already encumbered with the ruins of the great wall of Pericles.

Pausanias, in his description of A. (i. 1. 4), and Philostratus,* relate that along this road were raised at intervals altars to the unknown gods. St. Paul marked these, and worked them into his argument against polytheism, addressed upon the Areopagus to the Stoics and Epicureans. On his left hand, as he entered the Piræus gate of the city, St. Paul skirted the Ceramicus or ancient burial-ground, where we still see, bared by recent excavations, some of the old sculptured tombstones; to look upon which is a revelation to us of the noble and, in its calm self-restraint, almost divine regret with which, in the fourth century B.C., Athenian workmen could depict death and the last farewells of mortals.

Innumerable booths of olive, fruit, and fish sellers were no doubt set up then as now round the entrances to the city. St. Paul would push his way past these, and, leaving to his left the noble temple of Theseus, which remains intact in its grandeur, he would enter the Agora. Here his eye fell on portico after portico, painted by the brush of famous artists, and adorned with the noblest statues. But St. Paul would not have admired these so much as the tower and water-clock of Andronicus, telling out to him the hours of his solitary waiting. This still stands to-day, along with a few ruinous arcades, the sole remnant of an architectural splendour which eclipsed that of the Piazza del Duomo of Pisa, or of the Piazza di San Marco of Venice. The impression which the latter makes on one of us to-day might be compared with that of which St. Paul would have been sensible as he entered the Athenian Agora; if at least he could, in spite of his Semitism, have felt the charm of the highest plastic art.

The Agora was dominated on its south side by the abrupt hill of Mars and the still more impressive heights of the Acropolis, and it was such a place of resort as is to-day the Piazza San Marco at Venice. There St. Paul found himself amidst the throng of 'all the Athenians and strangers who spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing.' In the Stoa Poecilé he met with the successors of Zeno, the Stoics, with whom, as with the Epicureans, he, like a second Socrates, 'disputed daily.' And perhaps when he wearied of these discussions, and of the noise of the rich men's slaves chaffering over their purchases, or of the porters thronging round, of the quack doctors and barbers, he may have passed on by the Via Tripodum and have gained the theatre of Dionysus on the south side of the Acropolis, there to witness, perhaps, the performance of a play of Euripides or Menander; or he may, from the other end of the Agora, have gone up by the temple of the Furies to the Acropolis, and have mounted the steps of the Propylæa of Mnesicles, whose columns still remain to awe us with their sublime harmony. Having thus gained the platform of the Acropolis, he would wander through a forest of the most perfect statues, pacing round that most glorious shrine and monument of all, the temple of the virgin goddess Athene, whose power and attributes were destined with the triumph of St. Paul's new gospel, and, after an epoch briefer than that which had already elapsed since its erection, to pass on by seeming inheritance to the Blessed Virgin of the orthodox Greek Church.

* Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* 6. 2: *σωφρονιστέρου γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δεισιδόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται.* This, of course, refers to St. Paul's own day.

St. Paul 'disputed in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons' (Ac 17[17]). It has been thought that the site of this synagogue may be fixed by a slab found in the ancient district of Koropus at the foot of Hymettus, bearing the legend: *αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ κυρίου, δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ* (Ps 118[20]).* But this is a monument only of the third or fourth century, and is of Christian origin. Other slabs, however, have been recovered in A. bearing Jewish inscriptions, and marking the burial-places of Greek Jews. And we have in the writings of the Jew Philo, by a single generation earlier than St. Paul, and, like him, an ardent apostle of monotheism, some graphic allusions to A., whither, no doubt, he went, like Horace, as to the chief centre of art and philosophy. For A. was the university city of the Roman world, as it was also the focus from which the sacred rays of learning radiated to Tarsus, Antioch, and Alexandria. In his youthful essay on the theme that every good man is free, Philo declares the Athenians to be the keenest-sighted mentally of the Greeks (*Ἑλλήνων ὀξυδερκέσταται διάνοιαν*), and says that A. is to Greece what the pupil is to the eye, or the reason to the soul.† And in these words, which follow in the same context, he doubtless describes a scene which he had actually witnessed—

'It was only yesterday that the actors were exhibiting tragedy, and were reciting those famous lines of Euripides—

"For Freedom is a name all precious,
Even if a man hath little thereof,
Let him esteem himself to have great riches."

'Then I beheld that all the spectators stood up on tiptoe with excitement, and with loud cheers and sustained cries prolonged their applause of the sentiment no less than their applause of a poet, that not only glorified Freedom in deed, but glorified its very name.'

Such was the impression which A. made on a cultured Jew, who yet reprobated not less keenly than St. Paul the worship by man of the works of his own hands; and we may well believe that St. Paul's heart also beat high as he entered so famous a city.

Contemporary writers give the Athenians the same characteristics of over-religiousness and versatile curiosity as does St. Paul. One of these witnesses is himself a Jew, namely Josephus the historian, who declares (*Contra Ap.* ii. 12) the Athenians to be the most pious of the Greeks (*τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων*). Testimony of like effect is rendered by Livy, xlv. 27: Athenas inde plenas quidem et ipsas uetustate famæ, multa tamen uisenda habentes; arcem, portus, muros Piræum urbi iungentes. . . . Simulacra Deorum hominumque, omni genere et materiæ et artium insignia. Petronius Arbiter, *Sat.* c. 17, unkindly hints that it was easier to find gods in A. than men: Utique nostra regio tam præsentibus plena est Numinibus, ut facilius possis Deum, quam hominem inuenire.‡

Nor was the desire of the Athenians to hear something new unnatural. For theirs was a city without commerce, but whose traditions and memories led many who had leisure and liked discussion to resort thither. Among Alciphron's Letters (ii. 3) is one by Menander the poet, relating how he had declined the invitation of Ptolemy to leave A. and settle in Alexandria. In this charming *jeu d'esprit* we get a picture of A. in its decadence, which shows how delightful a place it was to live in for religious persons of leisure and cultivation.

* See *Inscr. Attic. æt. Romanæ*, 404 and 3545–3547.

† Cf. Milton, *Paradise Regained*, iv. 240: 'Athens the eye of Greece, mother of arts.'

‡ Philostr. *Vit. Apollonii Tyanæ*, iv. 19, says of his prophet that he *τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην διάλεξιν, ἐπειδὴ φιλοθύτας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἴδεν, ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν διελέξατο.* The experiences of Apollonius—a more spiritual teacher than most—in Athens were curiously similar to those of his contemporary St. Paul.

LITERATURE.—Conybeare and Howson, ch. x.; Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*; and the classical works of Leake, Grote, Thirlwall, Curtius, Wachsmuth, Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*; A. Mommsen, *Athenæ Christianæ*.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

ATHLAI (עַתְלַי, perhaps for עַתַלְיָה).—A Jew who married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[28], 1 Es 9[29m]). See GENEALOGY.

ATIPHA (Ἀτεφά), 1 Es 5[32].—See HATIPHA.

ATONEMENT.—By its derivation this word describes the setting 'at one' or reconciliation of two parties who have been estranged. It is used in the English Bible as the equivalent for various forms of the root כפר in OT, and for *καταλλαγή* in NT. The verb כפר (to cover) is used to describe the effect of the sacrifices at the original consecration of the high priest and the altar (Ex 29[36], Lv 8[15], Ezk 43[20] etc.), and of the annual sacrifices for the renewal of the consecration of the high priest and his household, of the people, and of the tabernacle (Lv 16[10] etc.), on the day called expressly 'the Day of Atonement.'

It is used also to describe the effect of the sacrifices offered on behalf of the nation and of individual Israelites, occasionally in connexion with the 'whole burnt-offering' (Lv 1[4]), but more frequently in connexion with the various forms of 'sin' and 'trespass' offerings (Lv 4[20] etc., Nu 5[8]), the prescribed acknowledgment of guilt or defilement incurred accidentally or in ignorance.

It is used, besides, to describe the effect of the intercession of Moses at Sinai (Ex 32[30]), of the incense offered by Aaron (Nu 16[46]), and of Phinehas' summary judgment on Zimri (Nu 25[13]). The offences for which atonement is accepted in these cases go far beyond anything with which the Levitical sacrifices were appointed to deal, and so the way is prepared for the hope of atonement for 'moral offences as such' expressed in Ps 65[3] 78[38] 79[9], cf. Pr 16[6], Dn 9[24].

The same verb when it describes the direct action of God is translated 'to pardon' (2 Ch 30[18], cf. Ezk 16[63]).

The subst. כֹּפֶר (LXX *λύτρον* = 'ransom,' cf. Mk 10[45]) is used of 'blood money' (Ex 21[30], Nu 35[31]), sanctioned on behalf of a man gored by an ox, but not in a case of homicide; and of the half-shekel paid at a census (Ex 30[12]).

כַּפֹּרֶת (LXX *τὸ ἱλαστήριον*) = the mercy-seat.

Two points in regard to the provision for atonement under the old covenant deserve especial attention. First, this provision is ascribed directly to divine appointment. The sacrifices, therefore, while bearing witness to the existence of an obstacle in the way of man's communion with God, were guarded against the gross misinterpretation which would represent them as human devices for overcoming God's reluctance to forgive. Second, the power of atonement resided in the blood, as containing the life of the sacrificial victim (Lv 17[11]). Under cover of the blood of a victim slain by his own hand in acknowledgment of the righteousness of the divine judgment on his sin, and in virtue of the life still quick within it, liberated rather than destroyed by death, and brought by consecrated hands into direct contact with the symbols of the divine presence, the worshipper, in spite of his defilement, might himself draw nigh to God.

In NT, though the thought is fundamental, and finds expression in a variety of forms, *e.g.* Forgiveness, Propitiation, Redemption, the word Atonement or its equivalent Reconciliation (*καταλλαγή*, in LXX practically confined to 2 Mac 5[20]) is found only in 2 Co 5[18ff.], Ro 5[10f.] 11[15], cf. Col 1[21]. Here, as in OT, the use of the word presupposes an estrangement between God and man. On man's side this

estrangement is the direct consequence of his sin. On God's side it is the direct consequence of His holiness and His love. Because He is holy and loving, He cannot be indifferent to sin. His wrath must rest upon the disobedient (Jn 3^{36}, cf. Ro 1^{18}). Now in human wrath there mingles almost inevitably a feeling of personal irritation, pique, or resentment. The language of the NT is carefully chosen to guard against the supposition that any such shadow mars the purity of the divine indignation. Men are spoken of as God's enemies (ἐχθροί, Ro 5^{10}, cf. 8^{7}), but God is never spoken of as the enemy of man. Men are invited to accept the offered reconciliation; God is never brought before us as Himself needing to be appeased or reconciled. On the contrary, the atonement originates with Him. See esp. 2 Co 5^{19} 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself,' Ro 3^{25} 'whom God set forth to be a propitiation.' The atonement, therefore, of which the gospel speaks, cannot, any more than the means of atonement provided under the law, be regarded as a device for overcoming any reluctance on God's part to forgive. It is the provision which He Himself has made for the removal of the obstacle to communion which sin has introduced.

Let us consider a little more closely what this obstacle is.

Sin is lawlessness (1 Jn 3^{4}). It is the refusal on man's part, a refusal now as it were ingrained in his very nature, to remain in subjection to the law of God (Ro 8^{7}). Each act of sin, therefore, is the outward sign of a spiritual alienation from God. But yet more. Each act of sin reacts upon the sinner, and increases his alienation. It not only weakens his power of moral self-determination, and so makes him more than ever a slave to his sin (Ro 7^{14}); it incurs fresh guilt, and so adds new terror to the curse of the law (Gal 3^{13}); it deepens his defilement, and so makes him shrink more than ever from the presence of God. And the wages of sin, which from another point of view express the judgment of God upon it, is death (Ro 6^{23}).

The power by which this obstacle has been overcome springs from the person of Christ. He Himself is our peace (Eph 2^{14}). He, the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, is the Lamb 'foreknown before the foundation of the world' (1 P 1^{20}), and the restoration of the broken harmony of the universe (Col 1^{20}, cf. Eph 1^{10}) springs from His eternal surrender of Himself to do the Father's will (He 10^{9}). This eternal sacrifice, which is thus seen to have its roots deep in the inmost mystery of the divine nature, was manifested in time, and became effectual for our redemption, when the Word was made flesh and revealed at once the relation in which mankind stands to Him and His own eternal relation to the Father, through a life on earth of perfect obedience to the Father's will. This obedience reached its final consummation when He shed His blood upon the cross, and His life, even as the life of the sacrificial victims in the OT, was set free by death for the work of our reconciliation. The atonement, therefore, is ascribed specifically to His death (Ro 5^{10}), His cross (Eph 2^{16}), and His blood (Col 1^{20}).

The cost of the atonement is represented from two sides,—as it affected the Father, who 'spared not His own Son, but freely gave Him up for us all' (Ro 8^{32}); and as it affected the Son, who 'suffered for us' (1 P 2^{21}), and by 'whose stripes we are healed' (1 P 2^{24}, cf. Is 53^{5}). The cost to the Father we clearly have no power to conceive, and the Bible makes no effort to define it. The sufferings of the Son in our flesh were human sufferings. We are able therefore in some measure to conceive of them. They were the direct result of His perfect acceptance of all the consequences that the presence of sin in the world entails upon us. They culminate on the one side in an agonising and shameful death; on the other in an unfathomable depth of spiritual suffering, when for a moment it seemed as if even God had forsaken Him (Mt 27^{46}, cf. Mt $26^{38\text{-}44}$ and parallels, He 5^{7}).

Such light as we can receive on the relation of these sufferings to the work of our atonement is derived chiefly from the typical ritual of OT sacrifices. This included, as we have seen, (1) the presentation of an offering with an acknowledgment of guilt, (2) the slaughter of the victim, (3) the symbolic use of the blood so shed. Each of these elements found a place in the sacrifice on the cross.

(1) Christ Himself, as the Head of our race, presented Himself as an offering on our behalf. The laying down of His life is represented as His own deliberate voluntary act (Jn $10^{17f.}$). He made His soul an offering for sin (Is 53^{10}, cf. Mt 26^{28}). He gave His life (ψυχή) a ransom for many (λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, Mt 20^{28}). This presentation involved, according to OT analogy, the surrender to death of an appointed victim, together with a confession of our guilt, and the acceptance, with a full acknowledgment of its justice, of the sentence of death which has been pronounced upon us for our sin.

(2) He was at the same time not only the Offerer but the Victim. His whole life was (as we have seen already) a life of perfect self-surrender to the loving service of His brethren in trustful obedience to His Father's will. His voluntary submission to the death of the cross for the redemption of His murderers, was the ultimate expression at once of His obedience and of His love. It is therefore the culminating point in His offering, and the final test of its completeness.

(3) The blood of the offering, which, again according to OT analogy, is regarded as the special seat of the atoning power, is represented as being sprinkled on those who enter the new covenant (He 12^{24}, 1 P 1^{2}). It is brought into the most intimate and impressive relation with each one of them when he takes into his hands the Cup of the covenant (Mt 26^{28} etc., cf. Ex 24^{8}) and drinks of it according to the commandment.

In the power of the same blood, our Lord, as the great High Priest, has entered into the inmost heaven, and there without ceasing offers intercession (He 7^{25}) on our behalf. The blood thus becomes a living bond reuniting man to man and the whole race of man to God.

The effect of the atonement is therefore to remove altogether the obstacle introduced by sin, to undo the work of the devil (1 Jn 3^{8}), and to open anew the way by which sinful men can return into communion with their Father in heaven (He 10^{20}). The blood of Christ, understood in the full measure of its spiritual reality, reveals the true law of man's being, and brings home to him the extent of his degradation. By its revelation of the love of God triumphant over sin, it wins men back from their spiritual alienation, making them ready to return to their allegiance, and willing to give up their sin. It cleanses their consciences from the stain of sin, and sets them free from the curse of the law, by the assurance that a perfect satisfaction has been offered to the righteous claims of the divine justice, and by enabling them to make their own the perfect confession of their sins that has already been offered in their name. It is the wellspring of a new power of moral self-determination by which they may be enabled, in spite of the tyrannous domination of past habits acquired and inherited (1 P 1^{18}), and in the midst of an atmosphere of temptation, to live henceforward in obedience to God's will, submitting in patience and in hope to

all the suffering that He may require from them, whether by way of discipline or of service. It thus robs even death itself of its sting.

It is true that we can but dimly see why such a sacrifice as the death of Christ should have been necessary, and guess in the light of partial human analogies at the secret of its power. But it is enough for our present guidance to know that the sacrifice itself has been offered, and that there have been men in every age who, from their own experience, have borne witness that it is effectual. See also FORGIVENESS and PROPITIATION.

LITERATURE.—Among English treatises on the Atonement it will be enough to mention M'Leod Campbell, *On the Nature of the Atonement*; R. W. Dale, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*; F. D. Maurice, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice*; H. N. Oxenham, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement*; B. F. Westcott, *The Victory of the Cross*. See also Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, 317–400; Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, 479–487; Simon, *Redemption of Man*; Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, iv. 1–124 *et passim* (see Index); Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT*, i. 419–452, ii. 202–216; Ritschl, *Christ. Lehre von d. Rechtfert. u. Versöhn.* (Eng. tr. under title, *History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*); Baur, *Lehre von d. Versöhn. in ihrer gesch. Entwickelung*; Thomasius, *Lehre von Christi Person u. Werk*; Harnack, *Luther's Theologie mit bes. Bezieh. auf seine Versöhn.-u. Erlös.-lehre*.

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ATONEMENT, DAY OF (יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים Lv 23[27] 25[9], ἡμέρα (ἐξ)ιλασμοῦ, *dies expiationum*, or (Lv 23[28]) *propitiationis*).*—The principal passages relating to this great annual fast of the Jews are Lv 16 and 23[26-32]; but some additional particulars are to be found in Nu 29[7-11], Ex 30[10]; cf. Lv 25[9]. All these passages, though probably belonging to different dates, are connected with the priestly code. The Day of Atonement, which was a day for the assembling of the people for divine worship (a 'holy convocation' Lv 23[27]), was kept in the autumn, on the 10th day† of the 7th month, or, according to our reckoning, from the evening of the 9th till the evening of the 10th. The people were charged (Lv 23[26-32], cf. 16[29. 31]), under pain of extermination from the community, to rest from every kind of work, and to 'afflict their souls,' the last phrase denoting the strict abstinence from food and drink which marked a day of fasting and self-humiliation. The special offerings for the day (in addition to the regular burnt-, meal-, and drink- offering), are prescribed in Nu 29[7-11]; they consisted of a young bullock, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, as burnt-offerings, with their appropriate meal-offerings, viz. three-tenths of an ephah for each bullock, two-tenths for the ram, and one-tenth for each lamb, also of a he-goat for a sin-offering. These additional offerings are similar to those for the 1st day of the month, and the 8th of the Feast of Booths (vv.[1-6. 35-38]).

The distinctive ceremonial of the Day of Atonement is described at length in Lv 16. The high priest first selected for himself a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering; then, having bathed, he discarded his distinctive golden vestments, and arrayed himself in garments of white linen. After this he took from the people a ram for a burnt-offering, and two goats for a sin-offering, and proceeded to choose by lot from the two goats one for J" and one for AZAZEL‡ (Lv 16[3-10]). This done, he offered the bullock, which he had selected previously, for himself and his family; and having filled a censer with coals from the altar of burnt-offering, and taking with him a handful of incense, he entered the Most Holy Place, where he threw the incense upon the burning coals, causing thereby a cloud of smoke to envelop the ark and the mercy seat; after this he dipped his finger in the blood of the bullock, and sprinkled the blood once on the front (or east) side of the mercy seat, and seven times in the vacant space in front of the mercy seat (vv.[11-14]). Having thus completed the atonement for himself and his house, the high priest returned to the court; and after killing the goat of the people which had been allotted to J", he again entered the Most Holy Place, and sprinkled its blood, in the same manner as that of the bullock, on the front of the mercy seat and before the mercy seat. The purification of the Most Holy Place being thus accomplished, the high priest went out into the Holy Place (called the 'tent of meeting' v.[17]), and there performed a similar atoning ceremony. The details of this ceremony are not described in Lv 16; but in Ex 30[10], which seems to be a later addition to P, we learn that the blood of the sin-offering of atonement was to be placed on the golden altar of incense, which is nowhere mentioned in Lv 16. During this time no one except the high priest was allowed to be present in the tabernacle. When the high priest again came out into the court, he completed the atonement of the sanctuary by placing on the horns of the altar of burnt-offering* some of the blood both of the bullock and of the goat, and with his fingers sprinkling the blood seven times on the altar (v.[15-19]). The living goat was then brought near; and the high priest, having placed both hands upon its head, confessed over it all the sins and offences of the Israelites; after which the goat was led away, by a man standing in readiness, into the wilderness for Azazel, that it might bear the iniquities to a land 'cut off,' *i.e.* to one remote from human habitations, from which there was no chance of its bringing back again its burden of guilt (vv.[20-22]). The high priest then returned to the Holy Place, and after bathing, and putting on his usual priestly garments, came out and offered the two burnt-offerings (vv.[3. 5]) for himself and for the people (vv.[23. 24]). Finally, the fat of the sin-offerings having been consumed in sweet smoke upon the altar,† the rest of their flesh (in accordance with the general rule, Lv 4[11f. 21] etc.) was carried outside the camp and destroyed by fire; those to whom this service was intrusted, and also the man who had led away the goat for Azazel, being not permitted to return to the congregation till they had bathed, and washed their clothes (vv.[25-28]).

Two main questions arise in connexion with the Day of Atonement, which, as we shall see, are in some measure connected with each other: (1) to what date is the ceremonial enjoined in ch. 16 to be ascribed? (2) is the chapter describing it homogeneous in structure?

(1) We hear nothing of the observance of the Day of Atonement in pre-exilic times, nor is any mention made of this day in the earlier legal codes ('Book of the Covenant,' Dt, H). On the other hand, there are several points in the law regulating its observance which seem to connect it with the period after the exile, when the ceremonial aspects of sin and atonement at least occupied a more prominent place in the life and

* Called by the later Jews יוֹמָא *the day*, יוֹמָא רַבָּה (cf. Is 1[13] LXX) *the great day*, יוֹם צוֹם *the fast-day*, *Menachoth*, xi., *end*, צוֹמָא רַבָּא *the great fast*; cf. ἡ νηστεία, Acts 27[9], Ep. Barnab. 7[3. 4], Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 4; ἡ τῆς ν. ἡμέρα, XIV. iv. 3 (on XIV. xvi. 4, cf. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 398 n.); ἡ λεγομένη ν., Philo, ii. 138, 591; νηστείας ἑορτή, ii. 296.

† Apparently the 10th day of this month was at one time regarded as New Year's Day; see Ezk 40[1] and cf. Lv 25[9].

‡ לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו, *to make atonement for it*, because, probably, by standing before J" during the ceremonial which follows, it shares in the atonement made thereby for the sanctuary, and so becomes fitted to bear away the sins of the people. So Hengst., Riehm, Keil, Nowack (*Heb. Archäol.* ii. 192), *al.*

* The altar of v.[18] cannot be the altar of incense. The purification of the Holy Place has been described in v.[16f.] For 'before J"' (v.[18]), cf. Lv 1[5]: J" dwells in the tabernacle (Ex 25[8. 22]), and the great altar stands in front of this.

† V.[25] seems to be misplaced. Its natural position would be immediately after v.[19] (cf. 4[3-10. 19. 26] etc.).

thought of the people than was the case previously. The phrase 'to afflict the soul' (עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ, see Lv $16^{29.\ 31}$ $23^{27.\ 29.\ 32}$, Nu 29^{7}) occurs elsewhere only Is $58^{3.\ 5.\ 10}$ (exilic) and Ps 35^{13} (influenced by Jer). Fasting as a religious observance was practised among the Hebrews in ancient times; but we first hear of annual fasts on stated days in connexion with the fall of Jerusalem (Zec 7^{3-5} 8^{19}). The elaborate ritual of the blood probably points to a comparatively late date (cf. Lv 4^{1-21}, one of the later portions of P; and contrast 9^{8-11}); while the nearest analogies to the public confession of sins (16^{21}) are to be found in post-exilic writings (Ezr 9, Neh 1^{4-11} 9^{3}, Dn 9^{4-20}). Moreover, the priestly prophet Ezekiel, in his legislation for the restored people (ch. 40–48), prescribes a ceremonial, which, while its general aim is similar to that of the Day of Atonement, is much simpler in character; he enjoins, viz. (45^{18-20}), two solemn purifications of the sanctuary on the 1st day of the first month, and on the 1st of the seventh month (so LXX; see RVm), when a young bullock was to be slain for a sin-offering on behalf of all who might err through inadvertence or natural slowness (מאיש שׁגה ופתי), and the blood of the victim was to be placed on the doorposts of the temple, on the corners of the ledge of the altar, and on the gateposts of the inner court. The prophet, in his legislation for the future, attaches himself largely to existing usage; if, therefore, the law of Lv 16 had been in his day a time-honoured institution, would he have either disregarded it or stripped it of so many of its significant rites? Does it not seem more probable that the law of Lv 16 is a development of the simpler ceremonial prescribed by Ezekiel? Indeed, there are reasons for supposing that its introduction was decidedly later than Ezekiel's time. In Neh 8–10 we possess a fairly circumstantial account of the events of the 7th month of B.C. 444, including, for instance ($8^{2.\ 13-18}$), notices of what happened on the 1st and 2nd days of the month, and the observance, in accordance with Lv 23^{39-42}, of the Feast of Booths from the 15th to the 23rd days; that being so, it is remarkable, if the fast of the 10th day had been an established institution, that no mention should be made of its observance, especially when we are expressly told ($9^{1ff.}$) that the 24th day was observed as a day of fasting and of confession of sins. Reuss, indeed, on the ground that the fast of the 24th would have been superfluous, if the fast of the 10th had just preceded, argued (*Hist. sainte et la loi*, i. 260) that Lv 16 did not even form part of the law-book read by Ezra; but, as Kuenen (*Hex.* § 15. 32; cf. Dillm. *NDJ* p. 673; Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 182) points out, this argument is hardly decisive; the fast of the 24th is manifestly intended as a *special* token of humiliation for national shortcomings, preparatory to the conclusion of the covenant ($9^{38ff.}$); it has thus little or nothing in common with the annually-recurring Day of Atonement, and it might have been appointed whether Lv 16 was contained in Ezra's law-book or not. But Kuenen agrees that the non-mention of the day on the part of the well-informed narrator of Neh 8–10 is 'very strange,' if it were an established institution, and considers it to be an indication that it was introduced *for the first time* in the law-book of Ezra, though not observed at once, on account of its forming part of a new system, which had not yet been formally accepted by the people. Whether this argument be satisfactory or not, it is important to recollect that the argument against the antiquity of the Day of Atonement is not, as it is often represented as being (*e.g.* by Delitzsch, in his study on the subject, *ZKWL*, 1880, p. 173 ff.), solely an *argumentum e silentio*: that, as Kuenen observes (*Th. Tijdschr.* 1883, pp. 207–212), is but one argument out of many; the Day of Atonement is part of a system, the ceremonial system of the Priest's Code; when, therefore, the question of its antiquity is raised, it cannot be treated by itself, but forms part of a larger question, viz. the antiquity of that system as a whole, and must be answered in the same sense as that in which the wider question is answered.

(2) The second question is whether Lv 16 forms a homogeneous whole. The chapter is connected with the narrative of the death of Aaron's sons for offering strange fire (ch. 10; cf. $16^{1.\ 2a}$ 'that he die not,' and $^{12.\ 13}$; and contrast 'fire from the altar,' v.^{12}, with 'strange fire,' 10^{1}); but it treats of two distinct subjects, without clearly indicating the transition from one to the other. It opens with a warning addressed to Aaron against rashly entering the Most Holy Place, and prescribes the preliminary rites to be performed, whenever he may have occasion to do so.* It passes on to describe a solemn atoning ceremony to be performed for the tabernacle itself, and for the worshippers; and it concludes with the institution of an annual fast on the day of the atoning ceremony. This change of subject suggests a doubt whether the chapter in its present form can be wholly the work of one writer. Dillmann explains the change of subject, and the connexion with ch. 10, by the supposition that originally the chapter contained the description of a ceremony of purification, to be performed in consequence of the defilement brought upon the tabernacle by the sin of Nadab and Abihu. He supposes that directions were given for the repetition of the rite after any subsequent desecration; that in later times it had become the practice to perform this service once, and once only, in every year; and that the chapter was altered to suit the later practice. This explanation, however, requires us to supply a good deal which is not stated, and only indirectly suggested, by the present text.

A different solution of the difficulty is proposed by Benzinger. In an interesting and suggestive study on Lv 16 (*ZATW*, 1889, p. 65 ff.), Benzinger points out that the literary form of the chapter is imperfect. Thus v.^{6} and v.^{11a} are really doublets, suggesting that vv.$^{7-10}$ are derived from another source; there is a sharp break between v.^{28} and v.^{29}; vv.$^{29-34d}$ are not really a summary of the foregoing verses, for they introduce some new points (fasting and the date), and, while mentioning the white garments of the high priest, say nothing about the more important ceremonies connected with the sprinkling of the blood, and the goat for Azazel; finally, v.^{34b} suggests the immediate carrying out of some definite command given to Moses. Accordingly, Benzinger, who is followed by Nowack (*Hebr. Arch.* ii. 182–194), distinguishes between earlier and later portions of the chapter, and considers that the older sections are vv.$^{1-4.\ 6-11a}$ (omitting 'which is for himself') $^{12.\ 13.\ 34b}$ (regulations defining the conditions under which Aaron, when occasion required, was to enter the Holy of Holies), and vv.$^{29-34a}$ (a law prescribing a relatively simple rite of atonement—substantially identical with the inaugural ceremony of $9^{7ff.}$—to be repeated annually on behalf of the people and sanctuary, and specifying the manner in which the day was to be observed publicly). In this form, he points out, the law for the Day of Atonement would agree closely with Lv 23^{26-32}, where also stress is laid on the necessity of fasting and abstention from work, but no allusion is made to the special ceremonies prescribed in the central portion of ch. 16. The 'offering by fire' of 23^{27},

* With vv.$^{2.\ 13}$ ('that he die not'), comp. Ex 28^{35} (the conditions under which Aaron may enter the Holy Place); also Ex $30^{20.\ 21}$, Nu 4^{19}.

and the 'sin-offering of atonement' of Nu 29[11], would both be explained by the sacrifices alluded to in Lv 16[32. 33] (or Nu 15[24-26]) and described more fully in Lv 9. The more elaborate ritual prescribed in the rest of the chapter (vv.[5. 7-10. 14-28])* is, upon Benzinger's view, a subsequent development of that enjoined in vv.[30. 33], which, as it now stands, is interwoven with directions relating to Aaron alone, on account of its having become the custom for the high priest to enter the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement only.

That the ritual prescribed in this chapter was of gradual growth is indeed highly probable; but it may be doubted whether a merely literary analysis can adequately indicate its successive stages. The words *not at all times* in v.[2] suggest that even when the supposed earlier law was formulated, there were restrictions on the *occasion* as well as on the *manner* of the high priest's entering the Holy of Holies, and the terms of vv.[29-34a] appear to presuppose some preceding regulations, defining more particularly the character of the atoning ceremonies there alluded to.† It is true, 23[26-32] is parallel to 16[29-34a], in the stress which it lays upon the manner in which the Day is to be observed by the people; but it also presupposes in v.[28] some special atoning rites, the nature of which it does not itself more closely define.‡ Hence it seems that to limit the original regulations of the Day of Atonement to v.[29-34a] would leave them less systematic and complete than is probable. The more elaborate ritual prescribed for the blood, as compared with 9[7. 9. 15], and even with 4[6. 7. 17. 18], is not necessarily due to its being a later development: it may be due to the special solemnity of the occasion, a ceremonial enacted once a year only on behalf of the entire nation. The chapter undoubtedly deals with two distinct subjects (the conditions under which the high priest might enter the Most Holy Place, and the annual Day of Atonement for the sins of the nation), which it imperfectly connects together. We may conjecture that the association of these two subjects is due to the fact that the occasions of the high priest's entry into the Most Holy Place came gradually to be limited to the single annual Day of Atonement: it is also highly probable (esp. in view of Ezk 45[18-20]) that the ritual of this day was originally simpler than that now prescribed in Lv 16; but it may be doubted whether the successive stages in the amalgamation and development of the two ceremonials can be distinguished by means of a literary analysis.

The Mishnic treatise *Yômā* (*i.e.* the Day) gives several fresh details respecting the ceremonies observed on the Day of Atonement in the time of the Second Temple.§ Minute directions were given to ensure the ceremonial purity of the high priest on that day. For the seven days preceding he dwelt in a special chamber, and not in his own house. It is expressly stated that he entered four times into the Most Holy Place, viz. on the three occasions suggested by Lv 16[12. 14. 15], and again after the evening sacrifice, to bring out the censer, and the plate which had held the incense. It is said that a stone three fingers high stood in the Holy of Holies in the place of the ark (v. 2). Immediately before slaying the sin-offering for himself, the high priest, laying his hands upon it, made the following confession: 'I beseech Thee, O LORD, I have done iniquitously, I have transgressed, I have sinned before Thee, I, and my house, and the sons of Aaron, Thy holy people. I beseech Thee, O Lord, forgive (כפר), now, the iniquities, and the transgressions, and the sins, wherein I have done iniquitously, and transgressed, and sinned before Thee, I, and my house, and the sons of Aaron, Thy holy people' (iv. 2). The blood of each of the sin-offerings was sprinkled by the high priest, once upwards and seven times downwards, first on the Holy of Holies, and afterwards upon the veil in the Holy Place: lastly, mixing the blood of the two victims, he put some of the mixture on the altar of incense, and poured out the remainder at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering (vi. 1, 2). With regard to the two goats, we are told that they were to resemble one another as closely as possible (vi. 1; cf. Barnab. 7[6] ὁμοίους). The lots were made of boxwood, and afterwards of gold; the high priest drew out one lot in each hand, and then tied a 'tongue' of scarlet cloth* upon the neck of the goat destined for Azazel. The words of the high priest's confession were, 'We beseech thee, O LORD, Thy people, the house of Israel, have done iniquitously, transgressed, and sinned before Thee. We beseech Thee, O LORD, forgive, now, the iniquities, the transgressions, and the sins, wherein Thy people, the house of Israel, have done iniquitously, transgressed, and sinned before Thee' (vi. 2). The goat was led away, accompanied by some of the nobles of Jerusalem; and its arrival at a place which was regarded as the edge of the wilderness was signalled back to the high priest in the temple. Finally, the goat was conducted by a single man to a steep place called Ṣuḳ, where it was thrown backwards over the edge of the cliff, and dashed to pieces among the rocks (vi. 6–8). The site has been identified by Schick (*ZDPV* iii. 214 ff.) with a crag near the village of Bêt-ḥudêdûn, on the road running through Bethany into the wilderness, 12 miles east of Jerusalem (see AZAZEL).

The Day of Atonement represents the culminating institution of the Levitical system. Not only, from a merely formal point of view, does Lv 16 form the climax of the sacrificial and purificatory ordinances contained in Lv 1–15, but the ceremonial itself is of a peculiarly comprehensive and representative character. It was a yearly atonement for the nation as a whole (including the priests); and not only for the nation, but also for the sanctuary, in its various parts, in so far as this had been defiled during the past year by the sins of the people, in whose midst it stood. The sins thus atoned for must not, however, be supposed to be those committed 'with a high hand' (Nu 15[30f.]), *i.e.* defiantly and wilfully; but sins of ignorance and frailty (*ἀγνοήματα*, He 9[7]), such as human nature, even when striving after God, is ever liable to.†

* Except v.[17b] and v.[28b] (from *and make*), which Benzinger treats as later harmonistic glosses.

† The circumstantial enumeration of v.[33] must surely presuppose something more than either the ordinary sin-offering of the community (Nu 15[22-26]), or even Lv 9[9. 15]; moreover, it exactly summarises the principal present contents of vv.[14-28].

‡ The 'offering made by fire' of 23[27] will not be the special atoning sacrifice intended; for that offering is common to most of the sacred seasons mentioned in ch. 23 (v.[8. 18b. 25. 36]). Nu 29[7-11] also alludes (v.[11]) to the 'sin-offering of atonement'; but the calendar of sacred seasons, contained in Nu 28–29, may be of later date than the present form of Lv 16.

§ Cf. Ep. Barnab. c. 7 (with Gebhardt and Harnack's notes), where some of the same details are alluded to.

* לשון של זהורית: Barnab. 7[8] *τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον*.

† The Jews, as Danz [see *ad fin.*], pp. 1010–1012, shows from the Mishna (*Shebu'oth* 1[6]), Maimonides (*Comment. on Yômā* 4[2]), and Abarbanel (פירוש התורה, Venice, 1584, fol. 251, col. 3, l. 14 ff.), in view of the comprehensive terms of Lv 16[16. 21. 30], held that the sacrifices of this day made atonement for all sins of every kind, whether done involuntarily or deliberately; but this is an exaggeration which is in conflict with the general theory of the Jewish sacrifices. The sin-offering made atonement only for sins committed 'in error,' *i.e.* accidentally and involuntarily (Lv 4[2. 13. 22. 27], Nu 15[24-29]), not for those committed 'with a high hand' (Nu 15[30f.]), *i.e.* defiantly and deliberately; and it is incredible, in spite of the terms of Lv 16[16. 21], that the sacrifices of this day can have so far deviated in principle from the general theory of the priestly legislation as to have been supposed to atone, *e.g.*, for the sin of an impenitent murderer. The ceremonial of the Day of Atonement was designed in fact to effect

The ceremonial was enacted at the central sanctuary; but the individual Israelites, by their abstention from labour and fasting, not only expressed at the same time their humiliation for sin, but also signified their co-operation in the offices of the day; provision was thus made for the ceremonial being more than a mere *opus operatum*. As it was the highest atoning ceremony of the year, the blood was not merely applied, as in other cases (Lv 4), to the altar of burnt-offering, or even to the altar of incense; it was taken into the Holy of Holies, and sprinkled, not once only, but seven times, as close as possible to the place immediately associated with the presence of J" (Ex 25^{22}, Nu 7^{89}). Once a year the sins of the people were thus solemnly atoned for, and the nation's lost holiness was restored (v.^{30} 'to cleanse you: from all your sins shall ye be clean before J"'). The slain goat made atonement for the people's sins, and restored their peace and fellowship with God; the goat over which the people's sins were confessed, and which was afterwards sent away to Azazel in the wilderness, symbolised visibly their complete removal from the nation's midst (Ps 103^{12}, Mic 7^{19}): 'a life was given up for the altar, and yet a living being survived to carry away all sin and uncleanness': the entire ceremonial thus symbolised as completely as possible both the atonement for sin, and the entire removal of the cause of God's alienation.

As regards the part taken in the office by the high priest, it is to be observed especially that the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement was the highest exercise of his mediatorial office: he performed an atoning rite on behalf of the entire people; and, represented by him, the entire people had access on that day to the presence of J". As the representative of a sinful people, he naturally discarded his gorgeous high-priestly dress,* and assumed an attire, which, being plain and destitute of ornament, was such as became a suppliant suing for forgiveness; while, being white, it symbolised the purity and innocence required in those who appear in the immediate presence of the Holy One (cf. the angels in Ezk $9^{2.3.11}$ $10^{2.6.7}$, Dn 10^{5} $12^{6.7}$). Nor can he, even then, complete the atonement for the people, until he has first offered atonement for his own sins; and when he enters the Holy of Holies, the incense burnt by him there forms, further, a protecting cloud, coming as a veil between himself and the holiness of J", and at the same time possessing a propitiatory efficacy (Nu $16^{46f.}$).

Jos. (*Ant.* III. x. 3) gives a short account of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement; and Philo, in his treatise *περὶ τῆς ἑβδομῆς*, § 23 (II. 296, Mangey), draws out the ethical teaching which he understands them to imply. Allusions to the holy day are also found in Sir $50^{5ff.}$, Ac 27^{9}, He $9^{7.25}$.

The later Jews were not unconscious of the deeper spiritual truths of which the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement was the expression. Philo, for instance (*l.c.*), speaks of it as an occasion for the discipline of self-restraint in regard to bodily indulgences: the more effective, as it came at a season of the year when the fruits of the earth had just been gathered in, and the temptation to indulgence would be naturally the stronger; abstinence at such a season would raise men's thoughts from the gifts to the Giver, who could sustain life *καὶ διὰ τούτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων*. Those who took part in the prayers for the day asked for forgiveness, not in dependence upon their own merits, *ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕλεων φύσιν τοῦ συγγνώμην πρὸ κολάσεως ὁρίζοντος* (cf. *Vit. Mos.* ii. 4, II. 138; *Leg. Cai.* 39, II. 591). The Mishna also is careful to teach that the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement are ineffectual unless accompanied by repentance. 'Death and the Day of Atonement work atonement, where there is repentance (תשובה). Repentance makes atonement for slight transgressions, both of omission and of commission; and in the case of grave ones, it suspends punishment till the Day of Atonement comes, and brings atonement. If a man says, "I will sin, and (then) repent, I will sin, and (then) repent," Heaven does not give him the means of practising repentance; and if he says, "I will sin, and the Day of Atonement will bring atonement," the Day of Atonement will bring him no atonement' (*Yômā*, viii. 8–9).

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews contrasts ($9^{6ff.}$) the work of the high priest on the Day of Atonement with the superior atoning efficacy of the work of Christ. The Jewish high priest entered once yearly * into the Holy of Holies, with the blood of appointed victims: Christ entered once for all into the true sanctuary, the actual presence of God, through His own blood; He obtained not a temporary, but an eternal deliverance (9^{11-12}), His blood is far more efficacious for the cleansing and renovation of human nature ($9^{11-14.\ 23-8}$) than that which was offered under the Jewish law. And whereas, under the Law, full access to God was limited to the high priest, and to him, moreover, under many restrictions of time and mode, Christ has opened a new and living way, by which those whose hearts are properly purged from an evil conscience may at all times have free access to the Father (9^{6-10} 10^{19-22}).

LITERATURE.—(*a*) The treatise of the Mishna, *Yômā*, with Lat. tr. and notes in Surenhusius' ed. of the Mishna, 1699, ii. p. 206 ff.; also ed. by Sheringham, 1648, ed. 2 (with an elaborate comparison [p. 105 ff.] of the work of the high priest with that of Christ, by J. Rhenferd), 1696; and (with Heb. text pointed, and short notes, and glossary) by H. L. Strack (Berlin, 1888): many passages of the *Gemara* on the same treatise are also translated by Wünsche, in *Der Babyl. Talmud in seinen Haggadischen Bestandtheilen*, i. (1886), pp. 340–389; see further, on the Jewish ritual of the day, Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* 1675,[2] 1757 (*s.v.* Expiationis Festum); J. Lightfoot, *The Temple Service*, c. 15 (*Works*, 1684, ii. 961–4); J. A. Danz, 'Functio Pontif. M. anniversaria,' in Meuschen, *NT ex Talm. illustr.* 1736, pp. 912–1012 (with copious extracts from Jewish sources), followed, pp. 1013–39, by Rhenferd's 'Comparatio' (supr.); Maimonides, *Hilchoth yôm hak-kippurim*, etc., at the end of Delitzsch's *Comm. on the Hebrews*; Edersheim, *The Temple: its Ministry and Services*, pp. 263–288. (*b*) J. Spencer, *de Legg. Hebr.*[2] (1686), III. viii.; Bähr, *Symb. des Mos. Cultus*, 1839, ii. 664 ff.; Oehler, *OT Theol.* §§ 140, 141; Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 367 f., 402–6; Dillmann on Lv 16; Nowack, *Hebr. Arch.* ii. 183–194; Delitzsch, *ZKWL*, 1880, pp. 173–183; Kuenen, *Th. T.* 1883, pp. 207–212, and *Hex.* § 15. 32; Wellh. *Hist.* 110–112; Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 182, 258–260; Benzinger, *ZATW*, 1889, pp. 65–88.

S. R. DRIVER and H. A. WHITE.

ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.—See ATAROTH.

ATROTH-SHOPHAN (עַטְרֹת שׁוֹפָן). LXX has Σωφάρ and γὴν Σωφάρ, as well as Σωφάν [Swete's notes]).—A town of Gad (Nu 32^{35}). The identification is doubtful, as the tribes of Gad and Reuben seem confused, Dibon, Ataroth, and Aroer being given

an *ideal* atonement and reconciliation on behalf of the *nation*, as such; its benefits extending to *individuals*, only in so far as they had sinned involuntarily, or were truly penitent. Comp. Oehler, § 140 (Eng. tr. ii. 43 ff.); Riehm, *AT Theol.* § 37. 2; v. Orelli, in Herzog[2], xvi. 414; R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*, pp. 85, 466–470; C. G. Montefiore, *The Bible for Home Reading*, 1896, p. 144 ff. (where the ancient significance of this annual rite is well pointed out).

* His dress became, in fact, almost that of the ordinary priests, except that he had still a 'turban' (מצנפת)—though only one of white linen, not his usual decorated one (Ex $28^{36f.}$)—instead of a 'cap' (מגבעת, Ex 28^{40}), and a plain linen 'sash' (אבנט), instead of a coloured one (Ex 28^{40}).

* ἅπαξ τοῦ ἰνιαυτοῦ (97). Exactly the same expression is used by Philo (*Leg. Gai. l.c.*; cf. *De Mon.* ii. 2, II. 223; and ἅπαξ κατ' ἰνιαυτόν, Jos. *BJ* v. v. 7 *end*, 3 Mac 1^{11}). The meaning is, of course, on one *day* in the year, not on one *occasion*: Lv 16^{13-15} implies more than one entrance on the day; according to the Mishna, the high priest entered four times, viz. with the incense (*Yômā*, v. 1), with the blood of the bullock (v. 3), with the blood of the goat (v. 4), and at the close of the day, after the ordinary evening burnt-offering, to fetch out the censer and incense-dish, which he had left there (vii. 4).

(v.[34]) as cities of Gad, while they certainly were in Reuben's territory. If Atroth-shophan lay near Ataroth, it may be, as Tristram suggests (*Land of Moab*, p. 276), that the cone-shaped *Jebel 'Attarûs* represents the former and *Khŭrbet 'Attarûs* the latter. If it lay near Jazer and Jogbehah (which see), named immed. after it, it must be sought farther N.—possibly at Safût beside the latter.

A. HENDERSON.

ATTAI (עַתַּי).—**1.** A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2[35. 36]). **2.** A Gadite warrior who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[11]). **3.** One of Rehoboam's sons (2 Ch 11[20]).

ATTAIN has now lost its literal meaning 'to reach *a place*,' which occurs in Ac 27[12] 'if by any means they might attain to Phenice' (RV 'reach Phœnix'). Elsewhere in AV the meaning is fig., as now. In Ph 3[11] the same Gr. verb (καταντάω) is used as in Ac 27[12] just quoted, 'if by any means I might a. unto the resurrection from the dead.' But in the next verse ('not as though I had already a[ed]') the verb is different (λαμβάνω, RV 'obtained'), being connected rather with the verb (καταλαμβάνω) tr[d] 'apprehend' in the same verse. See APPREHEND. In Ph 3[16] 'whereto we have already a[ed],' there is no word corresp. to 'already' in Gr., 'already a[ed]' is an attempt to tr. φθάνω, which, in Ro 9[31] is tr[d] 'attain' simply. But in Ph 3[12] an adv. (ἤδη) is used. In 1 Ti 4[6] AV gives a wrong direction to the thought: 'good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained' (Gr. παρακολουθέω, RV correctly, 'which thou hast followed,' adding *until now* to complete the sense).

J. HASTINGS.

ATTALIA ('Ατταλία) was a city on the coast of Pamphylia, founded by Attalus II. Philadelphus (B.C. 159–138), as the harbour (Ac 14[25]) through which the S. parts of the great Pergamenian kingdom might communicate with the S. sea, with Syria, and with Egypt; and throughout subsequent history it has retained its name and its importance as a seaport. It is now (or at least was until steamships revived some other harbours like Mersina) the chief harbour of the S. coast of Asia Minor, bearing the name Adalia. In the Byzantine ecclesiastical system A. was originally subject to Perga, the metropolis of Pamphylia Secunda, but in 1084 it was made a metropolis; there can be no doubt that this elevation in rank was due to the fact that Perga had completely decayed, and was a mere name, giving a title to the metropolitan bishop. The small harbour of A. is still used by boats, though steamships anchor outside, and it was in use in the end of the 12th cent. (*Anna Commena*, ii. p. 113). The river Catarrhactes flowed into the sea near A., though it has now been diverted into so many channels for irrigation and other purposes that it hardly deserves to be called a river. The cults mentioned at A. seem all to spring from its Pergamenian origin, as Zeus Soter, Athena, Apollo Archegetes.

LITERATURE.—The best account of A. is in Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i. pp. 6–32 and 153–163: see also Beaufort, *Karamania*; Spratt and Forbes, *Lycia*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ATTALUS ('Άτταλος, 1 Mac 15[22]).—Attalus II. Philadelphus was king of Pergamum 159–138 B.C. He promoted the imposture of Alexander Balas, who claimed to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes (Justin, xxxv. 1), and sent a body of troops to Syria to support the pretender. When the embassy sent by Simon Maccabæus came to Rome (B.C. 139), the Senate passed a decree in favour of the Jews, and wrote to the kings of Pergamum, Egypt, Syria, Cappadocia, and Parthia, and to several small autonomous States, instructing them to respect the independence of the Jewish territory. Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. viii. 5) records a decree of the Senate in favour of the Jews, which he assigns to the time of Hyrcanus II. But the terms and circumstances of this decree resemble so closely those of the decree referred to in 1 Mac 15[16-24], that many modern scholars consider that the *Senatusconsultum* preserved by Josephus is really to be connected with the embassy of Simon. Cf. esp. Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 266 ff.

H. A. WHITE.

ATTENDANCE in the obs. meaning of *attention* is found 1 Ti 4[13] 'Till I come *give a.*' (RV 'heed') to reading.' Cf. Barrow, *Works*, vol. iii. sec. 22, 'What is learning but diligent attendance to instruction of masters?' The same Gr. verb (προσέχω) is used He 7[13] 'no man *gave a.* at the altar'; but it is generally tr[d] 'give heed to,' as Ac 8[6. 10. 11]; in 1 Ti 3[8] it is used in a bad sense '*given* to much wine.' In 1 Mac 15[32] attendance = retinue.

J. HASTINGS.

ATTENT and 'attentive' were both in use, and both are found in AV without difference of meaning, the former in 2 Ch 6[40] 'let thine ears be attent unto the prayer,' and 7[15].

J. HASTINGS.

ATTHARATES (A 'Αθαράτης, B 'Ατταρατή), 1 Es 9[49].—A corruption of the title 'the Tirshatha,' cf. Neh 8[9], and see Attharias.

ATTHARIAS ('Αθαρίας, AV Atharias).—A corruption of הַתִּרְשָׁתָא 'the Tirshatha,' which appears as a proper name in 1 Es 5[40], cf. Ezr 2[63] 'Αθερσαθά, A ('Αθερσαδ, B). The mention of '*Nehemias* and Atharias' in 1 Es is doubly a mistake; Zerubbabel the Tirshatha is referred to.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ATTIRE.—See DRESS.

ATTUS (A 'Αττούς, B om., Tisch.[8] Λαττούς, AV Lettus), 1 Es 8[29] called son of Sechenias.—He was grandson of Shechaniah (1 Ch 3[22]). The same as Hattush, Ezr 8[2], where 'of the sons of Shecaniah' has been wrongly attached to the next clause. The form in AV and Tisch. is due to confusion of Λ and Α.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AUDIENCE.—Now 'the people gathered to hear,' signifies always in AV after Lat. *audientia*, the act of hearing or attention to what is spoken. In OT the word is simply 'ears' (אָזְנַיִם), as Gn 23[10] 'in the a. of the children of Heth.' In NT 'give a.' occurs Ac 13[16] 15[12] 22[22], where the Gr. is simply ἀκούω, *hear*; so Lk 20[45] 'in the a. of all the people'; but Lk 7[1] 'when he had ended all his sayings in the a. of the people,' the Gr. is εἰς τὰς ἀκοάς, 'in the ears.'

J. HASTINGS.

AUGIA (Αὐγία), 1 Es 5[38].—A daughter of Zorzelleus or Barzillai. Her descendants by Jaddus were among the priests who could not trace their genealogy after the return under Zerubbabel, and were removed from the priesthood. Her name is not given in the lists of Ezr and Neh, and is omitted here by the Vulg.; perhaps it has arisen out of 'the Gileadite,' which follows Barzillai in those lists.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AUGURY.—Lv 19[26], Dt 18[10. 14], 2 K 21[6], 2 Ch 33[6], all RV, for AV 'times.' See DIVINATION.

AUGUSTUS (Αὔγουστος, Lk 2[1]; Σεβαστός, Ac 25[21. 25]). —**1.** The first Roman emperor. His original name was that of his father, Caius Octavius; as the heir of Cæsar, who was his grand-uncle, he received the names Julius Cæsar; in his subsequent career he was designated Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. The title Augustus was given him by the Senate after he had attained to supreme power. Augustus was born B.C. 63.

After spending a studious youth, he came suddenly to the front at the death of Cæsar (B.C. 44), when he began to manifest the singular adroitness of character by which he made and maintained his position. Marching against Antony ostensibly in defence of the republic, he came to terms with the usurper. At first he had the chief place in a triumvirate. But one after another his rivals were removed out of his way, till the defeat of Antony at Actium (B.C. 31) left him undisputed master of the Roman world. In B.C. 29 he returned to Rome, and thenceforth ruled autocratically under the forms of republicanism, establishing and preserving order throughout his wide dominions, till he died in old age, saddened by family trouble, morose and suspicious, leaving Tiberius, whom he had already associated with himself in the government, as his successor (A.D. 14). As the Jews were subject to Rome, Augustus became their supreme ruler. After the battle of Actium, Herod, previously a supporter of Antony, passed over to the victorious side, and was confirmed in his kingdom by Augustus, who added to his territory on the occasion of a subsequent visit to Syria (B.C. 20, Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 3). In honour of the emperor, Herod erected a marble temple at Panias, built the capital, Cæsarea (B.C. 10), and rebuilt Samaria, calling it *Sebaste*. After Herod's death Augustus carried out his wishes in the division of his kingdom among his sons (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4), but subsequently joined Judæa and Samaria to the province of Syria, exiling their ruler Archelaus (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 2). Jesus Christ was born in the time of Augustus, and was about eighteen years old when the emperor died. Augustus ordered a more or less complete census to be taken on four occasions, viz. in B.C. 26 and 6, A.D. 4 and 14 (Lk 2^{1}).

2. The title of subsequent Roman emperors. The Augustus (Σεβαστός) mentioned in Ac $25^{21.\ 25}$ (AV) is Nero. In RV the word is translated 'the emperor.'

LITERATURE.—Dion Cassius; Suetonius; Tacitus; Josephus; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*; Duruy, *History of Rome* (edited by Mahaffy); Gardthausen, *Augustus und Seine Zeit*; H. Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*; Hertzberg, *Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreiches.*

W. F. ADENEY.

AUGUSTUS' BAND (Ac 27^{1} σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, RV 'the Augustan Band').—A similar name is *the Italian Band* (Ac 10^{1} σπεῖρα Ἰταλική). In each case RVm has 'cohort' for 'band.'

The two designations have been fully discussed by E. Egli (to whom I am chiefly indebted in the following article) in *ZWTh.* xxvii. (1884) p. 10 ff. In both cases it may be said that there is *no reference to Roman legionaries.* Judæa from 6 A.D. to shortly before 70 A.D. was in the position of the 'inermes provinciæ,' and was garrisoned only by auxiliary troops. The bulk of these auxiliaries were provincials; thus, in the case of Cæsarea, Josephus tells us (*BJ* II. xiii. 7; cf. *Ant.* XIX. ix. 2) that the larger part of the garrison consisted of Syrians.

The Augustan and Italian bands (cohorts), therefore, were not in any case legionary. The latter, no doubt, was one of the many 'cohortes civium Romanorum,' 'cohortes Italicorum voluntariorum,' which consisted of volunteers recruited in Italy, *i.e.* for the most part of Italians who had been unable to find service in the Prætorian Guard.

The Augustan band (which may or may not be identical with the Italian band) had the name 'Augustan' as a title of honour. We read on an inscription: 'Ala Aug(usta) ob virtutem appellata' (Orelli's *Corpus*, No. 3412). Egli, following Schürer, is inclined to accept as proved that this title of honour was sometimes borne by *auxiliary* as well as by legionary troops. We have, however, no monumental evidence to *prove* that any Cæsarean cohort was called 'augusta.'

As regards strength, a cohort sometimes numbered 1000, sometimes 500 men. As regards composition, a cohort was sometimes made up of 760 infantry and 240 cavalry. Such a cohort was called a 'militaria equitata.' See BAND, CAPTAIN.

W. E. BARNES.

AUL is the spelling in mod. edd. of AV. The spelling of 1611 was 'aule.' Wyclif (1382) has 'alle,' Ex 21^{6} 'he shal thril his ear with an alle' (ed. 1388 'a nal,' a mistake arising from joining the *n* of 'an' to 'awl,' the forms nal, nall, nalle, and nawl being found. Cf. Topsell (1607), 'The worm . . . must be pulled out by some naul or needle'). Geneva Bible has 'awle,' (Coverdale, 'botkin'), RV 'awl.' See AWL.

J. HASTINGS.

AUTEAS (Αὐτέας, Hodiah RVm, Hodijah AVm).—A Levite who taught the law under Ezra (1 Es 9^{48}). Called Hodiah, Neh 8^{7}.

AUTHORIZED VERSION.—See VERSIONS.

AVARAN (Αὐαράν, Vulg. *Abaron*, Syr. ܥܘܪܢ (Ḥauran), 1 Mac 2^{5}, but in 6^{43} Σαναράν A, Αὐραν ℵ V, Vulg. *Saura*, Syr. as before), surname of Eleazar, the brother of Judas Maccabæus. The name probably signifies 'pale' (עָוָרָן, from חור, *to be white*, or *pale*).

H. A. WHITE.

AVEN (אָוֶן).—A place-name occurring in this form in Ezk 30^{17}. The LXX gives Ἡλίου πόλις, the usual Gr. name of On, and it is evident that the name was intentionally distorted from On to Aven, 'idolatry' (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), by a punning change of vocalisation quite permissible in Heb. The slight was the more contemptuous, as On was sacerdotally the most important city in Egypt. With regard to the context it should be remembered that On, lying on the main road between the heart of Egypt (at Memphis) and Syria, has been a notable battlefield on many occasions, even since the ruin of the city. See BETH-SHEMESH and ON.

The Plain (בִּקְעַת *biḳah*) of Aven (Am 1^{5}, RV 'the valley of Aven') is probably the Plain of Cœle-Syria, so called from the idolatrous worship of the Sun in the great temple of Baalbek.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

AVENGE is found in AV both as trans. and intrans. verb. **1.** As a trans. verb the object may be (1) a *person*, and then the meaning is 'to vindicate' by punishing the offender. Thus (*a*) actively, Lk 18^{3} 'A. me of mine adversary,' Nu 31^{3} 'a. the LORD of Midian' (RV 'execute the LORD'S vengeance on M.'); (*b*) pass., 1 S 14^{24} 'that I may be a[d] on mine enemies'; (*c*) reflex., 2 S 18^{19} 'the LORD hath a[d] him of his enemies.' The prep. that governs the offender is indifferently *on* or *of*. (2) The object may be a *thing*, and the meaning 'to take satisfaction for,' as Dt 32^{43} 'he will a. the blood of his servants.'* **2.** As an intrans. vb. it is rare, and occurs in AV once only, Lv 19^{18} 'Thou shalt not a. nor bear any grudge against

* Once the person *on whom the vengeance falls* is made the subject of the verb, Gn 4^{24} 'If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.' This is the sense in which the passage is taken by the Douay Bible, which translates, 'Sevenfould vengeance shall be taken of Cain,' and adds the comment, 'by prolongation of his miserable life til his seventh generation, when one of his own issue slew him.' AV follows the Geneva, which has the marg. note, 'He mocked at God's sufferance in Kain, jesting as though God would suffer none to punish him, and yet give him licence to murther others.' But the Heb. means, 'if Cain shall take vengeance for any wrong done him, Lamech (perhaps with the use of the new weapons) much more.' So Del.: 'Denn siebenfach wird Kain gerächt,' Dillm., etc. Cf. G. W. Wade, *The Book of Genesis* (1896), p. 214, 'The Song of Lamech celebrates the invention of weapons, and implies that the possession of them confers the power of exacting greater vengeance than that demanded by God against anyone who might slay Kain.'

the children of thy people.' In mod. usage 'a.' is retained for the sense of just vengeance, while 'revenge' is used for the gratification of resentment. This distinction does not obtain in AV, but RV has endeavoured to introduce it. Thus Jer 15^{15} 'a. me of my persecutors' (for AV 'revenge me'), Nah 1^{2} 'The LORD is a jealous God and ath' (AV 'revengeth'), and 2 Co 10^{6} 'being in readiness to a. all disobedience' (AV 'revenge'). Cf. also 'avenger' for 'revenger' in Nu $35^{19.\ 21.\ 24.\ 25.\ 27}$, 2 S 14^{11}, Ro 13^{4}, and 'avenging' (subst.) for 'revenge,' 2 Co 7^{11}. Again, Lv 19^{18} 'thou shalt not a.' (RV 'take vengeance'); in Ro 12^{19} 'Avenge not yourselves, beloved,' is retained, because the ref. is to righteous vengeance. **Avenger of blood.** See GOEL. **Avengement** is found 2 S 22^{48m}, and avengements Ps 18^{47m} for 'vengeance.' Cf. Edward Irving, *Babylon*, ii. 319, 'The Lord, in all His avengements, hath . . . an eye . . . to the reformation of the wicked.' J. HASTINGS.

AVITH (עָוִית), Gn 36^{35}.—A Moabite city. The site is unknown.

AVOID.—This verb is used thirteen times in AV (counting Wis $16^{4.\ 16}$ one), yet it does not twice translate the same word. In 1 S 18^{11} there is an instance of the intrans. use, 'David a^{ed} out of his presence twice.' Cf. North, *Plutarch*, 'they made proclamation . . . that all the Volsces should avoid out of Rome before sunset.' In this sense 'avoid' is most frequently used in the imperative. Thus Coverdale's tr. of Mt 16^{23} is 'Auoyde fro me, Sathan.' Cf. Shaks. *Comedy of Errors*, IV. iii. 48—

'Satan, avoid! I charge thee, tempt me not!'

J. HASTINGS.

AVOUCH.—Dt $26^{17.\ 18}$ only, 'Thou hast a^{ed} the LORD this day to be thy God . . . and the LORD hath a^{ed} thee this day to be his peculiar people.' *Advocare* became in French first *avouer*, whence Eng. 'avow,' and then *avochier*, whence 'avouch,' the latter with a more technical meaning, 'to call on one in law as defender, guarantor,' etc. In AV avouch is scarcely to be distinguished from the use of 'avow' with a person as obj. 'to acknowledge, declare to be one's own.' J. HASTINGS.

AVVA, AVVIM, AVVITES (הָעַוִּים, *οἱ Εὐαῖοι*).—The spelling Avim, Avites is incorrect. **1.** A people which lived in villages near Gaza, and was superseded by the Caphtorite Philistines (Dt 2^{23}). In the Sept. their name is confounded with that of the Hivvites, and some scholars have regarded them as a branch of the Hivvites. That they were not so, but were of the giant peoples of Pal., is rendered probable by two considerations: (1) they are spoken of in Dt 2 precisely as are the other giant peoples, except that they are not expressly said to be *rephaim*; (2) the name is uniformly used in the plural ('the Avvim,' that is, the Avvites, not the Avvite), a usage by which the Philistines as a whole, and the several giant peoples, are distinguished from the Can. peoples. That they once had possessions in the mountain country, as well as near Gaza, may be probably inferred from the fact that one of the towns of Benjamin was called 'the Avvim' (Jos 18^{23}). The statement that the Caphtorim destroyed them does not necessarily imply that they were then exterminated; and we find them mentioned among the peoples that Joshua failed to conquer, along with the Philistines but not of them, the Avvites going along with the Gazite, the Gittite, the Ekronite, etc. (Jos 13^{3}). Presumably, these Avvim are to be identified with the Anakim who were left over in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod (Jos 11^{22}), and were the ancestors of the giants of David's time. See GIANT, REPHAIM.

2. People from Avva (cf. Ivvah, 2 K 18^{34} 19^{13}, Is 37^{13}), whom the king of Assyria settled in N. Israel after the capture of Samaria, and who set up idolatrous worship there (2 K $17^{24.\ 31}$).

W. J. BEECHER.

AVVIM (עַוִּים), Jos 18^{23}.—A town of Benjamin, unknown. See preceding art.

AWAIT.—Only Ac 9^{24} 'their laying await (Gr. *ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ αὐτῶν*, RV 'their plot') was known of Saul.' Await is often read as if it were an adv.; it is, however, a subst. Tindale has simply 'There awayte wer knowen of Saul.' Blount, *Law Dict.* (1691), says, 'Await seems to signify what we now call *waylaying* or lying in *wait*, to execute some mischief.' J. HASTINGS.

AWAY WITH.—1. Is 1^{13} 'the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with.' Although with the force of a verb, it is really an adv. with the verb elided, *get away with, i.e.* get on with, tolerate. Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 165 (Arber ed.), 'He could not away with the fashions of his country folk'; and Sanderson, *Serm.* (1621), 'He being the Father of lyes . . . cannot away with the Truth.' The Heb. has a still greater ellipsis than the Eng., being simply לֹא־אוּכַל *I cannot*. Such verbs, however, as יָכֹל *to be able*, מָאַן *to refuse*, are really trans. in Heb. See Davidson, *Syntax*, p. 129. **2.** Other elliptical expressions, as Ex 19^{24} 'Away, get thee down' (RV 'Go, get thee down'), Ac 22^{22} 'Away with such a fellow from the earth,' are easily explained and still in use. **3.** 'Make him away' in 1 Mac 16^{22}='make away with him' (RV 'destroy him'; cf. Wis 12^{9} AV 'to destroy them at once,' RV 'to make away with them at once'). J. HASTINGS.

AWE.—Besides He 12^{28} RV (for AV 'reverence,' Gr. *δέος*), only in the phrase 'stand in awe.' AV gives Ps 4^{4} (רָגַז), 33^{8} (גּוּר), and 119^{161} (פָּחַד). RV retains these, changing also 'fear' into 'stand in awe' in Ps 22^{23} (יָרֵא), Is 29^{23} (עָרַץ); and 'was afraid' into 'stood in awe of' in 1 S 18^{15} (גּוּר), Mal 2^{5} (חָתַת). Ruskin (*Mod. Painters*, II. III. i. 14, § 26) says that *awe* is the contemplation of dreadfulness from a position of safety, as a stormy sea from the shore; while *fear* is the contemplation of dreadfulness when one is obnoxious to danger from it. Perhaps it was with a feeling for some distinction of this kind that RV made those changes; but in old Eng. *awe* stood for fear or dread even of an acute kind, and no such distinction can be discovered in AV either from the Heb. or the English words. Cf. Shaks. *J. C.* I. ii. 95—

'I had as lief not be as live to be
In awe of such a thing as I myself.'

J. HASTINGS.

AWL (מַרְצֵעַ).—An instrument mentioned in Ex 21^{6} and Dt 15^{17} in connexion with the boring of the ear of a slave. In Syria the awl is used only by shoemakers and other workers in leather. It is straight, and tapers to a sharp point.

W. CARSLAW.

AX, AXE (in most modern editions of AV spelt *ax*, although the edition of 1611 had *axe* throughout) is EV tr. of seven Heb. words, the distinction between which cannot always be discovered. **1.** גַּרְזֶן (probably 'pick-axe') Dt 19^{5} 20^{19}, 1 K 6^{7}, Is 10^{15}. **2.** חֶרֶב (properly 'sword') Ezk 26^{9}. **3.** כַּשִּׁיל (RV 'hatchet') Ps 74^{6}. **4.** מְגוּרָה 2 S 12^{31}. The same word should be read in the parallel passage 1 Ch 20^{3b} for **5.** מַגֵּרָה, which means 'saw' (cf. 3^{a} and 2 S 12^{31a}). **6.** מַעֲצָר Is 44^{12} (AV 'tongs'), Jer 10^{3}. **7.** קַרְדֻּם Jg 9^{48}, 1 S $13^{20.\ 21}$, Ps 74^{5}, Jer 46^{22}.

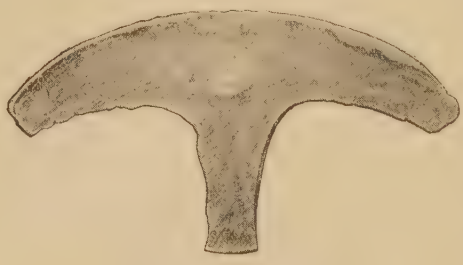
In NT *axe* occurs twice (Mt 3^{10}, Lk 3^{9}) as tr. of *ἀξίνη*. See also the following article.

J. A. SELBIE.

AXE.—Two types of axe were known in both Egypt and Palestine. One was developed from the stone axe, and is longer from back to edge than it is across.

BRONZE AXE.
(From Tell el Hesy.)*

The other type was purely metallic, and was developed from a sharp edge of metal inserted into a stick, as seen in early Egyp. forms.



COPPER AXE (BATTLE AXE?).
(From Tell el Hesy.)*

Probably the first type was used as a tool, the second as a weapon.

In Egypt the axe was attached to the handle, but neither passed through the other. In Assyria the axe appears to have passed through the handle (Bonomi, *Nineveh*, fig. 69). But the handle passing through the axe, as in modern usage, is unknown until the Roman age.

The material of axes as tools was first stone, then copper, bronze, and, lastly, iron. The latter metal was unknown for tools in Egypt, and still rare in Assyria at 700 B.C. Hence the use of the word 'iron' for axe-head among a party of peasants in Pal. two centuries earlier (2 K 6[5]), seems as if it were a variation due to a later copyist.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

AXLE, AXLETREE.—See WHEEL.

AZAEL ('Αζάηλος).—Father of the Jonathan who with Ezekias undertook the investigation of the matter of the foreign marriages (1 Es 9[14], cf. Ezr 10[15] Asahel).

AZAELUS (B 'Αζάηλος, A 'Αζαήλ), 1 Es 9[34].—One of those who put away their 'strange' wives after the return under Ezra. There is no corresponding name in Ezr 10[41].

AZALIAH (עַזַלְיָהוּ 'whom J" hath set apart'; 2 K 22[3], 2 Ch 34[8]).—Father of Shaphan, the scribe under Josiah.

AZANIAH (אַזַנְיָה 'J" hath heard').—A Levite (Neh 10[9]). See GENEALOGY.

AZARAIAS (B 'Αζαραίας, A Σαραίας, AV Saraias), 1 Es 8[1].—Seraiah, the father, or more prob. a more remote ancestor, of Ezra (*Speaker's Com.* on 2 Es 1[1]).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

* By kind permission of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

AZAREL (עֲזַרְאֵל).—**1.** A Korhite follower of David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[6]). **2.** A son of Heman (1 Ch 25[18]), called in v.[4] Uzziel. **3.** Son of Jeroham, prince of the tribe of Dan when David numbered the people (1 Ch 27[22]). **4.** A son of Bani, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[41]). **5.** A priest, the son of Ahzai (Neh 11[13]). **6.** One of the Levite musicians who marched upon the right at the dedication of the walls (Neh 12[36]). (AV has in the first five instances Azareel, and in No. 6 Azarael.)

J. A. SELBIE.

AZARIAH (עֲזַרְיָה, עֲזַרְיָהוּ 'Whom J" aids').—**1.** King of Judah; see UZZIAH. **2.** 2 Ch 22[6] for Ahaziah. **3.** 2 Ch 15[1-8] a prophet, son of Oded, who met Asa's victorious army, on their return from defeating Zerah the Ethiopian, at Mareshah, and urged them to begin and persevere in a religious reform. His speech is a general illustration, from the experience of the past, of his opening words: 'The Lord is with you while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you.' It is conceived in the same spirit as the historical retrospects in Jg 2[11-23] and Neh 9. 'Now, for long seasons' (v.[3]), 'in those times' (v.[5]), refer to periods of national defection; 'the inhabitants of the lands,' 'nation against nation' (vv.[5. 6]), are magniloquent indications of the foreign oppressions, or the civil wars between the various tribes of Israel (cf. Gn 25[16]). Kamphausen renders the whole passage in the future; but a prediction seems irrelevant here. In v.[8] 'Azariah' should be read for 'Oded,' with Pesh. Vulg. A; B has 'Αδάδ, but 'Ωδήδ in v.[1], where A has 'Αδάδ (in 28[9] both have 'Ωδήδ). **4.** High priest in the reign of Solomon, 1 K 4[2], where he is called son of Zadok, though really of Ahimaaz (1 Ch 6[9]). The note in 1 Ch 6[10] 'he it is that executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem,' is misplaced, and must refer to this man, and not to his grandson of the same name. **5.** 1 Ch 6[10], Ezr 7[3], father of Amariah, who was high priest under Jehoshaphat. This man, therefore, must have held the office in the reign of Asa; on this list see AMARIAH, Nos. 2, 3. **6.** High priest in the reign of Uzziah (2 Ch 26[16-20]), who with his attendant priests withstood and denounced the king when he presumptuously attempted to usurp the priests' office of burning incense upon the altar. The wrath of Uzziah at being thus resisted, and his persistence, were at once divinely punished. An earthquake took place (Jos. *Ant.* IX. x. 4; cf. Am 1[1], Zec 14[5]); 'the leprosy brake forth in his forehead'; the priests 'looked upon him' (cf. Lv 13[3]), and thrust him out of the temple. In 2 K 15[5] we only read that 'the Lord smote the king, so that he was a leper.' The conclusion is almost inevitable, that here, as often elsewhere, the Chronicler has supplied a justification for the afflictions of a good man. The narrative acquires additional significance when we note that in expanding 1 K 9[25], he omits the statement that Solomon 'burnt incense upon the altar that was before the Lord.' **7.** 2 Ch 31[10], high priest in the reign of Hezekiah, described as 'chief priest, of the house of Zadok,' and 'the ruler of the house of God' (v.[13]). This last phrase is also found in 1 Ch 9[11], Neh 11[11], where it is uncertain whether it refers to Ahitub II. or to Azariah (Seraiah), *i.e.* Eliashib, as representative of that house (Rawlinson). A very similar title is applied in Jer 20[1] to Pashhur, who was not high priest. Perhaps the office indicated is that of the 'Captain of the temple' (Ac 4[1] 5[24. 26]). To this high priest and to Hezekiah the Chronicler ascribes the building of store chambers in the temple to receive the oblations of the people. **8.** In the genealogy of Jehozadak, 1 Ch 6[13. 14], and in that of Ezra, Ezr 7[1], Azariah (Ezerias, 1 Es 8[1]; Azarias,

2 Es 1[1]) is son of Hilkiah, high priest under Josiah, and father of Seraiah, who was killed by Nebuchadrezzar. There is room in the history for such a high priest; but in 1 Ch 9[11], Neh 11[11], in a list of those priests who dwelt in Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah, is found an Azariah or Seraiah, whose genealogy is traced up to the second Ahitub, and is all but identical with that of Jehozadak and Ezra. This Azariah must be the priest clan, second in the list, Neh 10[2]; called Ezra (עֶזְרָא) in the lists, Neh 12[1. 13], where it comes third. In Neh 12[33], where both Azariah and Ezra are mentioned, perhaps the former is the same as Seraiah; see No. 7. **9.** 1 K 4[5], a son of Nathan, who 'was over the officers,' *i.e.* the twelve commissariat officers (v.[7]). **10.** 1 Ch 2[8], son of the Ethan whose wisdom was surpassed by that of Solomon (1 K 4[31]). **11.** 1 Ch 2[38], a man of Judah who had Egyptian blood in his veins (v.[34]). **12.** 1 Ch 6[36], a Kohathite Levite (called Uzziah in 1 Ch 6[24]), an ancestor of the prophet Samuel. **13, 14.** 2 Ch 21[2], Azariah and Azariahu, two of the six sons of Jehoshaphat, to whom their father gave 'great gifts' and 'fenced cities,' and who were slain by their elder brother Jehoram on his accession (B om. both, but A has them). **15, 16.** 2 Ch 23[1], Azariah and Azariahu, two of the five 'captains of hundreds' who assisted Jehoiada in the restoration of Joash. It is just possible that the second of these, 'the son of Obed,' may be the same as No. 11, who was the grandson of Obed. **17.** 2 Ch 28[12], one of the four 'heads of the children of Ephraim,' in the reign of Pekah, who supported the prophet Oded when he rebuked the army of Israel for purposing to enslave the captives of Judah. He and his fellows treated the captives kindly, and conducted them back to Jericho. **18, 19.** 2 Ch 29[12], two Levites, a Kohathite and a Merarite. The son of the former, Joel, and the latter, were among those who took a leading part in cleansing the temple in the reign of Hezekiah. **20.** Neh 3[23], one of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem, probably a priest. **21.** Neh 7[7], called Seraiah, Ezr 2[2]; Zacharias, 1 Es 5[8]; one of the twelve leaders of Israel who returned with Zerubbabel. **22.** Neh 8[7] (LXX om.); Azarias, 1 Es 9[48], one of those who helped the Levites to 'cause the people to understand the law.' **23.** Jer 43[2], son of Hoshaiah (the Maacathite, 40[8]), also called Jezaniah (40[8], 42[1]), Jaazaniah (2 K 25[23]), etc. He was one of the 'captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah. They warned him of his danger (Jer 40[13]), and endeavoured to avenge his murder (41[11]). But, the assassin escaping, they feared lest they should be implicated in the affair, and prepared to flee into Egypt. They then went through the form of consulting Jeremiah; but when he advised them to stay in Judæa, 'all the proud men' refused, and carried off the prophet to Egypt. **24.** The Heb. name of Abednego, Dn 1[6. 7. 11. 19] 2[17] (see HANANIAH).

N. J. D. WHITE.

AZARIAS ('Αζαρίας).—**1.** 1 Es 9[21], called Uzziah, Ez 10[21]. **2.** 1 Es 9[43], one of those who stood beside Ezra at the reading of the law: the name is omitted in Neh 8[4]. **3.** 1 Es 9[48], called Azariah, Neh 8[7]. **4.** Name assumed by the angel Raphael (To 5[12] 6[5. 13] 7[8] 9[2]). **5.** A captain in the army of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5[18. 56. 60]).

AZARU (B Αζαρος, A Αζουρος, AV **Azuran**), 1 Es 5[15].—The progenitor of a family of 432 who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresp. name in the lists of Ezr and Neh. He is perhaps identical with Azzur (B 'Αδούρ; א A 'Αζούρ) in Neh 10[17].

AZAZ (עַזָּז), a Reubenite, the father of Bela (1 Ch 5[8]). See GENEALOGY.

AZAZEL (עֲזָאזֵל).—The name of the spirit (Lv 16[8. 10. 26]), supposed to have its abode in the wilderness, to whom, on the Day of Atonement, the goat laden with the sins of the people was sent (*ib.* v.[20-22]). 'Azazel is not mentioned elsewhere in OT; but the name occurs in the Book of Enoch (2nd cent. B.C.) as that of the leader of the evil angels who (Gn 6[2. 4]) formed unions with the daughters of men, and (as the legend is developed in the Book of Enoch) taught them various arts, and whose offspring, the giants, filled the earth with unrighteousness and blood. On account of the wickedness wrought by 'Azazel upon earth, the four archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael (9[1] Gr.), are represented as impeaching him before the Almighty, who thereupon (ch. 10) bids Raphael bind him hand and foot, and secure him, under 'rough and jagged rocks,' at a place in the desert called 'Dudael,' until on 'the great day of judgment' he is cast into the fire.* Whether this legend is developed from the notice of 'Azazel in Lv, taken in connexion with the fact that the goat was actually, in the time of the Second Temple, led away to perish at the spot referred to, or whether the belief in the existence of such a spirit, bound in the wilderness, had already arisen at the time when the ceremonial of Lv 16 was framed, we do not know: the latter alternative is supported by Cheyne (*ZATW* 1895, pp. 153–156), who supposes that the aim of this part of the ritual of the Day of Atonement was partly to provide the ignorant people with a visible token of the removal of the sins of the year, partly to abolish the cultus of the *se'îrîm* (Lv 17[7], 2 Ch 11[15], 2 K 23[8] [reading שְׁעִירִים *he-goats*, for שְׁעָרִים *gates*]; cf. Is 13[21] 34[14]), by substituting a single personal angel, 'Azazel (evil no doubt by nature, but rendered harmless by being bound), for the crowd of impersonal and dangerous *se'îrîm*. But whatever the precise attributes with which 'Azazel was invested at the time when the ritual of Lv 16 was framed, there can be little doubt that the ceremonial was intended as a symbolical declaration that the land and people are now purged from guilt, their sins being handed over to the evil spirit to whom they are held to belong, and whose home is in the desolate wilderness, remote from human habitations (v.[22] 'into a land cut off'). No doubt the rite is a survival from an older stage of popular belief, engrafted on, and accommodated to, the sacrificial system of the Hebrews. For the expulsion of evils, whether maladies or sins, from a community, by their being laid symbolically upon a material medium, there are many analogies in other countries (see J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii. 182 ff.).† The belief in goblins, or demons (*jinn*), haunting the wilderness and vexing the traveller, is particularly common in Arabia (see Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*, pp. 135–140)‡: in OT it is found in Lv 17[7], Is 13[21] 34[14] ('satyrs,' lit. *he-goats*, and Lilith, the night-monster). 'Azazel must have

* Cf. 54[5f. 554]. 6[7] and 8[1], which also mention 'Azazel, but treat him not as first but as tenth in command, are considered by Dillm. and Charles (*Enoch*, p. 61) to belong to a later stratum of the work. The first part of the name *Duda-el* has been ingeniously explained by Geiger (*Jüd. Ztschr.* 1864–1865, p. 201) as a corruption of *Hadûdô* in 'Bêth *Hadûdô*' ('place of sharp rocks'), the place 12 miles from Jerus., to which, according to the Mishna (*Yoma* 6[4-6. 8]), the Targ. of Ps.-Jon. (on Lv 16[10. 22]), and other authorities, the goat was led on the Day of Atonement, and precipitated over the rocks that it might perish. *Bêth Hadûdô* has been identified, with great probability, with a ruined site now called *Bêt-ḥudêdûn*, on the edge of a chalk range, overhanging a steep and rocky chasm, nearly due E. of Jerus., and at the required distance (Schick, *ZDPV*, 1880, p. 218).

† In the OT the aim of the rite described in Lv 14[6f. 51-53] (the living bird let loose in the ritual of purification after leprosy) is probably similar (Dillm. p. 532; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 291 f.; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2] p. 422).

‡ The *ghûl* ('surpriser'; plur. *'aghwāl*) was one of them (Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 2911). See also Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2] p. 126 ff.

been such a spirit, sufficiently distinguished from the rest, in popular imagination, to receive a special name, and no doubt invested with attributes which, though unknown to us, were perfectly familiar to those for whom the ceremonial of Lv 16 was first designed.

The meaning of the name is very uncertain. No root עזל is known in Hebrew; but *'azala* in Arab. means to *remove, place far apart*; hence it has been conjectured that the name may have signified the *averter* of evil (Ges.),* or have denoted a spirit, supposed to *separate* travellers in the desert from their companions, or *divert* them from their way (Steiner, and, with some reserve, Dillm.).† Cheyne considers that the name was originally עֲזוּאֵל 'God is strong' (cf. עֲזוּזִהוּ 1 Ch 15[21]),‡ but that it was afterwards deliberately altered, to conceal the true derivation of the *fallen* angel's name.§

LITERATURE.—Ges. *Thes. s.v.* (p. 1012 f.); Dillm. on Lv 16[8]; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 186 f. (where further references are given): also Ewald, *Alt.* p. 479 f.; *Lehre von Gott*, ii. 291 f.; Oehler, *OT Theol.* § 140; Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 403–406.

S. R. DRIVER.

AZAZIAH (עֲזַזְיָהוּ).—**1.** A Levite musician who took part in the proceedings when David brought up the ark to Jerus. (1 Ch 15[21]). **2.** The father of Hoshea the prince of Ephraim when David numbered the people (1 Ch 27[20]). **3.** An overseer of the temple in Hezekiah's reign (2 Ch 31[13]).

AZBUK (עַזְבּוּק Neh 3[16]).—Nehemiah, the son of A., took part in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem.

AZEKAH (עֲזֵקָה 'a place hoed over').—A city of Judah, named Jos 10[10-11], 1 S 17[1], 2 Ch 11[9], Neh 11[30]. It was evidently near the valley of Elah and near Gath, and was a frontier fortress of Rehoboam. The Jews inhabited it 'and the villages thereof' after the Captivity. The later notices would agree with a site in the south, where the name might be traced at *Tell el 'Azek*; but this would not suit the earlier notices. The name *El 'Azek* is stated to occur in the hills north of the valley of Elah, but the repeated investigations of the Survey parties failed to establish its existence. C. R. CONDER.

AZEL (אָצֵל perh. 'noble').—**1.** A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8[37. 38] = 9[43. 44]). See GENEALOGY. **2.** (AV Azal) The name of an unidentified site in the neighbourhood of Jerus. (Zec 14[5]), possibly the same as Beth-ezel of Mic 1[11]. J. A. SELBIE.

AZETAS ('Αζητάς), 1 Es 5[15].—The head of a family which returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr and Neh.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AZGAD.—See ASTAD.

AZIEL.—One of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Es 1[2]), called Azariah, Ezr 7[3], and Ozias (AV Ezias), 1 Es 8[2].

AZIEL (עֲזִיאֵל, B 'Οζειήλ, A -ι-).—A Levite skilled in the use of the psaltery (1 Ch 15[20]). A shortened form of Jaaziel (יַעֲזִיאֵל), as he is called 1 Ch 15[18].

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

AZIZA (עֲזִיזָא, cf. Palmyr. עזיזו).—One of the Jews who had taken strange wives (Ezr 10[27]). Called ZARDEUS (wh. see) 1 Es 9[28]. H. A. WHITE.

AZMAVETH (עַזְמָוֶת).—**1.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8[36]). **2.** One of David's mighty men (2 S 23[31], 1 Ch 11[33]), prob. identical with A. of 1 Ch 12[3], whose sons joined David at Ziklag, and A. of 1 Ch 27[25], who was 'over the king's treasuries.'

J. A. SELBIE.

AZMAVETH (עַזְמָוֶת, given in 2 S 23[31], 1 Ch 8[36], as a personal name), 1 Ch 12[3], Ez 2[24], Neh 7[28].—A town of Benjamin, the same as Beth-azmaveth in the last-cited passage, inhabited by the Jews after the Captivity. Now *Hizmeh*, a small place on the hills S.E. of Gibeah. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

C. R. CONDER.

AZMON (עַצְמוֹן), Nu 34[4], Jos 15[4]. **Ezem**, Jos 15[29] 19[3].—A place on the border of Judah, somewhere south of Beersheba, afterwards given to Simeon. The site is unknown.

AZNOTH-TABOR (אַזְנוֹת תָּבוֹר 'the ears of Tabor') Jos 19[34].—This marked the S.W. corner of the lot of Naphtali. The lower slopes of Mt. Tabor.

AZOR ('Αζώρ).—An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1[13. 14]). See GENEALOGY.

AZOTUS ('Αζωτος).—**1.** Ashdod (wh. see), Jth 2[28], 1 Mac 4[15] 5[68] 10[77. 78. 83. 84] 11[4] 14[34] 16[10] Ac 8[40]. **2.** The hill on which Ashdod stands (1 Mac 9[15]).

C. R. CONDER.

AZRIEL (עַזְרִיאֵל 'help of God').—**1.** The head of a 'father's house' in the half tribe of Manasseh E. of Jordan (1 Ch 5[24]). **2.** A man of Naphtali (1 Ch 27[19]). **3.** The father of Seraiah (Jer 36[26]).

AZRIKAM (עַזְרִיקָם).—**1.** A son of Neariah (1 Ch 3[23]). **2.** A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8[38] 9[44]). **3.** A Levite (1 Ch 9[14], Neh 11[15]). **4.** The 'ruler of the house' under Ahaz, slain by Zichri the Ephraimite (2 Ch 28[7]).

AZUBAH (עֲזוּבָה).—**1.** Wife of Caleb (1 Ch 2[18. 19]). **2.** Mother of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22[42] = 2 Ch 20[31]).

AZZAN (עַזָּן).—Father of Paltiel (Nu 34[26]).

AZZUR (עַזּוּר 'helper').—**1.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[17]). **2.** Father of Hananiah the false prophet (Jer 28[1]). **3.** Father of Jaazaniah, one of the princes of the people (Ezk 11[1]). Nos. 2 and 3 are spelt in AV Azur.

J. A. SELBIE.

* *Averruncus.* So Olsh. § 188[a], Stade, § 124[a], treating *'azā'zēl* as (anomalously) softened from the intensive form *'azalzēl.*

† The form of the word is peculiar, and resembles one of the types of Arab. 'broken,' or collective, plurals. This was remarked long ago by Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 750,—with many examples), though he assigned to it an improbable meaning: Steiner (Schenkel, *Bibellex.* v. 599), adopting the same suggestion, but interpreting more probably, conjectures that originally *'azāzēl* was a collective designation of such spirits of the desert (from a sing. *'azzāl*: Wright, *Ar. Gramm.* i. § 305, II.), and that it only gradually became the name of a single spirit.

‡ Not only Gabriel and Michael in Dn, but also many of the other names of angels in the Book of Enoch, are compounded with *El* 'God' (Ariel, Raphael, Kokabiel, Tamiel, etc.: see vi. 7).

§ The rendering of AV *scape-goat*, inherited from the 'Great Bible' of 1539, may be traced back through Seb. Münster ('caper abiturus'), Coverdale ('the free goat'), Luther ('der ledige Bock'), and Jerome ('caper emissarius') to the τράγος ἀπερχόμενος (v.[10] ἀφιέμενος) of Symmachus (2nd cent.); but implies a derivation (עֲזָאזֵל = עֵז אָזַל 'the *going goat*') opposed to the genius of the Heb. language (which does not form such compounds), besides being inconsistent with the marked antithesis between *for 'Azazel* and *for Jehovah*, which does not leave it open to doubt that the former is conceived as a personal being, *to* whom (cf. v.[26]) the goat is sent. The Targ. of Ps.-Jon. (on v.[10]) and other Jewish authorities interpret 'Azazel as the name of the 'strong and difficult place' (אתר תקיף וקשי),—implying the view that the first part of the word was in some way connected with עז *strong*) in the wilderness to which the goat was sent: the LXX (v.[8] τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ, v.[10] εἰς τὴν ἀποτομικήν, v.[26] εἰς ἄφεσιν) seems to have rendered freely, treating the word in v.[8] as meaning *the one sent away* (see Field, *Hexapla*, Auctarium, p. 60), and in v.[10. 26] as meaning *dismissal*; the latter rendering has also been adopted by some moderns. But these explanations are equally open to philological or other objections, which place them out of the question. All the principal modern authorities agree in explaining 'Azazel as a personal name. *Scape-goat* is, however, a felicitous expression; it has become classical in English; and there is no reason why it should not be retained as a term descriptive of the goat sent into the wilderness, provided it be clearly understood that it is in no way a rendering of the Heb. עזאזל.

B

B.—This letter is used in critical notes in the OT and NT (except in Rev) to denote the readings of 'the Vatican MS' (Codex Vaticanus 1209). It is a quarto volume, consisting at present of 759 leaves of fine vellum, written (except the poetical books of OT) in three columns to a page. It has lost 31 leaves at the beginning (Gn 1–46[28]), part of a leaf at f. 178 (2 K 2[5-7 10-13]), 10 leaves after f. 348 (Ps 105[27]–137[6]) [Eng. 106. 138]. The NT begins on f. 618, and breaks off at f. 759 in the middle of He 9[14]. The books are arranged in the following order: Gn to 2 Ch, Es 1 and 2, Ps, Pr, Ec, Ca, Job, Wis, Sir, Est, Jth, To, 12 Proph, Is, Jer, Bar, La, Ep. Jer, Ezk, Dn (Theodotion's version), Gospels, Ac, Cath. Epp., Ro, 1 and 2 Co, Gal, Eph, Ph, Col, 1 and 2 Th, He. The codex never contained the Prayer of Manasses or the Books of the Maccabees. The loss of leaves at the end makes it impossible to speak definitely of the contents of its NT canon. Of the books now recognised it lacks 1 and 2 Ti, Tit, Philem, Rev. The missing chapters in He and the Rev were added in 15th cent., perhaps, as Tregelles conjectures, in preparation for its presentation to the Library. This part of the MS is quoted as '263' (Greg. '293') in He, as '91' in Rev. The orig. MS was written at some time in 4th cent., and is the work, according to Tischendorf (the Roman editors reserve their judgment), of three scribes, one of whom, the scribe who wrote NT, is identified (also by Tischendorf) with the scribe who wrote part of OT and a few leaves of NT in ℵ (which see). On this identification it seems impossible as yet to pronounce a final verdict. Armitage Robinson, however, has pointed out that there is other evidence to show that the two great Bibles once stood side by side in the same library (*Euthaliana*, p. 37). This evidence is supplied by the presence in the margin both of ℵ and B (in each, apparently, as the result of an early insertion) of a remarkable system of chapter-numbering in the Acts, derived ultimately from the work of Euthalius, and found besides in two important MSS of the Latin Vulg. (*am* and *fu*).

In the Gospels B lacks the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons, and presents a division into sections which appears besides only in Ξ (Codex Zacynthius) an 8th cent. MS of St. Luke. In Acts, besides the system already referred to, there is an earlier (?) one, making 36 chapters. The Cath. Epp. also show an earlier and a later system of division into chapters. From the earlier system 2 P was apparently excluded. The system in the Pauline Epp. is remarkable. They are treated as a single book, and the sections numbered continuously throughout, the sequence of the numbers showing that in the source from which this system of division was derived, *Hebrews* stood between *Galatians* and *Ephesians*.

The birthplace of the MS is still obscure. Hort suggested Rome; Armitage Robinson's work on Euthalius gives some plausibility to Rendel Harris' suggestion of Cæsarea. The Text of the MS was revised soon after it had been written, with the help of a fresh MS, by a corrector who is quoted as B^2 in the NT and B^a by Swete in the OT. Six centuries later another scribe ($B^b = B^3$) retraced the faded original writing throughout. In consequence, the work of the original scribe is almost entirely hidden from sight except in the case of isolated words or letters which the restorer, for one reason or another, omitted to retrace.

The text of the OT section of this MS has been generally accessible since it was taken as the basis of the Roman edition of the LXX in 1587. Its NT text, on the other hand, during the first half of the present century, was to be ascertained only by a comparison of three more or less imperfect collations,—one made by Bartolocci in 1669, preserved in Paris; one made for Bentley by Mico about 1720 (supplemented by Rulotta 1730), preserved in Trin. Coll., Cambridge; and one by Birch, published in 1788, 1798, and 1801. The MS was taken to Paris by Napoleon, and there carefully examined, though not collated, by Hug in 1809. After its restoration to the Vatican it was inspected at various times by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Alford, but under conditions that precluded thorough collation. Since 1850 three editions, purporting to give the text of the MS, have been published at Rome. The first, under the names of Mai and Vercellone, in 1857; the second, under the same names, in 1859; the third, under the names of Vercellone and Cozza, at various dates between 1868 and 1881. These editions are now superseded by a magnificent reproduction in photographic facsimile of the entire MS. Its readings in the OT are most readily accessible in Swete's Camb. edition, 1887–1889. They are recorded in the NT in the critical editions of Tregelles and Tischendorf.

NOTE.—The same symbol, in critical notes on Rev, denotes an 8th cent. MS of Rev, also preserved in the Vatican. It is to be carefully distinguished from the MS described above, and it would prevent confusion if this latter MS were referred to as B_2.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

B.—A symbol used in criticism of Hex. by Dillmann to signify the work of the Elohist (E); by Schultz for that of the Jahwist (J). See HEXATEUCH. F. H. WOODS.

BAAL (בַּעַל, Βάαλ or Βαάλ).—The word means *owner* or *lord*, and is used both of men and gods. When used of men it implies possession, so owner of house, land, cattle, etc.; then it comes to mean *husband*. When applied to gods it also means *owner*, not *sovereign*, possessor of the land rather than ruler of men. Thus we have the B. of Tyre, the B. of Peor, etc., and, by an extension, B. of other objects, *e.g.* B.-berith; sometimes B. is prefixed to the name of a god, so possibly in the case of Baal-gad. The name was so obnoxious to the Jews in later times that בֹּשֶׁת (*bôsheth*, shame) was freq. substituted for it (see ISHBOSHETH). Thus we get Ishbosheth, Mephibosheth for Ishbaal, Meribbaal; and Dillmann has shown that this is the origin of the fem. ἡ Βάαλ (ἡ αἰσχύνη being the *kerê*) that we find in the prophetic books (LXX) and Ro 11[4].

The original conception is a problem of great difficulty and obscurity, the more so on account of the misconceptions that have gathered about it. It is commonly held that there was a supreme deity known as Baal, who is frequently identified with the sun. It will be convenient to examine first the alleged solar character of Baal. The evidence may be thus summarised. We find on inscriptions Baal Hammon, and on a Carthaginian monument Baal Hammon is represented with a crown of rays. The Hammanim are sun-pillars, and used in idolatrous worship. The root means 'to be hot.' Further, Baalbek was called by the Greeks Heliopolis (sun-city). At Beth-shemesh (house of the sun) there was a temple to B. But this evidence is far from cogent, and much too slender to bear the identification of B. with the sun; at the most it will show only that the sun was

sometimes regarded as a B. This is all that can be inferred from the temple of B. at Beth-shemesh; and the Gr. name of Baalbek is even less weighty, since evidence of that kind is necessarily somewhat late. And, on the other hand, B. and the sun are distinguished, 2 K 23^5. It was perfectly natural for sun-worshippers to speak of the sun as a B., but it does not follow that the converse is true, and that B.-worshippers identified the object of their worship with the sun. It is not probable that B. was even a sky-god. It is true that the **Baalim** were regarded as the producers of fertility, and to them were ascribed the corn and wine and oil (Hos 2^{5-8}). We think of the sun and rain as givers of fertility. But much of the district where B. worship prevailed was not fertilised by rain, but by natural and artificial irrigation. The land that was thus naturally watered and made fruitful was said in Arabia to be 'watered by the Ba'l'; and in the phrase 'what the sky waters and what the Ba'l waters,' the latter is expressly distinguished from the former. So the Mishna and Talmud draw a distinction between land artificially irrigated and land naturally moist, calling the latter the 'house of B.' or 'field of the house of B' (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 97). It is true that in Pal. the cultivation of corn depended on rain, and corn was certainly regarded as a gift of the Baalim. But analogy would make the transition possible from the idea of the Baalim as givers of fertility through the springs of the oasis to the idea that they gave it through the rains of heaven. It is true that analogy may have worked the other way, and that they may first have been conceived as givers of rain, and then as givers of the fertilising streams and underground waters. If, as Nöldeke and Wellhausen think, B.-worship originated in Arabia, the former view would be more probable. W. R. Smith, however, argues that 'cults of the B. type and the name of B. itself' were borrowed along with agriculture from the Northern Semites, and entered Arabia with the date-palm. At the same time, he argues forcibly that B.'s land is not originally land watered by the sky, but by 'springs, streams, and underground flow,' although later the Baalim were regarded as fertilising the land watered by rain.

We may now pass to the question whether the common view is correct, that B. was the name for the supreme deity of the Canaanites. It is a serious objection to this view, that, except in names, neither on the monuments nor in the OT can we find B. as a proper name standing by itself. We frequently have B. with the article, the B., or B. followed by the name of a place, quality, etc. In the former case the use of the article precludes us from treating B. as a proper name: it means the divine owner or landlord of the district in question. Similarly in the latter case the particular B. intended is distinguished from other Baals by the addition of the qualifying words. It is said by some that B. was originally one and the same deity, but for the consciousness of the people, the B. of one place was a different god from the B. of another (cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 19). But if that had been so, we should have expected to find traces of this original deity, whereas all we find is the Baals into which he has been differentiated. Nor is it easy on this view to account for the use of the plural 'the Baalim.' This has been interpreted as an emphatic plural 'great B.,' or as images of B., or B. under his various manifestations. But, taken with the facts already mentioned, by far the most natural explanation is that the word is a collective plural, and means the local Baals. And if this be so, it follows that B. can hardly be the sun, for it is the same everywhere, while the Baalim were distinct from each other, and thus our previous conclusion is confirmed by an independent line of argument.

The evidence seems to warrant the following statement. There was originally no supreme deity called B., nor is B. to be identified with the sun. There was only the Baal (or Baals) of particular places distinct from each other. The worship probably arose in connexion with agriculture. The local Baals fertilised each his own district by his streams and springs, and hence they were the owners of these naturally fertile spots. Tribute was therefore due to them, whether for the crops raised on the fertile ground, or for the water used in making land fertile by irrigation. By a natural extension the fertility of land watered by rain was also ascribed to the Baals. But by a process, to which we have abundant parallels in the cults of the powers of fertility, the giving of animal fruitfulness was attributed to them, and their worship was thus debased by repulsive immorality. These Baalim seem from Hos 2^{17} to have had their individual names. It is admitted by W. R. Smith that 'in later times B. or Bel became a proper name, esp. in connexion with the cult of the Bab. Bel' (*RS*^{2} 95).

When Israel entered Canaan the worship of the Baalim was everywhere present. As it was esp. associated with agriculture, which the Israelites learnt from the Canaanites, there was danger lest they should take over also the religious festivals connected with the various agricultural seasons, and thus succumb to the deadly fascination of the sensual nature-worship of the older inhabitants. That this actually happened we learn from the history. Matters were made worse by the custom, which we find among the Israelites, of speaking of J″ as Baal. Since B. was not a proper name, but only an appellative, this custom was perfectly innocent, and all that was meant was that J″ was the divine owner of His people, or the husband of Israel. But this double use of the term Baal for the local deity and for J″ tended to produce confusion between them, and by this syncretism the conception of J″ was debased by elements borrowed from nature-worship, and the lapse into idolatry was made much easier. The fact referred to, that the Israelites spoke of J″ as Baal, has been disputed, but rests on very strong evidence. We have names such as Ishbaal and Meribbaal, and even such a name as Bealiah (1 Ch 12^5), 'J″ is Baal.' Further, we learn from Hosea that the Israelites called J″ Baali, *i.e.* my Baal (Hos 2^{16}; see Driver, *Sam.* 186, 195 f., 279; Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 141 ff.).

With Ahab a new phase emerges. The B. whose worship he established was Melḳart, the B. of Tyre, his wife's home (1 K 16^{32}). We have here an instance of a local B. worshipped in a foreign country. The worship of Melḳart was not intended to supersede the worship of J″, but to exist side by side with it. Elijah forced on the popular mind the conviction that J″ and Melḳart were mutually exclusive. The worship was discontinued by Jehoram, the son of Ahab (2 K 3^2), but stamped out by Jehu's treacherous slaughter of its adherents (2 K 10^{18-27}). In Judah it seems to have been established by Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, and continued by Ahaziah (2 K $8^{18.\ 27}$). We find it in the reign of Athaliah, and it was suppressed at her death (2 K 11^{18}). The later B.-worship, to which we find several references in the prophets (Hosea, Jeremiah, Zephaniah), seems to have been the worship of the local Baalim rather than of Melḳart.

The Baalim were chiefly worshipped at the high-places, but also on housetops. Obelisks stood beside their altars, and sometimes an Asherah or sacred pole. Children were offered as burnt-offerings in the valley of Hinnom (Jer 19^5; but cf. *RS*^{2} 372 n.). We often read of incense being

offered to them. Melḳart was worshipped with animal sacrifices, and homage was done to him by bowing the knee and kissing his image. He had not only priests, but prophets. These are numbered at 450 in the time of Ahab, and a very graphic picture of their frenzied prayers and cutting of themselves to gain the attention of their god is given in 1 K 18[28].

LITERATURE.—By far the most important discussion is that of W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] pp. 93–113. The following may also be consulted:—Oort, *The Worship of Baalim in Isr.*; Baudissin, *Jahve et Moloch*, and in Herzog, *RE s.v.*; Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* ii. 301–305; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Religionsgesch.*; König, *Die Hauptprobleme*, pp. 35–38; Dillmann, *Monatsberichte der Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1881, p. 601 ff. A. S. PEAKE.

BAAL (בַּעַל).—**1.** A Reubenite, the father of Beerah, who was carried captive by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch 5[5]). **2.** A Gibeonite, granduncle of Saul (1 Ch 8[30]=9[36]).

BAAL, BAALAH, BAALATH (בַּעַל, בַּעֲלָה, בַּעֲלַת).—**1. Baalah** (1 Ch 13[6], Jos 15[9. 10]), a name for Kiriath-jearim. **2. Baalah** Mount (Jos 15[11]), the ridge which runs west from Ekron to Jabneel. **3. Baalah** (Jos 15[29]), a city in the extreme south of Judah, prob. the same as Balah, Jos 19[3] (=Bilhah, 1 Ch 4[29]) and Bealoth, Jos 15[24]. **4. Baalath** (Jos 19[44]), a town of Dan. The site is uncertain. **5. Baalath** (1 K 9[18]=2 Ch 8[6]): the town is noticed with Tadmor, but also in the second passage with Beth-horon. The site is uncertain. It might be No. 4. **6. Baalath-beer** (Jos 19[8]; **Baal**, 1 Ch 4[33]). This seems to have been perhaps the same as Ramah of the Negeb, according to the first passage. Evidently a hill in the Tih plateau, S. or S.E. of Beersheba. A conspicuous object in this part of the desert is the white dome of the small shrine called *Kubbet el Baul*, which may retain the name, S. of Tell el Milh.
C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-BERITH (בַּעַל בְּרִית='lord of the covenant'), the god of Shechem, where he had a temple, Jg 8[33] 9[4]; also called El-berith, Jg 9[46]. The name may mean the god who presides over covenants, cf. Ζεὺς Ὅρκιος; or the god of the Can. league which centred at Shechem; or the god of the covenant between Canaanites and Israelites, cf. Gn 34.
G. A. COOKE.

BAALE-JUDAH (בַּעֲלֵי יְהוּדָה 2 S 6[2]).—The same as Baalah (Jos 15[9], 1 Ch 13[5-6]), the old name of KIRIATH-JEARIM, which see. The name is no doubt an error for 'Baal of Judah' (cf. parall. 1 Ch 13[6] 'to Baalah,' and Jos 15[60] 18[14], where it is called Kiriath-baal, *i.e.* 'city of Baal'). It must have been noted once as a seat of Baal-worship.
C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-GAD (בַּעַל גָּד 'Baal of fortune'?), Jos 11[17] 12[7] 13[5].—Close to Hermon, but in the valley of the Lebanon. It must have been, therefore, on the north-west slopes of Hermon. The most probable site is at *'Ain Jedeideh*, 'the strong spring,' in this direction, near the road to Damascus.
C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-HAMON (בַּעַל הָמוֹן), Ca 8[11].—Perhaps for Baal-Hermon, or the Amanus.

BAAL-HANAN (בַּעַל חָנָן 'Baal is gracious').—**1.** A king of Edom (Gn 36[38. 39], 1 Ch 1[49. 50]). **2.** A Gederite who had charge of David's olive and sycomore trees (1 Ch 27[28]).

BAAL-HAZOR (בַּעַל חָצוֹר), 2 S 13[23], near Ephraim, appears to be the high mountain east of the road to Shechem, called *Tell 'Asûr*. It is very rugged, with grey limestone slopes, and with a small group of oaks at the top beside a shrine, and ruins of a town. *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv. See PALESTINE. C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-HERMON (בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן), Jg 3[3], 1 Ch 5[23]. See HERMON.

BAALI and **BAALIM**.—See BAAL.

BAALIS (בַּעֲלִיס, Βελεισά), the king of the children of Ammon at the time of the murder of Gedaliah (Jer 40 [Gr. 47][14]).

BAAL-MEON (בַּעַל מְעוֹן), Nu 32[38], 1 Ch 5[8], Ezk 25[9]. Beth-baal-meon, Jos 13[17]. Beth-meon, Jer 48[23]; probably Beon, Nu 32[3].—A town of Reuben near Dibon. It is named on the Moabite Stone, l. 9, as built by Mesha. The present ruin, *Ma'in*, a large mound at the edge of the plateau west of Medeba. The ruins are those of a Roman town. See *Mem. East Pal. Survey*, vol. i. *s.v.* The valley beneath to the south is well watered. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Baalmeon) this site is noticed as still a large village near Baaru (Machærus; see Reland, *Pal.* pp. 487, 611, 881), and 9 Roman miles from Heshbon, where were natural hot springs. The springs are those of Callirrhoë, in the great ravine of the *Zerka Ma'in* to the south. C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-PEOR (בַּעַל פְּעוֹר, Βεελφεγώρ, Dt 4[3b], Nu 25[5], Ps 106[28]) was the local deity of Mt. Peor. In Dt 4[3a], Hos 9[10] it is perhaps the name of a place. The Israelites are said (Nu 25[3]) to have worshipped him during their stay in Shittim. It is frequently supposed that his worship was especially licentious, since in the same context mention is made of the unchastity of the Israelites with the women of Moab and Midian. But the two facts are not definitely connected, so that we have no evidence for this opinion (cf. Driver on Dt 4[3]).
A. S. PEAKE.

BAAL-PERAZIM (בַּעַל פְּרָצִים), 2 S 5[20], 1 Ch 14[11]. It was near Jerusalem, but the situation is uncertain. See Driver on 2 S 5[20].

BAALSAMUS (Βαάλσαμος, AV **Balasamus**), 1 Es 9[43]; in Neh 8[7], MAASEIAH.

BAAL-SHALISHAH (בַּעַל שָׁלִשָׁה), 2 K 4[42]. Compare Shalisha. The situation is uncertain, but it seems to have been in Mount Ephraim. The village *Kefr Thilth* preserves the name of Shalisha. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv.
C. R. CONDER.

BAAL-TAMAR (בַּעַל תָּמָר 'Baal of the palm'), Jg 20[33].—It was near Bethel and Gibeah,—perhaps connected with the palm of Deborah (Jg 4[5]), which was between Bethel and Ramah,—a position which might suit the notice of Baal-tamar, whence Gibeah was attacked. C. R. CONDER.

BAALZEBUB (בַּעַל זְבוּב, Βάαλ μυῖαν, 2 K 1[2. 3. 6. 16]).—A Baal of flies, worshipped in Ekron, and consulted by Ahaziah, the son of Ahab and king of Israel. Why he was called Baal of flies is not clear. Probably he was regarded as the lord of flies, and worshipped by those who did not wish to be troubled by them. If Baal were the sun, the name would probably be connected with the fact that the heat of the summer sun calls out the flies in such numbers that in hot countries they become a plague. But this is probably not so (see BAAL). We see from the narrative in Kings that he was specially famous as a giver of oracles. Probably the busy flies, who swarm everywhere, were regarded as his messengers. In NT (Mt 10[25] 12[24. 27], Mk 3[22], Lk 11[15. 18. 19]) the name is changed to Beelzebul (Βεελζεβούλ, WH Βεεζεβούλ, AV and RV **Beelzebub**, RVm Beelzebul; cf. Beliar for Belial), and has become a name for the prince of the devils.
A. S. PEAKE.

BAAL-ZEPHON (בַּעַל צְפוֹן) is mentioned Ex 14[2. 9],

Nu 33[7] only, as one of three places near 'the sea' crossed by the Israelites. It was the seat of some form of Baal-worship, the character of which, as indicated by Zephon, is uncertain. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 225b) translates B-Z. by *locus Typhonis* vel *Typhoni sacer*, and others are disposed to regard Typhon as a variant of Zephon. But Typhon seems to be pure Greek, with a suitable Gr. derivation, and no good reason has been adduced for attributing an Egypt. origin to the word. Typhon was called by various names, the most common being Set. Set appears to have been regarded as a god of foreigners, and was combined, or perhaps confused, with Baal. Other explanations of Zephon are, (1) the north, or the north wind, making it equivalent to צָפוֹן; (2) a watch-tower, from the root צפה. The word צְפוֹן occurs as a proper name Nu 26[15], and in the parallel passage (Gn 46[16]) צְפִיּוֹן occurs, which seems to be derived from צפה.

The situation is as uncertain as the etymology. It has been placed on the N. shore of Egypt by Brugsch, who identifies it with Mt. Casius; about the middle of the present Isthmus, on some hill like Shekh Ennedek (Naville); at Jebel 'Atakah, or a spot on the E. side of the modern canal nearly opposite fort Ajrud. The conjecture of Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 570) that Phœnician sailors propitiated the god of the north wind when starting southwards on a voyage down the Gulf of Suez is a plausible one. The much quoted tract of Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, may be referred to for further information about Typhon; and in Baumeister, *Denkmäler des class. Alter.* p. 2135b, there is a picture, Egyptian in style (No. 2393).

A. T. CHAPMAN.

BAANA (בַּעֲנָא, possibly for בֶּן־עֲנָה 'son of distress'?; but this and similar contractions are highly uncertain).—**1.** (1 K 4[12]) and **2.** (1 K 4[16]) Two of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers. **3.** (Neh 3[4]) Father of Zadok, one of the builders of Jerusalem under Nehemiah. **4.** (1 Es 5[8] Βαανά A B) One of the leaders of the people who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel. Possibly the same as (3) and BAANAH (3).

C. F. BURNEY.

BAANAH (בַּעֲנָה).—**1.** Son of Rimmon, a Benjamite from Beeroth, who, with his brother Rechab, murdered Ishbosheth and brought his head to David at Hebron. They were slain at David's command, and their hands and feet hung up over the pool in Hebron (2 S 4[5-12]). Possibly the brothers had fled from Beeroth, a Gibeonite city, when Saul slew the Gibeonites (2 S 21[1]). **2.** A Netophathite, father of Heled (Heleb), 2 S 23[29], 1 Ch 11[30]. **3.** One of those who returned from the Exile with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2[2], Neh 7[7], and probably 10[27]). See also BAANA (= בַּעֲנָא).

J. F. STENNING.

BAANI (A Βααvί, B -νεί, AV Maani from the Aldine text), 1 Es 9[34] = Bani, Ezr 10[34].

BAARA (בַּעֲרָא).—Wife of a Benjamite (1 Ch 8[8]).

BAASEIAH (בַּעֲשֵׂיָה probably by error for בַּעֲשָׂא, Μααασαί, B).—A Kohathite (1 Ch 6[40]).

BAASHA (בַּעְשָׁא), son of Ahijah, of the tribe of Issachar. He seems to have been of lowly origin, as the prophet Jehu describes him as having been 'exalted out of the dust' (1 K 16[2]). When Nadab, son of Jeroboam I., was besieging the Philistine town of Gibbethon, Baasha conspired against him and slew him. He also exterminated all the seed of Jeroboam, thus fulfilling the sentence pronounced by Ahijah the Shilonite. Ascending the throne of the ten northern tribes about B.C. 914, he reigned for twenty-four years. His reign was that of a restless and warlike adventurer. He carried on a long war with Asa, king of Judah. Unable to withstand him, Asa purchased the help of Benhadad, king of Syria, who invaded the northern frontiers of Israel, and captured several towns. This drew Baasha away from the work in which he had been engaged, the building of a fort called Ramah, to blockade the north of Judah. Asa led his forces against Ramah and destroyed it, using the materials to build the towns of Geba and Mizpah (1 K 15[16-21], 2 Ch 16[1-6]). (See ASA.) In matters of religion Baasha did not profit by the warning given in the destruction of Jeroboam and his house, but followed his evil example in maintaining the calf-worship. On this account the same fate was denounced against his house by the prophet Jehu, son of Hanani (1 K 16[2]). He himself, however, died a natural death, and was buried in Tirzah, his capital. Elah, his son, succeeded him on the throne (16[6]).

R. M. BOYD.

BABBLER.—To 'babble' (a word supposed to be formed from the childish sound *ba ba*, with freq. term. *le*) is to talk incoherently, hence foolishly or unseasonably. 'Babbler' is given in AV as tr. of *ba'al hallâshôn* (בַּעַל הַלָּשׁוֹן), lit. 'the lord of the tongue' (RV 'the charmer'), Ec 10[11]; λαπιστής (RV 'braggart'), Sir 20[7]; and σπερμολόγος, Ac 17[18].

In the last word there is a touch of something worse than babbling. It was applied first to the crow, as the bird that picks up scattered grain (*σπέρμα* 'a seed,' and *λέγειν* 'to gather'); then to any 'parasite' or 'hanger on,' who picks up what he can in the market or harbour by his wits. Such an one is indifferent as to the obligation of his words, and so any mere prater may have been called a *spermologos*.* See Trench, *On the AV*, p. 156 f.

Babbling as a subst. is found in Pr 23[29] 'who hath b.?' (שִׂיחַ, RV 'complaining'); Sir 19[5] 20[5] (λαλιά); 1 Ti 6[20], 2 Ti 2[16] 'profane and vain b[s]' (κενοφωνίαι, lit. 'empty talkings').

J. HASTINGS.

BABE.—Two distinct words have been tr[d] 'babe' in NT. **1.** *Brĕphos* (βρέφος), either an unborn (Lk 1[41. 44]) or recently born child, Lk 2[12. 16], 1 P 2[2] (with adj. ἀρτιγέννητος 'newborn'); Lk 18[15] RV 'they brought unto him also their b[s]' (AV 'infants')|; Ac 7[19] RV (AV 'young children'); 2 Ti 3[15] RV 'from a b. (AV 'child') thou hast known the sacred writings.' **2.** *Nēpios* (νήπιος), a child that cannot yet speak (νη='not,' ἔπος='a word'), Mt 11[25] 21[16], Lk 10[21], Ro 2[20], 1 Co 3[1], He 5[13]. It is a pity that RV has not kept these words distinct. 'Infant' (*in* 'not,' *fans* 'speaking') is so evident a tr[n] of *nēpios* that it might have been used throughout for that word, and for that word only, leaving 'babe' for *brĕphos*. Then the point of Mt 21[16] would have been seen at once, 'Out of the mouth of *infants* (children not old enough to speak) thou hast perfected praise'; and of Ro 2[20] 'a teacher of *infants*.' Besides, *nēpios* carries the suggestion of contrast between infancy and manhood (τέλειος, *adult*, as He 5[13. 14], 1 Co 14[20], or ἀνήρ, *man*, as 1 Co 13[11], EV 'child,' Eph 4[13. 14], EV 'children'). And the further use of 'infant' to signify a legal minor would very well express the apostle's point in Gal 4[1. 3] 'as long as the heir is an infant,' etc. (EV 'child').

In OT 'babe' is given as tr[n] of *na'ar* (נַעַר) Ex 2[6], the usual word for a boy of puberty = παῖς, *puer*; of *'ôlēl* (עוֹלֵל) Ps 8[2] 17[14], a suckling; and of *ta'alûl* (תַּעֲלוּל) from the same root, Is 3[4].

J. HASTINGS.

BABEL, CITY AND TOWER OF.—The city of Babel or Babylon was, from the time of Khammurabi downwards, the capital of the Babylonian empire. It was especially famous for its temple

* Ramsay, in a full and interesting discussion of this word in the *Expositor* (5th ser. vol. ii. pp. 220 f., 262 f.), denies all reference to speaking. The Athenians, he thinks, applied this slang term of contempt to St. Paul simply as one who did not belong to their learned and exclusive society.

Sag-illa ('of the exalted [lit. 'reaching to the clouds'] head'), situated upon the east bank of the Euphrates. At Borsippa (Birs-Nimroud), the neighbouring town to Babylon, there may be seen at the present day a ruined temple of Nebo which was called by the Babylonians *É-Zidda* ('house of eternity'). Like the latter, the temple E-sag-illa, dedicated to Bel-Merodach, had seven storeys, following in this the fashion of all the larger Babylonian temples (see BABYLONIA, p. 220a). A detailed account of Babylon, unquestionably based on personal observation, is given by Herodotus (i. 178 ff.). It is now generally admitted that the sanctuary of Zeus-Belos mentioned by him must be identified, not with the still partially preserved temple of Nebo at Borsippa, but with the temple Sag-illa, which was then standing, although it has long since disappeared. The latter temple, moreover, not only consisted of the so-called *zikḳurat* or storied tower just mentioned, which bore the special name of *E-timin-an-ki* ('house of the foundation-stone of heaven and earth'); it was a whole complex of sanctuaries. In one of these stood the famous image of Bel-Merodach, the annual touching of which by the kings of Babylon at the New Year's festival served to confirm afresh their title and to establish their dominion. On this account Xerxes had it removed (cf. C. F. Lehmann, *Samas-sum-ukin*, p. 49), while he spared (Her. i. 183) the other image of Zeus (no doubt the statue of Nebo, which also had a place in Sag-illa). His removal of the first occasioned the mistake into which later historians (*e.g.* Arrian and Strabo) fell, of supposing that Xerxes completely destroyed Sag-illa.

With regard to the site of Babylon, the ruinous heaps running from N. to S. and all on the E. bank of the Euphrates, represent the following ancient structures: Jumjuna = the great banking-house; Tell 'Amrân = *Sag-illa*; Kassr = one of the palaces of Nebuchadrezzar (the royal palace mentioned by Herodotus was on the W. bank); Babil = the famous terraced gardens. The two great walls described by Herodotus (i. 181) were built by Nebuch. II., who, in a special sense, was the refounder of Babylon. The outer wall was named *Nimitti-Bel* ('dwelling of Bel'), the inner *Imgur-Bel* ('Bel was gracious'), probably in imitation of the names of the walls of Nippur, the ancient city of Bel (*Nimitti-Marduk* and *Imgur-Marduk*).

In the biblical story of the **Tower of Babel** (Gn 11^{1-9}), v.^{9} is probably a later addition, for Babel was certainly not amongst the *oldest* sanctuaries of the land of Shinar (Chaldæa). In this connexion a tradition preserved by the LXX of Is 10^{9} is of the highest interest. We read there, *τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπάνω Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλαννὴ* (according to Talm. tradition Calneh is the ancient Nippur) *οὗ ὁ πύργος ᾠκοδομήθη*, 'the country above Babylon and Calneh where the tower was built.' Kiš, to whose situation these words may perhaps refer, contained the famous temple *Kharsag-kalamma* ('mountain of the world,' cf. Is 14^{13}), and in the same city Khammurabi built the temple *Miti-ursagga*, whose 'top (*sag*) he carried up (*illa*) as high as heaven' (*annâ-gim*). The same Khammurabi would then have built also Sag-illa at Babel. See also TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.

F. HOMMEL.

BABI (A *Βαβί*, B *Βαιήρ*), the head of a family which returned with Ezra (1 Es 8^{37}), called in Ezr 8^{11} **Bebai** (wh. see).

BABYLON IN OT.—See BABEL, BABYLONIA.

BABYLON IN NT.—**1.** In Mt $1^{11.\,12.\,17}$, Ac 7^{43} (adapted from Am 5^{27}) the name certainly denotes the ancient city.

2. The name occurs in Rev 14^{8} 16^{19} 17^{5} $18^{2.\,10.\,21}$. In 17^{5} it is described as *μυστήριον*, *i.e.* a name to be allegorically interpreted (cf. Rev 11^{8} 16^{12} $2^{14.\,20}$). A full discussion would require an investigation of the apocalyptic imagery generally. The chief conditions, however, of the problem are these: B. is described (1) as 'the harlot,' the supreme antithesis of 'the bride,' 'the holy city,' 'the new Jerus.'; (2) as the centre and ruler of the nations, 14^{8} $17^{1f.\,15.\,18}$; (3) as seated on 'seven mountains,' 17^{9} (see Wetstein's note); (4) as the source of idolatry and impurity, $17^{2ff.}$ 18^{2} 19^{2} (cf. Ro 1^{18-28}, Eph $4^{17ff.}$, 1 P $4^{3f.}$); (5) as a great trading centre, $18^{3.\,11-19}$; (6) as enervated by luxury, $18^{7.\,12ff.\,22}$; (7) as the arch-persecutor of the saints and of 'the witnesses of Jesus,' 17^{6} 19^{2}. These considerations, taken together, are decisive (*a*) against the view of a few interpreters, that by B. is meant Jerus.; (*b*) in favour of the almost universal view that Rome is symbolised by B. This use of the name in an early Judæo-Christian book is in harmony with (1) the many analogies between ancient B. and Rome, both being capitals of great empires, homes of idolatry and impure luxury, oppressors of 'the Israel of God'; (2) the Jewish love for mystic names, Rome and the Rom. Empire being often designated among the Jews as Edom (see, *e.g.*, Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* p. 29 ff.); (3) the Jewish conception of the antagonism of the Rom. Empire to, and its destruction by, the Messianic kingdom (see Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, p. 364 f.; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. p. 439); (4) the fact that Rome is called B. in what may well be an early Jewish portion of the *Sibylline Oracles*, viz. v. 143, 158 (for the different views on Bk. v. see Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 286 f.). The comparison of Rome to B. underlies much of Jewish apocalyptic literature (2 Es, Apoc. Baruch; cf. Ryle and James' note on *Psalms of Solomon*, ii. 29). The only passage from Talmudic literature commonly cited for this mystic use of B. is the Midrash *Shir hashirim Rabba*, i. 6 (quoted by Wetstein on Apoc. 17^{18}; see also Levy, *Neuh. u. Chald. Wörterb.* 190*b*). Zunz (*Lit. der Synag. Poesie*, p. 100 f.)* refers also to *Midr. Ps.* 121 and *Bamidbar rabba*, c. 7 (end), noting that the name *Babylonians* was given by Jews to the Christians (*Gen. Haggada*, c. 27, in Jellinck's *Beth ha Midrash*, iv. p. 41). The interpretation of B. in the Apoc. as Rome dates from the earliest times; it is implied in Iren. v. 26. 1, distinctly stated in Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 13 = *adv. Judæos*, 9). So Jerome and Augustine, quoted by Wetstein on Apoc. 17^{18}. Andreas (Cramer, *Catena*, p. 560) speaks of it as derived 'from ancient teachers of the Church.' Such opinions as that by B. is meant (*a*) 'New Rome' (= Constantinople), 'because in it, in the times of the Arians, much blood of the orthodox was shed' (Cramer, *Catena*, p. 429); (*b*) the Papacy, either at Avignon or at Rome (see *Speaker's Com.* iv. 754), scarcely belong to historical interpretation.

3. The name B. is found in 1 P 5^{13}, *ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή*. ℵ and some other authorities add *ἐκκλησία*. Two cursives read *ἐν Ῥώμῃ*. Three interpretations of B. in this passage have been suggested: (1) The Egyp. B., which, however, is described by Strabo (xvii. p. 807) as simply *φρούριον ἐρυμνόν*. (2) The Assyr. B. But (*a*) there is apparently no evidence *either* that St. Peter was ever at B. *or* that a Christian church existed there in early times; (*b*) in Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ix. 5–9 we have positive evidence as to the desolation which befell the Bab. Jews about A.D. 40, and the consequent improbability that an Apostolic Church would have been planted among them (cf. Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talm.* p. 344). (3) Rome. The evidence in its favour is both *internal* and *external*: (*a*) *Internal evidence.* It harmonises

* I have to thank the Rev. A. Lukyn Williams for this reference.

with (i.) The context. The language is allegorical, the Church being spoken of as a lady (cf. 2 Jn 1. 13). Moreover, St. Mark is mentioned as being with St. Peter. Now, St. Mark was summoned to Rome by St. Paul (2 Ti 4[11]), probably towards the close of A.D. 67, and very early tradition describes St. Mark as St. Peter's companion and interpreter (Papias ap. Eus. *HE* iii. 39) at Rome (Iren. iii. 1, Clem. Alex. ap. Eus. *HE* ii. 15, vi. 14). (ii.) The figurative application elsewhere in the epistle (1[1] 2[24-10]) of language primarily used of ancient Israel. (iii.) The general tone of the epistle, especially in regard to persecution, duty towards the state, and 'the universality of [St. Peter's] teaching' (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 155). (iv.) The order of the Provinces in 1[1], Silvanus coming from the West and landing in Pontus. (*b*) *External evidence.* (i.) The Apoc. (see above) shows that Asiatic Christians at this time would so understand the name B. (ii.) Such was the ancient interpretation. Eus. *HE* ii. 15 introduces it by the significantly indefinite *φασί* (see the *φασίν* just above; it *may*, however, refer to Papias and Clement Alex. just mentioned). It seems, indeed, to have been universally accepted, till Calvin (*in loc.*), for controversial reasons, urged the literal interpretation. (iii.) Ancient testimony is unanimous, and from its range seems decisive, for a visit of St. Peter to Rome. The evidence for this visit is collected and discussed by Bishop Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 493 ff. See also art. on ST. PETER.

F. H. CHASE.

BABYLONIA, the cradle of the civilisation of the whole of anterior Asia and the West, and probably also of that of ancient Egypt, is the territory enclosed by the lower Euphrates and Tigris, extending from the neighbourhood of the modern Baghdad to 'the mouth of the rivers.' The latter, however, in ancient times flowed *separately* into the Persian Gulf, a little above Basra. The extraordinary fertility of the soil here, as in the case of the Delta of the Nile, was due to the extensive and careful canal system of the early colonists. As soon as these canals fall into disrepair, the same cheerless waste of waters presents itself again to view, as in primitive times.

The country of Babylonia, which extends from about 30°–33° N. lat., is bounded on the W. by the Arabian desert, from which it is separated only by a very narrow strip of cultivated land; on the N. by Mesopotamia proper; on the E. by the plain at the foot of the Elamite Mountains, over which in ancient times nomadic Aramæan tribes used to wander (the land of Ḳir [קִיר] of Is 22[6], Am 9[7]); and on the S. by the Persian Gulf.

The **Climate**, especially in South Babylonia, is extraordinarily warm. The months during which rain prevails are from November to February. At the present day, according to the accounts of travellers, the heaviest rains occur in November and December; but in ancient times, as the names of the months prove, the rainy season would appear to have been in Ṭebet (טֵבֵת Est 2[16]) and Shebaṭ (שְׁבָט Zec 1[7]), *i.e.* from the end of December to the end of February. Not only the Sumerian names for these months (*ab-ba-ud-du* 'coming from the sea,' and *ash-a-an* 'curse of the rain'), but also the Semitic (*ṭibêtu* 'submersion,' and *shabâṭu* 'destruction'), refer to rain-storms.

The fertility of the soil, already mentioned, went hand in hand with the mildness of the climate. There were two sowings every year (in Ṭebet and in Nisan), and two harvests (the first in Adar and the second in Sîvan, *i.e.* May–June). The **Chief Productions** were wheat (Sumerian *zig*, *zid*, whence *σῖτος*, Semitic *she'u*), which gave from fifty to a hundred fold return; sesame, which yielded oil; and the date-palm, introduced at a very early period from Arabia (Magan). This tree satisfied all the remaining wants of the people, since from it they obtained wine, vinegar, honey, flour, and material for all kinds of wickerwork. The stones were used by smiths as a substitute for charcoal, and when steeped served for fattening oxen and sheep. The reed which grew by the numerous canals attained a height of 15 feet, and was used for building huts and for the construction of mats, and even boats. In the latter case asphalt was employed for pitching purposes. Gn 6[14] עֲצֵי גֹפֶר (AV 'an ark of gopher wood') must probably be explained in this way, since *gipâru* means originally a 'reed-stand.' On the other hand, there were none of the trees characteristic of the lands adjoining the Mediterranean Sea (the vine, the olive, and the fig). For these only the Western Semites have common names, although the vine (Sumer. *gishtin* 'tree of life,' Semitic-Babylonian *karânu*), and the fig tree (Sum. *dib*, Sem. *tintu*, *tittu*) were in course of time introduced from abroad.

Stone and minerals were almost unknown in the alluvial soil. The absence of these was, however, atoned for by the excellent building material that lay to hand in the clay, while the best possible mortar was obtained from the asphalt contained in the numerous naphtha wells. All the buildings in ancient Babylonia were accordingly constructed of brick. When sandstone, or still harder kinds of stone, such as basalt or diorite, were used (*e.g.* for statues), they were brought by ship—even in the earliest times—from the territories along the frontier (Mesopotamia, Elam, Arabia). The same is true of alabaster, marble, gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, and lead; all of which are mentioned as early as the Sumer. inscriptions.

With regard to the **Fauna**, the lion (*nîšu*, *labbu*) was a very common tenant of the reed-beds between Arabia and Babylonia; and not only the panther (*nimru*), the jackal (*akhû*, *barbaru*), the fox (*šelibu*), and the wild boar (*shakhû*, *dabû*), but especially the wild ox (*rîmu*, Heb. רְאֵם), frequently figure in the literature and the pictorial representations (*e.g.* on the oldest cylinder-seals). Many species of gazelles, antelopes, and wild goats were found along the frontiers of the country. The horse (*ṣiṣû*, Heb. סוּס, but Syr. (סוּסְיָא) was unknown to the earliest settlers. The Sumerians called it 'ass of the East' or 'the mountain' (*anshu kurra*), just as by circumlocution they called the lion *lig-magh* 'big dog.' The strictly domestic animals were the cow (*alpu*), the sheep (*ṣênu*, *laḫru*, and other words), the goat (*inzu*), the ass (*imêru*, an incorrectly written form of *ḫimêru*, Sumerian *anshu*), and the dog (*kalbu*). The elephant (*pîru*) of Mesopotamia, the camel (*gammalu*) and the wild ass (*burîmu*) of Arabia, were also known to the Babylonians. Such a word as *gammalu* shows by its very form (if it were a genuine Babylonian word it would be written *gamlu*) that it has been borrowed from Arabia. Of tame birds, we may mention the raven (*âribu*), the swallow (*sinuntu*), and the dove (*summatu*) (cf. Gn 8[7ff.] and the Babylonian account of the Flood); of half-wild birds, geese and waterhens (the late Heb. תַּרְנְגוֹל 'cock,' comes from the Sumerian *dar-nugalla* 'king's fowl'), falcons (*surdû*) which were tamed even at this early period by the Babylonians for the purpose of hunting. Of birds of prey, the eagle (*arû* and *erû*, also *nashru*) holds the first place, then come the owl (*iššipu*, Heb. יַנְשׁוּף) and the horn-owl (*ḳadû*), etc.

In the sphere of **Ethnology and Language**, it can be shown that a dualism existed in Babylonia from the earliest period. The *Sumerians*, who in all probability came from Central Asia, and whose language is related to the Turanian, as the Babylonian method of writing proves, were the

founders of all the civilisation of anterior Asia. Besides these, we find as early as B.C. 5000 or 6000 distinct traces of a *Semitic* population, which came from the North-West (Mesopotamia) and took possession of the civilised settlements founded by the Sumerians, until, by their gradual incorporation with the original inhabitants of the country, there arose a single new race.

The Semitic Babylonians have the closest relationship with the other Semites (Hebrews, Arabs, and Aramæans), and yet, in opposition to these, they form a special group, as the grammar and lexicon clearly prove. If the Syro-Arabian Semites may be properly designated *west* Semites, the ancient Egyptian speech, on the other hand, belongs to the *east* Semitic, or the Bab.-Assyrian branch of Semitic languages. The Egyptians must in the remotest antiquity have emigrated from Mesopotamia to Africa. Apart from considerations of grammar and the great number of Sumerian loan-words contained in their language (which is otherwise Semitic), this is proved by extensive coincidences between the Egyptian and Babylonian systems of writing, their religion, and other branches of culture.

The Religion of the Babylonians meets us even in the oldest inscriptions as a tolerably finished system. Although most of the names of the gods are Sumerian, the Semites must have had a more or less important share in the development of this system. Many gods have two names, one Semitic and one Sumerian, *e.g.* *Bêlu* 'Lord' (West Semitic *Ba'al*), Sumerian *En-lilla*, 'Lord of the air,' and we cannot always be certain that the Sumerian name is the older and more original. As kings who are without doubt Semitic (*e.g.* the kings of Nisin) set up Sumerian inscriptions, so may Semitic gods in primitive times have received Sumerian names even from Semitic Babylonians, especially since Sumerian continued for long to be the sacred tongue. The beginnings of Babylonian culture go farther back than any inscriptions, and we cannot therefore answer questions such as this with anything like certainty. We get, however, the general impression that the baser elements of the Babylonian religion originally belonged to the Sumerians, while the purer and nobler ideas in it came from the Semites. The sovereign position occupied by Bel (in spite of his secondary rank in the genealogical system) points to this conclusion. Even the Star-worship (Sun, Moon, and Planets) which the Semites at an early date conjoined with the cult of Bel, is a far purer and nobler type of Polytheism than the crude idolatry of so many other heathen peoples.

If the *Sumerians* in their old incantations always invoke Heaven and Earth as the two highest powers of nature, regarding the earth-god as the 'good' spirit and offering him the greater devotion, it seems to have been the *Semites* who expanded this dualism into a genealogical system: first by inserting their Bel between the original two, and then by adding the sun and planet-gods, which were all regarded as children of the earth-god. It seems to have been the Semites, too, who converted the more general conception of 'Heaven' into the more special one of an 'ocean of heaven,' which extended over the Firmament ('the waters above the Firmament,' Gn 1^7). To this they gave the Sumerian title *nun* (with a dialectical variant *dun*), and regarded it also as continuing behind the horizon and under the earth. This 'Ocean of Heaven,' *Anun* or *Anum* (as the Sumerians preferred to write it), was placed at the top of the genealogical tree. Then came Bel, 'Lord of the air' (*En-lilla*, Sem. *Bel-zaḳîḳi*), as his son, and Ea or En-ki ('Lord of the earth') as his grandson. An ancient title for Bel, as god of the air and the storm, was *Ramman* (Sumer. *Martu* and *Imir*), who in course of time became a separate god, worshipped alongside of Bel. In primitive times the Moon-god (*Sin*) and Ea had likewise common titles (*e.g.* *En-zu*, 'Lord of wisdom,' Semitic *Bel-nimêḳi*), the Moon-god being hence called the first-born son of the god Bel.

Anum (shortened, Anu) was originally thought of as without a consort, for the goddess Anat or Antu is only a later philosophical abstraction, and has nothing whatever to do with the West Semitic עֲנָת. On the other hand, both the consort of Bel, *Nin-lilla* ('mistress of the air,' in Semitic absolutely *Bêltu* 'mistress') or *Ba'u*, and the consort of Ea, *Dam-gal-nunna* or *Damkina*, were female personifications of the Ocean of Heaven. The four children of the Earth-god (who was represented as a Ram) and his consort *Damkina*, the goddess of Heaven, were *Merodach* (*Amar-uduk*, *Maruduk*, and simply *Marduk*, as he was specially called in Babylon), the god of the morning-and-spring sun, his sister and consort *Istar*, his hostile brother *Nergal*, and the latter's consort *Ghanna* (עֲנָת) or *Gula*, whose name was written with the same ideogram as the town of Nineveh (*Ninâ*). A very ancient designation of Merodach was *Gur-alimma* (same ideogram as 'domicile' and 'eye'). A god originally identified with Nergal (god of agriculture and of the kingdom of the dead), but afterwards differentiated from him, was *Nin-ib* (or *Nindar*) god of war. The god *Dumu-zi* or *Tammûz*, of whom the same myth is related as of the Egyptian Osiris, was only another manifestation of Merodach. Finally, mention must be made of the son of Merodach, *Nabû* or *Nusku*, the messenger of the gods, the god of the art of writing, who also appears as the god of fire, and bears other titles besides (*e.g.* *Nin-gish-zidda*). His consort was *Tashmêtu* ('hearing prayer').

In very early times Merodach, Istar, Nergal, Nindar, and Nabû (*Nebo*) became *Planet-gods*, and, corresponding to their relative distance from the earth, the following was the primitive arrangement: *Sin* (Moon), *Nabû* or *Dun-pa-uddu* (Mercury), *Istar* or *Dilbat* (Venus), *Samas* (Sun), *Nin-ib* or *Käivânu* (Mars), *Marduk* or *Gud-bir* (Jupiter), and *Nergal* (Saturn). Afterwards Nin-ib and Nergal changed places, Kaïvânu becoming Saturn. Similarly, the title *Gud-bir* was at a later period given to Nabû (Merodach's son), and the new name *Mulu-babbar* (written Te-ud) assigned to Jupiter. The conjunction of Sakkut (read סִכּוּת) and Kêvân in Am 5^{26} may be compared with the conjunction of the gods *Tibal* (Earth? תֶּבֶל), *Sakkut* (title of Nindar, originally *Sa-kud*, 'judge,' *sc.* of the dead in the under-world), and *Kaïvânu* in a Semitic exorcism (*WAI* iv. 59, 8).

The oldest sanctuary of the gods, whose names and genealogical connexions have just been enumerated, and the special home of the gods in Babylonia, was the ancient town of *Nun-ki* ('place of heaven') or Eridu (*Uru-Dugga*, 'good town' or 'town of the good god,' *i.e.* Ea). There too, 'at the mouth of the rivers,' stood the holy palm (*Giš-kin*, Semitic Kiškanû), the famous oracle-tree of Eridu, to which the ancient Babylonian ideas of Paradise attach themselves, since here is to be found 'the pure abode, which stretches out its shade like a grove, but within it no one treads' (*WAI* iv. 15, 52 ff.). Besides this, the Babylonians had also another conception of a land of the gods to the south of the mouth of the Euphrates, and of a river of death and an Island of the Blessed far out in the ocean. In the epic of Gišdubar, the hero, the biblical Nimrod, sets out from Erech by land through Arabia, to seek for his great-grandfather Ṣît-napišti (the biblical Noah), who has been translated to Paradise. Between Aga and Salma,

the mountains of the land of Mashu, dwell the mythical scorpion-men, who guard the gold of Mount Arallu. After a long journey 'through the land of darkness,' Gišdubar at last reaches the sea-coast and the palace of the virgin goddess Sabîtu (*i.e.* the Sabæan), thence he travels to the 'waters of death,' and crossing over arrives at the residence of Ŝît-napišti. It looks as if the incense-island Šokotra, to the south of Arabia, had furnished the material for this conception.

The conception of Hades or 'the land without return' (Bab. *Shêlu*, from *shw'âlu* 'place of judgment,' *al irṣiti* 'town of the under-world,' and other similar names) is also found amongst the Babylonians, who place it in the farther south, where the waters of the ocean extend below the earth and connect themselves with the under part of the Ocean of Heaven. Here the different gods of the under-world, especially the night-and-winter sun (also called the South sun, Nin-ib, Nergal) but also the fire-demon Nebo-Nusku, and the Moon-god, acted as judges of the dead. All this clearly implies the notion of a retribution beyond the grave. Besides the Eden, which is conceived of as situated on the coast of the Persian Gulf (ערן from Sumerian *Edin*, 'desert,'* 'low ground'), there is also a Paradise above in Heaven with the names *E-ĝarsag-kur-kurra* ('Mountain-house of the lands') *E-ĝarsag-kalamma* ('House of the Mt. of the World'), *Ekur* ('Mountain-house,' properly *E-gur* 'House of the Ocean of Heaven'), *E-sharra* ('House of assembly,' הַר מוֹעֵד Is $14^{13f.}$). Since the Babylonians thought of the north as above, and of the south as below, it is evident why this mountain of the gods is, in Is 14^{13}, placed to the north (its opposite is Sheol, 14^{15}), and we are not to think of any *earthly* mountain, such as Ararat.

The Babylonians also connect the *serpent* with Paradise. In the epic of Nimrod it is the serpent which snatches the plant of rejuvenescence from Gišdubar as he returns home. In a well-known picture on an old cylinder-seal, a serpent is twining itself behind a seated female (?) figure. In front of the figure stands a palm, and on the other side of the palm sits a personage whose ox-horns mark him out as a divinity. Both figures, however, are stretching out their hands to the fruit of the tree that stands between them. The Babylonian dragon of the primeval world is represented as a monster with the head of a lion and the feet of an eagle; but after his defeat by Merodach he is transported to Heaven in the form of a serpent. In connexion with this we may remember that the 'serpent-god,' who is regarded as masculine, is called the 'watcher (*râbiṣu*) of the house of heaven.' Finally, Nebuchadrezzar set up, both at the gates of Babylon and on the threshold of the temple of Bel, colossal bulls and enormous serpents of metal as guardians.

Unfortunately, no *direct* parallel to the biblical account of the *Fall* and the expulsion of man from Paradise has been as yet found in Babylonian literature. Nevertheless, apart from the pictorial representation mentioned above, the legend of Adapa presents a parallel. Adapa, who is called the 'seed of mankind,' forfeits for ever the immortality offered to him by the god of heaven by his refusal to take the bread and water of life. If, in addition to this, we note the prominent place occupied by the knowledge of sin and the yearning after forgiveness amongst the Babylonian Semites, the existence of a narrative of the Fall, standing in intimate relation to Paradise, can scarcely any longer be doubted. The same remark applies to the confusion of tongues at the building of the Tower. The Tower of Babel (Gn 11) is indeed a tower of steps, and, as such, a temple; and, according to the Babylonian conception, men were created by God to build temples for the gods. At the same time the presumption of wishing to climb up to heaven comes out clearly in the Etana legend, where it is punished by a downfall.

Sacrifices and *prayers* played an important part among the Babylonians at all times. Besides the priests, there were also the magicians and soothsayers with their exorcisms. The laws and ordinances (*terîti* תּוֹרוֹת) of the gods are often mentioned; and we can see clearly, from the hymns and litanies that have come down to us, that the ritual of sacrifice and worship was a rich one. Liturgical forms, like so much else, had their home in Babylonia, as can be proved down even to the minutest details of expression. There are two chief kinds of sacrifices mentioned in the oldest inscriptions: the prescribed daily sacrifice *ginû* or *sattukku* (Sumer. *sa-dug*, probably a word originally borrowed from the Arabian *ṣadaḳat* 'right'), and the freewill sacrifice *nindabû* (נְדָבָה), which originally consisted of a gift of corn (Sumer. *nidab*) to the goddess Istar. Other expressions for sacrifice are: *ḳurbannu* (קָרְבָּן), properly 'presentation,' *niḳû* (properly 'libation,' but used for sacrifice in general, since libations were always used at the sacrifice of beasts), *ḳutrinnu* 'incense-offering,' *zîbu* (from *zib'u* =זבח), *sirḳu* ('drink-offering'), and *šurḳînu*. It is worth remarking that the same word which is used in Hebrew of pardon and forgiveness, סָלַח, is used in Babylonian of sprinkling sick or unclean men. Sickness, however, is always treated by the Babylonians as a result of sin, and hence sacrifice is always regarded as a propitiation for sin. Human sacrifice, up to the present, has been found portrayed only upon ancient seal-cylinders,* and it is still open to question whether the victim does not represent a god rather than a man. In that case there would be an allusion to a myth unknown to us. Of the many expressions for 'prayer' and 'petition' in use, *suppû*, a denominative from *sippu*, a threshold, has a special interest, because the threshold of the house or the temple was the place at which prayer and sacrifice were offered in ancient times.

From the earliest times the temples were regarded in Babylonia as the earthly dwelling-places of the gods (Bab. *bîtu*, *iširtu*, and *ekallu* היכל, which usually, however, means palace). They were generally in the form of a tower of steps (*ziḳḳuratu*), and were three storeys and sometimes seven storeys high, the latter being an earthly copy of the seven heavenly spheres, or circles, of the planets. Occasionally these temples contained also the graves of the kings (*gigunu*), as in the case of a temple of Gudea. In the 'Holy of Holies' there were special divisions, which were called by several names, *parakku*, *papaḫu*, *panpanu*, *di'u*, *usukku*, and *sukku* (cf. קֹדֶשׁ, also used in a religious sense). It is remarkable that the oldest form of the ideogram for *parakku* clearly represents tapestry or a curtain (cf. פָּרֹכֶת).

The functions of the *priests*, seers or prophets, magicians and soothsayers, often overlap one another in the texts, though they were in reality always very carefully differentiated. The most common expressions for priest are *kalû* and *šangû* (Sumerian *sag*), the high priest being hence called *šangu-maḫḫu* (from *sag* 'priest' and *maḫ* 'high'), for seer and prophet *maḫḫû*, from which the word magician is derived, *asû* (which also means 'physician,' Sumer. *azu*, originally signifying 'he who knows'), and *bârû* ('the seer,' exactly=the Heb. רֹאֶה). The Heb. word נָבִיא is also found, at any rate in the name of the god *Nabi'u*, *Nabû*, Nebo ('proclaimer,' 'herald,' as a planet, Hermes).

* Observe the wording of Gn 2^8 'and God planted a garden in Eden,' *i.e.*, according to the above explanation, 'out in the waste.'

* Ménant, *Collection de Clercq*, No. 176–182; *pierres gravées*, I. figs. 94, 95, 97.

The Heb. מְכֹן also has its equivalent in the Bab. *muškînu* (from *muškahînu*), 'one who pays homage or worships.' The rich cultus of the Babylonians, in addition to its numerous sacrifices, prayers, and litanies, included from an early period also sacred water (*agubbû*), censers (*adaguru*), processions (*maśdaḫu*), barges of the gods (as in Egypt). All these naturally had their chief place at the numerous festivals.

Not only were there **Festivals** which were repeated on certain fixed days every month (as the *nubattu* or festival specially connected with the worship of Merodach and his consort Zarpanit on the 3rd, 7th, and 16th days of the month, or the so-called 'unlucky-day,' *ûmu limnu* [corresponding to the Hebrew Sabbath], which was held on the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th of the month, and had to be observed as a day of fasting and repentance even by the king), but there was also a series of annual festivals, of which the Festival of the New Year (*zagmukku, akîtu*) was regarded as the most sacred. At this festival Bel (in Babylon Bel-Merodach, in Sirgulla Ningirsu, as the consort of Ba'u) entered the holy assembly-room (*ubšuginna*) in order to fix the fates of men, especially that of the king, for the coming year. This Festival of the New Year and the Spring was also held in remembrance of the day of Creation. After Bel had conquered the dragon and made the world, on the 8th and 11th days of the new year he entered *Dulazagga*, the 'holy of holies' of *Ubšuginna*, for the purpose mentioned above (Epic of the Creation, Table iii. l. 61, Nebuk. ii. 54–65).

In this connexion the ancient names of the Babylonian **Months**, as they are given from about B.C. 2000 both in Sumerian and Semitic, are as follows:—

1. *Barag-zag-gar* ('the Holy of Holies of the Temple'). *Nisannu*, also named *Araḫ—rabûti* (month of the great gods, *i.e.* Anu and Bel): begins on 21st of March. March–April.
2. *Gud-si-di* ('ox of right guidance' (?)). *Iyaru*. April–May.
3. *Shigga* (month of bricks). *Sivânu*, likewise called *Kusallu* and *Ṣîtân*. May–June.
4. *Shu-gunna* (sowing). *Du'ûzu* (Tammuz), also *Pit-bâbi* ('opening of door'). June–July.
5. *Bil-bil-gar* (fire month). *Abu*, also month of the star of the bow (or Sirius). July–August.
6. *Gur-Ninni* (harvest of Istar). *Ululu* (Elul). August–September.
7. *Dul-azagga* (see above). *Tashrîtu* (=beginning). September–October.
8. *Apin-dua* (the lifting of the watering-can?). *Araḫ-samna* (the eighth month, Marcheshvan). October–November.
9. *Gan-gan-na-ud-du* (month of clouds). *Kisilivu*. November–December.
10. *Ab-ba-ud-du* (month of the sea). *Ṭibîtu*, also *Tamṭîru* (rain). December–January.
11. *Ash-a-an* (curse of rain). *Shabaṭu*, also *Isin-Ramman* (festival of the storm-god). January–February.
12. *She-gur-kud* (grain-harvest). *Adaru*, also *Araḫ-sibûti* (month of the seven evil gods). February–March.

The names of months in use amongst the Hebrews after the Exile are well known to have been derived from the Semitic names which are always mentioned second in the foregoing list. As the names *Dul-azagga*, which is used in connexion with the New Year, and *Tisri*, which signifies 'beginning,' show, the New Year Festival must, at some early date, have been held in harvest instead of in spring. This also explains why the god of the seventh month is Samas (the sun, who rules the year), and why the Babylonians, even in later times, instead of a second Adar, intercalated occasionally a second Elul (very rarely a second Nisan) as the last month of the year. In the time of Abraham the month in Babylonia had 30 days, as is clear from the contract-tablets. The year thus consisting of 360 days, it was necessary every six years to intercalate a thirteenth month—generally a second Adar. The Babylonians also recognised a lunar year of 324 days, whose months each contained 27 days. From this they fixed the ratio of silver (moon) to gold (sun) as 27 : 360 (lunar month : solar year)=3 : 40=1 : 13⅓. A lunar month had three weeks of 9 days or 60 *uddu* (the *uddu* was reckoned as 6×6×6=216 minutes). The Babylonians divided the day into twelve double hours, and the double-hour into 60 minutes, their unit of time being thus equal to about two minutes of our reckoning, corresponding to the time taken by the sun to traverse a space in the heavens equal to his apparent diameter.

In the contract-tablets of the later kings of Ur (about B.C. 2300), some centuries therefore before Abraham, we find a list of Sumerian names for the months, only three of which correspond with those mentioned above, viz. the 4th (Shu-gunna), the 5th (Festival of the Fire-god), and the 12th (She-gur-kud). The first month in this old list is called She-illa ('when the grain grows tall'), the 7th 'Feast of Tammuz,' the 8th 'Feast of king Dungi' (who was worshipped as a god), and the 9th 'Feast of Ba'u.' Even at this date there is already evidence of the intercalation of a second Adar (*dir she-gur-kud*).

It is much to be regretted that no special calendar of festivals has been discovered up to the present. We only know that Bel was the patron god of Nisan, Ea of Iyyar, Sin of Sivan, Nin-ib of Tammuz, Nin-giš-zidda (Nebo, as Fire-god) of Ab, Istar of Elul, Samas of Tisri, Merodach of Araḫsamna, Nergal of Kislev, and Ramman of Shebaṭ, and that probably the chief festival of the gods mentioned was held in the months that corresponded to them. It is most likely, however, that not only different epochs, but also different places of worship, had their own special festivals. At Sippar, for instance, the City of the Sun in N. Babylonia, Samas had special feast-days not only on 7th Nisan and 7th Tisri, but also on 10th Iyyar, 3rd Elul, 15th Marcheshvan, and 15th Adar. In this connexion it may be noted that, judging from the Heb. Feast of Purim (14th and 15th Adar), there was probably in Babylonia a feast observed in honour of Istar the sister of Samas.

The circumstance that each month had its patron deity, has a partial connexion also with the **Division of the Zodiac**, which originated in Babylonia before B.C. 3000. At that early date the principal constellations, and especially those that are traversed by the sun, moon, and planets, were already known by nearly the same names as they bear to-day. They formed twelve 'stations' (*manzaztu*, hence *mazzartu* and *mazzaltu*, from which are borrowed Heb. מַזָּרוֹת, מַזָּלוֹת [Job 38^{32}, 2 K 23^{5}] and Arab. *manzal*). From B.C. 2000 onwards it can be demonstrated that the order of the months was Nisan, Iyyar, etc. This reckoning starts with the Ram (Aries) as the vernal point, but there was an older order which began with the Bull (Taurus, the symbol of the god Merodach). The latter system, which finds the vernal point in the Pleiades, carries us back at least to somewhere about B.C. 4000. The Zodiac was also divided into a region of Anu (Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo), a region of Bel (Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius), and a region of the earth-and-water god Ea (Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries). These last four

constellations, lying between Sagittarius and the Pleiades (כִּימָה, cf. Bab. *kîmtu*, 'family'), and forming the path of Ea, are what are called in Job 9⁹ 'the chambers of the south' (חַדְרֵי תֵימָן). Along this path of Ea (Sumer. *sil sigga*, written with the signs *tar* and *pa*), lay, according to Bab. notions, the entrance to the under-world; hence the constellation Sagittarius was called *ka-sil* 'opening of the path,' and the corresponding month *Kisilivu* (Kislev). But as the Babylonians were fond of applying one and the same designation to stars in opposite quarters of the heavens, Orion was also named *ka-sil* (Heb. כְּסִיל) and the month Sivan, which belonged to Gemini, was called *Kusallu*. It is certainly no fortuitous circumstance that precisely at the point where the path of Ea *begins* (between Sagittarius and Capricornus), another path, the Milky Way, intersects the ecliptic, and that the ecliptic is again crossed by the Milky Way at the point where the path *ends*, exactly between Gemini (month Sivan) and Orion (Bab. *shu-gi* or *shîbu*, also *ka-sil*, Heb. כְּסִיל). The Great Bear was called by the Babylonians 'Wagon-star' (more precisely *kakkab ṣumbi*, 'star of the baggage-wagon'), by the W. Semites 'Lion-star' (Heb. עָיִשׁ, cf. Syr. ʿayyûthâ, Arab. *'ayûth*), for the Arab. *na'sh* (Bab. *nêshu*) also meant originally 'lion.' The underlying explanation is probably that the Lion of the Zodiac (Bab. 'dog-star'), on account of his nearness to the sign of the Great Bear, was thought of as harnessed to the latter as his wagon. At a later period the Babylonians designated the Dog (our Leo) *arû* ('lion'); in Sumer. *lig* means 'dog,' and *lig-magh* 'lion' (literally 'big dog').

The oldest reliable evidence for the Bab. origin of the zodiacal signs is derived from the ancient Bab. boundary-stones with their pictorial representations. These date from the 12th cent. B.C., and from them we obtain the following series:— Ram, Bull, two dragons = Gemini, Hydra (south of Cancer) with a spindle, Dog, Ear of corn with a cow (the symbol of the virgin Istar), Balance (Yoke), Scorpion, Scorpion-man with a bow (Sagittarius), Goat-fish (a goat with the body and tail of a fish) or Tortoise, Pitcher, and Water-hen (Horse), to which the Raven, as symbol of the intercalary month (originally a second Elul), is added as a thirteenth sign (hence the raven is viewed as a bird of evil omen). That the real origin of this system goes back, however, to a far remoter antiquity, is proved not only by the star-names found in the so-called astrological work (*c.* B.C. 2000), but by the circumstance that throughout the latter the Pleiades (Taurus) appear as the first of the zodiacal signs. The exact astronomical proof was rendered possible by the Planet-tables of the Arsacid period (2nd cent. B.C.), and the laborious task was undertaken by the Jesuit fathers Epping and Strassmaier. It turned out,* moreover, that the Babylonians were acquainted not only with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, but (quite in accord with the testimony of Diodorus, ii. 30) also with 24 (afterwards 27) stations of the moon† and 36 stations of the planets (the so-called *decani*). That is to say, they divided the ecliptic as the path of the sun into 12, as that of the moon into 27, and as that of the planets into 36 parts, and distinguished each part by certain stars. The same investigation makes it probable that the 24 'hour-stars' and the 36 '*decani*-stars' of the ancient Egyptians were borrowed in the remotest antiquity from Babylonia. (We shall presently describe [p. 220 f.] how the Babylonians wove the signs of the Zodiac into the composition of both their great epic poems, the one concerning the Creation, the other concerning Nimrod.) Of remaining stars we have yet to mention Sirius, 'bow-star' (*kakkab ḳashti*); Procyon (*kakkab mishrî*, lit. 'north star' or 'northern weapon,' in contradistinction to the 'southern weapon,' viz. Sirius); *ashkar* or *îḳû* (Arab. *'ayyuḳ*) = Capella; 'king-star' = Regulus in Leo; 'jackal-star' = Antares in Scorpio; *sig-bil-sagga* = Myra *Ceti*, south of Aries, the 'fire-star' (or star of Nimrod or Gisdubar); etc. etc. In the whole list there are only a few names which cannot now be identified.

Babylonia was the home not only of Mathematics (see below) and Astronomy, but of **Astrology.** This is eloquently witnessed to by the so-called astrological work mentioned above, which bears the special title, *nûr Bel*, 'illumination of Bel.' The seers (*bârû*) and magicians (*maḫḫu*), who are so often mentioned along with the priests, were, above all, 'star-gazers' and 'prognosticators'; cf. Dn 2², where already the name *Kasdîm* (Chaldæans) appears as synonymous with magicians. That the μάγοι of Mt 2¹ were likewise Chaldæans, is plain from various passages of the astrological work, where we read, 'Under such and such a constellation a great king shall arise in the land of *Martu* (Palestine), and peace and joy shall prevail in the land.'

If Bab. **Medicine** did not reach a level much higher than that of magical formulæ,* the acquaintance of the Babylonians with **Mathematics** deserves all the fuller recognition. The subject will be best elucidated by a brief survey of the Bab. **Metrology**, from which admittedly all the ancient metrological systems (that of ancient Egypt included) were derived. The latter circumstance proves indirectly how remote is the antiquity to which the beginnings of the system must be carried back. Metrology, moreover, lays the foundation for the material civilisation of a people, as religion does for their spiritual development. For the Babylonians the connecting link between the two was Astronomy.

First, as regards *linear measure*, we now know from the scale of Gudea (*c.* B.C. 2500), published in de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, that the half-cubit (½ great cubit) was divided into 15 finger-breadths of 16·6 mm. each. The cubit thus contained 498 mm., and the great cubit (*ammatu rabîtu*) 996 mm. These again were divided respectively into 30 and 60 finger-breadths. Both the small and the great cubit were also divided into six equal parts, the former containing 6 × 5, the latter 6 × 10 finger-breadths. The latter system of division appears, for instance, in the tablet of Senkereh (*WAI* iv.² 37), on the reverse of which are given the squares and cubes of the cubit from the number 1 up to 60, and on the obverse the fractions and multiples of the cubit. We learn that a 'reed' (*gi* or *ḳanû*) was 6 great cubits; a *gar* (written with the sign *sha*) 12 great cubits; an *ush* (stadium) 60 *gar* or 720 great cubits; a *kasbu* (parasang) 30 *ush* (*c.* 21 kilomet.); and a *double-kasbu* 60 *ush*. In all probability there was also a small *kasbu*, answering to the small cubit, and containing 10,800 cubits (*c.* 10¾ kilomet.).

Besides its division into sixths, the cubit was divided also into 10 (5) hand-breadths (each of 6 finger-breadths). Further, as we learn from the

* The proof of this will be found in Hommel's art. 'Ursprung u. Alter d. arab. Sternnamen' in *ZDMG*, Bd. 45, pp. 592–619.

† The names of these passed in course of time from the Babylonians to the Arabs, Persians, Hindus, and Chinese.

* Important conclusions can be deduced, however, from the Bab. literature, notably from the bilingual magical formulæ and from the Epic of Nimrod, regarding the nature of certain diseases. For instance, the 'head-disease' so frequently mentioned, which is accompanied with violent fever, is *erysipelas*; the symptoms of Gišdubar's illness are those of *lues venerea*; while the disease of Ea-bani appears to have been *leprosy*. There is also frequent mention in the religious texts of fever and plague.

scale of Gudea, the finger-breadth (16·6 mm.) was divided into 180 parts, of which, however, the only ones in actual use were the $\frac{1}{18}$ ($\frac{10}{180}$), $\frac{1}{12}$ ($\frac{15}{180}$), $\frac{1}{6}$ ($\frac{30}{180}$), $\frac{1}{5}$ ($\frac{36}{180}$), $\frac{1}{4}$ ($\frac{45}{180}$), $\frac{1}{3}$ ($\frac{60}{180}$), and $\frac{1}{2}$ ($\frac{90}{180}$). The hand-breadth, whose minimum was taken at 99, and maximum at 99·6 mm., served, moreover, as *the side of a cube* which contained exactly a *ḳa* (nearly a litre), and which, *when filled with water*, weighed a great *mina* (*c.* 990 grammes). In the same way, as is well known, a cubical decimetre (*i.e.* a litre) of water weighs a kilogramme. In this most ingenious fashion did the Babylonians in that remote antiquity derive not only their superficial measures and their measures of capacity, but even their weights from a common standard, the hand-breadth. It is further to be noted that in the latitude of Babylon (31° N. lat.) the length of the seconds' pendulum is 992·35 mm., which is almost exactly equal to the length of the Bab. double-cubit (990–996 mm.).

From their linear measure the Babylonians derived also their *reckoning of time*. A distance of 360 double-cubits is covered by an average walker in 4 minutes ($\frac{1}{360}$ of the whole day), a great *kasbu* (21,600 cubits) in four hours or a night-watch. Thus the *kasbu* was used to mark the periods of the day; $\frac{1}{12}$ of a day (2 ho.) being a small, and $\frac{1}{6}$ a great *kasbu*. The reckoning was controlled by the observation that the sun requires exactly 2 minutes ($\frac{1}{60}$ of the double-hour) to traverse a space equal to his apparent diameter. Thus discovered, the system of reckoning by 60 (*sussu*, originally *sudsu*, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{6}$ of 360) was adopted by the Babylonians as the fundamental principle of their whole metrological system. It was astronomy* then, in conjunction with the linear measures derived from the cubit and the hand-breadth, that gave birth to the famed *sexagesimal system*, which spread from Babylon over almost the whole world. With this goes naturally the division of the circle into 720 (360) degrees; and the observation that the sixth part of the circumference of a circle is equal to the radius, stands also in the closest relation to the same system. Both the principles referred to were known to the Babylonians from the earliest times.

By squaring the various linear measures, we obtain the corresponding *superficial measure*. As early as the time of the kings of Ur we meet with the 'field' (*gan*)=1800 'gardens' (*sar*); and the 'garden' (60 sq. cubits?)=60 *gin*.† Then the *gin* (1 sq. cubit?) was divided into 180 *she*. Besides the great *gan* of 1800 *sar*, there was originally a small *gan* of 180 *sar*; hence the great *gan* bears the name also of *bur-gan* ('ten gardens'). The Babylonians, moreover, gave designations to pieces of land according to the amount of seed-corn required to sow them. Thus, *e.g.*, they would speak of a 5 *gur* cornfield. This introduces us to—

Measures of capacity. In Abraham's time there were already three systems simultaneously in use: the *gur* of 360 *ḳa*, the *gur* of 300 *ḳa* ($\frac{1}{6}$ less than the first, and standing to it in the same relation as the gold mina of 50 shekels to the silver mina of 60 shekels), and the *gur* of 180 *ḳa*. The last-named system of reckoning, acc. to which the *ḳa* contained about 2 litres, was the only one in use in the New Bab. period. Now, since the Heb. *kor* (כֹּר) contained 180 *ḳab* (קַב), just as the Bab. *gur* contained 180 *ḳa*, it is clear that the Hebrews borrowed both the names and the divisions from the Babylonians. The Heb. has even preserved the original and fuller form of the name *ḳa*, namely *ḳab*. Besides the *ḳa* (see above for its origin) there were also larger sub-divisions of the *gur* or *kor*, such as the *pi* or 'ass's burden' (*imêru* Heb. חֲמֹר) = $\frac{1}{2}$ *gur*; the *aš* (Heb. *Bath* or *Ephah*) = $\frac{1}{10}$ *gur*; the *bar* (Heb. *Se'ah*) = $\frac{1}{30}$ *gur*, etc. In addition to this, the *ḳa* (originally about a litre) was divided into 60 parts, which, as in the case of the *mina* and the *sar*, were called *gin*. Since among the Hebrews the *hin* (הִין) was the 60th part of the *kor*, as amongst the Babylonians the *gin* was the 60th part of the *ḳa*, הִין must also be a Bab. loan-word. It found its way into Heb. through the medium of Egypt, where the *hin* was the fundamental measure; and the name *ephah* also comes from Egypt.* Besides this division of the *ḳa* into 60 *gin*, we meet with another into 10 *gar* (written *sha*).

Finally, in regard to *weights*, the talent (*gun*, Semit. perhaps *gaggaru*) contained 60 *minæ* (*mana*, Semit. *manû*); the mina 60 *shekels* (*gin* with the sign *ṭu*, Semit. *šiḳlu* 'weight,' and, as the original measure, *ḳuddu* 'cup'); the shekel 360 (180) *she* (or grains of corn). But, as happened so often in the Bab. metrology, there were several systems of weight in use simultaneously: [1] The heavy mina of about 990 gr. (the weight of the *ḳa* filled with water, see above). [2] The light mina, which weighed $\frac{2}{3}$ of the heavy, *i.e. c.* 495 gr. (491–492 gr. in the case of the weights still extant). [3] A weight = $\frac{2}{3}$ of the light mina (50 instead of 60 shekels) used specially for gold, the so-called gold mina, usually = 409–410 gr. Even *c.* B.C. 2000, however, there had come into use a gold mina of a higher (so-called royal) standard = 427½ gr., as can be proved from a weight recently found at Nippur. [4] A weight about $\frac{1}{6}$ more than the light mina, the Bab. silver mina = 546 gr. Although the last-named is a derived and secondary weight, it is still very ancient, for its 60th part, the silver shekel of 9·1 gr., answers exactly to the ancient Egyp. *ḳed*, which is likewise = 9·1 gr. The Bab. ideogram for shekel has not only the pronunciation *šiḳlu* (שֶׁקֶל), but also *ḳuddu* (Arab. *ḳadaḥ* 'cup'), and this *ḳuddu* is naturally the prototype of the Egyp. *ḳed*, which weighs exactly the same. Ten of these *ḳed* made up the Egyp. pound (*deben*, not *uten*) of 10 shekels (91 gr.), and in point of fact there was also a Bab. weight of 10 shekels, whose name was in Sumer. *garash*† and in Semit. *tibnu*, but which was also designated absolutely *abnu* 'stone' (cf. 2 S 14[26] אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ, and Pr 16[11] אַבְנֵי כִיס, Bab. *aban kîsi*). Three of these made up a half-mina, and six a mina.

In regard to Bab. **Art** (architecture, sculpture, engraving, etc.), our former conceptions have been fundamentally changed by the excavations at Telloh and Niffer (in South and Central Babylonia). From these we see that as early as B.C. 4000–3000 the bloom of art in Babylon was such as was in some respects never attained in later days, —a case quite analogous to that of Egypt in the era of the Pyramids. Under the older kings of Sirgulla the style of art is of course still somewhat awkward and crude, but under the older Patesi it shows a high finish, *e.g.* in the carving of the beautiful silver vases of En-timena (*c.* B.C. 3800); and the cylinder-seals and reliefs of the old kings of Agade (Akkad), *c.* B.C. 3500, are still more finely executed. At Nippur, prior to B.C. 4000, architects already used the arch of burned brick, which formerly was supposed to have originated at a

* Especially through the observation that in the course of the apparent revolution of the celestial sphere, $\frac{1}{12}$ of the ecliptic (*i.e.* 1 sign of the Zodiac) takes exactly two hours ($\frac{1}{12}$ of a sidereal day) to pass before the eye of one watching the starry heavens by night.

† It is possible, however, that the length of side of the *sar* was 60 great cubits, in which case its area would be 3600 sq. cubits, while that of the *gin* would be 60 sq. cubits, and of the *she* $\frac{1}{3}$ of a sq. cubit.

* The Egyp. word *ephah* (*'ipt*) is, however, itself originally derived from the Bab. *pîtu*.

† This *garash* is the Perso-Indian *karasha*, which is also a weight of 10 shekels.

much later period. The Bab. temples, formed of brick like Bab. buildings in general, were in 'stage' form, and had either three or seven storeys, the latter number in imitation of the seven planet-spheres (see p. 216[b]). The oldest kings already refer, in their inscriptions, to palaces, and on a statue of Gudea (*c.* 2900) we find even the plan of such a building. The surface of each brick was stamped with an inscription of six to ten lines, and formed a square with a side of 330 mm. (*i.e.* ⅓ of a cubit = 1 Bab. foot). The science of hydraulics was also highly developed (dams, canals, sluices, cisterns, etc.). From the fragments of vases which still exist (beautifully ornamented, and in some cases with lengthy inscriptions), formed either of alabaster or of clay, we see that pottery had made great advances in the very earliest times. The same is true of weaving. Long before the time of Abraham, the magnificent Bab. carpets and mantles were in high repute (cf. Jos 7[21]). Music and poetry (on the latter see the remarks on Bab. literature, below) were sedulously cultivated. As early as the time of Gudea we find a twelve-stringed harp portrayed. To the forms of poetry belonged, as we have now learned, a highly-complicated strophic system, as well as the regular succession of a certain number of cadences, and finally the so-called *parallelismus membrorum*. The diorite statues of the Patesi of Sirgulla may confidently be matched against the famous statues of wood and diorite which belong to the Egyp. art of the so-called ancient empire. Special skill was displayed, however, by the Babylonians at all periods, in engraving; and their cylinder-seals, which date as far back as *c.* B.C. 4000, show a fineness of execution which cannot but arouse our admiration. Mythological scenes are the favourite subject; particularly common is the portrayal of such as belong to the circle of legends which formed itself around Gišdubar (Nimrod). The inscriptions appended give, as a rule, simply the name and title of the owner of the seal and his father; but as these are frequently kings, such cylinder-seals not infrequently serve as important sources for the tracing of history. Metallurgy, finally, was also in an advanced stage in early days. The relation of silver to gold was in point of value 3 : 40, or 1 : 13⅓, the same ratio as that of the ancient lunar month of 27 days to the solar year of 360 days. From the first we find the Babylonians acquainted also with the smelting of iron. The latter was originally obtained from meteoric stones, hence the Sumer. name *an-bar*, 'heavenly metal.' They had also learned the composition of bronze (Sumer. *zabar*, Semit. *siparru*) from copper and tin. They were acquainted even with the manufacture of glass. As early as *c.* B.C. 1500 we meet with cobalt-coloured glass as an artificial substitute for the costly lapis-lazuli imported from Media.

The **Literature** of Babylon, as was to be expected from a people so highly civilised, was of the most varied character and greatest extent. Unfortunately, in spite of the numerous discoveries made by excavation (esp. the remains of actual libraries, inscribed on clay tablets), only the ruins of this literature have been preserved; but in this form we have specimens of at least all the more important branches.

First, as regards literature in the narrower sense, the poetry of Babylon, even the so-called secular epic, *e.g.* the Nimrod-epos, bore an essentially religious character. To the poetical fragments which have come down to us either in Sumerian alone, or (as is generally the case) with a Semitic interlinear translation as well, belong above all the numerous magical formulæ (with the title *enna* or *shiptu*, 'incantation'), as well as a great number of hymns to the gods, and penitential psalms. While the first-named are composed in relatively old and pure Sumerian and generally written ideographically, the last two show an admixture of numerous later forms of speech: they contain Semit. loan-words and frequent instances of phonetic writing (the so-called *imi-sal* forms or 'women's speech' in opposition to the 'priests' speech' of the earliest period). From all this, the N. Babylonian and Semit. origin of the penitential psalms, and of a large number of the hymns to the gods, may be certainly inferred. Moreover, the line of thought in the penitential psalms, notwithstanding their being composed in Sumerian, is far more Semitic than Sumerian. In particular, there appear in them with tolerable clearness purer religious conceptions, approaching monotheism. While the magical formulæ certainly go back to a very remote antiquity, the penitential psalms may possibly have taken their rise somewhere between B.C. 3000 and 2000, *i.e.* in the last centuries before Abraham. In any case, they are essentially more recent than the formulæ.

By far the greater half of the Bab. literature was composed, however, only in the Semit. idiom of the country. This is true of certain magical formulæ (*e.g.* the so-called 'burning series' or *maḳlû*, *i.e.* burning of wax figures of evil spirits or of witches) and many hymns to the gods. To the same class belong, above all, the **epic poems**, of which, fortunately, a whole series have come down to us, more or less perfectly preserved. These poems might with equal propriety be called mythological texts, for the purely epic and narrative element in them is constantly mingled and combined with the mythological. The most important and (as is proved by the order adopted for the zodiacal signs, the Ram, *kusarikku*, being last) the oldest poem is—

(*a*) **The Creation-epos.** 'When heaven above had not yet been named and earth below yet bore no name—but the ocean (*apsû*, אבסו), the primeval, their progenitor, and chaos (*Tihâmat* or *mummu T.*) the bearer of them all, yet mingled their waters together, when as yet no cornfield was cultivated, and no reed seen — when as yet none of the gods existed, no name they bore, destinies were not yet assigned, then were born the gods [of *mummu* or chaos]; Lukhmu and Lakhâmu came forth [first], æons grew up (=elapsed?) . . . Anshar and Kishar were born, long days passed by till at length Anu, Bel, and Ea were produced; [but the son of Ea and Damkina was Marduk the creator of the world].' So begins, in remarkable accord with Gn 1[1ff.], this poem, whose commencement has also come down to us in Greek in Damascius' *Quæst. de primis principiis*. The further course of events described is briefly as follows: After the above-named gods originated from chaos, a strife arose between Tihâmat (תהום), the female personification of the primeval ocean, and the rest of the gods. Anu claims the right to decide the dispute; Tihâmat, however, declares war, and binds the tablets of destiny (cf. the Urim and Thummim of OT) to the breast of her consort Kingu. Anshar,* after fruitless attempts, through the medium of Anu, Ea, and Marduk, to conciliate Tihâmat, sends to inform Lukhmu and Lakhâmu that Marduk is prepared to undertake the conflict with Tihâmat. The detailed account of this conflict between the god of light, Marduk, and the dark primeval ocean,† makes up the 4th canto of the epos, which fortunately we possess complete. Marduk

* Originally identical with Anu, An-šar being = heaven's host, but afterwards differentiated from him, and at a later period assimilated to Aššur (Damascius 'Ασσωρός).

† In pictorial representations Tihâmat appears as a dragon (hence the serpent of the Bab. boundary-stones) with a lion's head, hence she is called also *labbu*, 'lion.'

conquers the dragon and his eleven helpers (cf. Job 9[13]), cleaves Tihâmat, and out of the one-half fashions the firmament of heaven, in which he assigns their places to the gods Anu, Bel, Ea, and to the moon and the stars, while out of the other half he fashions the earth. The eleven helpers were placed in the sky as the zodiacal signs, Merodach himself being the twelfth. The connected fragments still extant make it plain that thereafter followed a description of how plants and animals, and finally man, were all formed by Bel-Merodach. Beside this there was another Bab. myth, according to which it was the god Ea who formed man of clay. Moreover, in the epos, Bel the god of the air and of storm, whom the Babylonians portrayed with thunderbolts in his hand, is confounded with Merodach, a circumstance which points to Babylon, whose tutelary deity, Merodach, was called the younger Bel. The original notion that the elder Bel (Semit. *Bêlu* 'lord' κατ' ἐξοχήν) was the creator, finds its echo in Genesis (cf. the 'spirit of God' of Gn 1[2] with the Sumerian name of Bel, *En-lilla*, 'lord of the air' or 'the wind').

(*b*) The so-called **Nimrod-epos** (cf. Gn 10[8-12]). The 12 cantos of this magnificent poem stand in evident relation to the 12 signs of the Zodiac, of which, however, it is no longer the Bull but the Ram that comes first. The hero Gišdubar, also called Nârûdu (for Namrûdu), Namrasît, and Gibil-gamis, sprang from a city which afterwards completely disappeared, Surippak (on the river Surappu?). He becomes king of Erech, where he rules as a tyrant, until the gods create Ea-bânî, a kind of Priapus, to destroy him. The two, however, strike up a friendship after Gišdubar has overcome a mighty lion. (This last scene is often depicted on cylinder-seals and reliefs.) Together they next deliver the city of Erech from the Elamite oppressor Khumbaba (Combabos). Istar, the goddess of love, now offers to Gišdubar her hand, which, however, is refused by the hero (Canto 6). Out of revenge Istar sends a scorpion, whose sting proves fatal to Ea-bânî; Gišdubar himself she smites with an incurable disease. In consequence of this he sets out, in quest of relief, for the dwelling-place of his great-grandfather Ṣît-napišti (=rescue of life), the Bab. Noah ('Rest' *i.e.* of the soul), far away on the ocean in the Isles of the Blessed. With this aim he first traverses, amidst great dangers, the land of Mâshu (Central Arabia, מָשָׂא or מַשָּׂא of the OT), and then crosses the waters of death to Ṣît-napišti, who (Canto 11) gives him a detailed account of his escape from the Deluge (see below), heals him of his disease, and presents him with the plant of life. The latter, however, is snatched from him on his way home by an earth-lion (*i.e.* a serpent). On his arrival at Erech, he bewails, in the temple of the goddess Ninsunna, the death of his friend Ea-bânî, and prays the god Nergal to restore the spirit of Ea-bânî to him. With the granting of this request, and a graphic description by Ea-bânî of the under-world, the epos closes.

(*c*) The Bab. **Story of the Deluge.** This is contained in the 11th canto of the Nimrod-epos (see previous section). When the great gods, with Bel in his quality of storm-god (Bel-Ramman) at their head, determined to send a flood,* Ea revealed to Ṣît-napišti in a dream how he might save himself by constructing a ship. Ten *gar* (120 cubits) was to be the height of its sides, and the same was to be the width of its deck; it was to have six storeys, each of which was to have seven divisions, while the area was divided into 9 parts (3 on each side of a square?). Since the length is not specified, we are probably to think of the Bab. ark as square-shaped, thus forming a cube. On the 7th day the vessel was ready; then for 6 days on end the rain fell in torrents, till on the 7th day again the storm abated. After other 7 days, during the whole of which the ark had been in sight of Mt. Niṣir ('rescue'), Ṣît-napišti sent forth a dove. 'The dove flew hither and thither, but since it found no resting-place, it returned. Then I sent forth a swallow,' so proceeds the story, 'and let it go; the swallow flew hither and thither, but since there was no resting-place, it returned. Then I sent forth a raven, and let it go; the raven flew away, saw the abating of the waters, approached wading and croaking, but returned not.' On the top of Mt. Niṣir, S. of Lake Urmia and E. of Assyria,* and thus between Media and Armenia (Ararat), the ark stranded. The gods smelt with pleasure the odour of the seven vessels of incense offered by Ṣît-napišti; especially gratified was Istar, the goddess of the bow; and Ea besought Bel never more to send a flood upon the earth. Bel suffered himself to be persuaded,† took Ṣît-napišti and his wife by the hand, blessed them (cf. Gn 9[1]), and translated them to Paradise.

We have to note finally that here, as in the case of the Creation-epos, both the OT writers, the Jahwist (J) and the Elohist (P), have a surprising number of points of contact with the details of the Bab. text, from which it is evident that these coincidences carry us back to a very early date.

(*d*) **Istar's descent to Hades.** Istar determines to descend to Hades to free the dead who dwell there. As she passes through the seven gates of the under-world, all her garments and ornaments are taken from her, and Nin-ki-gal or Allatu (for Aralatu), the goddess of Hades, orders her servant Namtar the plague-demon, to smite Istar with disease. Meanwhile in the upper-world all procreation ceases, owing to the absence of the goddess of love, until the gods send Uddušu-namir ('his brightness is fair,' a transposition of the name Namra-uddu or Nimrod) to Allat with the request that she would allow Istar to return to earth.

(*e*) **The Namtar-legend.** The gods are holding a banquet, and send to their sister Nin-ki-gal (Allatu), who had been carried off by Nergal, a message desiring that she would send for the portion of food meant for her. Thereupon she sends her herald Namtar to heaven. Nergal's distrust is awakened by this intercourse between his wife and the heavenly powers, and he imagines that she is planning flight. Accordingly, although he loves her dearly, yet, tortured by jealousy, he resolves to have her put to death. He stations the fourteen watchers of the under-world as sentinels at the gates, and orders Namtar to strike off the head of Nin-ki-gal. The latter pleads with her husband to spare her life, and she will submit to any conditions, nay, will give to him the sovereignty over the earth. Nergal weeps for joy, kisses his wife, and wipes away her tears. Unfortunately, the other parts of this legend, which has come down to us in a copy written in Egypt amongst the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, are of so fragmentary a character that it is impossible to extract from them a connected story.

(*f*) **The Adapa-legend** (also derived from Tel el-Amarna). Merodach, the son of Ea, appears here

* As a judgment on the sins of the inhabitants of Surippak. This is clear from the close of the Deluge-story, *e.g.* lines 184–5 (or, acc. to another reckoning, l. 170), where we read, 'Upon the sinner let his sin lie, and upon the transgressor his transgression, *but let no flood come any more as a punishment upon man*' (cf. the parallel in Gn 8[21]).

* The Assyr. king Assur-nazir-pal mentions this mountain in connexion with an expedition to the land of Zamua. See ASSYRIA (p. 183[b]).

† It is worth noting that Bel, upon a similar occasion, namely, after his conquest of Tihâmat, gives up his bow to Anu, who solemnly, in presence of all the gods, hangs it up in heaven (cf. the bow of Gn 9[13] which God sets 'in the cloud').

under the name of Adapa as the progenitor of man.* Adapa, who had broken the wings of the south wind, is cited before the god of heaven to justify himself. His father, Ea, counsels him not to accept of the food offered him there, as it will cause death. Adapa follows this advice, but finds that by his refusal he has forfeited immortality, since it was really the 'food of life' which Anu offered him.

(*g*) **The Etana-legend.** Etana (עיתן 1 K 5^{11}?) applies to the sun-god for something to mitigate the pains of parturition for his wife. He is referred to the Eagle, which can furnish him with the requisite 'birth-plant.' As Etana relates to the Eagle how in a dream (?) he had seen the gate of Anu and that of Istar, the Eagle offers to carry him up to heaven. The enterprise succeeds in the first instance, and the two arrive at the gate of Anu, but in flying to the gate of Istar the strength of the Eagle gives way, he falls headlong, and Etana atones for his presumption by his death. He is transferred as a demi-god to the under-world. Shortly afterwards the Eagle also loses his life through the cunning of a serpent whose young he had devoured.

(*h*) **The legends of the god Zû** (Sumer. *Im-dugud*, the 'storm-bird god'). Acc. to one form of the story, Zû steals the tablets of destiny from Bel-Merodach, and Rammân and various other gods decline, from fear, to take them back from him. Acc. to another text, the god Lugal-banda (the moon-god) sets out for the distant mountain of Sâbu (in Central Arabia) to overreach Zû by cunning. In the heavens the god Zû is represented by the constellation Pegasus, and Taurus (Merodach) is his son.

(*i*) **The legend of the god Girra** (Nergal as god of war). A devastating inroad of the Sutæi (the Semitic nomad tribes of Mesopotamia) directed against Babel, Sippar, and Erech, is in dramatic fashion connected with the conflict of Nergal and his herald, the fire-god (or Nebo), with Merodach, the tutelary god of Babylon. The mention of the Assyrians and the Kassites plainly indicates that this poem did not originate prior to the so-called Kassite period.

Special mention is due also to the second tablet (written entirely in Semit.) of the exorcism-series *shurpu*, in which the priest in the form of a long litany inquires what may have been the transgressions that have brought the punishment of the gods on the man who is possessed or sick. 'Has he perchance set his parents or relations at variance, sinned against God, despised father or mother, lied, cheated, dishonoured his neighbour's wife, shed his neighbour's blood?' etc. The coincidences with the Heb. Decalogue, and with the Egyp. Ptah-hotep sentences or the Trial of the Dead before the 42 judges of the dead, are unmistakable.

That the Babylonians, as well as the ancient Egyptians, possessed also historical narratives in romance-form, is proved by the stories of Sargon of Agade and Kudur-Dugmal. The former of these has also come down to us in Greek from the pen of Ælian, only that the Gr. writer has confounded the name of Sargon with that of Gilgames. Sargon is the illegitimate son of a princess, who gives birth to him in secret and exposes him to perish. The child, however, is brought up by a gardener, and in the end comes to the throne. The only new element Ælian introduces into the story is that the boy was rescued by an eagle. (This is prob. due to a mistaken combination with the Etana-legend.) The legend (in metrical form) of the invasion of Babylonia by the Elamite king Kudur-Dugmal (a later form of Kudur-Lagamar) furnishes at the same time the best proof of the historicity of Gn 14. For the Heb. narrative is in accord with the original inscriptions dating from the time of Khammurabi (Amraphel), and not with the later Bab. legend. Yet the latter is what we should have expected if the Hebrews had first made acquaintance with the matter of Gn 14 during the Exile. The history knows of only the father of Iriaku (Arioch) of Larsa, who was king of Iamutbal, and resided at Dûr-ilu on the Elam.-Bab. frontier; the legend, on the other hand, makes of the city Dûr-ilu a son of Iriaku, viz. Dûr-makh-ili, of whom neither the Bible nor the inscriptions contain any notice.

Of great variety, although not belonging in the stricter sense to literature, are the other components of Bab. writing. Tables of paradigms and lexical-lists served to facilitate the learning and practice of the Sumer. *speech*. But along with these there were also lists containing only Semitic words (the so-called synonym-lists) and forms (*e.g.* the word-table, *WAI* v. pl. 45). As an introduction to the complicated *writing*, there were syllabaries and collections of signs. Very numerous also are the commentaries which the Babylonians have left to us. These deal partly with the poetical literature, especially with the rare words that occur in it, and partly with the explanation of legal and agricultural terms in the old Bab. contract-tablets (the so-called *ana-itti-šu* series). In such instances whole laws are sometimes quoted *verbatim*, so that we thus get a glimpse of the most ancient codes of the Babylonians. The contract-tablets themselves, which have come down to us in great abundance from all epochs of Bab. history, do not indeed belong to literature, but deserve special mention here because they supply us with the most interesting information not only about business but about all the possible details of private life.

A sort of counterpart to the lexical-lists is presented by the lists of names of places, countries, temples, officials, and stars, as well as the numerous lists of gods. We must mention also the numerous omen-texts, medical prescriptions, astronomical and mathematical tables, and finally some lists connected with the history of literature (*e.g.* a list of epic poems with the names of the authors or collectors). The historical literature will be dealt with below, when we come to speak of the sources of Bab. history. How the most important of the latter, namely, the inscriptions, were brought to light, we learn from the intensely interesting

History of Excavations. As early as 1802 the first considerable Bab. inscription, on the so-called *Caillou de Michaux*, a boundary-stone of the 12th cent. B.C., was brought to Europe, and soon afterwards, through the efforts of the East India Company, a whole collection of Bab. antiquities (among them considerable inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar) was brought from Bassorah to the British Museum and the East India House. But it was not till 1811 that Mr. C. J. Rich, the rediscoverer of Nineveh, was able to explore more thoroughly Hillah, the ruins of ancient Babylon. In the fifties archæological research was resumed in Babylonia by the Englishmen, W. K. Loftus, J. E. Taylor, and A. H. Layard, who discovered the ruined sites of Niffer (Nippur), Warka (Uruk or Erech), Senkereh (Larsa), Mukayyar (Ur), and Abu Shahrein (Eridu); and by the Frenchmen, Fresnel and Oppert, who instituted further excavations at Hillah (Babel and Borsippa). In these ruins just named, in S. Babylonia, the inscriptions discovered were all brief, but on account of their antiquity they were proportionately important. These con-

* In Berosus' list of the patriarchs, Adapa (Alaparos is a confusion with Ilaprat, the name of the messenger of Anu) is the son of Aloros (*i.e.* the goddess Aruru, the wife of Ea) and father of Amelon (*amêlu*=man).

sisted for the most part of so-called brick stamps,* although in Babel more considerable inscriptions were found, dating especially from the period of the New Bab. empire. Meanwhile Henry Rawlinson had deciphered the Bab. version (the so-called third form) of the trilingual Achæmenidæan inscription of Persepolis. The key was found in the old Pers. version (the so-called first form), which had already been interpreted by G. F. Grotefend (1802), Rawlinson, and Burnouf, and which had been proved, by the two last named in particular, to be in an Indo-Germanic language. The work of deciphering the third form (whereby also the cuneiform inscriptions of the Ninevite monuments became readable and intelligible) was continued and perfected in the sixties by the talented Hincks, the Englishman E. Norris, and the Parisian scholar Julius Oppert. Later on, in the seventies, the excavations in Babylonia, notably at Babel and in the surrounding country, were continued, especially by George Smith and Hormuzd Rassam. In the course of his last expedition (1880–1881) Rassam discovered the ruins of Sippar-Agade at the modern Abu-Habba, along with the archives of the ancient temple of the sun. Moreover, by digging in Tell Ibrahim, 10 Eng. miles E. of Babel, he was able to prove once for all that this was the site of the ancient Kutha, as Rawlinson had already conjectured.

The work of bringing to light the oldest civilisation of Babylonia (Sumer. as well as Semit.), leaving out of account the small beginnings of Loftus and Taylor, has been due especially to the Frenchman de Sarzec, and to the American University of Pennsylvania (Peters and others, and at a later period, above all, J. H. Haynes and the scientific director of the fund, Prof. H. V. Hilprecht). Through their excavations at Telloh (1876–1881) and at Niffer (1888–1896), the history and archæology of Babylonia have been enriched as they had never been before; from *c.* B.C. 5000 we can trace continuously the civilisation of Babylonia by aid of monuments and inscriptions. Instead of the cuneiform proper, the oldest inscriptions still use linear signs, in which it is often quite possible to trace clearly the figures that form the basis of the system. The Americans also discovered at Niffer nearly 1000 contract-tablets of the so-called Kassite period, whose dates now enable us to fix with certainty the exact succession of the then reigning monarchs.

Of 'finds' outside Babylonia, we must mention above all the clay tablets which were discovered at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt (see ASSYRIA). Among these there are letters to the Pharaohs not only from Bab. kings, but also from a great many Phœn. and Pal. governors. The Bab. writing and language were then (*c.* 1400 B.C.) employed for diplomatic communications over almost the whole of W. Asia. The Elamites too borrowed their mode of writing from the Babylonians, as at a later period the Armenians did from the Assyrians. Further, it is becoming ever more probable that even the so-called Can. or Phœn. form of writing, to which the S. Arabian is most nearly allied, was derived not from the Egyptians, but from the Babylonians, and as early indeed as *c.* B.C. 2000. It is a transformation into cursive of a number of old Bab. signs, and may have originated in E. Arabia about the time of the first N. Bab. dynasty, which was of Arabian descent.

Sources for Bab. History. These are, first and foremost, the inscriptions discovered in course of the excavations we have described; but the Assyr. libraries brought to light in the palaces of Nineveh have also supplied us with a number of copies not only of the Bab. religious writings, but also of historical records. In the art. ASSYRIA we have already spoken of the so-called 'synchronistic history' and of the 'Bab. chronicle.' During the last two decades there have been recovered also numerous remains of Bab. libraries, esp. from the time of Nebuch. downwards, reaching as far as the Seleucid period. To these we are indebted not only for the many *Bab. duplicates* of the remains of Bab. literature hitherto known only from the library of Assurbanipal, but also for not a few passages that are entirely new. Even at Tel el-Amarna, as was already remarked (p. 221b), the fragments of two ancient Bab. legends about the gods were found.

Apart from the innumerable contemporaneous and original monuments of Bab. kings, and the contract-tablets so important for a knowledge of chronology and of private life, not to speak of other records of a more private character, we have to mention as a historical source of the very first rank the great Bab. *List of Kings*. This contains the names of the kings of Babel from the Arab dynasty down to the last native king Nabonidus (Nabu-na'id), with note of the length of the reign of each. We have already (p. 222a) referred to some poetically embellished traditions. On the omen-lists, as they are called, and on the great astrological work, as important historical sources for the old Bab. era, we shall speak afterwards, when we come to deal with the history of Sargon and the so-called younger kings of Ur. Amongst extra-Bab. sources, the first rank must be assigned to the OT writings (Gn, esp. chap. 14, the Bks of Kings, the Prophets, esp. Jer, Ezk, Is 40–66, and finally Ezr-Neh). Only a secondary place belongs to the scanty notices of classical writers, whose importance is specially due to the fact that they have preserved for us some valuable citations from the work (unhappily lost) of the Bab. priest Berosus. For the New Bab. period, and esp. for the topography of Babel, a valuable authority on many points is Herodotus, who himself visited Babel in the course of his travels. Also in Strabo's geography we find several interesting details regarding Babylonia. On the other hand, the information must be pronounced rather untrustworthy and inexact which the extant fragments of Ctesias give us concerning Bab. history. We have already (see ASSYRIA) said all that is most essential about the value of the so-called Canon of Ptolemy (2nd cent. A.D.) for Bab. chronology. In conjunction with the so-called Bab. Chronicle, which runs parallel to it, and the list of kings (which unhappily is not free from gaps), whose starting-point was first accurately fixed by aid of the Canon, the latter forms the most important source for the

Chronology. Besides the Canon of Ptolemy and the Assyr. and Egyp. synchronisms already described in art. ASSYRIA, important chronological data are supplied by the later historical inscriptions, esp. those of Nabonidus, and by some earlier monuments. In using these data, however, it must always be borne in mind that in all probability, as early as the time of Assurbanipal, the Bab. chronographers had already fallen into the error of making the first two dynasties in the list of kings successive instead of contemporaneous. Consequently, a number of the following dates must be reduced by 368 years, the duration of the second dynasty.

a. A boundary-stone, dated the 4th year of king Bel-nadin-apli (Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Inscrip.* i. pl. 30), informs us that from Gulkishar, king of the sea-land (*i.e.* Gulkišar, the sixth king of the second dynasty), to Nebuch. I., there were

* The only exceptions were Senkereh (Larsa) and the adjacent Tel Sifr; for there Loftus found a great number of old Bab. contract-tablets dating from the time of Khammurabi and Iriaku (or the epoch of Abraham).

696 years. Now, since Bel-nadin-apli was the immediate successor of Nebuch. I., the first four years of his own reign must be added to the above number, giving us the round number of 700 years between the death of Gulkišar and the time when the boundary-stone was set up. As the latter date is *c.* B.C. 1118, the death of Gulkišar would have to be dated B.C. 1818, or a few decades later, for the round number 700 may, if need be, stand also for 650 or 660.

b. Sennacherib relates that 418 years before the destruction of Babylon (B.C. 689), Marduk-nadin-akhi, the contemporary of Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria, carried away two images of gods from the Assyr. city of Ikallâti to Babylon. This implies that in B.C. 1107, and during the reign of Marduk-nadin-akhi, Babylonia had the upper hand of Assyria. Now it so happens that a boundary-stone, dated the 10th year of Marduk-nadin-akhi, records a great victory gained that year over Assyria, so that this 10th year will be B.C. 1107, or, in other words, the first year of M.'s reign must be dated B.C. 1117.

c. Assurbanipal, in connexion with the conquest of Elam (*c.* 640 or later), mentions that the image of a god brought back by him from Elam to Erech had been carried away from the latter city 1635 years before, by Kudur-nankhundi. This invasion of Babylonia by the Elamites must accordingly have taken place *c.* B.C. 2275. It is quite possible, however, that, for the reason stated above, this last number ought to be reduced by 368 years, and that the date should be B.C. 1907.

d. Nabonidus relates that he restored the temple E-ulmash at Sippar-Anunit (*i.e.* Agade), which had not been restored since the reign of Shagaraktiburiash 800 years before. This gives us as the year of the death of the latter (which took place 750–800 years before Nabonidus, who himself reigned B.C. 555–539) a date somewhere between B.C. 1300 and 1350. (See further below, under Kurigalzu II.).

e. In the same inscription (*WAI*, v. pl. 64) Nabonidus states that 3200 years before himself, the old king Narâm-Sin, son of Sargon (now known to us from the inscriptions as Sargâni-shar-ali, king of Agade), founded the temple of Samas at Sippar. This carries us to the high antiquity of B.C. 3750 for the reign of Narâm-Sin. This figure, however, for the above reason, should certainly be reduced to *c.* B.C. 3400.

f. Nabonidus further mentions, in an inscription which found its way to the Brit. Museum in 1885, that Burnaburias restored the temple of the sun at Larsa 700 years after Khammurabi. Since this undoubtedly refers to the more celebrated monarch of that name, Burnaburias II. (*c.* 1400–1375),* we are enabled thus to fix the date of Khammurabi's reign at *c.* B.C. 2100. And, as a matter of fact, we obtain *c.* 2139–2084 as the date of his reign, if we follow the later custom of adding together the years of dynasties A and B as if they had been successive instead of contemporaneous, and if we assume (with Dr. Peiser, *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.* vi. 264–271) as the probable duration of dynasty C only 399 instead of the traditional 576 years (6 *sosses* and 39 years, instead of 9 *sosses* and 36 years). In reality, however, Khammurabi, the contemporary of Abraham, must have reigned B.C. 1772–1717 or 1949–1894.

History of Babylonia. As far back as we can go, and thus in any case considerably earlier than B.C. 4000, we find Sumerians and Semites side by side in Babylonia. Yet we can see clearly enough—(1) that the Semites in the earliest period were settled for the most part in the N.W., and that they penetrated into Babylonia from Mesopotamia (Ḥarran), while the Sumerians, at a very early date, were confined to the extreme S.E. of the Euphrates region; (2) that the Sumerians were the founders of Bab. civilisation, and that in the remotest antiquity they certainly at one time occupied the whole of Babylonia. The Semites not only employed at all times the Sumerian *writing*, which they accommodated as they best could to their purposes, but for a long time (at least for official records, such as dedicatory inscriptions) they used the Sumer. *language* as well. It was not till shortly before Sargon of Agade (*c.* B.C. 3500) that in N. Babylonia inscriptions began to be composed also in Semitic.

At the period to which the oldest hitherto discovered inscriptions belong, the canal running from N. to S. (the modern Shatt-el-Hai), and uniting the Tigris with the Euphrates, formed the boundary between two very ancient kingdoms—the Sumer. kingdom of **Sirgulla** (Lagash) or Girsu, lying to the E. of the above-named canal, and the Semit. kingdom of **Uruk** (Erech) and **Ur** to the W. of the same canal. A part of the latter kingdom, probably the region between Ur, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, on the right bank of the Euphrates, was already known as Ki-Ingi, *i.e.* region of Ingi, a name which soon came to be applied to the whole kingdom of Erech, but more especially to that part of it which lay in S. Babylonia, to the W. of Sirgulla. The oldest form of this name appears to have been Imgur or Imgir. From *Ki-Imgir* arose in course of time, through dialectical pronunciation, *Shimir*, *Shumir* (from the time of Khammurabi onwards the name for S. Babylonia); while the intermediate form *Shingar* has been preserved in the Heb. שִׁנְעָר, *Shinar*, properly *Shinghar* (Gn 10^{10} 11^{2}). The oldest religious centre of the kingdom of Sirgulla was Nun-ki or Uru-dugga (Eridu, see above, p. 215[b]), while that of Erech and of the Bab. Semites in general was Nippur, with its sanctuary of Bel of ancient fame. Acc. to Talmudic tradition, the biblical Calneh (Gn 10^{10}, cf. Is 10^{9} LXX, *τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπάνω Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλαννή, οὗ ὁ πύργος ᾠκοδομήθη*) was only another name for Nippur, and, in point of fact, in an enumeration of the most important cities of Nimrod's kingdom (Babel, Erech, Accad, Calneh), Nippur could scarcely be omitted.

A third kingdom which meets us even in the oldest inscriptions (*e.g.* in those of king En-shag-sag-anna [Bel-shar-shâme?]) as a rival of Erech, is that of **Kis** (written Kiš-ki). This name was also borne at a later period by a city that lay some three leagues N.E. of Babel. A close connexion subsisted between this Kis, whose population was also undoubtedly Semitic, and a city on the Tigris called Ṣabban (written Ud-ban-ki, 'city of the hordes of the bow'), probably the later Opis. In the oldest dedicatory inscriptions found at Nippur, we find mention not only of priest-princes (*Patesi*, *e.g.* a certain Utuk), but also of kings of Kis (*e.g.* En-bil-ugun and Ur-Dun-pa-uddu or Amil-Nabu).

One of the most remarkable of the above-named kings of Erech was **Lugal-zag-gi-si** (Semit. perhaps Sharru-mali-imûkki-kîni, 'the king is full of eternal strength'). He calls himself 'king of Erech, king of the world (*kalamma*),' while to his father Ukush he gives only the title '*patesi* of Gishban' ('bow-city,' *i.e.* Ḥarran in Mesopotamia). Besides Erech, he possessed also Ur, Larsa, Nippur, and Gishban (Ḥarran); Sippar-Agade and Babel appear as yet to have played no part in history, while both in Kis and in Sirgulla their own kings held sway. The date of these old kings of Erech must be fixed at the latest at somewhere before B.C. 4000. Judging from the type of writing, this period included also a certain Lugal-ki-gub-ni-gul-

* In any case, Burnaburias I. reigned only 40 years earlier.

gul (Sem. perhaps Sharru-mushaklil-manzazi) and his son Lugal-si-kisal, both of whom style themselves 'king of Erech, king of Ur.' The kings of Sirgulla, En-ghigalla, and Uru-kaginna must also be assigned to the same era. While the two last-named very ancient monarchs have left us only a few inscriptions, we have all the more monuments of **Ur-ghanna** (acc. to others to be read Ur-Ninâ), and of his grandson **E-dingirrâna-du.*** The latter in particular, who by preference styles himself '*patesi*,' instead of 'king,' of Sirgulla, must have been a great warrior. The so-called 'Vulture-Stele' (now in Paris), the earliest monument of old Bab. sculpture, and other recently-discovered stones, give us both by word and by picture a detailed account of his great victory over the cities of Gishban (Ḥarran), Kis, Ṣabban, and Az, and the consequent deliverance of Erech, Ur, and Larsa from the hands of the N. Bab. Semites. It is an interesting circumstance that already at this date there is mention also of a city A-idinna (Semit. Nâdu), in which we may recognise with certainty the 'Nod in front of Eden' of Gn 4^{16}. It is, perhaps, the same city which meets us some centuries later under the name Agade (Akkad) or Sippar-Anunit. To the nephew of E-dingirrâna-du, the *patesi* **En-timinna**, we owe a silver vase, remarkable for the fineness of its execution, with the figures of animals portrayed upon it. As dedicatory inscriptions of this *patesi* have been found also at Nippur, he must certainly, like his uncle, have had possession also of N. Babylonia.

This hegemony of Sirgulla over Erech and Nippur may have existed about and after B.C. 4000.

During the following centuries, however, we find Nippur again in the hands of Semit. kings, who arrogate to themselves the proud title *lugal kish*, *i.e.* 'king of the world.'† To these monarchs (Ma-ishtu-su and Alu-musharshid) we owe the earliest known of Bab. inscriptions composed in *Semitic*. They resided either at Kis or at Agade. Shortly thereafter (*c.* B.C. 3500) we meet with the first real kings of Agade (see above, p. 224[a]), Sargâni-shar-ali (later curtailed to Sargâni) or **Sargon**, and his son **Narâm-Sin**, the latter of whom, however, no longer styles himself 'king of Agade,' but 'king of the four quarters of the world' (*shar kibrâti arba'i*). An omen-tablet, dating from a later period, tells us of great expeditions of Sargon, reaching as far as the coast of the Mediter., which is perfectly credible, for it was the conquest of Syria that led to the introduction of the title 'king of the four quarters of the world,' which was actually assumed by Sargon's son. And the evidence that Narâm-Sin extended his sway far beyond the limits of Babylonia is furnished by the inscription, coupled with a portrait of him, which was found at Diarbekr in N. Mesopotamia, and by the alabaster vase which is entitled 'a piece of booty from the land of Magan,' *i.e.* Arabia. That at this period the Bab. sway extended over N. Syria, Mesopotamia, Elam, and N. Arabia, may be regarded as certain, and one of the most recent 'finds' of de Sarzec has proved also that amongst the vassals of Narâm-Sin was a *patesi* of Sirgulla, named Lugal-ushumgal.

Whether the rule of these kings of Agade endured yet longer we know not. On the other hand, the *patesi* of Sirgulla must have for many centuries maintained their supremacy over S.E. Babylonia. One of these, the famous **Gudea**, probably extended his sway over even the whole of Babylonia. In his numerous and lengthy inscriptions, all composed entirely in Sumerian, he boasts of having brought the stones and timber for his buildings from the most diverse regions and mountains of the *west country* (Martu) and Arabia. Moreover, he conquered Elam, especially the part of it known as Anshan ('asses' land'). Special interest is awakened by the mention of the cedar mountain Amanu, the mountain Ibla (for Libla, *i.e.* Lebanon?), the mountain Tidanu of Martu (Dedan in the E. Jordan district), and the name Martu itself (for Amartu, *i.e.* land of the Amorites). Of Arabian districts, we find named not only Magan (originally Ma'ân?) or E. Arabia, but also Milukh (N.W. Arabia, probably including the Sin. peninsula), Khâkh (near Medîna), and Ki-mash ('district of Mash,' the modern Gebel Shammar). Khâkh yielded gold dust, Milukh gold dust and precious stones, Magan and Ki-mash copper. Notwithstanding all this, Gudea nowhere styles himself 'king of the four quarters of the world,' whence it appears plain that he did not actually possess these regions outside Babylonia, but simply ensured by treaties the passage of his caravans through them. Of his predecessors (Ur-Ba'u, Nam-maghâni, Ur-Ninsun, etc.) we know nothing of this kind; their sphere of activity was probably restricted to Sirgulla. Gudea's son, Ur-Ningirsu, was still *patesi* of Sirgulla, but shortly thereafter a king of Ur named **Ur-gur**, who was probably of Semit. origin, succeeded in subjugating the greater part of Babylonia. In almost all the cities of Babylonia (Ur, Erech, Larsa, Nippur) we encounter temples built by him, and he was, at the same time, the first to assume the title 'king of Ki-Ingi and Ki-bur-bur (Akkad),' which, at a later period, was rendered 'king of Sumer and Akkad.' But it was his son **Dungi** who succeeded in dethroning the last *patesi* of Sirgulla, one Idimmâni (written Gullu-ka-ni). Dungi also built a temple for Nin-Shu-anna (*i.e.* 'lady of Babel,' to be identified with Zarpanit the wife of Merodach), and for Nergal (Shit-lam-ta-uddu-a) the temple of Shit-lam at Kutha, as well as various temples at Sirgulla and Girsu (Telloh). To what period Ur-gur and Dungi are to be assigned cannot unfortunately be determined with certainty, since we do not know whether the space of time that intervened between them and the kings of Nisin was a long or a short one. The very latest date we can assign to Gudea is *c.* B.C. 2500, to Ur-gur and Dungi of Ur *c.* 2400, and to the kings of Nisin *c.* 2300–2100; but it is quite conceivable that Ur-gur and Dungi reigned as early as *c.* 2700–2600, and Gudea *c.* 2800. It must further be mentioned that there are Semit. as well as Sumer. inscriptions, in which Dungi styles himself not 'king of Ki-Ingi and Akkad,' but 'king of the four quarters of the world,' a circumstance which points to the fact that he must have held possession of part of Syria and Elam, and thus, as a matter of course, of Mesopotamia.

About the same period we have to place a certain **Mutabil**, governor of Dûr-ilu, who calls himself 'breaker of the heads of the people of Anshan (Elam), uprooter of Barakhsi.' Since his special god is Gudi (=Nabû?), and his capital Dûr-ilu, it is certain that the Elamite district of Iamutbal, whose capital was also Dûr-ilu, derived its name from him (Elam. *ia*=land, and *Mutbal* =Mutabil). The land of Barakhsi is already mentioned, in conjunction with Elam, by Alu-mušaršid of Kis, as a conquered region; the name reminds one both of Barkhazia (a Median province in time of Tiglath-pileser III.) and of the well-known Barsua (for Barakhsi may be read Bara'si).

Of the same date, in all probability, are the bricks, found by M. Pognon, of the three *patesi* of **Ashnunna** (or Umliash), viz. Ibalpil, Ur-Ningiš-

* Or E-dingirrâna-ginna. The name='bringing (going) into the house of his god.'

† The determinative of place being omitted. 'King of Kis' would be *lugal Kish-ki*; but, at the same time, the title *lugal kish* contains a play upon the name of the city Kis.

zidda (or Amil-Nusku), and Kullaku. It is different with the inscription of king Anu-banîni of Lulub, found in the mountains of Batir (the modern Ser-i-pul near Holvan), and esp. with that of king Lasirab of Guti. The character of the signs used justifies us in assigning these to a much earlier date, about the time of Narâm-Sin of Agade, or shortly thereafter.

The kings of **Nisin**, of whom we now know a whole series (Ishbî-Nergal, Amil-Nindar [Ur-Ninib], Libit-Istar, Bur-Sin, Idin-Dagan, and Ishmî-Dagan), were, as their names show, Semites. They held Nippur (which is always named first in their inscriptions), Ur, Eridu, Erech, and Nisin; and, like the middle kings of Ur (Ur-gur and Dungi), they style themselves 'king of Ki-Ingi and Ki-bur-bur (Sumer and Akkad).' The site of Nisin has not yet been accurately determined; at a later period it was pronounced Isin, and in the time of the so-called Pashi-dynasty (12th cent. B.C.) was the seat of a Bab. governor, on the same footing as Babel itself, Khalvan, Namar, and Ushti.

The last of these monarchs, Ishmî-Dagan, was followed by the so-called **younger kings of Ur.** The first of these was one Gungunu, probably, as his name suggests, a usurper. Besides him we know of three successive kings, Inî-Sin, Bur-Sin (written differently from the king of Nisin of the same name), and Gimil-Sin. In addition to Ur, they held in Babylonia certainly Nippur and Eridu, and styled themselves not 'king of Ki-Ingi and Akkad,' but uniformly 'king of the four quarters of the world.' Numerous contracts of sale, dating from this period, testify not only to the flourishing condition of trade, cattle-breeding, and agriculture, but also to the political importance of the kingdom. These kings of Ur waged successful wars against Zapshali (on the borders of Cilicia and Syria), Elam (Anshan), Lulub (in N.E. of Babylonia), Sabu, and Ki-mash (in N. Arabia), and other territories. Several of these countries became Babylonian vassal-kingdoms, whose princes married Babylonian princesses. This was the case, *e.g.*, with Zapshali, Anshan, and Markhasi.

Nevertheless, these kings of Ur do not appear to have had possession of the whole of Babylonia; for the great astrological work, 'Illumination of Bel,' which originated at this epoch, and which once names even king Inî-Sin, makes it plain that besides the kings of Ur there were kings of Kisharra (Sumer. *ki-sharra*, synonym. with *kish*, 'world') and Akkad. These are mentioned even as rivals of the Ur monarchs. We hear also of kings of Imgi (cf. Ingi in the name Ki-Ingi). Since Imgi became afterwards the ideogram for Kaldu, 'Chaldees,' this will, at the time of the kings of Ur, have been the designation of the extreme south of Babylonia, the so-called 'sea-land.' The astrological work mentions also foreign enemies, such as Elam and Anshan, Guti, the Sutæan nomads, Ishnunna, the island of Bahrein, Nituk or Dilmun, the land of Khattu, and very frequently the land of Martu. If this first mention of the Hittites is highly interesting, still more worthy of our attention is the connexion in which Martu (the west land) is introduced. This implies that at that period Ur exercised supremacy over the whole of Palestine (including the eastern Jordanic territory and Cœle-Syria). For, when the king of Kisharra (N. Babylonia) in passing snatches the sceptre of Ur, Martu at the same time falls into his hands. The name Sab Manda (or Umman Manda, a designation at a later period of the Scythians and Medes) also occurs in the astrological work, where it is applied to the Elamite mountaineers, who carried off the image of Bel (the god of Nippur).

To the same period (*c.* B.C. 2100–1900 at the latest) ought to be assigned, in all probability, certain **kings of Erech**, who have left us inscriptions, viz. *Sin-gashit* (who, like Gišdubar, styles himself son of the moon-goddess Nin-sun, and whose possessions, besides Erech, included the Elamite border-land of Amnanu) and *Sin-gamil*. A vassal of the latter, named Ilû-ma-ilu (properly Ilû-ma-Gišdubba, but generally called simply Ilû-ma), the son of Nab-shimîa, was the founder of the so-called 2nd dynasty in the Bab. list of kings (B.C. 1948–1580). Within the last decades of the younger kings of Ur falls also the attack upon Erech by the Elamite monarch Kudur-nankhundi (see above, p. 224[a]).

The younger kings of Ur were followed by the **kings of Larsa** (*c.* B.C. 1900–1750 at the latest). One of the first of these was *Nûr-Rammân*, who takes the title 'shepherd of Ur, king of Larsa.' His son *Sin-idinna* first arrogated to himself the additional title, 'king of Ki-Ingi and Ki-bur-bur (Sumer and Akkad),' which implies that he must have extended his sway from the region of Ur and Larsa as far as N. Babylonia. His successors bore the same title; we know two of them—one whose name also began with Sin, and another the Elamite king's son *Iri-Aku*, who as king of Larsa took the names also of Rim-Sin and Arad-Sin. (All three forms of the name mean 'servant of the moon-god.')

About the same time as Sin-idinna assumed the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' an **Arabian dynasty** established itself in Babylon, which now for the first time becomes of political importance. This is dynasty A of the Bab. list of kings. Acc. to the most probable reckoning, it lasted from 1884–1580 B.C.,* and its kings were the following:—

	years		years
Sumu-abî	15	Samsu-ilûna	36 (son of former)
Sumu-la-ilu	35	Abîshu'a	25 ,,
Zabi'u	14 (son of former)	Ammi-satana	25 ,,
Apil-Sin	18 ,,	Ammi-zaduga	22 ,,
Sin-muballit	30 ,,	Samsu-satana	31 ,,
Khammu-rabi	55 ,,		

As we mentioned already, Iri-Aku, the contemporary of Khammurabi, was of Elamite origin. His father Kudur-Mabuk was king of the border-land of Iamutbal (see above, p. 225[b]). It was the latter who, under the protection of the Elamite king Kudur-Lagamar (see above, p. 222[b]), dethroned the Semite kings of Larsa, and installed his son Iriaku in their place. In an inscription Kudur-Mabuk even calls himself *adda* (*i.e.* in W. Semit. *malik*, 'king') of Martu. This renders perfectly intelligible the account given in Gn 14 of Kudur-Lagamar's (Chedorlaomer's) attack upon the territory extending from Sodom to Elath. King Tudghul (Tidal) of Guti (Goiim), and Khammu-rabi (semiticised Kimtu-rapaltu, hence Amarpal, the Amraphel of Gn 14[1]) of Babylon, were vassals of the Elamites. As early as the reign of Sin-muballit, Iriaku had captured the city of Nisin, as we learn from dates in contract-tablets. An inscription of Iriaku's further mentions the capture of Erech. The later Bab. legend (see above, p. 222[b]) could even tell of a plundering of Babylon by Kudur-Lagamar. The energetic Khammurâbi (prob. B.C. 1772–1717) succeeded, however, in shaking off the Elamite yoke, and in driving not only Iriaku of Larsa, but also his father Kudur-Mabuk, out of Babylonia. In this way the supremacy over the west land (Martu) came into Khammurabi's hands, as is perfectly established by recently discovered inscriptions, in which not only Khammurabi, but his third successor Ammi-satana, take the title 'king of Martu,' in addition to such Bab. titles as 'king of Babel,' or 'king of Sumer and Akkad.'

* It is certainly no fortuitous circumstance that in Egypt, about the same period, an Arabian dynasty, the so-called Hyksos, held rule.

From the time of Khammurabi onwards, the city of Babel (*Bab-ili*, 'gate of God,' Sumer. *Kadingirra* and *Tin-tir*, the latter = 'seat of life') continued to be the residence of the Bab. monarchs. Although the above-named king was of Arabian descent, yet the Babylonians, down to the latest generations, considered him, on account of his expulsion of the Elamites and his canal works, to be the real founder of the Bab. kingdom, which from his time onwards was inseparably associated in men's minds with the metropolis Babel. The prosperity of the country under his rule and that of his successors is witnessed to by a number of contract-tablets. In one of the latter, dating from the reign of Apil-Sin, we encounter Abî-râmu as a personal name, as the father indeed of one Sha-martu; showing that the biblical name *Abraham* was current in Babylonia even two generations earlier than Khammurabi. Nearly about the same date falls also the founding of the Assyrian empire (see ASSYRIA). This took its rise probably from Nisin, for Resen of Gn 10^{12} is the same name as Nisin (cf. Unuk with Uruk, Erech), and the royal name, Ishmî-Dagan, meets us both at Nisin and at Assur, and that too at the earliest period, *c.* B.C. 1800.

The Arabian dynasty (A in kings' list) was in all probability succeeded immediately by the so-called **Kassite dynasty** (C of list, *c.* B.C. 1580–1180), which derives its name from the ancient designation *Kash* for Elam. This explanation is to be preferred to that which derives the epithet from Κοσσαῖοι, the wild mountaineers who were subdued by Sennacherib, and who by him are certainly called Kaššû. The founders of the Kassite dynasty were natives rather of the extreme south of Babylonia, bordering upon Elam, the region which was called Kardunias, *i.e.* land of the Kardu (dialectically Kašdu) or Kaldu. In the time of the Kassite dynasty this name was extended to designate the whole of Babylonia.

The first king of this dynasty was *Gaddash* (in kings' list Gandish), who styles himself 'king of the four quarters of the world, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of Babalam.' We have no very exact details till we come to the seventh king, *Agu-kak-rimi* (also called simply Agu), the son of Ur-Ziguruvash. He calls himself 'king of the Kassites and Akkadians, king of the wide land of Babel, who causes numerous peoples to settle in the land of Ashnunnak, king of Padan (Mesopotamia, cf. the OT 'Paddan-aram') and Alman (the district E of Mesopotamia and S. of Assyria), king of the land of Guti, widely extended peoples, the king who rules the four quarters of the world.' He records how he brought back from the land of Khani (N. Syria) the images of Merodach and Zarpanit, which had formerly been carried off. Khani (also called Akhânu, Iakhânu, and Khiana) is the region between Carchemish and 'Azaz, having Arpad for its capital. The proper home of the Hittites was Khani-rabbat, the 'great Kheta-land' of the Egyp. inscriptions, to the N. of the above region, between Mar'ash and Malatiyeh. As the territorial name Khattu was probably originally Khantu, an invasion of Babylonia by the Hittites must have taken place shortly before the reign of Agu-kak-rimi. Now the accession of the latter must be dated *c.* B.C. 1500, and this mention of predatory incursions of the Hittites into Babylonia thus tallies pretty well with the first mention of the Hittites in the Egyp. inscriptions under Tahutmes III. (B.C. 1503–1449).

With the third or fourth successor of Agu-kak-rimi begin the relations of Babylonia with the aspiring empire of Assyria. (The details have already been fully given in article ASSYRIA, hence in what follows we shall notice only what has no connexion with Assyr. history). The first kings about whom we again possess detailed information are those who had diplomatic relations with the Pharaohs Amenhotep III. and IV., and whose letters have been recovered through the famous 'find' of clay tablets at Tel el-Amarna (see above, p. 223[a]). The circumstance that at that period (shortly before and after B.C. 1400) Babylonian was the language used for official communications all over W. Asia, is now readily explained as the consequence of the hegemony of Babylon over the western land, which endured for centuries (from the time of the younger kings of Ur till *c.* B.C. 1600).

From the correspondence between *Kallimma-Sin* of Kardunias and Nimmurîa (Amenhotep III.) of Egypt, we gather that the father of Kallimma-Sin (probably Kurigalzu I.) had formerly given his daughter in marriage to Amenhotep III., and that a daughter of Kallimma-Sin's is now to be sent to the harem of Amenhotep. The same subject, that of marriage and gifts, is discussed in the letters of king *Burnaburias II.* (B.C. 1410–1380?) to Napkhururîa (Amenhotep IV.) the son of Nimmurîa. Burnaburias speaks of himself as the son of Kurigalzu, and of the latter as the contemporary and friend of Amenhotep III.; presumably, therefore, B. was a younger brother of Kallimma-Sin, who must have died young. Of the Assyrians B. speaks as his own subjects, but of the land of Kinaḫḫu Canaan) as an Egyp. province through which his ambassadors have to pass. It is also mentioned that the friendly relations between Egypt and Babylonia date from the time of the Bab. king Kara-indas, *i.e.* the fourth or fifth predecessor of Burnaburias II. Burnaburias II. was probably succeeded by *Kudur-Bel* (who reigned at least eight years); then came *Kara-khardas*, the son-in-law of the Assyr. king Assur-uballit, who reigned but a short time, and was succeeded by his son *Kadashman-kharbi I.* The latter conquered the Sutæan nomads, and constructed fortresses for defence against them in the land of Amurrû (Cœle-Syria). On account of his relationship, however, to the Assyr. king, he was not regarded as a genuine Kassite, and was assassinated. Shuzigas (or, acc. to another account, Nazibugas) was placed upon the throne, but was immediately deposed by the Assyrians, who installed in his place Assur-uballit's grandson, *Kurigalzu II.* (1364–1320?) who was still in his minority. It is impossible to say for certain whether the previously mentioned (p. 224[a]) *Shagaraktiburias*, the son of Kudur-Bel, was a rival king (perhaps during the minority of Kurigalzu II.), or whether he directly followed Kudur-Bel. The first, however, appears the more likely. In a recently-discovered passage of the synchronistic history (*RP*, new series, v. 108) there is reference to internal complications during part of the reign of Kurigalzu II. The latter, the 'king without an equal,' was a powerful monarch; he conquered the city of Shâsha in Elam, *i.e.* the well-known Susa, and assumed the title of 'king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world.' The name of the Elamite king whom he conquered was Khurba-tila. Kurigalzu II. was succeeded by *Nazi-maruddas* (1320–1295), *Kadašman-turgu* (1294–1278), *Kadašman-burias* (1277–1276), an unnamed king (1275–1270), *Shagarakti-surias* (1269–1257), *Bibêias* (1256–1249), *Bel-šum-idinâ* (1248–1247), *Kadashman-kharbi II.* (1247–1246), and *Rammân-šum-idina* (1246–1240). See ASSYRIA. Under the last three Babylonia had much to suffer from the inroads of the Elamite king Kidin-khutrutas. An upward movement, however, again took place during the 30 years' reign of *Rammân-šum-uzur* (1239–1209) and the reigns of his son *Meli-šipaḫ* (1208–1194) and his grandson *Marduk-pal-idina* (1193–1181). To the time of these three kings

belong the oldest known boundary-stones with the zodiacal signs portrayed upon them.* (These are fully described by T. G. Pinches, in his *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon*, London, 1886, pp. 44–55). After the last of these Kassite kings *Zamama-šum-idina* (B.C. 1180) and *Bel-šum-idina* (1180–1177) there followed a Semitic reaction, which connects itself with the

Dynasty of Pashi (1177–1043). Unfortunately, the name of the founder of this new dynasty is unknown. The fourth, in all probability, of its kings was *Nabû-kudurri-uṣur* (Nebuchadrezzar) *I.*, the son of Nindar-nadin-šumi (written Nin-ib-sum-mu). He waged war on the mountaineers of E. Babylonia (including Elam), and also on the land of Martu. Unfortunately, his inscriptions do not make it perfectly clear with what part of Syria he engaged in hostilities, but it appears to have been the district of Antilibanus, for in an inscription which ought probably to be ascribed to him there is mention of a war against the peoples of the land of Khattu and against Ammananu (cf. Lamanan of the Egyp. inscriptions). From an elegiac poem we learn that the statue of Bel had been captured by the enemy, but was then recovered by Nebuchadrezzar. On this occasion the king consulted the ancient oracles of the astrological work 'Illumination of Bel,' where in point of fact there is mention of the return of the statue of Bel from Elam to Nippur in the time of the younger kings of Ur. From all this it is quite plain that when Nebuchadrezzar received the kingdom it was in a dilapidated condition.

Nebuchadrezzar was succeeded by *Bel-nadin-apli*. Then came *Marduk-nadin-akhi* (see above, p. 224[a]), who reigned B.C. 1117–*c.* 1100, *Marduk-šapik-zirim*, and *Rammân-pal-idina* (see ASSYRIA). The next to the last of the eleven Pashi kings was *Marduk-akhê-irba* (B.C. 1064–1052). To his reign belongs a boundary-stone, on which we read the name of a Khabirite, Kudurra the son of Baṣish, along with a certain Kašša and one Khirbi-Bel. We know also of a Khabirite, Kharbi-shipak, from another text which treats of campaigns of the Assyrians and Babylonians in Phœnicia (*WAI*, pl. 34, No. 2). This shows that the *Khabiri*, who play an important rôle in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence as enemies of Jerusalem, cannot possibly be the Hebrews, but must have been Kassite Babylonians.

The Pashi dynasty was followed by the **kings of the Sea-land**, *i.e.* the district in the extreme south of Babylonia. The Kassite nationality of this dynasty, which lasted from B.C. 1043–1022, is evident from the names of its kings—*Simmas-shipak*, *Ea-mukin-ziri*, and *Kaššû-nadin-akhi*.

The next dynasty was that of **Bazi**, which included three kings who reigned from 1021–1002, viz. *E-ulmash-shakin-shumi*, *Nindar-kudurri-uṣur*, and *Amil-Shuḳamuna*. These were followed by a single **Elamite king**, whose name has not been preserved (1002–996). This whole period, from the end of the Pashi dynasty, was a stormy one. Shortly before, the temple of Samas at Sippar had been destroyed by the Sutæan nomads; then during the reign of Kaššû-nadin-akhi there was a great famine—so that the land had no rest. It was not until the next, once more a **Babylonian dynasty**, that better conditions were again inaugurated (B.C. 995–732). The first king, *Nabû-mukin-apli*, to whose reign an extant boundary-record must be assigned, reigned 36 years (B.C. 995–960), and *Nabû-pal-idina*, who is known from Assyrian history as a contemporary of Assur-naẓir-pal, also had a reign of more than 30 years (*c.* B.C. 885–853). Between these two reigns there is an unfortunate gap, which as yet is represented by only a few names. Only the last four kings of this dynasty are included in the kings' list.

To Nabû-pal-idina we owe the beautiful *Cultus*-tablet of Sippar, which is adorned with a relief of the sun-god. It was this king that restored the temple of the sun which had lain in ruins since the ravages of the Sutæans, and re-established his worship in Sippar. From the reign of his son and successor *Marduk-šum-idina* down to the rise of the New Babylonian empire under Nabopolassar, the history of Babylon, so far at least as known to us, is connected in the closest fashion with that of ASSYRIA (to which article the reader is referred for details). During this period Babylonia was in complete political dependence upon Assyria. When independent movements show themselves, they proceed almost invariably from the Kaldi (Chaldæans) in S. Babylonia, who were the Semitic successors of the Kassites, and from the nomadic Aramæan tribes between Elam and Babylonia. The best type of these Kaldi princes is *Marduk-pal-idina II.*, the Merodach-baladan of OT, and contemporary of Sargon and Sennacherib (see ASSYRIA). A votive inscription of his (in the Berlin Museum) contains a grandiloquent description of the prosperity of the land under his sway as compared with the misery of the 'rulerless time' that preceded his reign.

Of Chaldæan origin were also the founders of the **New Babylonian empire**, Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadrezzar II.

Nabû-pal-uṣur (B.C. 625–605) wrested his independence from Assyria, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of Babylon. We have inscriptions of his, in which he speaks of building temples at Babel and Sippar, and of constructing a canal at the latter city. Some Bab. cities, however, such as Erech, still belonged to the Assyr. king Sin-šar-iškun. With the view of conquering and dethroning the latter, Nabopolassar allied himself with the Manda king (Arbaces? See ASSYRIA), *i.e.* with the leader of the Medo-Scythian hordes. While Nabopol. advanced in person with his army against N. Mesopotamia, the Manda hordes burst into Babylonia, where they plundered the cities that still owned the Assyr. sway, and into Assyria itself, where, *c.* B.C. 607, Nineveh fell into their hands, and was utterly destroyed. In order to help Nabopolassar, who was hard pressed by the Assyrians, the Manda invaded also the territory of Ḥarran. It was upon this occasion that the very ancient temple of the moon, which existed there, was destroyed. Thus, by the aid of the Medes, the Babylonians came once more into possession of Mesopotamia, and so paved the way towards Syria. There, in B.C. 605, at Carchemish, the crown-prince Nebuchadrezzar defeated Necho of Egypt, and in consequence of his victory was acknowledged as sovereign lord by the whole country as far as the S. border of Palestine. Amongst others, homage was done to him by Judah in the person of its king Jehoiakim. The news of his father's death recalled Nebuchadrezzar to Babylon.

Nabû-kudurri-uṣur II. (the Nebuchadrezzar of OT), during his long reign of 44 years (B.C. 604–561), contrived to make Babylonia in the fullest sense the heir of the shattered Assyr. empire. At the same time, by his building activity, he converted his capital Babylon into one of the most magnificent and most beautiful cities of antiquity. His chief attention was directed to the Bel-temple Sag-illa at Babylon, and the Nebo-temple Zidda at Borsippa, but he by no means neglected the temples at Sippar, Kutha, Erech, Larsa, and Ur. In addition he constructed in Babylon new streets,

* For the proof that it is really the twelve-fold division of the Zodiac that is represented here, see F. Hommel's 'Astronomie der alten Chaldäer' in *Ausland*, 1891–1892.

embankments, and palaces (cf. the Greek legend of the 'hanging gardens' of Semiramis), and fortified the city by double walls, so strong that it might be deemed impregnable.

As the inscriptions of Nebuch. speak of almost nothing but his buildings, we have to gain information about his numerous wars from various extra-Babylonian sources, such as the OT and the classical writers. We know the course of events in *Judah*, where, at the instigation of the warlike Pharaoh Hophra (Apries), Zedekiah, a Babylonian vassal, renounced his allegiance, an act to which Nebuch. replied by laying siege to Jerusalem (2 K 25[1]). The fall of Jerusalem in B.C. 587 led to the exile of the Jews in Babylon (B.C. 586–537), and made of Judah a Bab. province. A similar fate befell the other states which, in reliance upon Egypt, had withheld their tribute from Babylon, viz. Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon. Tyre, however, in spite of a 13 years' siege, could not be taken, but had to resume payment of the former tribute. Hophra, after the defeat of his army by Nebuch. (B.C. 587), ventured on no further attack, and it was not till 568 that Nebuch. again took the field against Egypt (where meanwhile Amasis had dethroned Hophra), and occupied some parts of the Delta. Of a war carried on by Nebuch. against the Arabs of Kedar we know from Jer 49[28-33]. In the course of the war which the Median king Cyaxares waged with Lydia, Nebuch. used his influence, after the battle on the Halys, B.C. 585, to bring about peace between Lydia and Media. By this politic step he prevented his dangerous rival from becoming too strong. Within the reign of Nebuch. also falls an event, which at a later period under his successors proved to have been charged with fateful issues for the New Bab. empire,—the occupation of Elam by the newly-arisen kings of Anšan in N. Elam. As late as the beginning of Nebuch.'s reign Jeremiah knows of reigning kings of Elam (Jer 25[25]), whereas in 585 Ezekiel already speaks of the Elamites as dead and gone (Ezk 32[24]). We know that an Indo-Germanic prince of Pers.-Achæmenidæan origin, named Teïspis (Tsheïspis), proclaimed himself king of Anšan *c.* B.C. 600. He was the great-grandfather of the famous Kuras (Cyrus), and he left behind him two sons. The elder, Kuras by name (grandfather of Cyrus), fell heir to the kingdom of Anšan, which he probably enlarged by conquering the rest of Elam; the younger, Ariaramna, founded for himself a kingdom in E. Iran. He was the great-grandfather of 'Darius the Mede,' the future king of Persia. What share Nebuch. had in this conquest of Elam we know not, but some share in it is suggested by a recently-discovered inscription, according to which Nebuch. brought back an image of Istar from Susa to Erech.

The son and successor of Nebuch. was *Amil-marduk* (the Evil-merodach of OT), who reigned from 561–560. It was he who released the unfortunate Jehoiachin of Judah from his prison (2 K 25[27]). Failing to establish himself on a right footing with the priests, he was murdered by his own brother-in-law, *Nergal-shar-uzur* (the Neri-glissar of classical writers), who had the priests upon his side.

Neriglissar (B.C. 559–556) was married to a daughter of Nebuch., and even during the reign of the latter enjoyed the greatest consideration, as is proved by various contract-tablets. Like his father, Bel-šum-iškun, he bore the title *rubû imga* ('the exalted sage'), a circumstance which proves at the same time that Neriglissar is to be identified with the Rab-mag (=*rubû imga*) Nergal-sharezer of Jer 39[3. 13]. Nerigl.'s inscriptions tell us of his building of temples and of the completion of his palace in Babylon. The passage which runs, 'the rival and adversary I destroyed, the foes I exterminated, the insubordinate opposers I consumed,' refers not only to the murder of Amil-Marduk, but also to foreign enemies, in whom we should probably recognise the same Manda hordes whom Nabonidus shortly afterwards drove back from Mesopotamia.

Neriglissar died in 556, leaving a son scarcely come of age, *Lâbashi-Marduk*, who, according to the judgment of the priests, was not fit to rule on account of 'bad character'; and was consequently deposed the same year. A Babylonian, not a Chaldee, was called to the throne in his room, *Nabu-na'id* ('the god Nebo is exalted'), the Nabonidus of the classical writers, who reigned from B.C. 555–539. He was more a lover of antiquarian research than an energetic ruler. He rebuilt a whole series of the oldest Bab. temples, *e.g.* at Sippar, Larsa, and Ur, and at the same time instituted elaborate inquiries into the history of the building (cf. the dates that have been thus recovered, above, p. 224[a]). On the other hand, with the most painful shyness he avoided Babylon, even when its situation was one of extreme peril; it was his son *Bel-shar-uzur*, the Belshazzar of Daniel, who, in the capital, carried on the work of government, without, however, bearing the title of king. Nabonidus' first concern was to rebuild the ancient temple of Sin in Ḥarran. The Manda king Istuvigu (*i.e.* the Median prince Astyages) had, however, invaded Mesopotamia, and it was only when he had been repelled through the assistance of king Kuraš of Anšan (*i.e.* the well-known Cyrus king of Persia, B.C. 558–530) that Nabonidus was able to prosecute his building design. This repulse of the Manda took place *c.* B.C. 554 or 553. Through his decisive victory over Astyages (B.C. 550), Cyrus became at the same time king of the Median empire; consequently the Bab. Chronicle now calls him 'king of Parsu,' instead of giving him his official title, 'king of Anšan.' In the year 547 took place the successful campaign of Cyrus against Crœsus of Lydia, during which Nabonidus and the king of Egypt had joined the league formed against Cyrus. The latter was now master of the whole of Asia Minor. The punishment of Egypt was deferred till the time of Cyrus' successor Cambyses (B.C. 525), but that of Babylonia came in 539, in which year (16th Tammuz, *i.e.* about the beginning of July) Cyrus got possession of Babylon, through the treachery of its priests, without drawing a sword. Three and a half months later he made his triumphal entry into the city, and eight days afterwards his general Gubaru (Gobryas) caused the king's son, *i.e.* Belshazzar, to be put to death (cf. also Dn 5). Nabonidus was spared, and banished to Karmania. This was the end of the independence of Babylonia, and the beginning of the great Persian world-empire. Nevertheless, the kings of Persia did everything possible to mitigate the lot of the Babylonians: they allowed the native form of worship to continue; exalted Babylonian to the rank of one of the three languages of the empire (Persian, Elamite, Babylonian; see above, p. 223[a]); and called themselves upon Bab. inscriptions 'king of Babel, king of the countries.' Under the mild rule of Cyrus, the day of return also drew nigh for the Jews who had remained true to the old home. Thus the end of the Bab. empire means at the same time the beginning of the Jewish community, whose real commencement coincides with the rebuilding of the temple predicted in Is 44[28]. When in the latter passage Cyrus (Koresh) is called by J" 'my shepherd,' there is here an allusion to the Elamite etymology of the name Kuraš ('shepherd'). According to Strabo, the Aryan name of Cyrus was Agradates.

The later history of Babylon is bound up with

that of Persia, and afterwards of Alexander the Great and his successors, the Seleucid and Arsacid kings. The names of all these rulers occur in connexion with the dating of Bab. contract-tablets and in other inscriptions. There is extant, for instance, a cylinder-inscription of Antiochus Soter from Birs Nimroud, in which also the queen Stratonike (Astartanikku) is commended to the protection of the Bab. gods. Not only so, but the Bab. literature, even bilingual (Sumer.-Semit.) hymns not excepted, was still copied out and cherished as late as the Parthian era. The agricultural impoverishment of the country under the Parthians led, however, to the gradual dying out of the tradition of the priests which had been so long preserved. The knowledge of the ancient writing and speech was utterly lost until in our own century it was recovered through the acuteness and enthusiasm of European scholars, and is now in ever-increasing measure shedding light upon the history of the most ancient civilisation, but above all upon biblical history.

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F. HOMMEL.

BABYLONISH GARMENT (אַדֶּרֶת שִׁנְעָר, ψιλὴ ποικίλη, RV **Bab. mantle**). — The Heb. means, literally, 'mantle of Shinar' (Jos 7[21]), the name by which Bab. was known to the ancient Hebrews. Naturally, it is not an easy matter to decide, even approximately, what kind of garment this can have been. Jos (*Ant.* v. i. 10) gives rein to his imagination, and describes it as 'a royal garment woven entirely of gold,' or 'all woven with gold.' There is no doubt that a dress of this description would be 'goodly' in the extreme. The probability is that it was a garment of embroidered stuff, such as Babylon was famed for (cf. Pliny, viii. 74, and Martial, *Ep.* viii. 28); and the statement in the *Bereshith Rabba* (§ 85, fol. 75. 2), that it was a robe of purple (an opinion which R. Chanina bar R. Isaac also shared; cf. Kimchi on Jos 7[21]), is just as likely to be correct as any other. There were probably many centres of the weaving industry in ancient Babylon, that of Sippar being most likely the chief. Many tablets referring to woven stuffs have been found on the site of that city, and testify to the extent of the industry; and long lists of dress material and garments bear testimony to the diversity of the work and the patterns used. The common expression *lubulti birme* is generally taken to mean stuffs woven in patterns of various designs, like embroidery, the weaver of such cloth being called *išpar* (or *ušbar*) *birmi*.

T. G. PINCHES.

BACA, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא).—A valley through which pilgrims pass to Zion (Ps 84[6] AV; RV has 'weeping,' m. 'balsam-trees'). Ancient versions, including LXX and Vulg., render *valley of weeping*, possibly from confusion between בְּכִי ('weeping') and בָּכָא, whose plural (2 S 5[24], 1 Ch 14[14. 15]) designates a *tree*, variously identified with the *mulberry* (AV and RV), the *pear tree* (LXX 1 Ch 14), the *balsam* (Gesenius), and the *poplar* or *aspen* (Tristram, *Nat. Hist.*).

If an actual valley (the article is not quite conclusive; see Ec 3[16], where two undoubtedly *ideal* places have the article), it may be identified either with 'the valley of Achor, *i.e. trouble*' (Jos 7[24. 26] etc.); 'the valley of Rephaim' (2 S 5[18. 22], Is 17[5]); a Sinaitic valley with a similar name (Burckhardt); or the last station of the caravan route from the north to Jerusalem (Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, c. iv.).

Perseverance and trust not only overcome difficulties, but turn them into blessings; this is the lesson, whether the valley be real or only (as the Vulg. *vallis lacrymarum* has become) an emblem of life.

A. S. AGLEN.

BACCHIDES (Βακχίδης) is first mentioned as a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes (Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 2). Under Demetrius Soter he held the governorship of Mesopotamia, and was sent to establish Alcimus in the high priesthood (see ALCIMUS). Upon the death of Judas he drove Jonathan across the Jordan, garrisoned a number of positions in Judæa, and, having thus pacified the country, returned to Demetrius (B.C. 160), or more probably was recalled by direction of the Romans. Two years later he was sent back in response to an

appeal from the Syrian faction, who imagined that Jonathan in his fancied security might be taken unawares. Jonathan, however, threw himself into the fortress of Bethbasi, not far from Jericho. To this B. laid siege; but, when his own peril increased through the success of the sallies against him and the rising of the country in his rear, he accepted Jonathan's proposal for a treaty of peace. Jonathan was invested (B.C. 158) with the governorship of Judæa, and B. covenanted to withdraw the Syrian forces (but not completely, see 1 Mac 10^{12}), and he himself finally left the country (1 Mac 7^{8-20} 9^{1-72}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. x.–XIII. i.). R. W. MOSS.

BACCHURUS (Βάκχουρος), 1 Es 9^{24}.—One of the 'holy singers' (*ἱεροψάλται*), who put away his 'strange' wife. There is no corresponding name in the list of Ezr 10^{24}, where there are three porters and one singer to answer to two porters and two singers of 1 Es. The name here may be a corruption of Uri (אוּרִי) in Ezra.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BACCHUS.—See DIONYSUS.

BACENOR (Βακήνωρ, 2 Mac 12^{35}), a Jewish officer, apparently a captain of horse, in the army of Judas Maccabæus which went to attack Gorgias, the commandant of Idumæa (or Jamnia, 1 Mac 5^{58}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 6).

BACKBITE.—To bite behind the back. Ps 15^{3} only, 'He that b^{eth} not with his tongue' (רָגַל, RV 'slandereth'). **Backbiter,** Ro 1^{30} only (*κατάλαλος*); cf. (in Rushw. *Hist. Coll.* 1659, i. 492) 'Diogenes being asked what beast bit sorest, answered, Of wilde beasts, the Back-biter; of tame, the Flatterer.' **Backbiting** is found as an adj. Pr 25^{23} 'The north wind bringeth forth rain: so doth a b. tongue an angry countenance' (לָשׁוֹן סְתָר 'a tongue of secrecy'), Sir $28^{14.15}$; and as a subst., Wis 1^{11}, 2 Co 12^{20} (*καταλαλία*, tr^{d} in 1 P 2^{1} 'evil speakings').

J. HASTINGS.

BACKSIDE is used in AV as tr. of three words:—**1.** אַחַר *'aḥar*, Ex 3^{1} 'he led the flock to the b. of the desert'; RV 'back'; but the Heb. is a prep. here, 'behind the desert' (cf. 11^{5} 'the maidservant that is behind the mill'), that is, to the pasture-lands on the other side of the desert from the Midianite encampments. **2.** אָחוֹר *'âḥôr*, Ex 26^{12} 'the b. of the tabernacle,' RV 'back'; the Heb. is a subst. in the plu., 'hinder parts,' as in 33^{23} 'thou shalt see my back parts,' 1 K 7^{25} (=2 Ch 4^{4}) 'hinder parts,' Ezk 8^{16} 'backs.' **3.** *ὄπισθεν*, Rev 5^{1} 'a book written within and on the b.'; RV 'back': but the back of a book is not the same as the reverse side of a roll. St. John was struck, not only with the fact that the roll was sealed, but also with the amount of writing it contained. Like Ezekiel's (2^{10}) 'roll of a book . . . written within and without,' it had writing on both sides, which was as unusual with an ancient roll as with modern printer's manuscript. J. HASTINGS.

BADGER, BADGERS' SKINS (תַּחַשׁ *taḥash*, עוֹר תְּחָשִׁים *'ôrôth tĕḥâshîm*).—LXX. tr. *tĕḥâshîm* by *ὑακίνθινα* and *ὑάνθινα*, and Vulg. by *ianthinæ*, which signifies *sky-blue*. Some ancient VSS translate the word *black*. There is, however, no etymological reason for this.

The badger, *Meles taxus*, L., is found in moderate numbers throughout Syria and Pal., and possibly in the Sin. desert. But it is not found in sufficient numbers to make it probable that it could furnish material enough for the upper covering of the tabernacle (Ex 25^{5} 26^{14} $35^{7.23}$ etc.). Such skins would be too light for the purpose, still more so for sandals (Ezk 16^{10}). In this passage the Heb. has *taḥâsh* alone, without *'ôrôth*. The AV has added 'skins' without italics. The RV has 'sealskins' [m. 'porpoise-skins'] in all the passages). There is, moreover, no philological warrant in Heb. or cognate languages for the translation of the AV *badgers' skins*. The Arab. for badger is *ghureir, anâḳ-el-ard*, and *fanjal*. None of these names has any connexion with *tĕḥâshîm*. The Arab. word *tuḥas* signifies the *dolphin*. The Arabs of the Sin. desert use the skin of the *Halicore Hemprichii*, Ehr., a cetacean found in the Red Sea, for making sandals. This is called *tûn*, and the flesh of it is eaten. It is quite likely that the skin of the dolphin would be similarly used. It is no objection to the use of this hide for making ladies' sandals that it was coarse. Its firm texture would fit it for the use intended, and the currier's art would adorn it suitably for the high-born wearers. Such durable and waterproof skins as those of the dolphin and halicore would be eminently appropriate for coverings of the tabernacle. Another species of the same genus, *Halicore Tabernaculi*, Russ., is also met with in the Red Sea, and could have furnished its quota of skins.

It is clear that the *'ôrôth tĕḥâshîm*, whatever their colour, were procurable in Sinai in quantities sufficient for making coverings to the tabernacle, and were at the same time suitable for sandals. It is unlikely that seal skins (so the RV) were found in sufficient quantities, if indeed the word *tĕḥâshîm* means that animal. It may be, however, that it covers not only the dolphin, but the halicore, porpoise, seal, and other marine animals having a general resemblance to the dolphin type. In any case we may safely reject the *badger*. (See Davidson on Ezk 16^{10} and Dillm. on Ex 25^{5}.)

G. E. POST.

BÆAN (*υἱοὶ* Βαιάν).—The name of a tribe otherwise unknown, which on account of its hostility to the Jews was utterly destroyed by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5^{4}).

BAG.—1. כְּלִי הָרֹעִים, יְקוֹם; *πήρα*; bag for food, shepherd's wallet, or scrip for a journey, made of a kid's skin with a strap fastened to each end so as to hang from the shoulder, and holding one or two days' allowance of bread, raisins, olives, cheese, etc.; one of the emblems of the pastoral and pilgrim life; parent of the hunting-bag and portfolios of higher office. Into it David put the pebbles when going to meet Goliath (1 S 17^{40}). The command to dispense with it (Mt 10^{10}, Mk 6^{8}, Lk 9^{3}) meant for the disciples complete trust in those visited, in their message, and in their Master.

2. כִּיס (Arab. *kîs*), bag for merchant's weights, made of stout cotton, leather, or in the form of a flexible rush-basket. This bag is still a necessity with the Syrian peasant or trader when selling from house to house his olive-oil, figs, grape-syrup, cheese, etc. The special warning against false weights (Dt 25^{13}, Pr 20^{23}) was due to the fact that pebbles and odd pieces of metal were doubtless, then as now, used thus as weights, putting the purchaser at the mercy of the seller. Hence the Arab. proverb, 'The hand of an honourable man is a balance.'

3. B. for money, purse. In this connexion we have—

(*a*) כִּיס *kîṣ*. Pr 1^{14}, Is 46^{6}, where the use of the commonest word for bag seems suggestive of waste.

(*b*) חָרִיט *ḥarîṭ* (Arab. *ḥariṭat*), 2 K 5^{23}, into which Naaman's gift was put. The occurrence of the same word in Is 3^{22} (AV 'crisping pins,' RV 'satchels') would suggest that some kind of ornamentally-woven pouch or satchel was used.

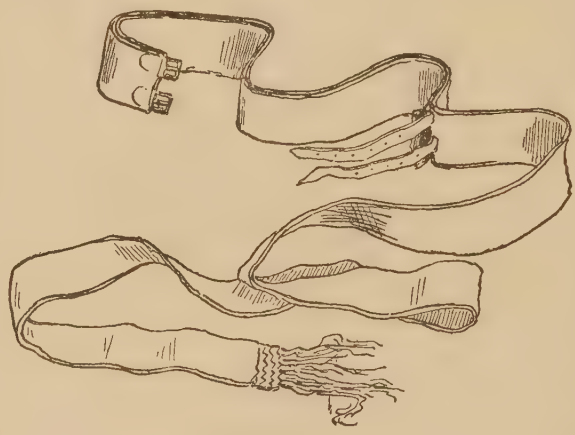
(*c*) צְרוֹר *ṣĕrôr* (Arab. *ṣurrat*), something *tied*, either round about like a parcel, or at the neck like a pouch. The purse of the mod. Syrian peasant is a little bag, sometimes of woven silk

thread, but usually of yellow cotton. The open mouth is not drawn close by a string, but is gathered up by one hand, and then by the other the neck of the bag is carefully whipped round.

BAG, PURSE, צְרוֹר.

The ceremony of tying and untying is still a quaintly arresting feature in its use. It was such a purse that was found in the sacks of Joseph's brothers, Gn 42^{35}. Job compares the irrevocable past to the purse with a seal on its string, Job 14^{17}. Unblessed prosperity is money in a bag with holes, Hag 1^{6}. Similar to this *ṣĕrôr* or tied-bag was the *βαλλάντιον* in Lk 12^{33} 22^{35}, and in Jn 12^{6} the *γλωσσόκομον*, a term derived from the pouch for the mouth-piece of a musical instrument.

(*d*) In the NT this bag or purse is also expressed by *ζώνη* (Mt 3^{4} 10^{9}, Ac 21^{11}, Rev 1^{13} 15^{6}). A modern illustration of this is found in the waist-belt of



BAG, GIRDLE-PURSE, *ζώνη*.

the Syrian peasant, which is double for a foot and a half from the buckle, thus making a safe and well-guarded purse. G. M. MACKIE.

BAGGAGE.—In AV Jth 7^{2}, 2 Mac 12^{21} 'the women and children and the other b.' (*ἀποσκευή*). RV gives b. for 'carriage' at 1 S $17^{22\ bis}$, and for 'carriages' at Is 10^{28}, Ac 21^{15}; and Amer. RV gives b. for 'stuff' at 1 S 25^{13} 30^{24}. See CARRIAGE and STUFF. J. HASTINGS.

BAGO (A Βαγό, B Βαναί), 1 Es 8^{40}.—The head of a family who returned with Ezra from Babylon, called BAGOI, 1 Es 5^{14}; BIGVAI, Ezr 2^{14}.

BAGOAS (Βαγώας).—A eunuch in the service of Holofernes (Jth $12^{11.\ 13.\ 15}$ 13^{3} 14^{14}). The same name appears in Persian history as that of the eunuch who poisoned Artaxerxes Ochus, and according to Pliny (*HN* XIII. iv. 9) it is the Persian equivalent of the Gr. *εὐνοῦχος*. J. A. SELBIE.

BAGOI (A Βαγοί, B Βοσαί), 1 Es 5^{14}.—2066 of his descendants returned from captivity with Zerub. Called BIGVAI (בִּגְוַי), Ezr 2^{14} (2056 desc.), Neh 7^{19} (2067); BAGO, 1 Es 8^{40}.

BAGPIPE.—See MUSIC.

BAHURIM (בַּחֻרִים).—The place where Michal is parted from her husband Phaltiel, as she is being taken back to David at Hebron (2 S 3^{16}). The village also where Shimei lived; he came out thence to curse David when fleeing from Jerus. towards Jordan (2 S 16^{5}). In this village Jonathan and Ahimaaz took refuge when carrying news to David from Jerus.; they concealed themselves in the well of a house, and so managed to elude the servants of Absalom, who had been sent to capture them (2 S 17^{18}). According to the account of David's flight from Jerus. (ch. 15 ff.), it seems that he did not take the southern and more usual road to Jericho, which passes through Bethany, but adopted the shorter and more difficult route, which runs in a N.E. direction over the Mt. of Olives. The Targ. preserves a tradition which identifies B. with Almon (Jos 21^{18}), the modern Almît, about 4 miles N.E. of Jerus. and 1 mile beyond Anathoth (Anâta), near the S. boundary of Benjamin. This view, which is accepted by most moderns, agrees with the local details supplied by the narrative of David's flight. After leaving the summit of the Mt. of Olives (15^{30} 16^{1}), David made his way down the E. slopes of the range towards Jordan. A 'rib' or ridge of hill apparently ran parallel to this N. route, from which it was separated by a ravine or gully (16^{9} 'let me go over now'), so that Shimei, running along the top of the hill, could cast stones and dirt at the king with impunity. **Barhumite** (2 S 23^{31} בַּרְחֻמִי) is clearly a mistake for **Baharumite** =a native of Baburim, which is more correctly given by the Chronicler (1 Ch 11^{33}; point הַבַּחֲרוּמִי the Bahurimmite).

J. F. STENNING.

BAITERUS (Βαιτηροῦς, AV **Meterus**), 1 Es 5^{17}.—The sons of B. returned with Zerub., to the number of 3005. It probably represents a Heb. place-name beginning with Beth-: but there is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr 2 and Neh 7.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BAKBAKKAR (בַּקְבַּקַּר).—A Levite (1 Ch 9^{15}). See GENEALOGY.

BAKBUK (בַּקְבּוּק).—The ancestor of certain Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}). Called ACUB (1 Es 5^{31}).

BAKBUKIAH (בַּקְבֻקְיָה).—**1.** A Levite who 'dwelt at Jerusalem' (Neh 11^{17}). **2.** One of the porters who 'kept the ward at the storehouses of the gates' (Neh 12^{25}). See GENEALOGY.

BAKEMEATS.—Gn 40^{17} only, 'all manner of b. for Pharaoh' (Heb. lit. 'all kinds of food of Pharaoh's bakers' work'). Dr. Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict.*) gives the meaning of b. as simply 'pastry, a pie.' It is any kind of meat baked or cooked; cf. Chaucer, *Prologue to Cant. Tales*, 345—

> 'Withoute bake mete was never his hous
> Of fleissch and fissch.'

And Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I. ii. 180—

> 'The funeral baked meats
> Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.'

J. HASTINGS.

BAKING.—See BREAD.

BALAAM (בִּלְעָם).—Nu 22–24. $31^{8.\ 16}$, Dt 23^{4} (Neh 13^{2}), Jos 13^{22} $24^{9.\ 10}$, Mic 6^{5}, 2 P 2^{15}, Jude v.^{11}, Rev 2^{14}.

The subject of a very remarkable story in connexion with the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness. The present narrative has arisen from the combination of several more or less ancient traditions. According to the latest, embodied in the Priestly Code (P), and contained in Nu $31^{8.16}$ (comp. Rev 2^{14}), Balaam was a Midianitish counsellor, who persuaded his people to seduce the Israelites by means of certain immoral rites. This is probably to be connected with the great sin of Baal-peor (Nu 25), or, to be more accurate, with the affair of Cozbi ($25^{6f.}$), which has been combined with the story of Baal-peor (25^{1-5}), the former being connected with the Midianites, the latter with the Moabites. In revenge for this, Balaam was afterwards slain with the princes of Midian (Nu 31^{8}, Jos 13^{22}). It has been conjectured that this story arose partly out of a difficulty on the part of the priestly narrator in conceiving of a heathen being an inspired prophet of God, partly from the need of accounting for the great sin of the Israelites. It is, however, very doubtful whether this story belongs to the earliest form of P, and it is by Kuenen assigned to the very latest redactor. It is significant that Rev 2^{14} definitely connects the immorality with sacrificial rites to heathen gods,—a fact implied, but not distinctly stated by P.

The more ancient and far more picturesque story is that contained in Nu 22^{2}–24. According to this, Balaam is a prophet from Pethor, which is by the Euphrates, a place otherwise unknown, who is bribed by Balak, king of Moab, to come and pronounce a curse on the Israelites. Balaam earnestly endeavours to carry out Balak's wishes, but by divine inspiration pronounces a blessing instead of a curse. He is dismissed by Balak, and returns to his home, and is heard of no more. It is obvious that this story has no point of contact with that of P, and can be reconciled with it only by modifying or eliminating 24^{25}. If Balaam had returned to his home he could not be in the Midianitish camp immediately afterwards. It is generally admitted that Nu 22^{2}–24 belongs to the composite narrative known as JE. But there is some difference of opinion as regards the critical analysis of the passage. Some, having regard to its general unity of purpose and sentiment, have assigned it in its totality to J; others refer only the episode of Balaam's journey to J and the rest to E. It is probable, however, that here, as elsewhere, there has been a more continuous interweaving of the two sources. The sacrificial rites of 22^{40}–23^{30} seem to point to E, and the symmetry of that section seems to require that it should be referred in the main to one source. On the other hand, the episode of Balaam's journey, with little doubt, belongs to J. There are also signs of composite authorship in other parts. Thus 22^{3a} and 22^{3b} are evidently duplicates, so are vv.^{2} and ^{4b}. A helpful criterion is the distinction of divine names in certain verses of ch. 22, esp. ^{9} and ^{20}; where, as in 23^{4}, an anthropomorphic character is assigned to God Himself as contrasted with the angel of J″ of v.^{22} etc. It seems therefore right to assign vv.$^{9.10.12}$ and ^{20} to E, but these pretty clearly carry with them vv.$^{8.13-16}$. It matters little how we assign the remaining verses, as both accounts must have contained statements of the same kind. But if J is the fundamental account, vv.$^{4-7}$ will belong to it. Ch. 24 involves a further question. If the prophecies of ch. 23 belong to E, it is probable that these belong to J. But they are believed to have undergone a very considerable revision and expansion by a later reviser, either before or after the union of J and E. The passage esp. assigned to a late date is vv.$^{20-24}$, which refers to the period of Assyr. ascendency. The insertion of 'the elders of Midian' in $22^{4.7}$ is probably the work of a much later reviser, who thereby thought to connect the story more closely with that of P.

If this analysis is in the main correct, there will be found a considerable difference of character in the stories of J and E. According to the first, Balaam makes no difficulty about going, nor does he receive any revelation forbidding it, but of his own accord he intimates to Balak that as a prophet he is entirely under the control of J″. Balaam discovers his sin in going, only by the intervention of 'the angel of J″,' and at once proposes to return. For the first time he is permitted to go, but only on the condition that he does not attempt to resist the inspiration of God. 22^{35} is indeed referred by some to the reviser of JE, but some such limited permission is at any rate implied in v.^{38}. When Balaam arrives at Kiriath-huzoth, he is shown the whole company of the Israelites dwelling according to their tribes. The spirit of God comes upon him, and he bursts into a rhapsody of praise, suggested in its form by the sight before him. The chief thought is the splendour of the huge encampment in its ordered array—

> 'As gardens by the river side,
> As lign-aloes which J″ hath planted,
> As cedar trees beside the waters.'

What Balaam, according to the story, foretells, is the increase in the multitude of the people and the power of their king. This provokes Balak's anger; he smites his hands together, and would have dismissed Balaam at once; but with great dignity the latter justifies himself, and, regardless of Balak's wrath, he proceeds to predict the destruction, first of Moab, then of Edom, at the hand of the king of Israel. Balak himself seems overawed by the torrent of inspired rhetoric, and he has nothing more to say to the prophet, who immediately retires. J's narrative is terse and vigorous throughout, full of quaintness, yet always dignified and picturesque without grandiloquence. What remains of E's narrative falls distinctly below it in point of literary merit. It is more ornate, but less really beautiful. There is a tendency to what appears like an artificial repetition of similar incidents. Balak twice appeals to Balaam, who twice in his turn appeals to God, and twice receives an answer from Him. Thrice Balak builds for Balaam seven altars, and offers a bullock and a ram on every altar, and the language in which Balak's command is given and carried out is repeated each time. We might add that thrice Balaam pronounces a blessing instead of a curse, only that the third blessing of E has disappeared in ch. 24 to make way for the blessing of J. There is, moreover, besides its anthropomorphism, a want of spontaneity and naturalness about the story. We feel this in the way that Balaam parleys with God (23^{4}). He tells Him that he has prepared the seven altars, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar, and implies therefrom a hope that He will grant his wish; and there is an almost mechanical view of inspiration in the thought of the word put in Balaam's mouth (23^{5}). What a difference between this and the thought of J (24^{2}), that the Spirit so takes possession of him that his whole nature is aglow! Then again, how unnatural comparatively Balak's conduct is! How strange that he should have put up with Balaam's utterances so complacently, and contented himself with a mild remonstrance. (See HEXATEUCH, NUMBERS.)

But the most important difference in the stories is the contrast which they present in the character of Balaam. In J there is nothing reproachful in his conduct. He acts up to his light with perfect consistency. But the Balaam of E is of a much lower order. He has indeed a higher perception of the moral beauty of righteous-

ness. He can say with all sincerity, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his' (23^{10}). This can hardly at so early a date mean, 'May I in some future state have the rewards, even without the reality, of a righteous life here,' but, 'May I in my last moments have the satisfaction of feeling that I have lived a righteous life to the very end.' But, in spite of such noble sentiments, the Balaam of E is a selfish, grasping man. He covets the rewards of Balak, and is restrained from taking them only by a sordid fear of God, who could make the consequence of so doing worse than losing them. He is not content to know God's will, but tries by every means in his power to cajole God into changing His mind, or, in other words, making wrong right. Five times he attempts to obtain God's consent, and always fails. It may be thought that this estimate of Balaam's character as portrayed in E assumes a higher view of God and morality than E may be supposed to have had. The God of 1 S 15^{29} was not 'a man, that he should repent.' But could this be said of the God of E? Probably not; but, at any rate, Balaam's persistence is evidently due to selfishness and greed.

Some regret may be felt on the ground that such a critical analysis of Balaam's story destroys its value as the study of an instructively composite character. But this is not so much so as appears at first sight. The great sermon of Bp. Butler, for example, depends almost entirely on the narrative of E. His allusion to P's story as part of Balaam's career does not affect his main argument much more than the words of Micah (6$^{6ff.}$) erroneously put by him into Balaam's mouth. The real value of his sermon arises out of his insight into human nature and motive. On the other side, it is only fair to state that the critical process removes at least one very serious moral difficulty, that, as the narrative now stands, God allows Balaam to go on certain conditions, and before the conditions have been violated is angry, and punishes him for acting on this permission.

The date and origin of the Balaam story cannot be determined with certainty. The reference to the subjugation of Moab (24^{17}), if we suppose that these are prophecies only in a literary sense, seems to point, for the Jahwistic narrative, to a date posterior to David's Moabitish war (2 S 8); and it is hardly likely to be much later—indeed it is highly probable that the story is based on a much earlier legend. The speaking of animals is a common feature of the early folk-lore of many nations, and this incident has its obvious parallel in the Jahwistic story of Paradise. Among some of the Norwegian peasantry the belief that bears could speak, and refrained from doing so only from fear of man, continued down to comparatively recent times.

LITERATURE.—The story and character of Balaam have been the subject of a large number of treatises and sermons. By far the best known, and generally acknowledged to be the most valuable, is the great sermon of Bp. Butler upon the character of Balaam. Among those of more recent date may be mentioned the sermons of F. D. Maurice and Isaac Williams.

F. H. WOODS.

BALAH (בָּלָה), Jos 19^{3}. — A town of Simeon, perhaps the same as Bealoth, and apparently the Bilhah of a parallel passage 1 Ch 4^{29}. None of these is known. C. R. CONDER.

BALAK (בָּלָק 'making empty or waste').—A king of Moab who, according to a story preserved in Nu 22–24, hired the prophet Balaam to curse the Israelites before their entry into Canaan. See BALAAM. F. H. WOODS.

BALAMON (Βαλαμών, AV Balamo).—A town near Dothaim (Jth 8^{3}, cf. Ca 8^{11}).

BALANCE (מֹאזְנַיִם, קָנֶה, ζυγόν).—Weighing was performed from early times in Egypt, and was probably thence borrowed by the Hebrews. All Oriental balances were equal-armed, the principle of leverage in the steelyard having been apparently an Italian invention, carried into the East under Roman influence. In Egypt before the Exodus, balances of all sizes were employed; the larger ones having a fixed pole for support, a beam of several feet in length, and large scale pans hung by cords. To test the evenness of the balance a tongue was attached to it, but instead of observing the tongue against a long vertical sling of the balance, as in modern times, the ancient tongue was below the beam, and the verticality of it (and evenness of the beam) was observed against a plummet. As the plummet was easily set swinging by a lurch of the stand, the characteristic action shown in weighing is for the man to steady the plummet with his hand in order to read its position. Smaller balances were held in the hand, hung by a cord. The beam was

BALANCE BEAM, WOOD.

a circular bar, tapering to the ends; the suspension was by a hole through it, or sometimes merely by a string tied around it, which would give great opening for fraud; the pans were hung by cords, which passed through slanting holes cut in the beam, emerging in the width of the ends.

In OT the balance appears as a regular article of daily use. Abraham weighs four hundred shekels of silver for the field of Ephron (Gn 23^{16}); and soon after Eliezer gives weighed jewellery, an earring of half a shekel and two bracelets of ten shekels, to Rebekah. The total weight of the gold, silver, and bronze used for the tabernacle is all stated (Ex 38$^{24-29}$); and the weight of the offerings made at the dedication (Nu 7^{13} etc.). And this is quite in accord with the style of the elaborate summaries of weights which the Egyptian scribes used to reckon up at this period. This preciseness of weighing, however, seems to have been lost to the Hebrews in Pal., as there is no record of the weighing of metal for the temple, and David mentions quantities in the vaguest manner (1 Ch 22^{14}), while the habit of using the balance seems to have revived in the later and more commercial times, to judge by the frequent mention of it in late books.

The falsification of the balance was common among the Hebrews as shown by continual denunciations of the practice. In Leviticus just balances are enjoined (19^{36}), as by Ezekiel (45^{10}); and Amos (8^{5}), Micah (6^{11}), and the Proverbs (11^{1}) specially inveigh against false balances. The exactness of the balance was even considered a divine matter, as well as the precision of the weights (Pr 16^{11}). For these references to the standards, see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

BALD LOCUST.—See LOCUST.

BALDNESS, loss of the hair.—Two forms are contrasted in Lv 13$^{40-43}$, קָרְחָה or crown-baldness (φαλάκρωμα, LXX), and גַּבָּחַת or forehead baldness; the Heb. name referring to the fictitious appearance of height which it gives to the head (ἀναφαλάντωμα, LXX). These forms are also distinguished by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* iii. 11. 8). Baldness did not render the Israelite ceremonially unclean, and thus differed from the *Bahereth ẓaraath* or spot of the contagious parasitic disease Tineatonsurans or ringworm, the condition described by Celsus as ophiasis; while the other form of spot mentioned along with it in Lv 13, *Bohaḳ* or psoriasis, is not

contagious (Lv 13^{39}), and did not therefore make the sufferer unclean. Baldness is not a sign of old age in the Bible, like grey hair; but is regarded as due to excessive labour with exposure to the sun, as in those employed in the siege of Tyre (Ezk 29^{18}), among whom it may have been induced by the salt water and a salt fish diet, supposed in Shetland to cause baldness. An Arab. poet calls crown-baldness the baldness of slaves, while the other form is called noble baldness, as due to the pressure of a helmet. It was to be a sign of the degradation and servitude of backsliding Israel, that instead of curled and dressed hair they were to show baldness (Is 3^{24}).

'Bald-head' was a term of reproach (2 K 2^{23}), as was *calvus* among the Romans, and *φαλακρός* among the Greeks (see Suetonius in *Cæs.* 45. 3, and Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 240; *Equites*, 550). Synesius wrote a defence of baldness of which an Eng. tr. was published by Fleming in 1579. A more famous defence was Hucbald's remarkable alliterative poem of 136 lines, *de laudibus calvitii*, each word of which begins with the letter C (Dornavius, *Amphitheatro Sapient. Socrat.* i. 290).

Baldness seems not to have been common in Bible-lands, nor is it very frequently noticed among the Jews to this day. The name of *Kareah*, father of Johanan (2 K 25^{23}), means 'bald-head,' and *Korah* refers to baldness, as Lat. name *Calvus* (Gn $36^{5,16}$, Ex 6^{21}). Possibly, the frequency of ceremonial shaving of the head may have had some effect in preventing it. This reason is given by Herodotus for its rarity in Egypt (iii. 12). Mummy heads, though often shaven (see Gn 41^{14}), are seldom bald. I have found only three bald heads out of 500. Egyptians generally concealed baldness by wearing wigs, and one female head in the Camb. Mus. had locks of hair gummed on over the bare scalp. In Papyrus Ebers (*c.* B.C. 1500) there are eleven prescriptions to prevent baldness. But, although rare in Egypt, Leo Africanus says it is common in Barbary. Many of the Egyp. priests were shaven, and are therefore called *Feket* or bald-headed; and perhaps it was for contrast that baldness disqualified for the priesthood in Isr. (Lv 21^{20}, LXX), although it did not preclude them from partaking of the sacred food. Even shaving the head was forbidden to the priest (Lv 21^{5}). A similar contrast is implied in the prohibition of 'rounding the corners' of the head (Lv 19^{27}) among ordinary Israelites to distinguish them from their heathen neighbours, who cut their hair in a circular form, as that of Dionysus was cut (Herod. iii. 8). The modern Egyptians and Bishari adopt a similar mode of cutting; while the Pal. and Arabian Jews keep the Levitical custom, and, at the *ḥalaka* or first cutting of the hair at the age of four years, do not cut the corners (Schechter, *Jewish Quart. Rev.* ii. 16).

Artificial baldness, by shaving, was a sign of mourning, not only among the Jews, but among other races. Bion's comment on its folly, *quasi calvitio mœror levetur*, is quoted by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* iii. 26). In this manner Mardonius and his army mourned for Masistius, cutting off not only their own hair, but that of their horses (Herod. ix. 24; see also Patroclus' funeral, *Il.* xxiii. 46; also *Odyss.* iv. 198; Seneca, *Hippol.* 1176). Micah bids the women of Mareshah make themselves bald (1^{16}), and enlarge their baldness as the *nesher* or neophron (Egyp. vulture), which has a featherless head. Baldness, produced by cutting off the hair, is associated with mourning in Is 15^{2} 22^{12}, Jer 48^{37} 16^{6}, Ezk 27^{31}, and Am 8^{10}. It is used metaphorically for mourning in Jer 47^{5} and Ezk 7^{18}.

Symbolical baldness by shaving was the sign of the expiry of the Nazirite's vow (Nu 6^{18}). At the expiry of his vow St. Paul shaved his head at Cenchreæ, and he fulfilled later the ritual of purification (Ac 18^{18} 21^{24}). Shaving in connexion with vows was not peculiar to the Jews; thus the people of Argos shaved their heads in token of their vow to recover Thyræa (Herod. i. 82). Shaving the forehead was not permitted to the Jews (Bechorat 43. 3, and Sifré on Nu). These shavings were essentially representative sacrifices; in the usual heathen form, they were intended to propitiate the deity invoked. The Jewish tonsure was partly thanksgiving, hence the hair was burnt in the fire of the peace-offering (Nu 6^{18}); it was also partly purificatory, 'as if by this, deficiencies in religious service were cut off' (Rabanus Maur. *de Cleric. Inst.* i. 3). Shaving was on this account part of the ceremony of the purification of Levites (Nu 8^{7}). Among some races partial tonsure is a tribal mark, as, for example, the occipital tonsure of the Philippine Ætas.

The primitive Christian tonsure was votive, and was falsely supposed to have been invented by St. Peter (Greg. Tour. *de gloria Martyr.* i. 28), but really dates from the 5th cent. The Petrine or Rom. crown-tonsure represented the crown of thorns (Raban. i. 3). The Eastern or Pauline tonsure was total shaving or close cropping of the head, and was derived from Egypt. The Celtic or Johannine tonsure, which was a shaving of the front of the head in front of the ears and vertex, existed in Spain, where it was forbidden by the 4th Council of Toledo (Canon xli.); it was also practised in Celtic Britain (Gildas, *Epist.* ii.), Ireland, and Scotland (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 1, v. 2), as well as among the Saxons (Apollinaris Sidonius, *Epist. ad Lamprid.* viii. 9). It was probably the survival of a pre-Christian badge of servitude, as the word *Maol*, 'bald-headed,' for servant existed in pre-Christian times, as in the names Maolduin and Maoldarach. Lucat-Maol was a heathen antagonist of St. Patrick. Tonsure of women was, in the judgment of St. Paul, shameful (1 Co 11^{5}), and the early Church decided at the Council of Gangra that if a woman polled her head she should be excommunicated (Socrates, *HE* iii. 42). See BARBER, HAIR, SHAVING.

A. MACALISTER.

BALM (צֳרִי *ṣŏrî*, צְרִי *ṣĕrî*; LXX *ῥητίνη*; *resina*). —It is impossible to determine, on philological grounds, the substance intended by *ṣŏrî*; and as the ancient translations do not agree on the signification of the word, it must remain uncertain. The substances with which it is mentioned (Gn 37^{25}, cf. 43^{11}) make it probable that it was an aromatic gum or spice. If the substance alluded to by Jeremiah (8^{22} 46^{11} 51^{8}) be the same, powerful medicinal virtues were attributed to it. It was clearly an article of commerce in Gilead, dealt in by Judah and Israel (Ezk 27^{17}). No mention is made of a balm tree as growing in Gilead. It is not certain from the expressions, 'Is there no balm in Gilead?' and 'Go up into Gilead and take balm,' that the substance was produced there, any more than from the expression that 'Judah and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants, they traded in balm,' implies that it was produced in their country. Gilead was an indefinite geographical expression for the district stretching eastward from the Jordan to the Euphrates and an unknown extent southward. A portion of the commerce of Arabia passed through it, and spices and balms and incense formed an important part of the wares carried by the Ishmaelites through this territory. Whether the substance was produced in it or not, Gilead would seem to have been an *entrepôt* for it. This is all we know from Scripture as to the substance or substances intended. Any attempt to identify them must be conjectural, and he who hazards a guess will be largely in-

fluenced by his opinion as to whether balm was a product of Gilead or an article of commerce there and in Pal. If we assume that it was a product of Gilead, we have no known tree in that region which produces a medicinal aromatic gum or spice. *Mastich* has been supposed by some to be the substance. The tree which produces it, however, although abundant along the coast and lower mountains of W. Pal., has not been reported E. of the Jordan. The author searched for it in the forests of Gilead and Bashan without finding it. Moreover, the Ishmaelites (Gn 37^{25}) brought it, with Arabian gums and spices, through Gilead to Dothan on their way to Egypt. Mastich is, and always has been, a leading product of Chios and other islands of the Ægean Sea, and was certainly not a product of Arabia. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xii. 36), indeed, speaks of a mastich produced in India and Arabia, but it was produced by a 'prickly shrub,' and therefore cannot be the gum from *Pistacia Lentiscus*, L. In other places he calls the true mastich *resin of lentisk* (xxiv. 22. 28). He attributes to it a long list of virtues, principally astringent and detergent.

Mecca balsam, the product of *Balsamodendron Gileadense*, Kth., and *B. Opobalsamum*, Kth., has the weight of tradition in its favour. Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 6) says that the Jews believe that the queen of Sheba, who doubtless had botanical gardens in many places, gave Solomon a root of it; and we have evidence that it was cultivated in the lower Jordan Valley. Tristram says, 'From Jericho Cleopatra obtained plants for her gardens at Heliopolis; an imperial guard was placed over the gardens, and twice was the balm tree exhibited in triumph in the streets of Rome.' It has, however, now disappeared. The product of these trees is known in Arabic by the name of *balasân*, from which *βάλσαμον*, *balsamum*, *balsam*, and *balm* are probably derived. The *balasân* tree is defined by the Arab. lexicographers as 'a certain kind of tree or shrub, resembling the camphire (*ḥenna*), having many leaves, inclining to white, in odour resembling the rue, the berry of which has an oil which is more potent than the berry, as the berry is than the wood.' Avicenna speaks of its properties and virtues at length, and quotes Dioscorides to the effect that the tree 'grows only in the country of the Jews, which is Palestine, in the Ghor.' He probably alludes to the plantations in the neighbourhood of Jericho, but is mistaken in supposing that this was the only or the principal station for the tree. That Avicenna does not confound it with the mastich is clear from the fact that he presently says that 'some prefer to mix this unguent (gum) with other unguents (gums), as unguent of the green berry, and unguent of camphire (*ḥenna*), and unguent (gum) of the mastich tree.' Balm of Gilead was formerly much used even in Europe, but it has now passed out of the pharmacopœias.

The monks of Jericho have adopted the *zaḳḳûm*, *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, Del., as the Balm of Gilead. They prepare an oily gum from the fruit of this species, which is sold in tin cases to travellers as the Balm of Gilead. It is said also to be beneficial in the treatment of wounds and sores.

G. E. POST.

BALNUUS (A Βάλνους, B Βαλνοῦς), 1 Es 9^{31}.—BINNUI in Ezr 10^{30}, which see.

BALSAM.—See BALM.

BALTASAR (Βαλτασάρ), the Greek form of Belshazzar in Dn 5 etc., Bar $1^{11.\ 12}$, and *also* of Belteshazzar, Dn 4, etc. Clearly, the names are confused in ignorance; for while Vulg. renders both names promiscuously by Baltassar, Syr. renders both by Blitshatsar. Codex A in Dn presents Βαρτασάρ.

J. T. MARSHALL.

BAMAH (Ezk 20^{29}) is the Heb. name for 'High Place' (wh. see), and is retained by the EV in the second half of this verse on account of the etymology given in the first half. It is obviously a contemptuous derivation that the prophet means to suggest; but the precise point of it cannot be clearly ascertained. The word is resolved into its syllables, and these appear to be identified respectively with two words meaning 'come' and 'what'; thus: 'What (MAH) is the Ba-mah whereunto ye come (BA)?' Ewald and others have supposed that the verb 'come' (or 'enter') is used in an obscene sense, with an allusion to the immoral practices associated with the worship at these sanctuaries (cf. Am 2^{7}, Hos $4^{13f.}$); but this view, even if adopted, does not remove the obscurity of the verse. A parallel may be found in the derivation of the word for 'manna' in Ex 16^{15} (see RV).

J. SKINNER.

BAMOTH (בָּמוֹת), Nu $21^{19.\ 20}$, a station in the journey from the Arnon to the Jordan, probably the same as BAMOTH-BAAL, Nu 22^{41} RVm ('the high places of Baal' AV, RV), to which Balak brought Balaam. Bamoth-baal is mentioned in the list of cities belonging to Reuben (Jos 13^{17}) along with Beth-baal-meon, and both being seats of Baal-worship they may be included in 'the high places' of Is 15^{2}; but the reference here is doubtful (cf. Dillmann's note on the verse in his *Isaiah*). בת במת, mentioned on the Moabite Stone, l. 27, as restored by Mesha, may be the same as Bamoth. For its position see EXODUS, ROUTE OF.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

BAN (A Βάν, B Βαενάν), 1 Es 5^{37}.—The head of a family which could not trace their descent from Israel at the return under Zerub. The passage is corrupt. The corresp. name in the lists of Ezr 2^{60} Neh 7^{62} is Tobiah; but in both of the can. books some MSS of the LXX insert a name *υἱοὶ Βουά*, of which Ban may be the equivalent.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BANAIAS (Βαναίας) 1 Es 9^{35} = BENAIAH Ezr 10^{43}.

BAND.—Three words of different origin and meaning but the same spelling are all found in AV. **1.** Band = anything that *binds*, whether for confinement or for strengthening. The Heb. words are (*a*) עֲבֹת *'ăbhôth*, something twisted or *twined*. Job 39^{10} 'Canst thou bind the unicorn (RV 'wild-ox') with his band?' Hos 11^{4} 'I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love'; so Ezk 3^{25} 4^{8}; but tr^{d} 'cords' Jg $15^{13.\ 14}$, Ps 2^{3} 118^{27} 129^{4}. It is the word tr^{d} *'wreathen* (work)' in Ex $28^{14.\ 22.\ 24.\ 25}$ $39^{15.\ 17.\ 18}$. (*b*) אֵסוּר *'ēṣûr* (אֱסוּר *'ĕṣûr*, Dn $4^{15.\ 23}$, Ec 7^{26}), anything that will bind' whether a flaxen rope or an iron fetter. Jg 15^{14} 'his (Samson's flaxen) bands dropped from off his hands'; Dn 4^{15} 'a band of iron and brass,' so Dn 4^{23}, Ec 7^{26}. (*c*) חֶבֶל *ḥebhel*, a rope or cord, not for binding (though Ezk 27^{24}, Job 41^{1}, Est 1^{6}) so much as for use on board ship (Is 33^{23}), for fastening tents (Is 33^{20}), and especially for measuring, a measuring-line (2 S $8^{2\ ter}$, Ps 78^{55} etc.). In AV *ḥebhel* is tr^{d} 'bands' only in Ps 119^{61} 'the bands of the wicked have robbed me' (where 'bands' no doubt = 'troops,' by mistrans^{n}; RV 'The cords of the wicked have wrapped me round'); and Zec $11^{7.\ 14}$, the name of one of the two staves, 'Bands,' representing the brotherhood between Judah and Israel, the other, 'Beauty,' representing the covenant made with all the people. (*d*) מוֹטָה *môṭâh*, the pole or chief part of the yoke that binds the oxen together. In AV only Lv 26^{13}, Ezk 34^{27} (RV 'bars'). (*e*) מַרְצֻבָּה *ḥarṣubbah* only in plu. = *bonds*, Is 58^{6} 'to loose the bands (RV 'bonds') of wickedness'; or *pains*, Ps 73^{4} 'there are no bands in their death.' (*f*) מוֹסֵר *moṣêr*, properly some-

thing for chastising, hence a bond for curbing, Job 39^5 'who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass?', Ps 2^3 'Let us break their bands asunder,' 107^{14}, Is 28^{22} 52^2, Jer 2^{20}. In all these passages Amer. RV gives 'bonds,' but Eng. RV retains 'bands,' and even turns 'bonds' into 'bands' in Jer 5^6 27^2 30^8, where this is the Heb. word. (*g*) מוֹשָׁכָה *môshĕkhah*, a rope to draw with, only Job 38^{31} 'or loose the bands of Orion?'

The Greek words are (*a*) *δεσμός*, something that binds, Lk 8^{29}, Ac 16^{26} 22^{30}; (*b*) *συνδεσμός*, something that binds closely, Col 2^{19} 'all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and bands'; and (*c*) *ζευκτηρία*, that which yokes, only in Ac 27^{40} the fastening of the rudder.

In all these places 'bond' would be used in mod. English; and 'bond' is quite frequent in AV as tr^{n} of some of those words, esp. *δεσμός*.

2. Band=a flat strip, a ribbon. (In this sense b. is from French *bande*; but as the strip or strap would be used for *binding*, it came to be identified with **1**. Both come originally from *bindan* 'to bind'). (*a*) שָׂפָה *sâphâh*, 'a lip,' tr^{d} 'band' only in Ex 39^{23} 'there was a hole in the midst of the robe . . . with a band (RV 'binding') round about the hole.' See also HEADBAND (Is 3^{20} only), and SWADDLINGBAND (Job 38^9 only). RV gives 'band' for 'girdle,' חֵשֶׁב *hêshebh*, in Ex $28^{8.\ 27.\ 28}$ 29^5 $39^{5.\ 20.\ 21}$, Lv 8^7. (*b*) *κλοιός*, a dog's collar, then any collar or chain for the neck (frequent in LXX, as Gn 41^{42} '[Pharaoh] put a gold *chain* about his [Joseph's] neck,' 1 K 12^4 'Thy father made our *yoke* grievous'). *κλοιός* is tr^{d} 'band' Sir 6^{30} 'her bands are purple lace.'

3. Band=troop, company. (Its origin is difficult to trace. Du Cange says that the company of soldiers formed by Alfonso of Castile was called a *banda*, from the red *banda* or ribbon worn by them as a sash; but Littré gives late Lat. *bandum* 'banner' as the original.) The Heb. words so tr^{d} are (*a*) אֲגַף *ăgaph*, only plu. and only in Ezk 12^{14} 17^{21} $38^{6bis.\ 9.\ 22}$ 39^4. RV keeps 'bands' in 12^{14} 17^{21}, but gives 'hordes' in the other passages. The word means originally the *wing* of an army, Assyr. *agappu*. (*b*) גְּדוּד *gĕdhûdh*, from [גָּדַד] to penetrate, so a band *invading* a country. Tr^{d} 'band' in 2 S 4^2, 1 K 11^{24}, 2 K 6^{23} $13^{20.\ 21}$ 24^{2bis}, 1 Ch 7^4 $12^{18.\ 21}$, 2 Ch 22^1. RV retains, except 1 K 11^{24} 'troop.' (*c*) חַיִל *hayil*=strength, a strong army, a force; tr^{d} 'band' only 1 S 10^{26} ('a b. of men,' RV 'the host') and Ezr 8^{22} ('a b. of soldiers,' so RV). (*d*) חֵצִי *hôṣêṣ* (pcp. of [חָצַץ] to divide, hence divided into companies. Only Pr 30^{27} 'The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands.' (*e*) מַחֲנֶה *maḥăneh*, the ordinary word for a 'camp.' Only Gn 32^7 'Jacob . . . divided the people . . . into two bands' (RV 'companies'), and 32^{10} 'and now I am become two bands' (RV 'companies'). (*f*) רֹאשׁ *rô'sh*='head,' only 1 Ch 12^{23} (RV 'heads') and Job 1^{17} 'The Chaldæans made out three bands' (so RV). The only Gr. word is *σπεῖρα*, which was the usual equivalent of the Lat. *cohors*, a cohort, which when complete consisted of 600 regular soldiers, being the tenth part of a legion. Cohorts, like regiments, had their distinguishing names, of which we find the 'Italian,' Ac 10^1, and the 'Augustan,' 27^1. In Jn $18^{3.\ 12}$ the 'band' would not consist of a whole cohort, so that *σπεῖρα* must have had some elasticity of usage; cf. 2 Mac 8^{23}.

'Band' as an intrans. verb occurs Ac 23^{12} 'the Jews banded together' (*ποιήσαντες συστροφήν*, making a conspiracy; the word is used of the riotous assembly in Ephesus, Ac 19^{40}). J. HASTINGS.

BANI (בָּנִי).—**1.** A Gadite, one of David's heroes (2 S 23^{36}). **2. 3. 4.** Levites (1 Ch 6^{46}, Neh 3^{17}, cf. 8^7 (=**Binnui** of Ezr 8^{33} and Neh 10^9)). **5.** A Judahite (1 Ch 9^4). **6.** Head of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 2^{10} =[**Binnui** of Neh 7^{15}] 10^{29}, Neh 10^{14}). **7.** One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{38}). The utmost uncertainty prevails as to the number of occurrences of the name B. owing to the confusion between it and similar names. See BINNUI. J. A. SELBIE.

BANIAS (B Βανιάς, A Βανί, AV **Banid**), 1 Es 8^{36}.—Ancestor of Salimoth, who returned with Ezra from captivity. The name does not appear in the parallel list Ezr 8^{10}, having prob. dropped out from its resemblance to the preceding word 'sons' (בְּנֵי). H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BANISHMENT. — See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BANK.—1. A raised earthwork from which to storm a city, 2 S 20^{15} 'they cast up a b. against the city' (סוֹלֵלָה *sôlĕlah*, from סָלַל to raise up, RV 'mount'), so 2 K 19^{32}, Is 37^{33} (Amer. RV 'mound').

The RV has changed 'thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee,' Lk 19^{43}, into 'thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee,' although the Revisers did not read *παρεμβαλοῦσιν* with L marg., T, WH; but accepted *περιβαλοῦσιν* of TR. On the reading see Plummer's *Luke*.

This meaning, now obsol., is nearer the original sense of 'bank' than the next, but the oldest of all is seen in Ca 5^{13} RV 'banks of sweet herbs.' **2.** The margin of a river, Heb. (*a*) שָׂפָה *sâphah*, 'lip,' Gn 41^{17}, Dt 4^{48}, Jos 12^2 $13^{9.\ 16}$, 2 K 2^{13}, Ezk $47^{7.\ 12}$, Dn 12^{5bis} (RV gives 'brink' at Gn 41^{17}, Dn $12^{5.\ 8}$, 'edge' in Dt 4^{48}, Jos 12^2 $13^{7.\ 16}$, leaving the rest unchanged, and turning 'brink' into 'bank' in Ezk 47^6). (*b*) גָּדָה *gâdhah*, perhaps meaning 'cut away,' Jos 3^{15} 4^{18}, Is 8^7, always of banks *overflowed*. (*c*) גְּדֵרָה (acc. to *kethîbh*, *kerê* גָּדָה) *gidhyah*, only 1 Ch 12^{15}, also of banks overflowed. **3.** The *table* of a money-changer or money-dealer; then his office or shop. It occurs only Lk 19^{23} (Gr. *τράπεζα*, the ordinary word for a table). RV gives **bankers** for 'exchangers' in Mt 25^{27} (Gr. *τραπεζίτης* [*-είτης* T, WH]). J. HASTINGS.

BANNAS (Βάννος, AV **Banuas**), 1 Es 5^{26}.—A name occurring among the Levites who returned with Zerub. The names Bannas and Sudias answer to Bene-Hodaviah in Ezr 2^{40}, of which they are perhaps a corruption. The corresponding words in Neh 10^9 are 'Shebaniah, Hodiah' (Σαβανία, Ὠδουιά) H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BANNEAS (Βανναλας, AV **Baanias**), 1 Es 9^{26}= BENAIAH (Ezr 10^{25}), which see.

BANNER, ENSIGN, STANDARD.—1. דֶּגֶל *degel*, 'banner, standard.' This was to be used to mark the separate place of each tribe in the camp in the wilderness (Nu 2^2). The Shulammite in her beauty, which overcomes the beholder, is compared (Ca $6^{4.\ 10}$) to forces encamped (*or possibly*, marching) in order under banners (כַּנִּדְגָּלוֹת *kannidgâlôth*). A *degel* is properly 'that which is meant to be seen'; *dagâlu* in Assyrian being the common word for 'to see.'

2. נֵס *nês*, 'ensign,' possibly means either that which *shines* (נצץ=נסס) or that which *is lifted up* (נשׂא=נסס). The brazen serpent was put upon a *nês* (Nu 21^9), *i.e.* possibly upon the *degel* of one of the tribes. The common use made of the *nês* was to set it upon some high hill as a signal to assemble (Is 11^{10} and 13^2).

In Is 10^{18} ('They, *i.e.* the Assyrians, shall be as when a standard-bearer, *nôsês*, fainteth') nearly all modern authorities (not RV text) render, 'As when a sick man pineth away.' The old rendering is, however, defensible, if we may supply the word 'heart'; כְּמֹסֵס לֵב נסס, 'as when the heart of a standard-bearer fainteth.' Again in Is 59^{19} ('When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the

Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him') modern scholars allow no reference to a standard. Yet the rendering 'the Spirit of the Lord raiseth a standard against him' may be defended by Is 11^{10}.

On the Assyrian reliefs, standards are shown carried into battle borne on the chariots of the Assyrians. One such standard (of which a good engraving is given in Madame Ragozin's *Assyria*, p. 252) has the device of an archer, probably the god Asshur, standing above two bulls. The fact that an ensign might thus be a *religious* symbol gives point to Is 11^{12} '[J"] shall set up an ensign for the nations.'

The Roman standards also, since they bore the image of the emperor, had a religious character, owing to the worship paid to the emperors. The Jews regarded them as idols (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1), and the Roman soldiers, on one occasion at least, sacrificed to them (Jos. *War*, VI. vi. 1: *κομίσαντες τὰς σημαίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης ἀντικρυς ἔθυσαν αὐταῖς αὐτόθι*). This sacrifice was offered in honour of Titus, the emperor's son, after the capture of the temple.

W. E. BARNES.

BANNUS (Βαννούς), 1 Es 9^{34}.—Either BANI or BINNUI in Ezr 10^{38}. (See these names.)

BANQUET.—In the 17th cent. and earlier, b. frequently signified, not the general feast, but the wine that came after; not eating and drinking, but drinking only.

> 'Bring in the banquet quickly; wine enough
> Cleopatra's health to drink.'
> Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* I. ii. 11.

> 'We'll dine in the great room, but let the music
> And banquet be prepared here.'
> Massinger, *Unnat. Comb.* iii. 1.

This is the meaning of b. wherever it occurs in AV. The Heb. and Gr. words are—**1.** מִשְׁתֶּה *mishteh*, 'a drinking,' from שָׁתָה 'to drink' (Est $5^{4.5.6.8.12.14}$ 6^{14} $7^{2.7.8}$, Dn 5^{10}). **2.** שְׁתִי *shâthah*, Est 7^{1} 'So the king and Haman came to b.' (lit. 'to drink'). **3.** יַיִן *yayin*, 'wine,' Ca 2^{4} 'He brought me to the banqueting house' (lit. 'house of wine'). **4.** *συμπόσιον*='drinking together,' Sir 32^{5} 49^{1} 'a b. of wine'; 1 Mac 16^{16}, 2 Mac 2^{27}. **5.** *πότος*, 'drinking' [Jth 12^{10}], 1 Mac 16^{15}, 1 P 4^{3} 'banquetings' (RV 'carousings').

The only possible exceptions are Job 41^{6} 'Shall the companions make a b. of him?' (RV 'make traffic of him,' Heb. כָּרָה *kârah* 'to bargain'; and Am 6^{7} 'the b. (RV 'revelry') of them that stretched themselves' (Heb. מִרְזַח *mirzêaḥ*, from root = to scream, 'here used of yells of joy'—Orelli). But in these passages also, though b. is not the best tr., its meaning was no doubt the same. See FEAST.

J. HASTINGS.

BAPTISM—

I. TERMINOLOGY.
  (*a*) In the LXX.
  (*b*) In the NT.

II. OT TYPES.
  (*a*) The Cloud and the Sea (St. Paul).
  (*b*) The Deluge (St. Peter).
  (*c*) Other Types (Patristic).

III. PARTIAL ANTICIPATIONS.
  (*a*) Proselyte Baptism.
  (*b*) John's Baptism.

IV. THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.
  (*a*) The Institution.
  (*b*) The Recipients.
  (*c*) The Minister.
  (*d*) The Rite.

V. THE DOCTRINE OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

I. TERMINOLOGY.—(*a*) *In the LXX* the simple verb *βάπτειν* is frequent in the sense of 'dip' (Ex 12^{22}, Lv $4^{6.17}$ 9^{9} $14^{6.16.51}$ etc.) or 'immerse' (Job 9^{31}). The intensive *βαπτίζειν* occurs four times: twice literally, of Naaman dipping in the Jordan (2 K 5^{14}) and of Judith bathing (12^{7}); once metaphorically, *ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει* (Is 21^{4}); and once of ceremonial washing after pollution, *βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ* (Sir 31 [34]^{25}). The usual verb for ceremonial washing is *λούεσθαι* (Lv $14^{8.9}$ $15^{5-10.13.16-22}$ $16^{4.24-28}$ etc.), the middle voice being used because the unclean person performed this cleansing for himself. The active is used of Moses washing Aaron and his sons before they exercised their ministry (Ex 29^{4} 40^{12}, Lv 8^{6}), and of the Lord washing Jerus. (Ezk 16^{4}). But *βαπτίζειν* is never used in the LXX of any initiatory rite.

Of the two cognate substantives *βαπτισμός* and *βάπτισμα*, neither is found in the LXX; while *λοῦτρον* occurs thrice (Ca 4^{2} 6^{6}, Sir 31 [34]^{25}).

(*b*) *In the NT* the use of *βάπτειν* is the same as in the LXX (Lk 16^{24}, Jn 13^{26}, and perhaps Rev 19^{13}, where the reading is very uncertain); but the use of *βαπτίζειν* undergoes a great change. As in Sir 31^{25}, it is used of ceremonial purification (Lk 11^{38}, and perhaps Mk 7^{4}, where the reading is again uncertain); and, as in Is 21^{4}, it is used metaphorically, viz. by Christ of His sufferings (Mk $10^{38.39}$, Lk 12^{50}). But, with these few exceptions, *βαπτίζω* always refers to washing for a religious purpose, the administration of the sacred rite of ablution, 'baptizing' in the technical sense; and in this sense *λούω* is not used. It is plain from Lk 11^{38} that in itself *βαπτίζω* does not necessarily mean immersion, as Calvin (*Inst.* iv. 15. 19) and others assert. This is its usual meaning, however; Polybius uses it of sinking ships (i. 51. 6, xvi. 6. 2). We find *βαπτίζειν* used both absolutely (Mk 1^{4}, Jn $1^{25.26}$ $3^{22.23.26}$ 4^{2} etc.) and with an acc. (Jn 4^{1}, Ac 8^{38}, 1 Co $1^{14.16}$), and very often in the passive (Mt $3^{13.14.16}$, Mk 16^{16}, Lk 3^{21}, Ac 2^{41} etc.). The verb is sometimes followed by a preposition, indicating either the *element into* which (*εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην*, Mk 1^{9}) or *in* which (*ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ*, Mk 1^{5}; *ἐν ὕδατι*, Mt 3^{11}, Jn $1^{26.33}$) the immersion takes place; or the *end* or *issue* of it (*εἰς μετάνοιαν*, Mt 3^{11}; *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, Ac 2^{38}; *εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τινος*, Mt 28^{19}, Ac 8^{16} 19^{5}).

Of the substantives, both *βαπτισμός* and *βάπτισμα* are found; and the distinction commonly drawn between them as to NT usage is probably correct; but there are not enough instances for a secure induction. From Mk 7^{4} and He 9^{10} we infer that *βαπτισμός* usually meant lustration or ceremonial washing. Ro 6^{4}, with Eph 4^{5} and 1 P 3^{21}, would indicate that *βάπτισμα* was reserved for baptism proper. But in He 6^{2} *βαπτισμῶν* probably includes Christian baptism, and in Col 2^{12} the more difficult reading *βαπτισμῷ* claims attention. Jos. uses *βαπτισμός* to designate John's baptism, and *βάπτισις* of the performance of the rite (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2).

The Latin VSS and Fathers make no distinction between *baptismus* and *baptisma*. The Vulg. has *baptismus pœnitentiæ* (Mk 1^{4}, Lk 3^{3}, Ac 13^{24} 19^{4}), *baptisma Joannis* (Ac 1^{22}), *unum baptisma* (Eph 4^{5}), and even *baptismata calicum* (Mk 7^{4}), and *baptismatum doctrinæ* (He 6^{2}). A neut. nom. *baptismum* is found in the best MSS of the Vulg., Mt 21^{25}, and in various other passages in representatives of the Old Latin, *e.g.* Mk $10^{38.39}$ (*a i*). In Lk 20^{4} we have *baptismum* (*f* Vulg.), *baptismus* (*c d*), *baptisma* (*e*). See Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 270. Cyprian sometimes uses both *baptisma* and *baptismus* in the same passage without change of meaning, *e.g. Ep.* lxxiv. 11; comp. *Ep.* lxix. 2, lxx. 2, etc. Twice in NT *λοῦτρον* is used of baptism: λ. *τοῦ ὕδατος* (Eph 5^{26}), λ. *παλιγγενεσίας* (Tit 3^{5}); and the word occurs in no other connexion. It and its equivalent *lavacrum* soon became technical terms in this sense (Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 61. 79; Cypr. *De Hab. Virg.* 2. 23; *De Lapsis*, 24, etc.).

II. OT Types.—We have apostolic authority for finding two types of Christian baptism in OT history, but in neither case are the details of the type quite certain.

St. Paul takes the Israelites being under the cloud and passing through the sea as an image of baptism (1 Co $10^{1.2}$); where being under the cloud points to submersion, while passing through the sea may signify emersion; or (less well) the cloud may typify the spiritual element in baptism, and the sea the material element.

Still more expressly St. Peter makes the saving of a few persons through water at the Flood a figure of the Christian rite (1 P $3^{20.21}$); where the water which purged the earth of its wicked inhabitants by floating the Ark saved its inmates. Luther almost inverts this, when he remarks that 'baptism is a greater deluge than that described by Moses, since more are baptized than were drowned by the Deluge.'

Beyond these two we need not go. But patristic writers find baptism typified in a variety of things, some of which are remote enough, *e.g.* not only in the passage of the Jordan (Jos 3^{17}) and the cleansing of Naaman (2 K 5^{14}), but in the river of Paradise, the well revealed to Hagar, the water from the rock, the water poured upon Elijah's offering, etc. etc. Tertullian asserts that the primeval water 'brought forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life' (Gn 1^{20}), in order that there should be no difficulty in believing that baptismal waters can give life (*De Bapt.* iii.). In a like spirit prophecies respecting Christian baptism were found with great freedom, not only in Zechariah's fountain . . . 'for sin and for uncleanness' (13^{1}), in Isaiah's promise that sins red as scarlet shall be white as snow (1^{18}), and in Ezekiel's, 'I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean. . . . A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you' ($36^{25.26}$), but even in the hart panting after the water brooks (Ps 42^{1}), and in the waters breaking out in the desert (Is 35^{6}).

Without presuming to determine anything respecting intended types and prophecies, we may safely say that those washings which were required by the Mosaic Law as a means of entering or re-entering the congregation, especially in its closer relations with J", had considerable analogy with Christian baptism. But that is a very different thing from Cyprian's sweeping assertion, *Quotiescunque aqua sola in scripturis sanctis nominatur, baptisma prædicatur* (*Ep.* lxiii. 8); and this he applies not only to OT (Is 43^{18-21} 48^{21}), but to NT (Jn $4^{13.14}$ 7^{37-39}, Mt 5^{6}).

III. Partial Anticipations.—When we approach the history of baptism as a rite of religious initiation, we are confronted with the question, Where does the history begin? We may set aside heathen baptisms as having no historic connexion with the subject, except so far as ceremonial ablutions may be common to the human race. But a baptism which prevailed in Iceland and some parts of Norway is worth mentioning as a partial parallel. The father decided whether an infant was to be nurtured or exposed. If he wished to preserve it, water was poured over it and a name given to it; and to kill it after this ceremony of admission to the community was murder. After the introduction of Christianity (*c.* A.D. 1000) this baptism still continued for some time side by side with Christian baptism. Omitting pagan lustrations, we have three conspicuous examples of the rite, all originating in the same part of the world: proselyte baptism, John's baptism, and Christian baptism. Which of these three is chronologically the first, and therefore the possible suggester of one or both of the others? This question was very hotly debated in the first half of the 18th cent. on controversial grounds, to find arguments for or against infant baptism and sacramental doctrine. In the 19th cent. the question has been examined with less heat, and of late has dropped out of notice. The monograph of Schneckenburger, *Ueber das Alter der jüdischen Proselytentaufe*, Berlin, 1829, is still quoted as the leading authority on the subject. *Massecheth Gerim*, the Talmudic authority on proselytes, or *Septem Libri Talmudici parvi Hierosolymitani*, was published by Kirchheim, Frankfurt a/M. 1851.

(*a*) *Proselyte Baptism.*—According to the teaching of later Judaism, a stranger who desired to become a Proselyte of the Covenant, or of Righteousness, *i.e.* in the fullest sense an Isr., must be circumcised and baptized, and then offer a sacrifice; circumcision alone was not enough. Three of those who had instructed the stranger in the Law became his 'fathers' or sponsors, and took him to a pool, in which he stood up to his neck in water, while the great commandments of the Law were recited to him. These he promised to keep. Then a benediction was pronounced, and he plunged beneath the water, taking care to be entirely submerged. In the case of women, baptism and sacrifice were the things required to admit them to the full privileges of Israel. But for both male and female proselytes sacrifice was abolished after the destruction of the temple.

That this baptism of proselytes is not an original feature in Judaism is manifest. The Rabbis indeed found a trace of it in Jacob's command to his household, 'Put away the strange gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change your garments' (Gn 35^{2}); and even in God's command to Moses, 'Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their garments' (Ex 19^{10}), where the people to be sanctified are certainly all Jews. When 'the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river' (Ex 2^{5}), this also, the Talm. said, is to be regarded as the baptizing of a proselyte. But we may safely assert that there is no mention of proselyte baptism anywhere in OT or in the Apocr. NT is equally silent. And this is by no means all. Josephus, Philo, and the older Targumists are silent also; and there is little more than a probable allusion to it in the Mishna. None of the early Christian writers seem to know anything about it; and this is specially notable in the case of those who have discussed Judaism, or baptism, or both, *e.g.* Barnabas, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian. Let us admit that the Fourth Book of the *Sibylline Oracles* is of Jewish origin, and that the line, ἐν ποταμοῖς λούσασθε ὅλον δέμας ἀενάοισι (164), refers to proselyte baptism; and that Arrian refers to it also, when he says of one who is a heathen, ὅταν δὲ ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος βεβαμμένου τότε καὶ ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι καὶ καλεῖται Ἰουδαῖος (*Diss. Epict.* ii. 9); and that the reading of the Ethiopic VS of Mt 23^{15} 'ye compass sea and land to *baptize* one proselyte,' is beyond question. Nevertheless, these three authorities do not bring us much (if at all) earlier than the 2nd cent.; and that at that time proselytes were baptized on their admission to Judaism, is not in dispute. What is wanted is direct evidence that before John the Baptist made so remarkable a use of the rite, it was the custom to make all proselytes submit to baptism; and such evidence is not forthcoming.

Nevertheless, the fact is not really doubtful. It is not credible that the baptizing of proselytes was instituted and made essential for their admission to Judaism at a period subsequent to the institution of Christian baptism; and the supposition that it was borrowed from the rite enjoined by Christ is monstrous. From the infancy of Christianity the hostility of the synagogue to the Church was such,

that the mere fact that baptism was universally known as the rite by which Gentiles were admitted to the Christian community, would have made it impossible for Jews to accept it as the rite for admitting Gentiles to the Jewish community. Against a consideration of this kind the silence of Scripture and of Josephus and Philo is of little weight; it is one more instance of the danger of the argument from silence. No passage has been pointed out in either Josephus or Philo in which it would have been necessary, or even natural, to mention proselyte baptism; and the same may be said of Scripture. The subject is not mentioned, because there was no need to mention it. In the Mishna it is stated that the school of Shammai allowed a Gentile who was circumcised on the eve of the Passover to *wash* and partake of the paschal lamb, while the school of Hillel did not; and this points to the washing of proselytes as a customary accompaniment of circumcision. But what may be regarded as conclusive is, that the baptizing of proselytes would follow of necessity from the regulations which required a Jew to bathe in order to recover Levitical purity (Lv 11–15, Nu 19). *Judæus quotidie lavat, quia quotidie inquinatur*, says Tertullian (*De Bapt.* xv.); and again, *Omnibus licet membris lavet quotidie Israel, nunquam tamen mundus est* (*De Orat.* xiv.). If the mere possibility of contact with pollution requires such purification, how much more would one who had lived in heathen pollution require a complete purification before he was admitted to full membership in the House of Israel. Moreover, it should be noted that the authorities quoted above—the *Sibylline Oracles*, Arrian, and the Ethiopic VS—all mention baptism as the sign of change, and say nothing about circumcision. The reason for which possibly is, that, after the abolition of the sacrifices, baptism was the only rite which was applicable to both sexes; and the large majority of proselytes were women (Kraus, *Enc. d. Christ. Alterth.* ii. p. 823). Every Gentile, whether man or woman, who became a Jew, was purified from heathen pollution by immersion.

About the other hypothesis there is no difficulty. Assume that baptism for proselytes was a well-established custom when John began to preach, and we have an obvious reason why John adopted the rite. Not that this was his only reason; but that, so far as the custom was of any influence, it was a recommendation and not an objection. And the same argument applies to Christian baptism, which becomes more, and not less, intelligible when we consider that it was preceded by baptism for proselytes and the baptism of John.

LITERATURE.—For the abundant literature on the subject, and for references to the Talm., see Edersheim, *Life and Times of the Messiah*, ii. App. xii.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. § 31, p. 319; Herzog, *RE* xii. p. 250, 1st ed.; less full in 2nd ed. p. 800.

(*b*) *The Baptism of John.*—Although there is no doubt that baptism was a Jewish rite of initiation before John began to preach, yet the history of baptism, so far as direct evidence is concerned, begins with him. That he who derived his title from it (ὁ *βαπτίζων*, Mk $6^{14.24}$; ὁ *βαπτιστής*, Mt 3^{1}, Mk 8^{28}, Lk 7^{20}, Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 2) made use of the rite in preparing Israel for the kingdom of God, is an historical fact beyond dispute. And we need not doubt that in using it he was influenced by the levitical purifications enjoined by the Law and by the baptism of proselytes. But his baptism was different from both. It is evident that, if it had not had special characteristics, he would not have received a special name, and his right to administer it would not have been challenged. His baptism differed from the washings prescribed by the Law in these three respects—(1) They were acts of lustration, restoring a man to his normal condition; his was an act of preparation, leading a man to an entirely new condition. (2) The man levitically unclean baptized himself, like Naaman in the Jordan; the penitents who came to John were baptized by him. (3) The legal washings merely cleansed from levitical uncleanness; his was a symbol and seal of moral purification. The moral preparation required by John is pointed out in the *τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκκεκαθαρμένης* of Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2) as plainly as in the *βάπτισμα μετανοίας* of Scripture (Mk 1^{4}, Lk 3^{3}). The spirit of repentance was assumed with a view to remission of sins.

John's baptism differed from proselyte baptism in being administered to Jews. The meaning of the challenge, 'Why then baptizest thou?' (Jn 1^{25}) seems to be, 'What right hast thou, who art neither the Messiah nor the Prophet, to treat Israelites as if they were proselytes? Jews are fit for the Messianic kingdom without any such purification.'

And while John's baptism differed from these Jewish rites on the one hand, so it differed from Christian baptism on the other. This difference was clearly pointed out by the Baptist himself. 'I indeed baptize you with *water* unto repentance . . . he shall baptize you with *the Holy Ghost*' (Mt 3^{11}); 'He that sent me to baptize with *water*, he said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon him, the same is he that baptizeth with *the Holy Spirit*' (Jn 1^{33}; comp. our Lord's words, Ac 1^{5} 11^{16}). And that this difference was regarded as essential, is shown by the fact that Ephesian disciples who had received John's baptism were rebaptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, and then received the Holy Ghost through the laying on of hands by St. Paul (Ac 19^{3-6}). Cyril of Jerus., in contrasting John's baptism with Christian baptism, says, that the former 'bestowed *only* the remission of sins' (*Catech.* xx. 6; comp. iii. 7). But there is nothing in Scripture to show that it bestowed that. Tertullian points out that 'baptism *for* the remission of sins' refers to a *future* remission, which was to follow in Christ (*De Bapt.* x.). And it may be doubted whether, if John's baptism had conferred remission of sins, Jesus would have submitted to it. Its main aspect was preparation for the kingdom of God; and in this aspect it fitted well into the opening of Christ's ministry. To everyone else this preparatory act was a baptism of repentance. The Messiah, who needed no repentance, could yet accept the preparation. By means of this rite the people were consecrated to receive salvation, and He was consecrated to bestow it.

We are told by St. John that the disciples of Jesus baptized many, and that this led to an inaccurate statement that Jesus Himself baptized (3^{22} $4^{1.2}$). As to the nature of this baptism we are told nothing; but, if not identical with the baptism of John, it would be more akin to that than to Christian baptism. It was preparatory and not perfecting, symbolical and not sacramental. The arguments of Tertullian on this point are weighty (*De Bapt.* x.–xii.). Was Christian baptism possible until Christ had died and risen again? The theory that this early baptism by Christ's disciples was the baptism of the gospel, but that its full effects remained latent until after the resurrection, is not helpful; and to suppose with Peter Lombard that it was *In nomine Trinitatis, scilicet in eâ formâ in quâ baptizaverunt postea* (*Sent.* iv. *Dist.* iii. 7), is utterly unreasonable. When John was put into prison, Jesus Himself continued John's preaching. 'He came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye'

(Mk 1[14, 15]). Is it improbable that, while Christ continued the preaching of John, His disciples continued the baptism of John? In that case there is no need to raise the question whether they baptized 'into the name of the Lord Jesus'; for John certainly did not do so. In any case it is improbable that, at a time when the disciples had such inadequate views of the office of Jesus, they would baptize into His name. This baptism was certainly not accompanied by the gift of the Spirit: 'for the Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified' (Jn 7[39]). And it is to be noted that neither in the mission of the Twelve nor in that of the Seventy is there any command to baptize (Lk 9[1-5] 10[1-16]). That omission is intelligible, if this early baptism, like that of John, was merely preparatory, a symbolical act conferring no grace. But the omission would be strange if there was already in use a rite equal in efficacy to the baptism of the gospel. Until Christ had died and risen again, and sent the Holy Spirit upon His disciples, no such baptism by them was possible.

IV. The History of Christian Baptism. — This subject, as treated in NT, may be discussed under four heads—(*a*) the Institution, (*b*) the Recipients, (*c*) the Minister, (*d*) the Rite.

(*a*) The *Institution* of Christian baptism is to be dated from Christ's farewell command, 'Go ye and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost' (Mt 28[19]). This command the Twelve do not attempt to carry out until they are free from the earlier charge (Lk 24[49]). But directly they have 'been clothed with power from on high,' Peter begins to exhort the people to 'repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of their sins' (Ac 2[38]), and with very great success. But here we are at once struck by the fact that, in spite of Christ's command to baptize into the name of the Trinity, no mention is made of the Trinity, but only of 'the name of Jesus Christ.' And this first and important record of Christian baptisms does not stand alone. The Samaritans who were converted by Philip were 'baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus' (Ac 8[16]). Peter at Cæsarea commanded that Cornelius and those with him should be 'baptized in the name of Jesus Christ' (10[48]). And the Ephesian disciples, when they were convinced of the insufficiency of John's baptism, were 'baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus' (19[5]). Moreover, there is no mention in NT of any one being baptized into the name of the Trinity; and the expression 'baptized into Christ' (Ro 6[3], Gal 3[27]; comp. 1 Co 1[13] 6[11]) is more in harmony with the passages in the Acts than with the divine command as recorded Mt 28[19].*

Various explanations of these statements in the Acts have been suggested.

(1) This baptism into or in the name of Jesus Christ is that which was practised by Christ's disciples during His ministry (Jn 4[1, 2]). Having been accustomed to this form, they continued to use it 'probably through life,' although Christ had expressly ordered the Trinitarian form, and although the Holy Spirit was not always imparted when this imperfect form was employed, whereas the gift of the Spirit always accompanied baptism in the name of the Trinity (*Dict. of Chr. Biog.* i. p. 241). This is scarcely credible. The Ephesian disciples were rebaptized because their original baptism was inadequate. Can we suppose that they then received a baptism that was also defective? And would the disciples have adhered to a form which experience proved to be less uniformly efficacious, even if we allow that they would ignore the express command of Christ? It is admitted that this inferior form of baptism went out of use at an early date—perhaps soon after the First Gospel became current.

(2) Baptism in the name of one Person of the Trinity is virtually baptism in the name of the Trinity, and is valid. This seems to be the view of Ambrose. *Quod verbo tacitum fuerat, expressum est fide. Cum enim dicitur:* In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, *per unitatem nominis impletum mysterium est: nec a Christi baptismate Spiritus separatur. . . . Qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem signavit. Si Christum dicas, et Deum Patrem a quo unctus est Filius, et ipsum qui unctus est Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum quo unctus est designasti* (*De Spiritu S.* i. 4. 43, 44; Migne, xvi. 714, 715, where see note *a*). Ambrose is here commenting on Ac 19[5]; and it is rash to say that 'he is probably speaking of the confession of the recipient, not of the formula.' Bede understands Ambrose to be writing of the baptismal formula, and accepts the solution that baptism in the name of Jesus Christ is really in the name of the Trinity (*Super Acta Exp.* x. 48; Migne, xcii. 970). See also Peter Lombard (*Sent.* iv. *Dist.* iii. 4), Hugo Victor (*De Sacram.* i. 13), and Aquinas (*Summa*, iii. 66. 6). This view was confirmed by the Council of Frejus (A.D. 792), and apparently by Pope Nicholas I. (858–867) in his *Responsa ad Bulgaros.*

(3) When St. Luke says that people were 'baptized *in* (or *into*) the name of the Lord Jesus,' he is not indicating the formula which was used in baptizing, but is merely stating that such persons were baptized as acknowledged Jesus to be the Lord and the Christ; in short, he is simply telling us that the baptism was Christian. When Peter heals the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the temple, the form of the words used is quoted: 'In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk.' No such form of words is quoted in any of the passages in which persons are said to be baptized in or into the name of Jesus Christ. There is no evidence against the supposition that in these and in all other cases the formula used was that which Christ enjoined. This is perhaps what Cyprian means when he says on Ac 2[38] *Jesu Christi mentionem facit Petrus, non quasi Pater omitteretur, sed ut Patri Filius quoque adjungeretur* (*Ep.* lxxiii. 17). In 1 Co 10[2], where the Israelites are said to have been 'baptized into Moses' (εἰς τὸν Μωυσῆν), the meaning is that they were baptized into obedience to him and acknowledgment of his authority, not that his name was called over them in some formula. See Lightfoot on 1 Co 1[13].

(4) The original form of words was 'into the name of Jesus Christ' or 'the Lord Jesus.' Baptism into the name of the Trinity was a later development. After the one mention of it, Mt 28[19], we do not find it again until Justin Martyr, and his formula is not identical with that in the Gospel: ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται (*Apol.* i. 61). It is probable that, when the Trinitarian formula had become usual, it was regarded as of divine authority, and was by some attributed to Christ Himself. This tradition is represented in Mt 28[19], and is perhaps an indication that the First Gospel in its extant form is later than the destruction of Jerusalem. That in the apostolic

* It is worth noting that in all the instances of baptism 'in' or 'into the name' the verb is in the passive. Except in the original charge, the phrase 'to baptize into the name' does not occur; it is always 'to be baptized into the name' or 'in the name.' This holds good of 1 Co 1[15] also, where εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα βάπτισα is a false reading, and ἐβαπτίσθητε (ℵABC* Ægyptt. Vulg. Arm.) is right. In the Eastern Churches the formula is not 'I baptize thee,' but βαπτίζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ; and this is probably more ancient than the Western formula familiar to us.

age there was no fixed formula is shown, not only by the difference between Matt. and the Acts, but by the difference between one passage in the Acts and another, and also by traces of other differences in the Epistles. Baptism 'into the name of the Lord Jesus' (Ac 8^{16} 19^{5}), or 'in the name of Jesus Christ' (2^{38} 10^{48}), or 'into Jesus Christ' (Ro 6^{3}), or 'into Christ' (Gal 3^{27}), had sufficed. Comp. *πριν γάρ, φησί, φορέσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, νεκρός ἐστιν* (Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 16. 3); where, however, *τοῦ υἱοῦ* is possibly an insertion (A omits).

Of these four explanations the second and third are far more satisfactory than the other two, and the third seems to be the best. It is a violent hypothesis to suppose that words of such importance as Mt 28^{19} were never spoken by Christ, and yet were authoritatively attributed to Him in the First Gospel. The insertion of the doxology after the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{13}) is not parallel. Not only is the insertion of less importance, being covered by genuine utterances of Christ as well as by 1 Ch 29^{11}, but it is absent from all the most ancient authorities, including all Greek and Latin commentators; whereas the baptismal formula in Mt 28^{19} is in all authorities without exception. It is as well attested as any saying of Christ which is recorded in one Gospel only. Nor does the variation of the Trinitarian formula given by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 61) cause any difficulty. He is not giving the exact words used in baptism, but is paraphrasing them, so as to make them a little more intelligible to the heathen whom he is addressing. It is reasonable to believe that Christ prescribed the Trinitarian formula, and that His command was obeyed.

(*b*) The *Recipients* of Christian baptism were required to repent and believe. This is set forth, both in the Lord's commands and also in the first instance of baptism on the Day of Pentecost. 'Peter said unto them, Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins' (Ac 2^{38}). Here repentance is expressed and faith in Jesus Christ is implied, as in the farewell charge to the apostles recorded by St. Luke: 'that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all the nations' (24^{47}). More often it is faith that is expressed and repentance that is implied, as in the charge recorded in the appendix to Mk: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned' ($16^{15,16}$). So also in the case of the jailer at Philippi (Ac $16^{31,33}$), of the Samaritans (8^{12}), of Cornelius and his company (10^{43-48}), and of the Corinthians (18^{8}). Compare the Western insertion Ac 8^{37}. Of the two requisites, faith is the one which more needs express statement. Repentance without faith in Christ was possible, as in the case of John's baptism. Faith in Christ without repentance was not possible. Comp. He 10^{22}.

All the instances just quoted (especially those of the converts on the Day of Pentecost, of Cornelius and his friends, and of the Philippian jailer and his household) tend to show that no great amount of instruction or preparation was at first required. But somewhat later, after the apostles, who had been a protection against the admission of unworthy candidates, had died out, and after the Church had had larger experience of unreal converts, much more care was taken to secure definite knowledge and hearty acceptance of the truths of the gospel.

This primitive freedom in admitting converts to baptism is in itself an argument in favour of *infant baptism*, although no baptism of an infant is expressly mentioned. Whole households were sometimes baptized, as those of Lydia, Crispus, the jailer, and Stephanas; and it is probable that there were children in at least some of these. There may also have been children among the three thousand baptized at Pentecost. According to the ideas then prevalent, the head of the family represented and summed up the family. In some respects the *paterfamilias* had absolute control of the members of his household (Maine, *Ancient Law*, ch. v.). And it would have seemed an unnatural thing that the father should make a complete change in his religious condition and that his children should be excluded from it. Moreover, the analogy of circumcision would lead Jewish converts to have their children baptized. Had there been this marked difference between the two rites,—that infants were admitted to the Jewish covenant, but not to the Christian,—the difference would probably have been pointed out; all the more so, because Christianity was the more comprehensive religion of the two. There is therefore *primâ facie* ground for believing that from the first infants were baptized. And this position is strengthened by general declarations of Christ Himself: 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me; forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God' (Mk 10^{14}). 'Except a man (*τις*) be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God' (Jn 3^{5}); where there is no intimation that children are exempted. On the contrary, the condition of children is given as the ideal for entrance into the kingdom (Mt 18^{3}).

But there is *primâ facie* evidence on the other side. Not only is there no mention of the baptism of infants, but there is no text from which such baptism can be securely inferred. 'Make disciples of all the nations' (Mt 28^{19}), implies those who are old enough to receive instruction. That little children may be brought to Christ, and are a type of Christian innocence, does not prove that they are fit to receive baptism. And we cannot be sure that Jn 3^{5} is meant to include infants, because Jesus often states general principles, and leaves His Church to find out the necessary limitations. An ordinance may be generally necessary to salvation, and yet not be suited to infants; which is the Western view of the Lord's Supper. Scripture tells us that repentance and faith are requisite for baptism. Assuming that infants have no need of repentance, can we assume that faith also may be dispensed with? Cyprian slurs this (*Ep.* lxiv. 5). He points out that adults must have faith, which includes repentance, and that infants have no sins of their own to repent of; but he is silent about infants' lack of faith. Those who maintain that the infantine state is a substitute for faith and repentance, must remember that faith and repentance are the conditions given in Scripture, and that the infantine state is not mentioned as an equivalent. It is probable that all that is said in Scripture about baptism refers to the baptism of adults. Until there were many Christian parents to whom children were born, the question of baptizing infants would be exceptional; and perhaps evangelists used their own discretion; for infant baptism is, at any rate, nowhere forbidden in Scripture.

(*c*) The *Minister* in baptism is not determined; and *lay baptism* is in much the same position as infant baptism. It can be neither proved nor disproved from Scripture. The commission to baptize was given in the first instance to the Eleven (Mt 28^{16-20}), but we are not sure that no others were present. Moreover, it is in virtue of Christ's presence ('Lo, I am with you alway') that they have the right to baptize; and this presence cannot be confined to the apostles. We are not told who baptized the three thousand at

Pentecost; and the apostles, if they baptized any, can hardly have baptized them all. Apparently, Ananias baptized St. Paul, but this is not clear (Ac 22[16]). He was 'a certain disciple' (9[10]), and 'a devout man according to the law' (22[12]), and presumably a layman. Peter commanded Cornelius and his company to be baptized (10[48]); and we assume that it was done by the brethren from Joppa, who are not said to be presbyters or deacons. From the silence of Scripture respecting the minister on these and other occasions, we may infer that an ordained minister is not essential.

(*d*) The *Rite* is nowhere described in detail; but the element was always water, and the mode of using it was commonly immersion. The symbolism of the ordinance required this. It was an act of purification; and hence the need of water. A death to sin was expressed by the plunge beneath the water, and a rising again to a life of righteousness by the return to light and air; and hence the appropriateness of immersion. Water is mentioned in Ac 8[38] 10[47], Eph 5[26], He 10[22]; and there is no mention of any other element. Immersion is implied in Ro 6[4] and Col 2[12]. But immersion was a desirable symbol rather than an essential. In the prison at Philippi it can hardly have been possible; and it is not very probable in the house of Cornelius. Wherever large numbers of both sexes were baptized, the difficulty of total immersion in each case must have been great. And if immersion better expresses the cleansing of the whole man, pouring better expresses the outpouring of the Spirit, whose operation is not dependent upon the amount of water, nor upon the manner of its application. Comp. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxix. 12.

As to the form of words used in baptizing, what has been said above may almost suffice. If from the first there was only one form, that form was Trinitarian; from the 2nd century it was certainly the only form. Justin's evidence (*Apol.* i. 61) has been quoted, and Tertullian describes the practice in his day: *nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tinguimur* (*Adv. Prax.* xxvi.).* Wherever St. Matthew's Gospel was received the Trinitarian formula would become obligatory; and that carries us back long before Justin Martyr. But it is possible that for a time the form of words varied.

The 'anointing' (2 Co 1[21], 1 Jn 2[27]) probably refers to baptism; but to anointing with the Spirit, not with oil. Yet unction at baptism is as old as Tertullian (*De Bapt.* vii.). The 'sealing' (2 Co 1[22], Eph 1[13] 4[30]) also may refer to baptism, but not to signing with the cross: ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστιν (Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 16. 4). Whether 'the good confession in the sight of many witnesses' (1 Ti 6[12]) refers to a profession of faith at Timothy's baptism (Ewald, Hausrath, Pfleiderer), is uncertain; the many witnesses point rather to ordination (Holtzmann). That the difficult passage 1 P 3[21] refers to the answers or pledges made by the candidates at baptism, is very doubtful.

V. The Doctrine of Christian Baptism.—Scripture teaches that baptism, rightly administered to those who are qualified by repentance and faith to receive it, has various beneficial results. These are closely connected, either as cause and effect, or as joint effects, or as different aspects of the same fact. But they are capable of analysis and of separate treatment. They are mainly (1) Regeneration or New Birth, (2) Divine Affiliation, (3) Cleansing from Sin, (4) Admission to the Church, (5) Union with Christ, (6) Gift of the Spirit, (7) Salvation.

* In the Eastern Churches trine immersion s regarded as the only valid form of baptism; and the Catechism explains that 'this trine immersion is a figure of the three days' burial of our Saviour, and of His resurrection' (Moschake, p. 42).

(1) Christ Himself said, 'Except a man be *born anew* (γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν), he cannot see the kingdom of God'; and He explained this as meaning, 'Except a man be *born of water and the Spirit*' (Jn 3[3. 5]), which until Calvin's day had universally been interpreted as referring to baptism. The metaphor was not new. Jews spoke of the admission of proselytes to Israel as a 'new birth.' 'Art thou the teacher of Israel, and understandest not these things?' (Jn 3[10]), perhaps refers to this common use of the phrase. But in any case 'water and Spirit' refer to the outward sign and inward gift at baptism as effecting a new birth. This is confirmed by St. Paul's '*laver of regeneration* (λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας) and renewing of the Holy Spirit' (Tit 3[5]), which also was universally understood as meaning baptism. And baptism is called 'washing of regeneration,' not merely because it symbolizes it, or pledges a man to it, but also, and chiefly, because it effects it (Holtzmann, Huther, Pfleiderer, Weiss).

(2) This new birth brings us into a new relationship to God: the baptized are made His *children* or *sons*. 'For ye are all *sons of God*, through faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ' (Gal 3[26. 27]). 'To them gave he the right to become children of God' (Jn 1[12]; comp. 1 Jn 4[7]). That being 'begotten of God' (1 Jn 3[9] 4[7] 5[4. 18]), or becoming a 'child of God' (1 Jn 3[1. 2. 10] 5[2]), or a 'son of God' (Ro 8[14. 19], Gal 3[26]), is synonymous with being 'born anew,' need not be doubted. The first birth is of man; the second or new birth is of God. So that it makes little matter whether we translate ἄνωθεν (Jn 3[3]) 'anew' with Justin (*Apol.* i. 61) and the Lat. and Eth. VSS, or 'from above' with Origen and most of the Greek Fathers. A new birth is a birth from above, and *vice versâ*. And the passages in which these expressions occur show that regeneration or being begotten by God does not mean merely a new *capacity* for change in the direction of goodness, but an actual change. The legal washings were actual external purifications. Baptism is actual internal purification.

(3) John's baptism was '*unto* remission of sins,' εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (Mk 1[4], Lk 3[3]). Christian baptism is not only this (Ac 2[38], Lk 24[47], where εἰς and not καί is the better reading), but it *confers remission of sins*. Ananias says to Saul: 'Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins' (Ac 22[16]; comp. 10[43] 13[38], He 10[22]). St. Paul, after glancing at the sinful past of the Corinthians in the days of their heathenism, continues: 'But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified,' etc. (1 Co 6[11]). And the same is said of all Christians; for 'Christ loved the Church, and gave himself up for it; that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word' (Eph 5[25. 26]).

(4) That baptism involved *admission to the Church* hardly needs to be more than stated. It was an instrument for this very purpose, analogous to circumcision. The recipient of baptism, like the recipient of circumcision, is admitted to a new external covenant and new spiritual privileges, and is thereby pledged to new duties. To say that a person is baptized, is to say that he has been admitted to the Christian communion. 'They then that received his word were baptized: and there were added unto them in that day about three thousand souls' (Ac 2[41]; comp. 1 Co 12[13]).

(5) As the Church is the body of Christ (Col 1[18]), to be admitted to the Church is to be *united with Christ*, and to become one of His members (1 Co 12[27]). 'For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ' (Gal 3[27]); and Christians' 'bodies are members of Christ' (1 Co 6[15]; comp. Eph 4[15. 16]). This is not only true in general, but in a special way baptism makes us partakers in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ. 'We

who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death. We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead . . . so we also might walk in newness of life' (Ro $6^{3,4}$; comp. Col $2^{12,20}$ 3^{1}). This great change is always spoken of as past, not as continuing (Ro $6^{8,18,22}$ $8^{2,15}$ etc.). The reference is to some definite occasion when it took place.

(6) That Christian baptism confers *the gift of the Spirit*, whereas John's baptism did not, was one of the most marked points of difference between them (Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{8}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn 1^{26}, Ac 19^{2-6}). 'In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body . . . and were all made to drink of one Spirit' (1 Co 12^{13}). And hence not only is the whole Church 'a habitation of God in the Spirit' (Eph 2^{22}; comp. 2 Co 6^{16}, 1 P 2^{5}), but each individual Christian is a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6^{19} 3^{16}). And 'the Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ' (Ro $8^{16,17}$).

(7) This involves one more result. Those who are 'joint heirs with Christ' have a pledge that they will one day enter into that inheritance which He now enjoys. It has various names. It is *salvation*. 'He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved' ([Mk] 16^{16}). Those who were added to the Church were 'those that were being saved' (Ac 2^{47}; comp. 16^{30}, 1 P $1^{3,4}$ 3^{21}). It is *the kingdom of God*. 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God' (Jn 3^{5}). It is *eternal life*. After speaking to Nicodemus of the necessity of being born anew of the Spirit, Christ says that God has sent Him into the world, 'that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life' (3^{15-17}). By baptism we are grafted into Him who is the life (14^{6}), and he that hath the Son hath the life (1 Jn 5^{12}). Those Jews who refused to be admitted into the Church 'judged themselves unworthy of eternal life' (Ac 13^{46}). In writing to Titus, St. Paul sums up several of these aspects of baptism (3^{5-7}).

These are the chief effects when valid baptism has been administered to those who are duly qualified by repentance and faith to receive it. But what is the result when these two sets of conditions are separated? There is the case of those who are qualified, but are not baptized. And there is the case of those who are baptized, but are not qualified. Simon Magus is an example of the latter. In Scripture there is no certain instance of the former, nor any express statement respecting such. But the solution afterwards reached throws light on scriptural language, and may be briefly mentioned here.

It was universally held that a catechumen who was martyred before baptism was a member of Christ. His 'baptism of blood' supplied the deficiency. But a catechumen who was willing to suffer for the faith, and yet died without martyrdom or baptism, seemed to be equally a member of Christ; as Ambrose contends (*De obitu Valent. Consol.* 52; Migne, xvi. 1375). This led to a general concession that the faithful unbaptized may possess the substance of regeneration before baptism; and this involved a modification of the doctrine as to the actual effect of baptism upon the faithful recipient. As early as Tertullian we find the admission: *Lavacrum illud est obsignatio fidei; quæ fides a pœnitentiæ fide incipitur et commendatur. Non ideo abluimur ut delinquere desinamus, quoniam jam corde loti sumus* (*De Pœn.* vi.). Baptism is a seal (*σφραγίς, signaculum*). The metaphor was used of circumcision (Ro 4^{11}), and was very early transferred to baptism (?2 Co 1^{22}, ? Rev 9^{4}): see reff. in Suicer, *s.v.*. and in Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* ii. 226. A seal makes a document formally complete; but the document may be binding without it. And if before baptism *jam corde loti sumus*, what is this but regeneration? Nevertheless, to regard baptism as a mere form which may be neglected with impunity would be arrogant disobedience, like the first attitude of Naaman towards Elisha; and such disobedience would be evidence that the inward justification had not taken place. An unbaptized believer is like a testator who has made a will but has not signed it. He may die without signing it. If it is clear that he had full intention of signing, and was merely waiting for suitable witnesses, the will may be accepted as a valid expression of his wishes. But if he has postponed the signature indefinitely, the presumption is that he was not decided as to his intentions. It is the contempt of baptism when it may be had, not the lack of it when it may not, that is perilous.

The case of Simon Magus is very different. He was baptized without repentance and faith. Was that a mere empty form? By no means. He was admitted to the Christian body, and received the baptismal *character*. The technical name for such a person was *Fictus, i.e.* one who received baptism unworthily. And it was held from the first that God always does His part in the baptismal contract, whether the baptized can avail himself of it or no. The grace which the *Fictus*, through unworthiness, could not receive at the time of baptism, was always ready for him when repentance and faith made him worthy. He had ceased to be a heathen, and had received a Christian title, which could be made good by change of heart. This doctrine follows of necessity from the doctrine that baptism is generally necessary, and yet may not be repeated. Otherwise, the case of the unworthy recipient would be hopeless. His first baptism would be without effect; and he may not have a second. But it is because his baptism has done all that is required, if only he makes himself capable of profiting by it, that he may not have it repeated. Simon is exhorted to repent, not with a view to a second baptism, but to the forgiveness which would have been his had his baptism been worthily received, and which may still be won (Ac 8^{22}). When whole tribes were baptized at once, baptism without the necessary repentance and faith must have been common. But this defect was not irreparable; and meanwhile the baptized had a title to spiritual blessings which could be appropriated by change of heart.

Mutatis mutandis the same principle may hold respecting the baptism of infants. At baptism the infant receives remission of the guilt of original sin, admission to the Christian community, and a title to heavenly gifts to be appropriated afterwards. Scriptural doctrine refers to the baptism of adults who are qualified by repentance and faith. The application of that doctrine to infants is an uncertain inference; and we must be cautious in drawing it. Caution is also required in estimating the statements of Christian writers of the first three centuries respecting baptismal regeneration. We must consider two points especially. (1) Is the writer speaking of the baptism of adults or of that of infants? With us, if nothing is said to the contrary, baptism commonly means infant baptism. Early Christian writers would almost always have the baptism of adults in their minds. (2) In what sense does he use the word 'regeneration'? Sometimes it is a mere synonym for the fact of baptism. In Scripture every Christian is hypothetically a saint: and so every baptized person is hypothetically regenerate. It is assumed that the baptism has been in all respects complete. In this sense, to call an infant 'regenerate' may mean no more than

that it has been baptized, and may be no evidence of the writer's convictions as to the immediate effect of baptism on infants.

LITERATURE.—For the abundant literature on baptism, see Smith, *DB*[2] i. 354, and *Dict. of Chr. Ant.* i. 172; Schaff-Herzog, *Encycl.*[3] i. 198, 209; Herzog, *RE*[2] xv. 251. The following may be selected. For the subject in general, the articles on baptism in Smith, *DB* and *Dict. of Chr. Ant.* For patristic comments on Scripture, Suicer, *s.v.*, and Pusey, *Scriptural Views of Baptism*, being *Tracts for the Times*, 67, 68, 69; for Cyprian in particular, the index in Hartel, ii. 375–377; and for Augustine, the index in Migne, xlvi. 102–111. For the philosophical argument, Mozley, *Review of the Baptismal Controversy*. For the archæology, Martene, *De Ant. Eccles. Ritibus*; Goar, *Euchologion Græcorum*; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus. d. Christ. Archäologie*, vii.; Kraus, *Real-Encykl. d. Christ. Alterth.* ii.; Höfling, *Das Sacrament d. Taufe*. Bingham is somewhat disappointing, but later editions supply certain defects. For picturesque description, Stanley, *Christian Institutions*.

A. PLUMMER.

BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD.—The expression *οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*, 'those who are baptized for the dead,' has from early times been a perplexity to expositors, and with our present knowledge it is impossible to do more than determine the direction in which a correct solution may be found. It is possible to show what kind of interpretation the language of 1 Co 15[29] requires; and, when this is done, other kinds of interpretation are excluded as impossible.

The interpretations are very numerous. Horsley (see below) has collected thirty-six, and it would perhaps be possible to add to the number. It is well that such collections should be made for reference, but it is not necessary to multiply them. The thirty-six are classified under three heads: four explain the text by a reference to legal purifications; three of metaphorical baptism, *e.g.* being baptized in calamity; twenty-nine of sacramental baptism. A more simple and useful classification is that into those which explain *οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* as referring to *ordinary Christian baptism*, and those which make it refer to *something abnormal*.

1. The ablest exposition of the first kind of explanation in its best form is probably that of T. S. Evans in the *Speaker's Commentary* (iii. pp. 372, 373). He contends that the view of the Greek expositors is unquestionably right, and that *ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* means, '*with an interest in the resurrection* of the dead,' *i.e.* 'in expectation of the resurrection.' The objections to this kind of interpretation are three. (1) *οἱ βαπτ. ὑπὲρ τ. ν.* seem to be a special class, and not all Christians in general. (2) There is no instance in NT, if anywhere at all, of this use of *ὑπέρ*. (3) The ellipse of *τῆς ἀναστάσεως* is very violent. If St. Paul had wanted to abbreviate *τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν*, he would have omitted *τῶν νεκρῶν*, which is superfluous, rather than *τῆς ἀναστάσεως*, which is vital.

2. The reference is clearly to something abnormal. There was some baptismal rite known to the Corinthians which would be meaningless without a belief in the resurrection. The passage does not imply that St. Paul approves of this abnormal rite, but simply that it exists and implies the doctrine of the resurrection. And here all certainty ends. We cannot determine what this rite was. The practice of *vicarious baptism*, *i.e.* of baptizing living proxies in place of those who had died unbaptized, unquestionably existed in some quarters in Tertullian's time (*De Resur.* 48; *Adv. Marcion*, v. 10), but probably only among heretics. And the practice may easily have grown out of an ignorant 'wresting' of this 'hard to be understood' (2 P 3[16]) saying of St. Paul. We have no knowledge that this vicarious baptism was practised by any religious body in St. Paul's day.

LITERATURE.—For collections of interpretations and for the literature of the subject, see an article on Necrobaptism, by Rev. J. W. Horsley, in the *Newbery House Magazine* for June 1889; the notes in Meyer, Alford, Stanley, and Wordsworth; Suicer, *Thesaurus*, 640.

A. PLUMMER.

BAPTIST.—See JOHN THE BAPTIST.

BAR.—The Aram. word for 'son'; in Aram. parts of Ezr and Dn constantly; four times in Heb. (Pr 31[2 ter], Ps 2[12] [if text correct]). It is used, especially in NT times, as the first component part of several names of persons, as Barabbas, Bar-jesus, Bar-jonah, Barnabas, Barsabbas, Bartholomew, Bartimæus,—which see in their places.

J. H. THAYER.

BARABBAS.—The Greek form of the name *Βαραββᾶς* represents the Aramaic Bar-abba = 'son of the teacher' or 'of the master.' The name is not rare in the Talm. (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Mt 27[16]), and one instance indicates that Abba may sometimes have been a proper name. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, p. 406) prefers Bar-rabban (the form preserved in the Harclean Syr.), which would mean 'son of a Rabbi.' So also Ewald. All four evangelists mention Barabbas as the criminal whom the hierarchy urged the multitude to demand in preference to Jesus Christ, whom Pilate offered to release in honour of the Passover. We are told that Barabbas was 'a notable prisoner' (Mt 27[16]), 'who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder' (Lk 23[19]), 'was lying bound with them that had made insurrection' (Mk 15[7]), and that he was a 'robber' or brigand (Jn 18[40]). He may have been connected with the two 'robbers' who were crucified with Jesus; but we cannot be sure that the *στασιασταί* of Mk 15[7] include the two robbers. The *στάσις*, or 'insurrection,' in which Barabbas took part was perhaps a looting of houses rather than a popular uprising.

The name 'Jesus' before that of Barabbas in Mt 27[16, 17] is an interesting reading found in a few cursives, in the Armenian Version, and in some copies of the Jerusalem Syriac. With this insertion Pilate's question runs thus: 'Whom will ye that I release unto you? Jesus Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?' This reading was known to Origen; and he does not condemn it, although he thinks that the many MSS which omit the 'Jesus' are probably right. Ewald (*Life of Christ*, p. 241), Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, p. 406), Trench (*Studies in the Gospels*, p. 296), and others defend the reading; and Meyer conjectures that the common name suggested the substitution of one Jesus for another. But the reading is rejected by all the best critics. It would be amazing that the true reading should be lost from all uncials, nearly all cursives, and all the more ancient versions. The words of Jerome, *ad loc.*, do not necessarily imply that 'Jesus Barabbas' was the reading in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. He says: *Iste in evangelio quod scribitur juxta Hebræos* filius magistri eorum *interpretatur*; which may mean that this document contained the words, 'Barabbas, which being interpreted is, *Son of their Master*.' But if the Gospel according to the Hebrews had 'Jesus, Son of their Master' for 'Jesus Barabbas,' then this may be the source from which the name 'Jesus' got into some copies of St. Matthew. If the name was not in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, then we may adopt Tregelles' conjecture, that the interpolation arose first in v.[17] through accidental repetition of the last two letters of *ἡμῖν*, the second IN being afterwards interpreted as an abbreviation of *Ἰησοῦν*. The copies known to Origen seem to have had the *Ἰησοῦν* in v.[17] only. That Barabbas had this name, and that the evangelists missed the startling coincidence, is not probable.

A. PLUMMER.

BARACHEL (בְּרַכְאֵל 'he whom God blesses').—Only in Job $32^{2.6}$. The father of Elihu, described as 'the Buzite,' probably a descendant of Buz, second son of Milcah and Nahor, Gn 22^{21}. See BUZ.

W. T. DAVISON.

BARAK (בָּרָק, Βαράκ, 'lightning-flash.' The name is found in Punic, *Barcas*, surname of Hamilcar; Sabæan, ברקם; Palmyrene, ברק; de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, lxxvi. 2; Ledrain, *Dict. des Noms Propres Palmyr.* 1887, *s.v.*), son of Abinoam; his history is recorded in Jg 4 and 5. He was summoned by Deborah to be her ally in the struggle against the Canaanites. He dwelt in Kedesh-naphtali (Jg 4^{6}), and was probably a member of the tribe of Issachar (5^{15}). Hence he belonged to the district which had suffered most at the hands of the Canaanites: perhaps he had been actually their prisoner.* He receives from Deborah the plan of the campaign; he is to move his troops, 10,000 men of Naphtali and Zebulun, in the direction of Mt. Tabor, while she undertakes to attract Sisera's army towards the same place, and promises to deliver Sisera himself into his hands ($4^{6.7}$). The writer does not regard B.'s urgent request that Deborah should go with him as worthy of blame; nor is it necessary to interpret the prophetess' announcement that the honour of the expedition will not be his but a woman's, as a punishment for his hesitation (see Moore, *Judges*, p. 117). B. collects his forces at Kedesh, moves to Tabor, and opens the engagement by a rush down the mountain ($4^{10.12.14}$, cf. 5^{15}); the battle is fought out at the foot. In ch. 5, on the other hand, the battle takes place along the right bank of the Kishon (vv.$^{19-21}$). The Canaanites routed, B. pursues them to Harosheth, and then follows Sisera on foot, and comes up to the tent of Jael to find him lying dead, with a tent-peg through his temples. According to 5^{1}, B. joined Deborah in singing the Ode of Triumph in ch. 5.

In 1 S 12^{11} the LXX, Pesh., and many moderns read Barak for Bedan. B. thus becomes a representative leader along with Jerubbaal, Jephthah, and Samson (?). This agrees with the impression as to B.'s position which we gain from Jg 5.

G. A. COOKE.

BARBARIAN.—St. Paul (1 Co 14^{11}), wishing to emphasize the fact that the *tongues* with which those possessed of the Holy Ghost spoke were not any intelligible forms of speech, and that hence they required an interpreter also inspired, says, 'If then I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be to him that speaketh a *barbarian*, and he that speaketh will be a *barbarian* unto me.' Here he uses the word in its proper sense as one who spoke unintelligibly. So Homer, in whom the word first occurs, speaks of the Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι (*Il.* ii. 867), the Carians who spoke in a strange tongue. Since the word *Barbarh* means in the earliest Arm. the *language* of a race or people, Homer may have meant the Carians who spoke a *barbarh*, that having been the Carian word for their national language. However this be, the word Barbarian means all through Gr. literature a man who did not speak Greek, especially the Medes, Persians, and Orientals generally. The Romans or Latins were called Barbarians by the Greeks even to the latest days of the Byzantine Empire, and at first even called their own tongue Barbarian; though from the Augustan age onward they excepted their own tongue. In the same way Philo, a Hellenized Jew, calls his native Heb. a *barbarian* tongue, and states (*Vita Mosis*, § 5, vol. ii. p. 138) that the Law was translated from Chaldaic into Greek because it was too valuable a treasure to be enjoyed by only the *Barbaric* half of the human race.

In Col 3^{11} St. Paul speaks of 'Greek and Jew, . . . *barbarian*, Scythian.' Yet the Scythians were typical barbarians. But the context proves that St. Paul is not here aiming at a scientific division of the human race. Elsewhere (*e.g.* Ro 1^{14}) he adopts the current phraseology: 'I am debtor both to Greeks and to *Barbarians*,' where the later phrase (v.^{16}), 'to the Jew first, and also to the Greek,' proves that, like Philo, St. Paul conventionally called his own countrymen *barbarians*. The *barbarous* people in Malta (Ac 28^{2}) were probably old Phœnician settlers, and the epithet only means that they were not a Greek-speaking population.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

BARBER (גַּלָּב, Ezk 5^{1} only).—Shaving the head is a very common custom in Eastern countries. In India, many of the religious sects are distinguished by the manner in which the head is shaved. Some leave a tuft of hair on the crown of the head, others a tuft above each ear. In Syria, old men frequently have the whole head shaved and allow the beard to grow. Young men shave the cheeks and the chin, and cut the hair of the head short. The upper lip is never shaved except in S. India, where it is done as a sign of mourning. Absence of the moustache is looked upon, in Syria, as a sign of the want of virility. The barber plies his trade in any convenient place—by the roadside, or in the courtyard of a khan. The ground serves as a seat both for the operator and the person operated on; a tin or copper basin holds the water required; and the hands of the patient, passed over the head or the chin, tell him whether the work has been done satisfactorily or not. The barber also eradicates superfluous hairs from the nose, ears, and other parts of the body; removes accumulations of wax from the ears; and performs the operations of tooth-extraction and blood-letting.

W. CARSLAW.

BARCHUS (B Βαχούς, A Βαρχοῦε, AV **Charchus**, 1 Es 5^{32}) = BARKOS, Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}. The AV form is taken from the Aldine ed. (Χαρκούς).

BARIAH (בָּרִיחַ 'fleeing').—A son of Shemaiah (1 Ch 3^{22}). See GENEALOGY.

BARJESUS (Βαριησοῦς), a man described in Ac 13^{6} as 'magian, prophet of lies, Jew,' whom Paul and Barnabas, travelling in Cyprus, found in the train of the proconsul Sergius Paulus, as one of the *amici* or *comites* who always accompanied a Rom. governor. In Jos. *Ant.* xx. vii. 2 we find a similar case: Simon, 'a Jew, by birth a Cypriot, and pretending to be a magian' (observe the striking, though not exact, similarity of the triplet), was one of the 'friends' of Felix, the procurator of Judæa, and was used by him to seduce Drusilla from her husband Azizus, king of Emesa. Such men, probably Bab. Jews, 'skilled in the lore and uncanny arts and strange powers of the Median priests' (cf. Mt $2^{7.16}$),—not simply sorcerers and fortune-tellers, but 'men of science,' as they would now be called (being then beyond their age in acquaintance with the powers and processes of nature), and not mere isolated self-constituted pretenders, but representatives of an Oriental system and religion,—appear to have been numerous at that period, and to have exerted considerable influence on the Rom. world. It was with a system, therefore, rather than with a man, that the representatives of the system ('the way') of Christ, also struggling for influence in the Rom. empire, came here into conflict. The proconsul, 'a man of practical ability' (συνετός), interested, we may suppose, in nature and philosophy, but, as συνετός,

* Many translate 5^{12} 'lead captive thy captors,' pointing שׁבֶיךָ for שָׁבְיֶךָ.

not to be thought of as under ascendency, enjoyed the society of this man. But, hearing that there were just now two travelling teachers in Cyprus, and taking them to be of the class that went about giving demonstrations in rhetoric and moral philosophy, and sometimes ended by settling down as professors in the great universities, he invited, or 'commanded,' their presence at his court. The exposition of Christianity then given by Paul and Barnabas clearly produced upon Sergius Paulus a considerable impression; for Barjesus found it necessary to oppose them openly, and divert the proconsul from the faith by 'perverting the ways of the Lord,' lest he should be supplanted in his position, his power and his gains; because (according to the apt and interesting expansion of the Codex Bezæ) the proconsul 'was listening with much pleasure to them.' Then 'Saul, who was also Paul,'—*i.e.* standing forth (for the first time in the narrative), suitably to the occasion, as a Rom. citizen named Paul,—faced the wonder-worker in a manner, so to say, after his own kind, yet surpassing it, and wrought a wonder upon the worker himself, proving to the proconsul, already deeply impressed, that behind Paul stood a divine power.

In ver. 8 the phrase 'Elymas, the magian, for so is his name translated,' is somewhat perplexing. It certainly looks, at the outset, as though *Elymas* (now first introduced as a second appellation of Barjesus) ought to be a tr. of that name; but this cannot be. *Elymas*—which is the Gr. form either of an Aram. word *alīmā*=*strong*, or, as is more probable, of an Arab. word *'alīm*, *wise* (cf. the Arab. plural *ulema*, *the order of the learned*, and the 'wise men' and 'wise women' of our folk-lore)—is here more reasonably (though this solution of the difficulty is not quite satisfactory) tr. by *μάγος*. Codex D (Bezæ), with its Latin *d*, alone differs from other uncials, and reads Ἑτοιμᾶς, *son of the ready*, a reading strangely accepted by Klostermann, Blass, and Ramsay (to whose *St. Paul the Traveller* this article is under special obligation; see pp. 73 ff.). But neither will this do as a synonym for *Barjesus*, or for the Syr. *Barshemâ*, *son of the Name* (*i.e.* Jesus). The origin of the variant Ἑτοιμᾶς is a mystery; perhaps it was itacism, *οι* =*υ*. But the versional and patristic variants for Barjesus, such as Bariesouan (or -am), Bariesubam, and Barieu (*maleficus*, Jerome), appear to be due to a desire of copyists to avoid associating the name of Jesus with one whom St. Paul calls *son of the devil*.

J. Massie.

BARJONAH.—See Bar and Peter.

BARKOS (בַּרְקוֹס, cf. Bab. Barḳûsu).—Ancestor of certain Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}=Barchus, 1 Es 5^{32}). See Genealogy.

BARLEY (שְׂעֹרָה *sĕ'ôrâh*, κριθή, *hordeum*).—Barley (Arab. *sha'îr*) is a well-known grain, of which several varieties are cultivated, *Hordeum distichum*, *H. tetrastichum*, and *H. hexastichum*, the wild originals of which are not known. One of the wild species of the genus *Hordeum* in Pal., however, approaches the cultivated species near enough to make it possible that it may be the stock, or a partial reversion of cultivated barley to type. It is *H. ithaburense*, Boiss (*H. spontaneum*, Koch), which grows abundantly in Galilee, in the region of Merj 'Ayûn, and in places in the Syrian desert between Palmyra and Hamath. It differs from *H. distichum* by the smaller size of its spikes and grains, and the great length of its awns, which are sometimes a foot long.

Barley is cultivated everywhere in Palestine, principally as provender for horses (1 K 4^{28}) and asses. It takes the place of oats in Europe and America, as the cut straw of barley and wheat takes the place of hay. It is also used among the poor for bread, as in ancient times (Jg 7^{13}, 2 K 4^{42}, Jn $6^{9.\ 13}$, and cakes Ezk 4^{12}). It was mixed with other cheap grains for the same purpose (Ezk 4^{9}). When any one wishes to express the extremity of his poverty, he will say, 'I have not barley bread to eat.' This fact illustrates several allusions to barley in Scripture. Barley meal was the jealousy offering (Nu 5^{15}); it is mentioned by Ezekiel as the fee paid to false prophetesses by people who consulted them (Ezk 13^{19}); it was the symbol of the poverty of Gideon's family, and his own low estate in that family; by a 'barley cake' Midian's great host was to be overthrown (Jg 7^{13}).

The barley harvest begins in April in the depth of the Jordan Valley, and continues to be later as we ascend to the higher mountains, till, at an altitude of 6500 ft., it takes place in July and August. It was probably the time of the barley harvest when the Israelites crossed the Jordan (Jos 3^{15}). It is earlier than the wheat harvest (Ex $9^{31.\ 32}$). The barley harvest was a recognised date (Ru 1^{22}, 2 S $21^{9.\ 10}$), varying, of course, with the altitude. Barley is sown in Oct. and Nov. That which is sown in the districts below the frost level continues to grow through the rainy season till the harvest. That which is sown on the high mountain levels springs up, the top dies under the snow, and then the biennial stalk springs up when the snow melts, and grows with great rapidity and vigour. Barley is not sown in the spring in Pal. and Syria.

G. E. Post.

BARLEY HARVEST.—See Time.

BARN.—See Agriculture.

BARNABAS (Βαρνάβας, בַּרְנַבּוּאָה 'the son of exhortation').—A name given by the disciples to Joseph, a Levite of Cyprus (Ac 4^{36}). He is clearly to be distinguished from 'Joseph called Barsabbas' (Ac 1^{23}), though there is ancient authority for identifying him with one of the seventy disciples of our Lord (Euseb. *HE* i. 12; Clem. Alex. *Misc.* ii. 20). When we first hear of B., it is as selling a field,—for the old Mosaic enactments forbidding Levites to possess land (Nu $18^{20.\ 23}$, Dt 10^{9}) had long since fallen into abeyance (see Jer 32^{7}),—and laying the price at the apostles' feet (Ac $4^{36.\ 37}$). The general esteem in which he was held is proved by the influence which he exerted in commending the young convert Saul to the apostles at Jerus. (Ac 9^{27}). The way in which the two are introduced inclines one to the belief that B. and Saul must have met before—a belief which is rendered the more probable by the near proximity of Cyprus to Tarsus, and the natural wish of B. as a Hellenist to visit the university there. In any case, B. seems from the first to have formed a high idea of Saul's ability and energy; for when despatched to Antioch on a delicate mission, he had no sooner discovered the growing capabilities of the work there than he 'went forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul'; and when he had brought him to Antioch, 'for a whole year they were gathered together with the Church, and taught much people' (Ac $11^{25.\ 26}$, A.D. 42). 'Thus, twice over, did B. save Saul for the work of Christianity' (Farrar). A practical proof of the success of their joint labours was afforded by the relief which the Church at Antioch despatched by their hands to the elders at Jerus. on the prophetic intimation of a coming famine (Ac $11^{27\text{-}30}$). On their return to Antioch the two friends were, at the bidding of the Holy Ghost, solemnly separated and ordained for the work of the Church (Ac $13^{2.\ 3}$); and from this time, though not of the number of the twelve, they enjoyed the title of apostle

(Ac 14[4.14]. On the significance of the title, see Lightfoot, *Gal.* 92 ff. and art. APOSTLE). Accordingly, B. accompanied Saul (or, as he was now to be known, Paul) on his first missionary journey, visiting first of all his native Cyprus (A.D. 45). Later at Lystra, perhaps from his tall and venerable appearance, he was identified with Jupiter, while Paul, as the chief speaker, passed for Mercury (Ac 14[12]). The journey ended, as it had begun, at Antioch, and from this city B. once more accompanied Paul and certain other brethren to Jerus. to consult with the apostles and elders regarding the necessity of circumcision for Gentile converts (Ac 15[1ff.]). It is remarkable that in this narrative B. is mentioned before Paul (v.[12]), contrary to the usual order of the names since Ac 13[43] (cf. however Ac 14[14]). He may perhaps have spoken first as the better-known of the two, and also as the one to whom the judaizing section of the assembly would take less exception. After the conference the two apostles returned to their old task of teaching and preaching in Antioch (Ac 15[35]), and in A.D. 49 planned a second missionary journey to revisit the scenes of their former labours (Ac 15[36]). But they were unable to agree upon taking with them John Mark, who had formerly deserted them, and the contention was so sharp 'that they parted asunder one from the other.' B. took Mark, who was his cousin, and sailed to Cyprus; while Paul chose Silas, and journeyed through Syria and Cilicia. From the fact of Paul's being specially 'commended by the brethren to the grace of God,' it would seem as if the general feeling of the Church were on his side rather than on the side of Barnabas. B. is not again mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; but from the respect and sympathy with which St. Paul subsequently refers to him in his Epp. (1 Co 9[6], Gal 2[13] 'even Barnabas,' Col 4[10]), we are entitled to infer that though they did not again actually work together, the old friendship was not forgotten. There is no hist. ground for identifying B., as some are inclined to do, with 'the brother' whom St. Paul sent on a mission to the Corinthians (2 Co 8[18]); but from 1 Co 9[6] we learn that B., like Paul, earned his livelihood by the work of his hands, while Col 4[10] has been taken as proving that by this time (about A.D. 63) B. must have been dead, else Mark would not have rejoined Paul (cf. 2 Ti 4[11], 1 P 5[13]). For an account of B.'s further labours and death we are dependent upon untrustworthy tradition.

It is interesting, however, to notice that the authorship of the Ep. to the Hebrews is attributed to B. by Tertullian (see HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO), while there is still extant an Epistle of B. which, acc. to external evidence, is the work of this B., but on internal grounds this conclusion is now generally disputed. (See the arguments briefly stated in Hefele, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, p. ix ff., and more fully in the same writer's *Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas aufs neue untersucht, übersetzt, und erklärt*, Tüb. 1840. Cf. also Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*.)

G. MILLIGAN.

BARODIS (Βαρωδεὶς), 1 Es 5[34].—There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

BARRENNESS.—As parental authority was the germ and mould of patriarchal social life, it followed that to be without offspring was to exist in name only. To have had children and to have lost them was the strongest possible claim upon sympathy. With Jacob it was the crown of sorrow (Gn 42[36] 43[14]). It was this desolation in its most distressing form which the Lord Jesus met in the funeral procession at Nain (Lk 7[12]).

But to be a wife without motherhood has always been regarded in the East not merely as a matter of regret, but as a reproach, a humiliation that might easily lead to divorce. It is a constant source of embarrassment, as the welfare of the children is a never-omitted subject of inquiry in Oriental salutation. Courtesy sometimes gives the dignity of fatherhood, the name Abu-Abdullah (father-of-Abdullah) to a man advancing in years without children to bear his name. Sarah's sad laughter of despair (Gn 18[12]), Hannah's silent pleading (1 S 1[10ff.]), Rachel's passionate alternative of children or death (Gn 30[1]),—all this and such-like wretchedness of spirit may be found familiarly repeated in the homes of modern Syria (see CHILDREN). The fruitfulness or sterility of land are, much in the same way, regarded as bringing satisfaction or disappointment to man, and as implying the blessing or curse of God (Dt 7[13], Ps 107[24ff.]).

G. M. MACKIE.

BARSABBAS.— See JOSEPH BARSABBAS and JUDAS BARSABBAS.

BARTACUS (Βάρτακος, Jos. Ῥαβεζάκης, Vulg. *Bezaces*, O.L. *Bœzaces, Bezzachus*).—The father of Apame, the concubine of Darius (1 Es 4[29]). The epithet attaching to him, 'the illustrious' (ὁ θαυμαστός), was probably an official title. The name Bartacus (which appears as ארטק in the Syriac) recalls that of Artachæas (Ἀρταχαίης), mentioned by Herod. (vii. 22. 117) as a person of high position in the Persian army of Xerxes.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BARTHOLOMEW (Βαρθολομαῖος).—One of the apostles, according to the lists of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Acts (1[13]). Both by the early Church and in modern times Bartholomew has been generally identified with Nathanael of the Fourth Gospel, although important authorities can be cited in opposition to this view. The strongest arguments in favour of the identification are—(1) that Bartholomew is never mentioned by St. John, nor Nathanael by the Synoptists; (2) that in the lists of the Synoptists, Bartholomew is coupled with Philip, which tallies with St. John's statement that it was Philip that brought Nathanael to Jesus. It is easy to understand how St. John, with his fondness for symbolism, should have preferred the name Nathanael (=God has given it) to the mere patronymic Bartholomew (=son of Talmai). Supposing the identity established, we know nothing of Nathanael Bar-Talmai further than is recorded in Jn 1[45-51] 21[2] (see NATHANAEL). The traditions as to his preaching the gospel in India and his martyrdom are entitled to no credit.

J. A. SELBIE.

BARTIMÆUS (Βαρτίμαιος, *i.e.* the son of Timæus, a name variously derived from the Gr. τιμαῖος, honourable; or from the Arab. *aṣamm*, blind; or from Aram. *ṭamya*, unclean, polluted).—One of two blind beggars healed by our Lord at the gate of Jericho, and whose name alone is given, apparently from his having been the spokesman (Mk 10[46-52], cf. Mt 20[29-34], Lk 18[35-43]). St. Luke speaks of the healing as taking place as Jesus came nigh unto Jericho, while St. Matt. and St. Mark say that it was as He went out. Various explanations have been offered, as that one blind man was healed at the entrance to old Jericho, and the other, B., as Jesus left the new town which had sprung up at some little distance from it. Perhaps what actually happened was that B., begging at the gate of Jericho, was told that Jesus with His company had entered the city, and having heard of His power, sought out a blind companion, along with whom he intercepted Jesus as He left the city the next day, and then was healed (so substantially Bengel, Stier, Trench, Ellicott, Wordsworth, M'Clellan). If this be so, we have fresh evidence of the persistence of purpose which throughout the

incident B. displayed; while the strong faith which led him to address Jesus by His Messianic title, 'Thou Son of David,' ought not to pass unnoticed.

G. MILLIGAN.

BARUCH (בָּרוּךְ 'blessed'), son of Neriah, was of a very illustrious family (Jos. *Ant.* X. ix. 1), his brother Seraiah being chief chamberlain (שַׂר מְנוּחָה) to Zedekiah (Jer 51^{59}). His chief honour, however, lay in his being the devoted friend and secretary of the prophet Jeremiah. Every great soul has, in degree, its Gethsemane: and this event came to Baruch (Jer 45) while writing (LXX ἔγραφεν) at Jeremiah's dictation a number of minatory prophecies against Jerusalem, which he was charged to read on a fast day in the courts of the temple (Jer 36^{1-6}). The stern words, 'Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not,' braced the young nobleman to 'drink the cup'—to face the wrathful multitude, and to read the prophecies of desolation and woe, which king Jehoiakim afterwards burned (Jer 36^{9-26}). We next find Baruch (Jer 32) as witness to the purchase by Jeremiah of a field in Anathoth, at a time when the prophet was in prison and the Chaldæans had been for months besieging Jerusalem. When the city fell during the following year, B.C. 586, Baruch resided with the prophet at Masphatha (Jos. *Ant.* X. ix. 1). But after the murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael, the people, afraid of the wrath of the Chaldæans, and imputing the advice of Jeremiah to remain in Judæa (Jer 42) to the undue influence of Baruch over him (Jer 43^{3}), compelled both of them to go with them to Egypt (Jer 43^{4-7}). How long he resided in Egypt is uncertain. Jerome gives as the Heb. tradition that he and Jeremiah died there almost at once (*Comment. in Is.* xxx. 6, 7). Josephus implies that they were both taken to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar after he had conquered Egypt, B.C. 583 (*Ant.* X. ix. 7). Another tradition states that he remained in Egypt till the death of Jeremiah, and then went to Babylon, where he died twelve years after the fall of Jerusalem (Hitzig on Nah 3^{8-11}). With strange disregard of chronology, Midrash rabba on Ca 5^{5} speaks of Baruch as teacher of Ezra in B.C. 458, and thus as forming the link of connexion between the prophets and the scribes.

J. T. MARSHALL.

BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF.—The discovery of the long lost Apocalypse of Baruch is due to Ceriani. This book has survived only in the Syr. version, of which Ceriani had the good fortune to discover a 6th cent. MS in the Milan Library. Of this MS he published a Latin tr. in 1866 (*Mon. Sacr.* I. ii. 73–98), which Fritzsche reproduced with some changes in 1871 (*Libri Apocryphi V.T.* pp. 654–699). The Syr. text appeared in 1871 (*Mon. Sacr.* V. ii. 113–180), and a photo-lithographical facsimile of the MS in 1883. A fragment of this book has long been known to the world, viz. chs. lxxviii.–lxxxvii., which constitute Baruch's Epistle to the nine and a half tribes that had been carried away captive. This letter is to be found in the London and Paris Polyglots in Syr. with a Latin rendering; in Syr. alone in Lagarde's *Libri V.T. Apocryphi Syriace*, 1861. The Latin tr. is also found in Fabricius' *Cod. Pseudepig. V.T.*, and the English in Whiston's *Authentic Records*.

i. THE SYRIAC VERSION IS DERIVED FROM THE GREEK.—That this is so is to be inferred on various grounds. First, this statement is actually made on the Syr. MS. In the next place, we find that Gr. words are occasionally transliterated. Finally, some passages admit of explanation only on the hypothesis that the wrong alternative meanings of certain Gr. words were followed by the translator.

ii. THE GREEK VERSION WAS DERIVED FROM THE HEBREW.—For (1) the quotations from OT agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against the LXX. (2) Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retrans. into Hebrew. (3) Certain anomalies in the Syriac can be accounted for as survivals of Heb. idiom. (4) Many paronomasiæ discover themselves on retrans. into Hebrew. (This and all other questions affecting our Apoc. are fully dealt with in Charles' *Apoc. of Baruch*, 1896.)

iii. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK.—The author, or rather authors, of this book write in the name of Baruch, the son of Neriah, for literary purposes. The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and the time embraces the period immediately preceding and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldæans. Baruch speaks throughout in the first person. He begins by declaring that in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, king of Judah, the word of the Lord came unto him. It is noteworthy that the book thus opens with a gross chronological error; for Jeconiah reigned in reality only three months, and had been already eleven years a captive in Babylon before the fall of Jerusalem. If we include in our consideration the letter to the tribes in the Captivity, the book naturally falls into seven sections, divided in all but the last case by fasts, the fasts being of seven days in all instances save the first. This artificial division is due to the final editor of the book. The grounds for regarding the work as composite will be given later.

The first section (1–5) opens with God's condemnation of the wickedness of the kingdom of Judah, and the announcement of the coming destruction of Jerusalem for a time and the captivity of its people. But Jeremiah and those who are like him are bidden to retire, first because 'their works are to the city as a firm pillar, and their prayers as a strong wall' (2). Baruch thereupon asks what will be the future destinies of Israel, mankind, and the world. Will Israel no longer exist, mankind cease to be, and the world return to its primeval silence (3)? God replies that the city and people will be chastised only for a time (4^{1}); that the city of which it was said, 'On the palm of my hands have I written thee,' is not the earthly but the heavenly Jerusalem prepared aforetime in heaven, and already manifested in vision to Adam, Abraham, and Moses (4^{2-7}). Baruch replies that the enemy will destroy Zion or pollute the sanctuary, and boast thereof before their idols. Not so, God rejoins: the enemy will not overthrow Zion nor burn Jerusalem, and thou thyself wilt witness this. Baruch thereupon fasts till the evening (5). In the next section (6–9) the Chaldæans encompass Jerusalem on the following day. It is not they, however, but angels who overthrow the walls, having first hidden the sacred vessels of the temple in the earth till the last times. The Chaldæans then enter and carry the people away captive. Jerusalem is delivered up for a time. Baruch fasts seven days. In the third section (10–12) Jeremiah is bidden to accompany captive Judah to Babylon, and Baruch to remain in Jerusalem to receive disclosures on the things that should be hereafter. Baruch now despairs of all things: 'Blessed is he who was not born, or, being born, has died.' Let nature henceforth withhold her increase, and the joy of the bridegroom and the bride be no more. 'Wherefore should woman bear in pain and bury in grief?' Let the priests, moreover, return to God the temple keys, confessing: 'We have been found false stewards.' 'Oh that there were ears unto thee, O earth, and a heart unto thee, O dust, and go and announce in Sheol, and say to the dead: "Blessed are ye more than are we the living."' Baruch then fasts seven days. In section four (13–21^{1}) Baruch is told that he 'will be preserved till the consummation of the times' to bear testi-

mony. When Baruch complains of the prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the righteous, God declares that it is the future world that is made on account of the righteous, and that blessedness standeth, not in length of days, but in their quality and end. Baruch fasts seven days. In the fifth section (21²–47) Baruch deplores the vanity and vexation of this life: 'If there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter'; he supplicates God to bring about the promised consummation, 'that his strength might become known to those who esteem his long-suffering weakness.' In answer thereto God reproves him for his trouble over that which he knows not, and his intrusion into things in which he has no part, and declares that until the preordained number of souls is born, the end, though at hand, cannot yet be: nevertheless, 'My coming redemption . . . is not far distant as aforetime; for, lo! the days come when the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasuries into which the righteousness of all those who are justified in creation is gathered.' Furthermore, when Baruch asks regarding the nature and duration of the punishment of the wicked, it is revealed that the coming time will be one of tribulation, divided into twelve parts, at the close of which the Messiah will be revealed (29. 30). Thereupon Baruch summons a meeting of the elders into the valley of Kidron, and announces the coming glories of Zion. Soon after follows his vision of the cedar and the vine, by which the destinies of Rome and the triumph of the Messiah are respectively symbolised (36–40). The Messiah will rule till this world of corruption is at an end. When Baruch asks who shall share in the future blessedness, the answer is: 'Those who have believed.' Thereupon Baruch (44–47) summons his eldest son, his friends, and seven of the elders, and acquaints them with his approaching end. He exhorts them to keep the law; to teach the people; for such teaching will give them life, and 'a wise man shall not be wanting to Israel, nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.' After another fast of seven days, Baruch, in the sixth section (48–76), prays on behalf of Israel. Then follows a revelation of the coming woes, and Baruch's lamentation over Adam's fall and its sad effects (48). Baruch, in answer to his prayer, is instructed as to the nature of the resurrection bodies (52). Then follows an account of the cloud vision (53–74). In this vision Baruch sees a cloud ascending from the sea and covering the whole earth. And it was full of black and clear waters, and a mass of lightning appeared on its summit. And it began to discharge first black and then bright waters, and again black and then bright waters, and so on for twelve times in succession. And finally it rained black waters, darker than all that had been before. And after this the lightning flashed forth, and healed the earth where the last waters had fallen, and twelve streams came up from the sea and became subject to that lightning (53). In the subsequent chapters the interpretation is given. The cloud is the world, and the twelve successive discharges of black and bright waters symbolise twelve evil and good periods in the history of the world. The eleventh period, symbolised by the dark waters, referred to the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, and the twelfth, bright waters, to the renewed prosperity of Israel and the rebuilding of Jerusalem (54–68). The last black waters pointed to wars, earthquakes, fires, famines; and such as escaped these were to be slain by the Messiah. But these last black waters were to be followed by clear, which symbolised the blessedness of the Messianic kingdom which should form the intervening period between corruption and incorruption (69–74). Baruch then expresses his wonder over God's wisdom and mercy, and receives a fresh revelation as to his coming departure from the earth. First, however, he is to summon the people together and instruct them (75. 76). This Baruch does, and admonishes the people to be faithful; for though teacher and prophet may pass away, yet the law ever standeth. At the request of the people Baruch writes two epistles—one to their brethren in Babylon, and the other to the tribes beyond the Euphrates. The latter is given in 78–87, but the former is lost.

iv. Different Elements in the Book, and their Dates.—This question cannot be discussed here save in the briefest manner; but no treatment of the book is adequate without some consideration of it. Till 1891 this book was taken to be the work of one author. In that year, however, Kabisch, in an article entitled, 'Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs' (*Jahrbücher f. protestantische Theologie*, 1891, pp. 66–107), showed on several grounds that the book is sprung from at least three or four authors. Thus he distinguishes 1–23, 31²–35, 41–52, 77–87 as the groundwork written subsequent to A.D. 70, since the destruction of the temple is implied throughout these chapters. Further, these sections are marked by a boundless world-despair which, looking for nothing of peace or happiness in this corruptible world, fixes its regard on the afterworld of incorruption. In the remaining sections of the book, however, there is a faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks to an earthly Messianic kingdom of sensuous delights. In these sections, moreover, the integrity of Jerusalem is throughout assumed. Kabisch, therefore, rightly takes these constituents of the book to be prior to A.D. 70. These sections, however, are not the work of one writer, but of three, two of them being unmutilated productions, *i.e.* the Vine and Cedar Vision, 36–40, and the Cloud Vision, 53–74, but the third a fragmentary Apocalypse, 24³–29. From the bulk of this criticism there is no ground for variance. By independent study, and frequently on different grounds, I have arrived at several of Kabisch's conclusions. Other parts of his theory, however, call for modification. As the result of an exhaustive study of the book, I offer the following analysis, for the grounds of which the reader must refer to my recent book, *The Apocalypse of Baruch*. The main part of the book was written after the fall of Jerusalem, *i.e.* 1–26, 31–35, 41–52, 75–87. All these chapters are derived from one writer, save 1–8, 44¹·⁷, 77–87. These must be discriminated from the rest, as their diction and their outlook as to the future of Jerusalem differ from those adopted in the rest of these chapters. The rest of the book was written prior to the fall of Jerusalem. It consists of the two visions mentioned above, *i.e.* 36–40 and 53–74, and a fragmentary Apocalypse, 27–30. Jewish religious thought busied itself mainly with two subjects, the Messianic Hope and the Law, and, in proportion as the one was emphasized, the other fell into the background. It is noteworthy that the parts of this book written prior to the fall of Jerusalem are mainly Messianic, and only mention the law incidentally, whereas in the sections written after its fall all the thought and the hopes of the writers centre in the law, and the law alone. Moreover, whereas the earlier sections are optimistic as regards the destinies of Jerusalem, the later are permeated with the spirit of an infinite despair. The different elements of the book were combined not earlier than A.D. 100, and not later than A.D. 130. The grounds for this determination cannot be given here. It should be observed that a portion of the short Apocalypse, 27–30, is quoted by Papias, and attributed by him to our Lord. See Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* v. 33. 3.

v. AUTHORSHIP.—All the writers from whom this book is derived were Pharisees. They all agree in teaching the doctrine of works. Jeremiah's works are a strong tower to the city, 2^2; the righteous have no fear by reason of their good works, 14^7; they are justified thereby, 21^9 $24^{1.2}$ 51^7; they trusted in their works, and therefore God heard them, $63^{3.5}$ 85^2; righteousness is by the law, 67^6.

Again, as regards the law, the teaching is likewise Pharisaic. It was given to Israel, 17^4 19^3 59^2 77^3; the one law was given by One, 48^{24}; it will protect those who receive it, 32^1, and requite those who transgress it, 48^{47}; so long as Israel observes the law it cannot fall, 48^{22}; God's law is life, 38^2. Again, the carnal sensuous nature of the Messiah and His kingdom, which are described only in the earlier portions, 28–30, 39^7–40, 72–74, is essentially Pharisaic. The future world is created on behalf of Israel, according to one of the later writers, 15^7; according to the earlier writers the present world was ultimately for Israel, and their enemies would suffer destruction, 27, 40, 72.

vi. RELATION TO 4 EZRA (2 ESDRAS).—The affinities of this book with 4 Ezr are both striking and numerous. (1) They have one and the same object—to deplore Israel's present calamities and to awake hope either of the coming Messianic kingdom on earth, or of the bliss of the righteous in the world to come. (2) In both, the speaker is a notable figure in the time of the Babylonian Captivity. (3) In both there is a sevenfold division of the work, and an interval (generally of seven days) between each division; and as in the one Ezra devotes forty days to the restoration of the Scriptures, in the other Baruch is bidden to spend forty days in teaching Israel before his departure from the earth. (4) They have many doctrinal peculiarities in common: man is saved by his works, 2 Es [6^{50}] 8^{33} 9^7, Apoc Bar 2^2 14^{12} etc.; the world was created on behalf of Israel, 2 Es 6^{55} 7^{11} 9^{13}, Apoc Bar 14^{19} 15^7; man came not into the world of his own will, 2 Es 8^5, Apoc Bar 14^{11} 48^{15}; a predetermined number of men must be born before the end, 2 Es $4^{36.37}$, Apoc Bar $23^{4.5}$; Adam's sin was the cause of physical death, 2 Es 3^7, Apoc Bar 23^4; the souls of the good are kept safe in treasuries till the resurrection, 2 Es $4^{35.41}$ 7^{32} [$6^{54.60}$], Apoc Bar 30^2. But the points of disagreement are just as clearly marked. In 2 Es the Messianic reign is limited to 400 years, $7^{28.29}$, whereas in Baruch this period is indeterminate. Again, in 2 Es the Messiah is to die, 7^{29}, and His reign to close with the death of all living things; whereas according to Apoc Bar 30^1 the Messiah is to return in glory to heaven at the close of His reign, and according to 73. 74 this reign is to be an eternal one. Again, in 2 Es the writer urges that God's people should be punished by God's own hands and not by the hands of their enemies, $5^{29.30}$; for these have overthrown the altar and destroyed the temple, $10^{21.22}$; but in Baruch it is told how angels removed the holy vessels and demolished the walls of Jerusalem before the enemy drew nigh, 6–8. On the question of original sin, likewise, these two books are at variance. While in 2 Es the entire stream of physical and ethical death is traced to Adam, $3^{7.21.22}$ 4^{30} 7^{48}, and the guilt of his descendants minimised at the cost of their first parent (yet see 8^{55-60}), Baruch derives physical death indeed from Adam's transgression, 17^3 23^4 54^{15}, but as to ethical death declares that 'each man is the Adam of his own soul,' 54^{19} (yet see 48^{42}).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works already cited in this article the reader may consult Langen, *De apocalypsi Baruch anno superiori primum edita commentatio* (1867); Ewald, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen* (1867), pp. 1706–17, 1720; *History of Israel*, viii. 57–61; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), pp. 117–132; Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch* (1879), pp. 190–198; Dillmann, 'Pseudepigraphen' in Herzog's *RE*^{2} xii. pp. 356–358; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha* (1891), pp. 130–162; De Faye, *Les Apocalypses Juives* (1892), pp. 195–204; Charles, *Apoc. of Baruch*, 1896.

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BARUCH, BOOK OF.—One of the deutero-canonical books of OT found in LXX between Jer and La, in the Lat. Vulg. after La, and in the Syr. as the second Letter of Baruch—the first Letter having been recently ascertained to be part of the Apoc. of Baruch (wh. see). The book claims to have been written by Baruch, the friend and secretary of Jeremiah; but in reality it consists of four portions so distinct that they have probably come from four different authors.

1^{1-14}. Historical preface, giving a description of the origin and purpose of the book.
1^{15-38}. A confession of the sins which led to the Captivity, and a prayer for restoration to divine favour, largely in Deuteronomic phraseology.
3^{9-44}. A panegyric on Wisdom, and an identification of Wisdom with Torah, after the manner of the later Hokhmic school.
4^{5-59}. Consolation and encouragement to the exiles, with such rich personification as to recall some of the most poetical passages in Deutero-Isaiah.

We will describe and comment on these parts in the order in which we conceive that they came into existence.

i. The second section, 1^{15}–3^8, will thus claim our first consideration, and it may be subdivided into two parts—

(1) 1^{15}–2^5. This we designate AN ANCIENT FORM OF CONFESSION OF SIN USED BY THE PAL. REMNANT. It professes to have been sent from Babylon to Jerus., to be read in the house of God 'on the day of the feast and on the days of solemn assembly' (1^{14} RV). It opens with words found also Dn 9^7 'To the Lord our God belongeth righteousness, but to us confusion . . . to the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerus.'; and its restricted design for the use of the home remnant is intimated in the non-occurrence of the words of Dn 'and to all Isr. that are near and that are afar off,' etc.; as well as by the words Bar $2^{4.5}$, 'He hath given *them* to be in subjection to all the kingdoms that are round about *us* . . . where the Lord has scattered *them*: and *they* have become "beneath and not above," because *we* sinned.' The confession of sins is national, embracing the whole period from the Exodus, and recognising in the Exile the righteous fulfilment of repeated warnings.

(2) 2^6–3^8. THE EXILES' CONFESSION, 2^{6-13}, AND PRAYER, 2^{14}–3^8. The confession of the exiles opens as the above (cf. also Dn 9^7) with the words, 'To the Lord our God belongeth righteousness,' etc., but the suppliants do not describe themselves as 'men of Judah.' Indeed we would submit—though it seems to have escaped notice hitherto—that this penitential prayer was not meant for the same persons as the foregoing. This is evident from 2^{13} 'We are left a few among the nations where thou hast scattered *us*' (contrast this with 2^4 'The Lord hath scattered *them*'), v.^{14} 'Give us favour before those who have led *us* captive.' So also vv.$^{29.30}$. Further, the confession, 2^{6-12}, is little more than a repetition in different order of phrases found in 1^{15}–2^5; only, that in the second confession the suppliants do not (as we have seen) identify themselves with Judah; and the divine threat realised in *their* experience is captivity, $2^{7.15}$; whereas, in the first confession, it was that they had eaten the flesh of their children, 2^{1-3}. At 2^{13} the confession turns to prayer for pardon and blessing, pleading the divine election of Isr., the divine compassion and the divine glory. They acknowledge the error of not obeying the warnings of Jer (7^{24} 8^2 27^{11} $29^{5.28}$) to be submissive to the king of Babylon, and regard that as the cause of the national ruin. In 2^{27} the suppliants admit that to them personally God has manifested 'leniency and

compassion.' They quote several passages from Dt (collected Kneucker, p. 30) which threaten divine wrath on their sins, but which *also* promise that if in captivity they repent, God will renew His covenant, and restore them. They virtually express their faithful allegiance, and claim the promises.

Ch. 3^{1-8} is regarded by Bertholdt and Reusch as a separate psalm; but, as shown by Kneucker (p. 263) and Gifford (in *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 267), the links of connexion between this portion and the foregoing are beyond dispute. Here the absence of the sense of personal demerit is still more apparent. True they say, 'We have sinned,' but the 'we' denotes the solidarity of Isr.; for in 3^{4} they say 'Hear the prayer of the *sons* of those who sinned against Thee, for *they* were disobedient, and the evils cleave to *us*.' 'We have put away from our hearts every iniquity of our fathers who sinned against Thee.' 'Lo! we are to-day in our captivity,' 3^{8}.

Date of Composition.—The foregoing analysis helps materially in this decision. First, it shows Reusch, Welte, and other Romanists to be mistaken in claiming that 1^{15}–3^{8} is the work of the historical Baruch in B.C. 583: for (*a*) if so, there would be in the suppliants the sense of personal demerit; and (*b*) their description of themselves as '*sons* of those who sinned' would be quite out of place. Again, our analysis serves to render still more untenable the theory of Hitzig, Kneucker, Schürer, and some recent English writers, that our section was composed after the destruction of Jerus. by Titus. (1) We would ask, Could the Jews of A.D. 80 acquit themselves of personal blame? and could they speak of themselves as the unfortunate *sons* of the real culprits? (2) In 2^{17} we have the same hopeless view of death as appears in Ps 6^{5} and Is 38^{18}. As Reuss says, it indicates 'a time when the belief in a resurrection did not yet exist.' (3) There is in the section before us no clear indication that Jerus. and the temple were *at the time* in ruins. The only allusion to the state of Jerus. is in 2^{26} 'Thou hast made (ἔθηκας) thy house as it is this day,' but this may refer to a low condition or desecration of the temple. Had the city been in ruins, surely the poignant grief of the patriotic Jew could not have failed to express itself. (4) There is a very close resemblance between Bar 1^{15}–2^{12} and Dn 9^{4-19}; in fact there are only *three* important variations, and these all refer to the condition of Jerusalem. Daniel's prayer is stated to have been uttered in the first year of Darius, at the close of the Captivity, and three times the desolate state of Jerus. is referred to, Dn $9^{16.\ 17.\ 18}$; but in Bar *all are omitted*. On any theory as to the relative priority of Dn and Bar this is significant; but on Schürer's theory it amounts to this, that a man writing about A.D. 80, while slavishly imitating Dn 9, abruptly and intentionally selects for omission those parts *only* which refer to the desolate sanctuary. This we consider highly improbable.

We are thus drawn to the theory of Ewald, who assigns our section to the times after the conquest of Jerus. by Ptolemy I. in B.C. 320 (*Die Jüngsten Propheten*, 269), or of Reuss, who assigns it to the times of the first Ptolemies. Its origin may be even earlier. At all events there does not seem valid reason, with Fritzsche, to assign our section to the Maccab. period (*Hb. z. d. Apocr.* i. 173) on the ground of its dependence on Dn 9. The dependence is by no means self-evident. But if it were so, and if the Book of Dn in its present form be late, this does not preclude the use of pre-existent materials; and it is surely conceivable that in Dn 9 we have an ancient form of prayer traditionally associated with the name of Daniel, as the confession and prayer before us were associated with the name of Baruch. Bissell (Lange's *Apocr.* 417) and Gifford (*Speaker's Apocr.* 250) are also in favour of the early authorship of our section.

Original Language.—It is highly probable that 1^{1}–3^{8} was first composed in Heb.; though the Gr. text and VSS that have been tr. from the Gr. are all that survive. The very fact that the two prayers were designed for religious assemblies—the former one for the temple—is strong presumptive proof of Heb. authorship (so Bissell, 417). In the margin of the Milan MS of the Syr. Hexap. text these words occur on 1^{17} and 2^{3}: 'This is not in the Heb.' (Zöckler blunders twice in stating this.) But, apart from this, the linguistic evidence alone seems conclusive.

1. There are cases in which an awkward word in the Gr. can be shown to possess one of two meanings of a Heb. word, and the *other* meaning is that required by the context—

1^{22}	ἐργάζεσθαι,	to work,	for serve.	So עָבַר
2^{4}	ἄβατον,	wilderness,	,, astonishment.	,, שִׁמָּה
2^{3}	ἄνθρωπος,	man,	,, each.	,, אִישׁ
2^{23}	ἔξωθεν,	outside,	,, streets.	,, חוּצוֹת
2^{29}	βόμβησις,	buzzing,	,, crowd.	,, הָמוֹן
1^{9}	δεσμώτης,	prisoner,	,, locksmith.	,, מַסְגֵּר

2. Cases in which the unsuitable word suggests its own corrective, if we tr. it into Heb. and substitute different vowels or change one consonant.

1^{10} μάννα, wrong translit. of מָנְחָה.
2^{25} ἀποστόλη = דָּבָר for דֶּבֶר plague.
3^{4} τεθνηκότων = מֵתַי ,, מְתֵי men.
3^{8} ὄφλησιν = משאה ,, משמה astonishment.

3. Cases of slavish imitation of Heb. idiom in violation of the Greek. The word καί occurs 120 times; four times in the sense of 'but,' like Heb. ו, $2^{24.\ 27.\ 30}$ 3^{3}. Then we have οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ = אֲשֶׁר שָׁם, and οὗ . . . ἐπ' αὐτῷ = אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו. But, to appreciate the full force of the evidence, one has simply to attempt to retranslate the section. The idioms are Hebraistic everywhere. The Heb. seems, as Fritzsche says, to gleam through so plainly that one cannot doubt that the Gr. is a tr. Kneucker has, on the whole, given an admirable rendering of our section into the original Hebrew.

It is a remarkable fact that most of the above awkward renderings occur in the LXX Gr. of Jer. There can be little doubt that he who translated Jer also translated Bar 1^{1}–3^{8}, and probably found it in Heb. attached to Jer. (So Westcott in Smith *DB.*) The Greek of the rest of Baruch is almost certainly from another hand. We have here a further evidence of the antiquity of our section.

ii. THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, 1^{1-14}.—This is probably from a later author, because of the discrepancies between it and 1^{15}–3^{8}. We conceive the matter thus: There were in existence two penitential prayers—one for the remnant, one for the exiles—both associated with the name of Baruch, and the problem was to find a suitable historic origin for them. The solution is: Baruch is in Babylon, and reads a form of confession and prayer, 2^{6}–3^{8}, to king Jeconiah and the exiles. They listen, weep, and fast, and long that their brethren in Judah should also turn to the Lord. B. writes a confession suited to the Judæans, 1^{15}–2^{5}, and the exiles send it to Judah by him. Thus does the would-be historian explain the duality of 1^{15}–3^{8}. His historic locus now calls for explanation. The book was written in the 5th year on the 7th of the month, at the time of the year when the Chaldæans took Jerus., *i.e.* on the fifth anniversary of the first fall of Jerus., B.C. 597—the era from which Jer, Ezk, and Dn reckon. In B.C. 593 Seraiah, brother of Bar., was in Babylon with king Zedekiah (Jer 51^{59}). The nature of their mission is uncertain, but it was such as to rouse expectation; for at the same time prophets in Babylon, Jer 27^{16}, and Hananiah in Judah, Jer 28^{3}, foretold that within two years the sacred vessels would be restored, and Jeconiah and the exiles allowed to return; but Jer.

sternly contradicts this (Jer 29). These are the circumstances, shortly after which our author says that B. composed his book. The effect of the reading of it we have described. In penitence the people send to Joakim the priest—probably the Sagan—money with which to purchase sacrifices and incense to offer on the altar of J″. Thus far there is verisimilitude in the story. Jeconiah might well be present, for the first exiles, 'the good figs,' were treated far more leniently than the second. The hoof of ignorance and late authorship shows itself, however, (1) in the statement that Jerus. was burnt with fire in Jeconiah's reign; (2) that the exiles asked the Judæans to 'pray for Nebuchad. and *his son* Baltasar.' The monuments show that Belshazzar was the son of Nabonidus, who usurped the throne of Babylon; and though Belshazzar might claim to be 'son' of Nebuchad. to add to his dignity, the title could not be given by one living years before. (3) The restoration of the silver vessels made by Zedekiah after the deportation of Jeconiah ($1^{8.\ 9}$) is a hopeless tangle. The passage has probably been worked over by a later hand, who conceived of the locus as five years after the *final* destruction of the city and temple.

iii. A Ḥokhmist's Message to the Exiles, 3^{9}–4^{4}.—'O Isr. why art thou in the land of thy foes? and grown old in a foreign land?' The reason is, 'Thou hast forsaken the fountain of Wisdom.' Learn where Wisdom is, and there thou wilt find life and joy and peace. But where does Wisdom dwell? Have kings found her in the thickets of the forests hunting the boar? Have birds stored in royal aviaries seen her on high? Have silver-workers mining under the earth seen her? Young men, with vision unbedimmed by sin, can they give no clue? Merchants of Phœnicia and Teman, have they not seen her by sea or land? The heroes of the hoary past,—the giants,—can they help? No. God only knows her abode—the Creator of the beasts, the lightning, and the stars. He has embodied Wisdom in the Law, and given it to Jacob. And in this guise Wisdom appears on the earth and is accessible to man. The eternal Law is Wisdom incarnate. Walk in her light, O Israel! and give not thy glory to another, nor thy advantages to a strange nation.

Date.—Much of this section ($3^{9\text{-}35}$) is a close imitation of Job 28 and 38; yet it possesses as much poetic fervour as an imitation can well do. It has nothing in common with 1^{15}-3^{8} except the exile. The part which is truly original is 3^{36}–4^{4}, and therefore here we must seek for the date of composition. Israel is 'God's beloved,' 'having (Ro 2^{20}) in the Law the form (*μόρφωσιν*) of knowledge and of truth'; and she is charged not to give her glory to another, nor her advantages (*συμφέροντα*, cf. Ro 3^{1}) to a foreign people, but to walk in the light of the law, cf. Bar 4^{2}, Ro 2^{19}. Evidently, the privileges referred to are spiritual ones; and Kneucker can hardly be incorrect in maintaining that Gentile Christians, the עמים, are the *ἀλλότριον ἔθνος*, of whom the rigorous Jew bids his co-religionists beware. There is no reference to recent calamities. Israel has 'grown old in a foreign land.' Therefore I should place this section a few years before, or some years after, the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

Original Language.—We would submit that 3^{9}–4^{4} was first composed in Aramaic. The evidence we offer is based on a comparison of the Greek with the versions—the Peshiṭta and Syr. Hexapla. When the various readings are tr. into Aramaic we obtain either one Aramaic word with the two desiderated meanings, or two words so nearly alike as easily to be mistaken for one another.

3^{16}	peoples, עממיא	Pesh.	world, עלמא
^{18}	fabricators, קינאין	Pesh.	who acquire, קנין
^{19}	disappeared, אסתתרו	Hex.	sinned, אסתרחו
^{21}	laid hold, צרו	Hex.	cared for, צרו
^{23}	remembered, ארכרו	Pesh.	trod, ארככו
^{31}	meditates on, מתרעא	Vulg.	seeks out, מתבעא
^{34}	watches, בסכוההון	Pesh.	places, ברוכההון
^{37}	appeared, אתגלו	Pesh.	was revealed, אתגלו
4^{3}	advantage, יותרן	Vulg.	dignity. יוקרא

It will be observed that the words are uniformly Pal. Aramaic—in some cases peculiar to that dialect. The author, therefore, was of the school of Sirach and not of Philo.

iv. A Hellenist's Encouragement for the Exiles, 4^{5}–5^{9}.—This section is clearly divisible into four odes, each commencing with some form of the verb *θαρρεῖν*, and to these is appended a Ps closely related to the 11th of the Ps of Sol. $4^{5\text{-}8}$ is drawn entirely from the Song of Moses in Dt 32. After this, in a passage of some beauty and originality ($4^{9\text{-}16}$), Jerus. is personified as a woman, narrating her troubles to the neighbours of Zion; then (v.$^{19f.}$), as if on the eve of captivity, she bids her children shorten their adieux, as she has put on the sackcloth of prayer. The prayer is not in vain. Joy comes to her from the Holy One (v.^{22}). The mother (v.^{25}) again addresses her children, but now in terms of hopefulness, begging them to be patient and intensely prayerful, since the hour of deliverance is at hand. At 4^{30} the author assumes the rôle of the prophet, and foretells the doom of Israel's foes, and then (4^{36}–5^{9}) he announces the future prosperity of Zion in a passage of remarkable beauty, but too closely copied from Ps-Sol 11.

Date.—We unhesitatingly place the composition of this section after the destruction of Jerus. by Titus. Ryle and James have certainly proved the dependence of Bar on the Psalter (*Psalms of Sol.* lxxii.–lxxvii.); and there is little reason to suspect that it ever existed except in Greek. The Gr. moves so easily and is fairly idiomatic. Its Hebraisms are due to quotations from books themselves tr. from Sem. sources. The fall of the city is still within the memory of the writer; the desolation is complete; its captives have gone forth with wailing and woe. The increasingly joyful tone can hardly have arisen within ten years of the destruction of the city, as Kneucker holds. Hope must again have kindled in the Jewish breast, and possibly the events in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 118, are those to which the writer looks forward; though all through this interval most of the Jews never doubted that the temple would be rebuilt. The author of 4^{5}–5^{9} was probably the translator of 3^{9}–4^{4}.

Canonical Standing.—Though there is strong evidence that 1^{1}–3^{8} was composed in Heb., and some evidence that it once followed Jer in the Canon, it was dropped before the time of Jerome; so that he says (*Præf. in Jer*), 'nec legitur nec habetur apud Hebræos,' and Epiph. (*de mens.*) bears the same testimony. In the Gr. of the *Apost. Const.* v. 20 it is, however, said to be used by the Jews (? of the Dispersion) on the 10th of Gorpiæus, *i.e.* on the Day of Atonement. The reference is wanting in the Syr. text, and has no confirmation whatever. Our book is not mentioned by any NT writer or apost. Father, but from Athenagoras (fl. 176) onwards for centuries it is quoted as canonical by almost every Christian writer of eminence. This remark applies especially to $3^{36\text{-}38}$ 'This is our God. . . . He hath found out the way of knowledge. . . . Afterward did she (*i.e.* Wisdom) appear on earth and was conversant with men.' Kneucker and Schürer regard v.^{38} (EV ^{37}) as a Christian interpolation; but without sufficient reason. The writer personifies Wisdom, and identifies her with the Law; as we see from 4^{1} (which ought never

to have been separated by a chapter-division) 'This is the book of the commands of God, even the Law which abides for ever.' Christian writers tenaciously claimed this as a proof-text for the divinity of the Wisdom-Logos, and therefore firmly retained Bar in the Canon. Jerome was the first for two centuries to call its canonicity in question, and hence Bar is wanting in Codex Amiatinus; but his criticisms produced no apparent result on the beliefs of his age.

Reusch, a Romanist commentator, gives an exhaustive account of the citations from Bar by early Christian writers, and devotes an appendix to their explanations of 3^{36-38}. From these citations I compute that, of the 75 verses from 3^{9-59}, 43 are found, cited as canonical, in the pages of Christian writers.

It is also interesting to note that in every extant List of Canonical Books, Bar either is named or can be proved to be included under Jer—the only doubtful exception being that of Melito. Didymus Alex. † 395 distinctly says that Jer and Bar form one book.

List of Canonical Books.

Melito	*c.* 180	Is, Jer, XII. Proph.
Origen	† 253	Jer, Lam, Ep, but quotes Bar as Jer.
Conc. Laod.	363	Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep (of Jeremy).
Hilary	† 367	Jer, Lam, Ep, but quotes Bar as Jer.
Athanasius	† 373	Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep.
Cyril Jer.	† 386	Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep.
Conc. Carth.	397	Jer (but see Buhl, 61–62).
Greg. Naz.	† 391	Jer, but quotes Bar 3^{36} as Scr.
Epiphanius	† 403	Jer, Lam, Ep, Bar (*Hær.* 8. 6).
Rufinus	† 410	Jer, but quotes Bar 3^{36} as Scr.
Jerome	† 420	Jer, first to reject Bar.
Augustine	† 430	Jer, but quotes Bar often.
Codex ℵ		Jer, Lam, Ep, fragmentary.
B		Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep.
A		Jer, Bar, Lam, Ep.
D		Jer.
Cassiodorus	*c.* 540	Jer. Quotes Bar as Jer.
Anast. Sin.	*c.* 550	Jer. Quotes Bar as Jer.
John Damasc.	† 750	Jer. Quotes Bar often.

From the last quarter of the 2nd cent. to the time of the Reformation, Jerome's is almost the only discordant note in the harmony of universal acceptance in the Christian Church. Wyclif in the preface to his Bible inserted the statement from Jerome, that in OT nothing but the Heb. Canon is of divine authority, but published all the Apocr. Luther and the other Reformers removed Bar from the Canon; but, though Ximenes and Erasmus were both disposed to draw a line of demarcation between canon. and apocr. books, the Council of Trent peremptorily included Bar and the rest of the Apocr. among the sacred books of Scripture.

Literature.—Codices and Versions.—Of Gr. uncials Bar is found in A, B, Q, otherwise known as iii., ii., xii. The palimpsest Γ contains 1^{12-23} and 3^{12-48}. (See, for description of these MSS, Swete's *OT in Gr.* iii., *Introd.*) There are also 22 Gr. cursives, named and classified by Kneucker, pp. 91–97. Further, there are two Lat. VSS, a and b. a is that found in Clementine edd. of the Vulg., of which Vercellone's is perhaps the most accurate. Bar is really the old Lat. unrevised by Jerome, for he himself says 'Librum Baruch . . . prætermisimus.' b is a recension of a, improving its Latinity, altering some of its readings to agree with B, and indulging in explanatory comments (Kneucker 141–163). b was edited by Jos. Caro, Rome, 1688, and by Sabatier in *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, vol. i. (1873). There are also two Syr. VSS: (1) the Peshitta, which is most accessible in Lagarde's *Libr. Apocr. Syr.*, and (2) the Syr.-Hexap. My ed. is the one in Ceriani's *Mon. sac. et prof.* tom. i. fasc. i. 1861. Since then, however, the work has been reproduced by photo-lithography. (Swete, *op. cit.* xiii.)

Exegetical Helps.—The most thorough comm. is Kneucker's *Das Buch Baruch*, Leipzig, 1879. Other useful works are: Gifford in *Speaker's Apocr.* vol. ii.; Bissell in Lange's series; Zöckler, Apok. in the *Kgf. Kom.* 1891; Ewald, *Die jüngsten Propheten*, 1868; Fritzsche, *Handbuch z. d. Apocr.* vol. i. Leipzig, 1851; Reusch, *Erklär. d. Buchs Baruch*, Freiburg, 1853; Reuss, *AT*, vol. vi. 1894; Hävernick, *De lib. Bar.*, Königsberg, 1861. Isagogic material is also to be found in Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 188 f., and Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1860, where Hitzig deals with Bar, p. 262 ff., Kneucker in 1880, and Hilgenfeld in 1879–80.

J. T. Marshall.

BARZILLAI (בַּרְזִלַּי 'man of iron'?, Βερζελλί).—**1.** A wealthy Gileadite of Rogelim, who came to David's aid during his flight from Absalom (2 S $17^{27ff.}$). He refused to accompany the king to Jerusalem on his return, on the plea of his great age and unsuitability for the life of the court, but sent his son Chimham in his stead ($19^{31ff.}$). And to him, in gratitude for his father's services, David would seem to have granted a 'lodging place,' or caravanserai for travellers, out of his own patrimony in Bethlehem, which 400 years later still bore his name (Jer 41^{17}). Dean Stanley even favours the conjecture that, in accordance with the immovable usages of the East, it was probably the same whose stable at the time of the Christian era furnished shelter for two travellers with their infant child, when 'there was no room in the inn' (*Hist. of the Jew. Ch.* vol. ii. p. 154). Other sons of B. must have followed, if they did not accompany, Chimham over Jordan, and all were specially commended by David, on his deathbed, to the care of Solomon (1 K 2^{7}). Of B. himself we hear nothing further beyond the mention, so late as the return from the Captivity in Babylon, of a family of priests who traced their descent to a marriage with the Gileadite's daughter (Ezr 2^{61}, Neh 7^{63}). **2.** A Meholathite whose son Adriel married Michal the daughter of Saul (2 S 21^{8}).

G. Milligan.

BASALOTH (Α Βαλλώθ, Β Βασαλέμ), 1 Es 5^{31}.—Bazluth, Ezr 2^{52}; Bazlith, Neh 7^{54}.

BASCAMA (ἡ Βασκαμά), 1 Mac 13^{23}.—An unknown town of Gilead.

BASE (see also Abase, Debase). — The adj. 'base' (from Fr. *bas*, 'shallow,' 'low,' but prob. of Celtic origin) is used to express—**1.** That which is literally 'low,' not high, as Spenser, *FQ* I. v. 31, 'An entraunce, dark and base . . . Descends to Hell.' Of this use we still have 'base' of sounds (though we spell it 'bass'); cf. Shaks., 1 *Hen. IV.* II. iv. 5, 'I have sounded the very base string of humility.' There is no example of this meaning in the Bible. **2.** Figuratively, low in the social scale, of lowly birth or station, then unassuming, humble. This is the meaning of b. in AV: Is 3^{5} 'the b. against the honourable' (*i.e.* the low-born against the nobles); Ezk 17^{14} 'that the kingdom might be b., that it might not lift itself up' (Heb. שְׁפָלָ֫ה; so $29^{14.\ 15}$, 2 S 6^{22}, Mal 2^{9}, Dn 4^{17} 'the most High . . . setteth up . . . the basest of men'); Job 30^{8} 'children of b. men' (בְּנֵי בְלִי־שֵׁם, lit. 'sons of no name,' *i.e.* sons of him who has no name = the ignoble). In NT: 1 Co 1^{28} 'b. things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen' (ἀγενῆ, 'of low birth'); 2 Co 10^{1} 'Now I Paul myself beseech you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, who in presence am b. among you' (RV 'in your presence am lowly'; the Gr. is ταπεινός, which in NT signifies 'lowly, either in position, as Ja 1^{9} 'let the brother *of low degree* glory in his high estate'; or in heart, as Mt 11^{29} 'I am meek and *lowly* in heart'). **3.** Morally low, mean, contemptible, the meaning of the word in mod. English. This meaning was known in 1611, and it is probable that there is at least *some* moral reprobation in Ac 17^{5} 'certain lewd fellows of the baser sort' (RV 'certain vile fellows of the rabble'; Gr. ἀγοραῖοι, lit. 'of the market place,' *i.e.* loungers). RV has introduced 'base' in this sense in Wis 2^{16} 'We were accounted by him as b. metal' (AV 'counterfeits,' Gr. κίβδηλος); and Dt 13^{13} 'Certain b. fellows are gone out' (AV 'certain men, the children of Belial,' Heb. אַנְשִׁים בְּנֵי־בְלִיָּעַל = 'men, sons of worthlessness'; elsewhere Eng. RV retains the AV rendering of this phrase, 'son of Belial,' 'man of Belial,' etc., though belial (wh. see) is not a proper name; but Amer. RV always changes it into 'base fellow,' except 1 S 1^{16} 'wicked woman' (AV 'daughter of Belial').

Base, as subst. (from Lat. *basis* after Gr. βάσις, 'a stepping,' then 'that on which one steps, or anything stands') is distinct from the adj. in origin and meaning, and once was distinct in pronunciation. It occurs freq. in AV as tr. of (1) *mĕkhônah*

(esp. in 1 K 7 of the stands for the lavers of brass in Solomon's temple); (2) *kēn*, 1 K 7[29. 31] (RV 'pedestal,' which had better, perhaps, been given as tr. of *mĕkhônah*, the *kēn* being apparently not the stand of the lavers, but the upright projections which kept them in their place*); and in RV (3) *yĕsôdh* (AV 'bottom'); (4) *yārĕk* (AV 'shaft'); (5) *gabh*, Ezk 43[13] (AV 'higher place,' where the difference between 'base' as pedestal and 'base' the adj. is well seen; the *gabh* being a raised place, a mound, and so here the elevated base of the altar.

J. HASTINGS.

BASEMATH (בָּשְׂמַת 'fragrant'; AV Bashemath). —**1.** One of the wives of Esau. In Gn 26[34] (P) she is called the daughter of Elon the Hittite, while in Gn 36[3] (prob. R) she is said to have been Ishmael's daughter, and sister of Nebaioth. But in Gn 28[9] (P) Esau is said to have taken Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife; and in Gn 36[2] the first mentioned of Esau's wives is Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite. There is manifestly a confusion of names in the text, which cannot be satisfactorily explained. The Sam. text reads Mahalath instead of Basemath throughout Gn 36, and on the whole it seems most probable that these are different names for the same person. **2.** (1 K 4[15], in AV Basmath) A daughter of Solomon, who became the wife of Ahimaaz, one of the king's officers who was purveyor for the royal household in the district of Naphtali.

R. M. BOYD.

BASHAN [הַבָּשָׁן 'The Bashan'; perhaps, like the modern Arab. Bathaniyeh, it means 'soft earth.' With the def. article in all hist. statements except 1 Ch 5[23]; also sometimes in poetry (Dt 33[22], Ps 135[11] 136[20]), and prophecy (Is 2[13], Jer 22[20] 50[19], Am 4[1]); but in prophecy and poetry the art. is more often omitted (Is 33[9], Ezk 27[6] 39[18], Mic 7[14], Nah 1[4], Zec 11[2], Ps 22[13] (Eng.[12]) 68[16. 23] (Eng.[15. 22])].—In a region where all place-names were used more or less loosely, it is difficult to define the limits of Bashan, but the name was applied to territory N. of Gilead, and seems generally to have meant the whole of the most northerly of the three great divisions of E. Pal.,—Bashan, Gilead, Moab. It first appears as the kingdom of Og (Nu 21[33], Dt 1[4] etc.), extending as far E. as Salecah, the present Salkhat, the last great town towards the Arabian desert, and including Edrei, Ashtaroth, and Golan (Dt 1[4] 3[10] 4[43], Jos 9[10] 12[4] 13[11. 12. 31] 20[8] 21[27]). If Ashtaroth be the present Tell Ashtêra, and the city Golan lay within the present Jaulan, this would mean that B. proper covered all the S. of Hauran, including the region known to-day as En-nukra. It is the same expanse, between the Lejá and Gilead, which seems to have been covered in Gr. times by the name Batanæa (Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 1, XVII. ii. 1; *Vita* 11, etc.; Euseb. *Onom.* art. Βασαν). Whether in this, its more proper sense, the name extended to the Jordan Valley it is impossible to say, till we know where Geshur and Maacah lay. Indeed, Jos 12[4] 13[11. 13] seem to imply that the latter came between B. and the Jordan Valley (cf. Guthe, *ZDPV* xii. 232). If the opinion were correct which identifies Argob with the Lejá, then B. must have extended to the N. and E. of the latter; but for that identification there is no real evidence. The kingdom of Og is said to have contained a large number of cities, and these have been alleged by Porter (*Giant Cities of Bashan*) to be the large basalt ruins so thickly strewn across Hauran; yet none of the latter, with one or two trifling exceptions, bear any proof of a date earlier than the rise of Gr. civilisation in these parts under the protection of the Rom. Empire.

In a general sense the name B. was attached to the long edge of the E. plateau, as seen across Jordan from W. Pal., and the name is frequently joined with Carmel and Lebanon as one of the most prominent features in view of N. Israel (see CARMEL). Another verse, 'Dan is a lion's whelp, he leaps from B.' (Dt 33[22]), carries the name up to the foot of Hermon, where the position of the city of Dan is to be looked for, not at Tel el-Ḳadi on the defenceless floor of the Jordan Valley, but rather at Banias, actually on the E. hills, and therefore a site from which Dan could justly be said 'to leap from B.' Again, the term 'mount' or 'mountains of B.' is uncertain, but prob. depends on the interpretation to be given to the description of them in Ps 68[15] as 'mountains of humps' or 'protuberances' or 'bold heights.' This can hardly be the triple summits of Hermon to which it has been applied both by Olshausen and Baethgen. It suits far better the many broken cones of extinct craters which are scattered over B. (Delitzsch). Wetzstein proposes the Jebel Hauran or Druz; but this appears unlikely, even though it were proved that the Mt. Salmon of the previous verse were the same name as that which Ptolemy gave the Jebel Hauran, viz. Asalmanus (cf. Guthe, *ZDPV* xii. 231).

B. was celebrated for its breed of cattle (Dt 32[14]), which are also the types throughout OT of cruel and loud-mouthed oppressors; similarly, Amos calls the censorious and tyrannical matrons of Samaria 'kine of B.' (4[1]).

The name B. survived in Gr. times as Batanæa (as described above). Batanæa was part of Philip's tetrarchy. Conder thinks it appears in NT as the '**Bethany** beyond Jordan' (the most probable reading of Jn 1[28], see Westcott and Hort); but if so well known a province as Batanæa had been intended, and not rather some town, the epithet 'beyond Jordan' would hardly have been added. To-day the name survives, Ard el-Bathaniyeh; but since the 10th cent., when, according to Idrisi, it was still the province in which Edrei stood, it has drifted round to the E. of the Lejá, where it will be found in the most recent maps.

LITERATURE.—Besides what is quoted, Reland; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*; Merrill, *East of Jordan*; Driver, *Deut.* 47, 360; Smith, *Hist. Geog.* pp. 542, 549–553, 570 ff.; Buhl, *Geog. alt. Pal.* 117 f. (on Dan, 238).

G. A. SMITH.

BASHMURIC VERSIONS.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.

BASILISK.—See SERPENT.

BASKET, a vessel made of plaited reeds, twigs, palm-leaves, or other material. The word is used in EV as the equivalent of five Heb. and three Gr. words.

1. סַל *ṣal*, a bag of flexible interwoven twigs, probably similar in shape to the basket in which a carpenter carries his tools. Three such baskets the chief baker of Pharaoh dreamt he carried on his head (Gn 40[16. 17. 18]), probably in the manner represented on the tomb of Ramses III. (Wilkinson i. 401). These were baskets of white bread (RV), not white baskets as in AV, or openwork baskets, as Symmachus. Similar baskets were used to carry the unleavened bread and the oiled cakes and wafers for the offering of consecration of the priests (Ex 29[3-23]; also Lv 8[2-26]); hence in Lv 8[31] it is called the basket of consecration. Such baskets were also used for the Nazirite's offering (Nu 6[15. 17. 19]). Gideon carried the flesh of the kid and the unleavened cakes of his provision for the angel in a basket of this sort (Jg 6[19]). The name *Sallai* in Neh 11[8] 12[20] has been fancifully supposed to refer to a family of basket-makers, but this is highly improbable on etymological grounds.

2. סַלְסִלּוֹת *ṣalṣilloth*, in Jer 6[9], is translated 'grape-gatherer's baskets,' the *taltalah* of the

* In the corresponding description of the tabernacle, RV translates *kēn* 'base' (AV 'foot'), Ex 30[18-28] 31[9] 35[16] 38[8] 39[39] 40[11], Lv 8[11].

Arabs. Such baskets are represented in the Egyptian tomb-pictures (Wilkinson, i. 383). The context, however, makes it probable that the word is connected with *zalzallim*, used in Is 18^5, meaning young shoots or tendrils, for the idea in the verse is the gleaning of an already stripped vine. *Taltallim* is used in Ca 5^{11} for twisted locks of hair.

3. טֶנֶא *ṭĕne'*, a basket for ordinary household or agricultural use, employed for carrying the first-fruits (Dt 26^{2-4}). LXX renders it *κάρταλλος*, which, like the Roman *corbis*, was a basket tapering downwards. National prosperity, consequent on well-doing, was typified by the blessing of the basket (*ṭĕne'*) and the store (Dt 28^5). The opposite condition was attended with a curse on the basket (v.^{17}).

Tenà and *tennu* are common Egyp. names for a basket. In line 2 of the Canopic decree the Arsinoite basket-bearing priest is called *tenà n met Arsinati*. This is rendered in the Gr. version *canephorus*, the name given to the Athenian basket-bearing girls at the feasts of Dionysus and Demeter. The basket-bearing priest is a conspicuous feature in the Assyrian sculptures.

4. דּוּד *dûdh*, the *κάλαθος* of the LXX, was probably also a tapering basket, like that used by the Romans for wool (Virg. *Æneid*, vii. 805) or by the Greeks for fruit (Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 579). In it were contained the figs of Jeremiah's vision ($24^{1.\ 2}$). Large baskets of this kind were used for carrying clay to the brick-kilns; these are referred to in Ps 81^6 (RV; not 'pots' as in AV). They are represented in Egyp. paintings as carried on the back, over one shoulder, as in most Ushabti figures, or else they were borne between two on a pole, or two were carried by a yoke resting on the shoulders, as shown in a painting at Beni-hassan. In any case the deliverance of the Israelites is well expressed by the removal of their shoulders from the burden. In baskets of this kind the heads of Ahab's sons were sent to Jehu at Jezreel (2 K 10^7). This word is also translated 'kettle' in 1 S 2^{14}, as in Job 41^{20} (see Kettle in art. Food).

5. כְּלוּב *kĕlûbh*, rendered by LXX *ἄγγος*, is used in Am $8^{1.\ 2}$ for a basket containing summer fruits. The same word in Jer 5^{27} signifies a bird-cage, probably of basketwork, in which sense the word occurs in Phœnician and Syriac. Compare *κλωβός* in Antipater's epigram (*Anthol. Palat.* vi. 109. 3).

The תֵּבָה *tēbhah* of papyrus reeds, in which the infant Moses was exposed, was a sort of basket. *Teb* is the Egyptian name of a mummy-case. Other Egyptian baskets were *mesen*, a fruit basket of palm leaves and rushes for carrying dates; *hotep*, a basket for carrying meat (*Pap. Anastasi*) or flowers (Dümichen), *senab*, *seq*, and *χαχα*, a basket for catching fish, such as that figured on the tomb of Ti; compare the *hâkkah* of Hab 1^{15}.

In the NT three words are used which are translated basket—

1. *κόφινος*, used in all the accounts of the miracle of feeding the 5000, for the baskets in which the fragments were gathered, Mt 14^{20}, Mk 6^{43}, Lk 9^{17}, Jn 6^{13}. According to Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 14, vi. 541) the Jews carried about with them these wicker baskets for their food in Gentile countries to prevent defilement. *Kophinoi* were used to carry agricultural produce (Columella, xi. 3). Their sizes were probably variable, but the word is used for a Bœotian measure of capacity equal to two gallons (*CIG* 1625, 46).

2. *σφυρίς*, the kind of basket in which the fragments were gathered after the feeding of the 4000, Mt 15^{37}, Mk 8^8. It was probably a large provision basket, possibly of ropework, such as those which the lake-dwelling Pæonians used for fishing with (Herodot. v. 16). In such a *spuris* the disciples let down St. Paul from the walls of Damascus, Ac 9^{25}. The *spuris* and *kophinos* are contrasted in Mt $16^{9.\ 10}$, Mk $8^{19.\ 20}$, the former being probably the larger. The mediæval commentators fancifully allegorized these baskets (see Rabanus Maurus, *Alleg. in Script.* ed. Migne, 898; and for references to the *sportulæ* of the clergy and others, see Chrysost. *Ep. to Valentinus*, ed. Migne, iii. 731; and Cyprian's *Ep. ad clerum et plebem.* p. 324).

3. *σαργάνη*, used only in 2 Co 11^{33} in reference to the basket by which St. Paul escaped from Damascus. The word means anything plaited, as in Æschyl. *Suppl.* 769, but is used of a fish basket by Timokles (*Ληθ.* i.). See Pollux, *Onomast.* vii. 27.

The other receptacles mentioned in the NT, *πήρα* or wallet; *γλωσσόκομον*, Judas's bag; and *βαλλάντιον*, used thrice in Luke, were probably of leather. The *πίναξ*, on which John the Baptist's head was brought to Salome, was probably a wooden platter.

In the early Church, *cophini* or *canistra*, wicker baskets, were used for carrying the eulogia or consecrated bread and wine to those not present at the Eucharist (Jerome, *Ep. ad Rusticum*, ed. Migne, cxxv. 1078). Illustrations of these baskets are referred to in Martigny's *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 246. The word basket is of Celtic origin, from a root which signifies to twist round. Its British source, which has been questioned on dubious grounds by recent etymologists, is referred to by Martial, xiv. 99. From the *Schol. on Juv.* xii. 46, we learn that baskets were used to hold cups and pots when they were being washed in running water. (See *Bulenger. de Conviviis*, iv. 10, 11).

A. Macalister.

BASON.—1. Bason* is the rendering in EV of various Heb. words, and of the Gr. *νιπτήρ* (Jn 13^5). Of the former the most frequently used is קְמִזְרָק (LXX *φιάλη*, *σπονδεῖον*, cf. Jos. *l.c. inf.*), which denotes a bowl or basin used in the sacrificial ritual of tabernacle and temple. The officiating priest or priests caught the warm blood, as it streamed from the victim, in the basin, from which it was dashed against the altar (Ex 29^{16} etc.), or otherwise manipulated as the ritual required (see Sacrifice). The basins used for this purpose were of bronze (Ex 27^3, 1 K 7^{45}). About their size and shape we have no further information. They probably resembled somewhat the basin of bronze presented by 'a servant of Hiram' to the Phœn. deity Baal-Lebanon, of which a reconstruction from the remaining fragments is given in the *CIS* I. i. 23. The same term (מִזְרָק) is applied to the silver bowls or basins presented by the princes of the congregation with a meal-offering (Nu $7^{13ff.}$). The weight of each basin, 70 shekels,—prob. about 32 oz. troy,—shows that the מִזְרָק was not of very large dimensions. Among the furniture of the temple of Solomon, basins of gold are repeatedly mentioned (1 K 7^{50}, 2 K 12^{13}, Jer 52^{19} etc.). The number of these made by Hiram is given as 100 in 2 Ch 4^8 (with wh. cf. the statements Ezr 1^{9-11}, and contrast the exaggerations of Jos. *Ant.* viii. iii. 7, 8). Fifty such golden basins were presented by 'the Tirshatha' to the second temple (Neh 7^{70}).

2. Bason is also in a few places the rendering of סַף, which, if the reading of 2 S 17^{28} be correct (cf. Klosterm. *in loc.*), was the name for a basin as a common article of household furniture, such as is denoted by *νιπτήρ* (Jn 13^5) With this agrees its use by JE in the account of the institution of the Passover (Ex 12^{22} by the LXX mistranslated *παρὰ τὴν θύραν*). In some passages the word is translated 'cup' by RV.

3. A third term (גָּבִיעַ) occurs only in the late book of Ch-Ezr-Neh (1 Ch 28^{17}, Ezr 1^{10} 8^{27}), and

* The Amer. Revisers prefer throughout the more modern spelling 'basin.'

may be considered as a word of later origin than the others. It occurs alongside of מִזְרָק, and must therefore have differed from it; but in what respect we do not know. It is rendered in RV uniformly by 'bowl' (which see). אֲגָנוֹת 'basins,' occurs only Ex 24^6.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BASSAI (B Βασσαί, A Βασσά, AV Bassa), 1 Es 5^{16} = BEZAI, Ezr 2^{17}, Neh 7^{23}.

BASTARD is one born out of wedlock; and that is the meaning in He 12^8 'then are ye bastards (νόθοι) and not sons,' its only occurrence in NT; but in OT it is probable that מַמְזֵר *mamzêr*, of which b. is the tr. where it occurs (Dt 23^2, Zec 9^6, only), means a child of incest, not simply an illegitimate child. See Driver on Dt 23^2. Wis 4 (heading) has 'Bastard slips shall not thrive' as a paraphrase of 4^3 'But the multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive,' where the meaning is probably general' = 'base,' as in Spenser, *F.Q.* i. 24—

> 'For all he taught the tender ymp was but
> To banish cowardize and bastard feare.'

J. HASTINGS.

BASTHAI (Βασθαί, AV Bastai), 1 Es 5^{31} = BESAI, Ezr 2^{49} Neh 7^{52}.

BAT (עֲטַלֵּף *'ăṭallêph*, νυκτηρίς, *vespertilio*).—The bat is placed at the end of the unclean *fowls* (Lv 11^{19}, Dt 14^{18}), but in Lv 11^{20} the explanatory clause, 'all winged creeping things that go upon all four,' makes it perfectly plain that the bat is intended. The Arab. popular name for the bat is *wiṭwâṭ*, and the classical name is *khuffâsh*. The Heb. name, *'ăṭallêph*, signifies the *night-flier*, in allusion to the habits of the animal. The Arab. name signifies the *weak-sighted*, referring to the fact of the small eyes of bats, which see poorly by day. A man who has day-blindness is called *akhfash*, i.e. *bat-eyed*, from this circumstance. Bats are mammals, with a very light skeleton and body, and large membranous wings, spread between the elongated phalanges, and from them and the bones of the forearm and arm to the body and legs. They are nocturnal in their habits, spending their day in sleep, with their wings folded up, and suspended by a hook at the tip of the forearm, caught in some crevice of the roof of the cavern, or the ceiling of the tomb or ruin (Is $2^{19\text{-}21}$) where they have made their home, or fixed to the branch of a tree. The mousy smell of their haunts is overpowering where they are numerous. When not asleep, they are constantly squeaking like mice and rats. When disturbed they fly in rapid circles around their dark abode, or sweep in a cloud out of its exit. At night they fly forth noiselessly, and circle around houses and gardens. They pluck large quantities of apricots, dates, and other fruits, and bring them to the porches of houses and devour them, leaving quantities of the seeds and skins on the pavements, and spotting with their ordure the walls of the house as they fly. It is customary to protect the clusters of dates, and of many other fruits, by a sort of basket or bag tied over them, and sometimes the whole tree by a net, lest all the fruit should be eaten by these rapacious feeders. The bats of the Holy Land vary from the size of a mouse to that of a rat. They swarm everywhere in the caves, tombs, and ruins. When a cavern or tomb is being explored the bats often extinguish the torch or candle as the traveller passes through a narrow opening. Tristram gives a list of fifteen bats found in Palestine. The bats of the coast and mountains hibernate. But Tristram says that those of the Jordan Valley seem to be always active.

G. E. POST.

BATH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BATH, BATHING.—**1.** In contradistinction to the washing (wh. see) of particular parts of the body, hands, feet, etc., bathing is used in this article of the washing of the whole body,* and that either by the application of water, by pouring or otherwise, to the body, or by the immersion of the body in water, which alone is bathing in the strict sense of the term. The Heb. of the OT does not distinguish between the processes, both of which are expressed by רָחַץ to wash (the body, as opp. to כָּבַס to wash clothes); for washing by immersion טָבַל is once employed in OT (2 K 5^{14}, AV 'dipped himself,' but רחץ in 5^{10}). In later times it became the usual expression for bathing. The new-born infant among the Hebrews was bathed in water (Ezk 16^4) before being dressed. Some scholars have seen a reference to this custom in Ex 1^{16}, where they detect in the mysterious word אָבְנַיִם the name of the stone basin or bath in which the infants were bathed (Ges. *Thes.*; Siegfried and Stade's *Lex. s.v.*; also Kalisch, *Comm. in loc.*). With this very doubtful exception, there is no mention in OT of a bath, for which later Heb. used קָתֶת, קְקָוָה, etc. (see below). In the everyday life of the ordinary Heb. there would be neither the water nor the privacy—nor, for that matter, the inclination—necessary for bathing in the ordinary sense. The few instances of bathing in Scripture are in connexion with a river, as in the case of Pharaoh's daughter (Ex 2^5), and Naaman (2 K 5^{14}, LXX ἐβαπτίσατο); a fountain (Jth 12^7); or a pool (*birket*), as at Samaria (1 K 22^{38}), Bethesda (Jn 5^2), and in Joakim's garden (Sus ^{15}). No doubt in the palaces of royalty and the houses of the wealthy there were, even in ancient times, as at Nineveh, Tiryns, and elsewhere, arrangements for the bath, but no reference to such arrangements is found in OT or Apocrypha.

2. In the cases, other than those already cited, where 'bathe' occurs in AV and RV (in the latter more frequently), the process referred to must be understood as the ablution of the body by the application of water, not by bathing in the ordinary sense of the word.†

The prescription Lv 15^{13} 'he shall bathe his flesh in running (Heb. living) water' seems at first sight fatal to the proposition just laid down, that purification from ceremonial and other defilement was originally by a process of ablution and not of immersion; but it is evident from the context that the words in question are a euphemism for *lavabit genitalia sua* (see Dillm., Strack *in loc.*). Such ablutions were also practised on the ground of ordinary cleanliness (2 S 11^2, Sus $^{15\,ff.}$), and, in particular, before appearing in the presence of superiors (Ru 3^3, Jth 10^3 περιεκλύσατο, but 12^1 ἐβαπτίσατο, 'bathed,' as above), and *à fortiori* in the presence of God for worship (see Dillmann on Gn 35^3 for parallel passages).

3. The cleansing properties of water were increased, as among other nations, by the use of a

* This simple distinction gives the key to the often misunderstood passage Jn 13^{10} (see Westcott in *Speaker's Com.*).

† It is therefore somewhat misleading to apply such expressions as 'bathe himself in the water' (Lv *passim*) to the ablutions required by the Levitical legislation in certain specified cases (see PURIFICATION). The preposition בַּמַּיִם has in these ordinances throughout the meaning of 'with,' not 'in,' as in בָּאֵשׁ 'with fire,' 'washed with milk,' בֶּחָלָב (see below). In a few passages AV gives the correct rendering 'he shall wash his flesh *with water*,' which has been unwarrantably departed from in RV (see Lv 22^6, Dt 23^{11}). Even in the ritual of the Day of Atonement there was no provision in 'the holy place' of the tabernacle for the high priest 'bathing his flesh in water' (Lv $16^{4.\ 24}$ RV), the process in question being ablution by applying water from a basin or other vessel, as may be seen in various representations on Greek vases. See illustration in Gardner and Jevons' *Manual of Gr. Antiquities*, 1894, p. 315 (from Gerhard's *Auserles. Vasenbilder*, pl. 277). Cf. also Wilkinson's woodcut of an Egyptian lady at her ablutions, vol. ii. (pop. ed. 1854) p. 349.

vegetable alkali (בֹּרִית Jer 2^{22}, RV 'soap'), natron, a mineral alkali (נֶתֶר Jer 2^{22}, RV 'lye'), and 'washing-balls' (Sus ^{17} *σμήγματα*, on which see reff. in Iw. Müller's *Hdbuch d. klass. Alterth.* etc., bd. iv. p. 444*c*). To wash with milk was considered, as at the present day, highly beneficial to the complexion (Ca 5^{12}); and it seems to have been a popular superstition that royal blood possessed similar properties, which explains the curious note (1 K 22^{38}) that the harlots of Samaria bathed in the pool in which Ahab's chariot had been washed (so RV, see *Speaker's Commentary in loc.* and Additional Note B, p. 624).

4. Public baths are first met with in the Greek period. The *γυμνάσιον* erected by the Hellenizing party in Jerus. in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 1^{14}, 2 Mac $4^{9, 12}$) must have contained the usual hot and cold baths. Remains of baths from the Roman period exist in various parts of the country. In 1895 a Roman bath was discovered a short distance from the Pool of Siloam (*PEFSt*, Oct. 1895, p. 306 ff.). That some even of the most respected Jewish doctors frequented the public baths (בֵּית דִּימוֹסִין, *δημόσιον*,* pl. בֵּית דִּימוֹסִיוֹת *Abod. Zar.* i. 7) is shown by the anecdote told of Gamaliel bathing in the bath (קַרְתָּצָן, pl. קַרְתָּצָאוֹת) of Aphrodite in Acco (Acre, *Abod. Zar.* iii. 4, Strack's ed.). In Herod's temple, as we might expect, there was a bath-room (בֵּית הַטְּבִילָה) for the priests (Yoma iii. 2). With the increasing stringency in the observation of the ceremonial requirements of the law (cf. Mk 7^{4}), the bath became, for the laity as well, an all-important factor in the religious life of the community, as may be seen from the number of treatises of the Talm. devoted to the various aspects of this subject (see PURIFICATION).

5. In the Roman period, also, we first find a reference to the medicinal value of the hot springs in various localities. Thus Herod the Great, near the end of his life, was sent to take the warm baths at Callirrhoë, E. of the Dead Sea (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5). Those of Tiberias (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3) and Gadara were also celebrated. On this part of the subject see Hamburger, *RE. f. Bibel u. Tal.* vol. ii. 'Heilbäder'; Leop. Löw, *Zur Medezin, etc.*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii. 1893, p. 367 ff.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BATH-RABBIM (בַּת־רַבִּים 'daughter of multitudes,' Ca 7^{4}). — A gate of Heshbon near fish pools. Perhaps the rock cutting on the edge of the slope, above the stream west of Heshbon, by which the main road approaches the city on the plateau immediately to the east. The stream is full of small fish. See *SEP* vol. i. *s.v. Hesbân.*

C. R. CONDER.

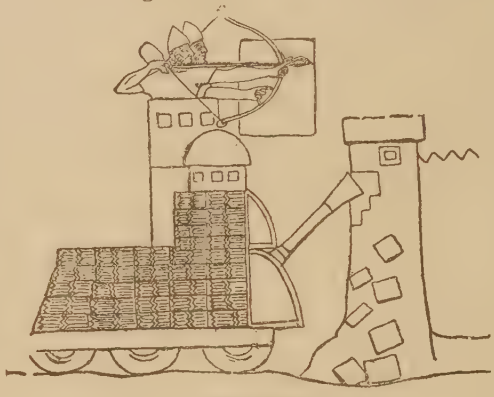
BATHSHEBA (בַּת־שֶׁבַע).—The wife of Uriah the Hittite, and afterwards of David, and the mother of Solomon. The tragic story of David's adultery with her, and of his treachery towards her husband, is recounted in 2 S 11. Bathsheba is variously described as the daughter of Eliam (2 S 11^{3}), or of Ammiel (1 Ch 3^{5}, where, moreover, her name is written **Bathshua**). It has been suggested with some probability that the father of Bathsheba is to be identified with the Eliam of 2 S 23^{34}, who was a son of Ahithophel the Gilonite. This might explain the latter's desertion of David as an act of revenge for the seduction of his granddaughter and the murder of her husband. Once introduced into the palace as the wife of David, Bathsheba seems to have quickly accommodated herself to her new rank, and to have gained a commanding influence at court. She displayed considerable skill and not a little ambition upon the occasion when, in conjunction with Nathan the prophet, she bent the aged David to her will, and secured the succession to the throne for her son Solomon (1 K 1^{11-31}).

J. A. SELBIE.

* For the identity of the two words see Fleischer's note *sub* דִּיקְטָא in Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.* Cf. בָּלָן, *βαλανεύς*, etc.

BATHSHUA (1 Ch 2^{3} 3^{5}).—See BATHSHEBA, SHUA.

BATTERING-RAM.—This instrument is first clearly mentioned in Ezk (4^{2} 21^{22} 'rams'=כָּרִים *kârîm*). The Hebrews probably adopted it from the Assyrians, the great takers of cities. In its essence it was a stout pole, probably with a metal ferule or head, worked with a motion which was half a fall half a thrust against the wall. Protection for the



BATTERING-RAM.
(From a relief in the British Museum.)

workers was supplied by placing it under a roofed shed or in a tower. The whole machine was often brought forward on wheels.

Perhaps, however, some rough machine was known in earlier times, and its use may be referred to in 1 K 20^{12} ('place [the engines],' RVm) and in 2 S 20^{15} ('all the people battered [מַשְׁחִיתִים] the wall to throw it down').

W. E. BARNES.

BATTLE.—See WAR; and for the various battles, consult their place-names, and the art. ISRAEL.

BATTLE-AXE (קֶפֶץ *mappeẓ*, Jer 51^{20}).—Perhaps the same weapon as the [battle]-hammer (פַּטִּישׁ) of Jer 50^{23}. The head of such a weapon made of copper has been found at Tell el-Hesy, the ancient Lachish, among the ruins of the 'First' city. (It is figured in art. AXE, second fig. on p. 206[a]). On the Assyrian relief in the British Museum, representing the battle against the Elamites in which their king, Te-umman, was killed, an Assyr. soldier is shown using a weapon which might be a double hammer or a double axe, or a combination of hammer and axe, no doubt a *mappeẓ*.

The word קֶגֶר *ḳeḡor*, in Ps 35^{3}, which is tr. RVm 'battle-axe,' is rather to be taken after AV and RV (text) as a verb. The marg. reading supposes a pointing קָגָר, and an identification with the Pers. weapon *σάγαρις* mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon. Cheyne, however (*in loco*), gives קָגָר=*σάγαρις*='dirk.'

W. E. BARNES.

BATTLE-BOW (Zec 9^{10} 10^{4}).—See BOW.

BATTLEMENT.—See HOUSE, WAR.

BAVVAI (בַּוַּי, AV **Bavai**, Neh 3^{18}).—In the days of Nehemiah, Bavvai, the son of Henadad, the ruler of half the district of Keilah, rebuilt a portion of the wall of Jerusalem, on the south-east of the city. He was of a Levitical family (*their brethren*, cf. v.^{17}). In v.^{24} he appears as **Binnui** the son of Henadad, and this is probably the correct form (Smend, *Listen*, p. 12). In LXX Βεναί A, Βεδεί B.

H. A. WHITE.

BAY, the colour, occurs Zec $6^{3.7}$. See COLOURS. 'Bay' of the sea, Jos $15^{2.5}$ 18^{19} (*lâshôn*, lit. 'tongue'); and RV turns 'creek' into 'bay' Ac 27^{39} (*κόλπος*, 'bosom,' 'lap'). J. HASTINGS.

BAY TREE (אֶזְרָח *'ezrâḥ*).—The proper translation of the only passage where this word occurs (Ps 37^{35}) would seem to be that of RV, 'like a green tree in its native soil.' The rendering of the LXX, *κέδρος τοῦ Λιβάνου*, assumes that אֶזְרָח is a clerical mistake for אֶרֶז, a wholly unnecessary assumption. The guess, *bay tree*, of AV is still wider of the mark. G. E. POST.

BAYITH (בַּיִת).—The Heb. and cognate word in Sem. for the general term 'house.' Its etymology is doubtful, though referred (by Ges. *Thes.*) to a root בּוּת. Cf. Assyr. *bîtu*, *house*; Sab. בית, בת, *a fortress, temple*; Palmyr. בת מקברתא, is *sepulchre* (de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, 32, 64). In Aram. בּוּת is rendered *spend the night*. This word is found with construct relation (**Beth**) in freq. combination in proper names of places: Beth-el, Beth-barah, etc. (see sep. artt.) It is also used as inclusive of a country or condition; *e.g. house of bondage* (Dt 5^{6}), *house of meeting* (in Sheol, Job 30^{23}); also in fig. expressions which do not appear in the Eng. version, for example Is 3^{20}, Ex 36^{34}. It also designates 'family' in such passages as *house of Pharaoh* (Gn 50^{4}), *house of Levi* (Ex 2^{1}), *house of Israel* (Ru 4^{11}). A few times it refers to the land of Israel as *house of J"* (Hos 8^{1}). Its principal meanings seem to be (1) a place for halting, resting, or living; (2) a family or tribe not necessarily connected with any spot or place; (3) a place and a family as closely related under the one term.

Bayith (AV **Bajith**) occurs as a proper name in Is 15^{2} 'He is gone up to B.' or (marg.) 'B. is gone up to the high places.' LXX gives us no help, reading *λυπεῖσθε ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀπολεῖται γὰρ καὶ Δηβών*. It is not improbable that בַּיִת here is to be taken in its common sense, and not as a proper name. In that case we should render, with Delitzsch, 'They go up to the temple house.' IRA M. PRICE.

BAZLITH (בַּצְלִית Neh 7^{54}), **Bazluth** (בַּצְלוּת Ezr 2^{52} 'stripping'=Basaloth, 1 Es 5^{31}).—Founder of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel.

BDELLIUM (בְּדֹלַח *bĕdôlaḥ*, Gn 2^{12}, Nu 11^{7}).—*Bĕdôlaḥ* is a word of exceedingly doubtful signification: by some being interpreted a gum;* by others, a precious stone.† We are not, however, concerned with the translation, but with the original Heb. word. It seems improbable that a vegetable product should be associated in the account of Eden with 'gold' and the 'onyx' (or 'beryl' in margin). The reference to the word in Nu 11^{7} helps to throw some light upon the nature of *bĕdôlaḥ*; the 'eye' of the manna is said to be like the 'eye' of *bĕdôlaḥ*; and, as suggested by Sir J. W. Dawson, the substance must have been known to the Hebrews of the Exodus as having a peculiar lustre, and occurring in rounded grains of a greyish colour 'like coriander seed' (Ex 16^{31}).‡ These illustrations at once suggest the pearl, which, though not a mineral, is a hard, stony substance, round in form, and with special lustre, much prized by the ancients as an ornament, abundant in the waters of the Persian Gulf,§ and in all probability in those of the rivers entering from the north, such as the Euphrates, Tigris (Hiddekel), and the two other streams descending from the highlands of Persia. Probably those obtained from the Pison (the modern Karun?) were of peculiar beauty and value. Fresh-water mussels producing pearls frequent many rivers in both hemispheres, as for example those of the British Isles, Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, United States and Canada, Japan and China; the rivers in which the pearl mussels breed are chiefly those descending from mountainous regions in temperate and sub-tropical climates; in the case of the Pison the waters descending from the mountains at high altitudes would have afforded the conditions of temperature required for their vitality.

LITERATURE.—Delitzsch, *Neuer Com. über die Gen.* p. 84 (Eng. tr. i. 127); Dillmann, *Genesis*, p. 57; Spurrell, *Notes on Gen.* p. 30; Tristram in *Expos. Times*, iv. 259; Dawson, *Mod. Science in Bible Lands*, p. 115; also in *Expos.* 3rd ser. iii. 201, and *Expos. Times*, iv. 369. E. HULL.

BE is frequent for 'are' in the pres. indic. pl. of all persons, but not invariable, nor can any system be discovered: cf. Ps 107^{30} 'Then are they glad because they be quiet'; and Mt $9^{2.5}$ 'thy sins be forgiven thee' with the parallel passage Lk 5^{20} 'thy sins are forgiven thee.'* Eng. RV occasionally, Amer. RV always, gives 'are' for 'be.'

The verb 'to be,' in one or other of its parts, translates a great variety of Heb. and Gr. expressions, some of which are highly idiomatic, and should be attended to. In NT the commonest word, after *εἰμί*, is *γίνομαι*, which is probably never identical with *εἰμί*, since it expresses coming into the state rather than being in it, but cannot always be distinguished from it in English. (It is precisely the distinction between *sein* and *werden*.) RV wherever possible gives 'become,' as Jn 10^{16} 'they shall become one flock' for AV 'there shall be one fold.'

Observe also—**1.** 'To be' in its primal sense of 'to exist,' as in Hamlet's famous line—

'To be, or not to be, that is the question.'

Gn 5^{24} 'And Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him'; Wis 13^{1} 'out of the good things that are seen know him that is'; He 11^{6} 'he that cometh to God must believe that he is.' **2.** 'To be the case,' esp. in the phrase 'be it that,' Job 19^{4} 'And be it indeed that I have erred.' **3.** 'To belong to,' esp. in 'peace be to,' 'grace be to,' etc., Sir 25^{9} 'Well is him that hath found prudence.' **4.** 'To happen,' Ac 21^{35} 'So it was (*συνέβη*) that he was borne of the soldiers.'

J. HASTINGS.

BEACH.—In Mt $13^{2.48}$, Jn 21^{4}, Ac 21^{5} $27^{39.40}$, that is, wherever the Gr. in NT is *αἰγιαλός*, RV changes 'shore' into 'beach,' leaving 'shore' for *χείλος* (=שָׂפָה='lip'). The beach is properly the part of the shore washed by the tide.

J. HASTINGS.

BEALIAH (בְּעַלְיָה 'J" is lord').—A Benjamite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{5}).

BEALOTH (בְּעָלוֹת), Jos 15^{24}.—An unknown town in the extreme south of Judah. See BALAH.

BEAM is the tr. of several Heb. words, as—**1.** אָרֹג *'eregh*, Jg 16^{14}, a weaver's hand-loom (to which Samson's hair was fastened), not simply

* If *bdellium* be the correct translation for *bĕdôlaḥ*, then, according to Josephus, it was 'one of the sweet spices,' *Ant.* III. i. 6.

† The LXX renders it by *ἄνθραξ* in Gn and by *κρύσταλλος* in Nu. The translators, therefore, considered it to be a precious stone, but leave the reader a choice between two very different species. This view is opposed by Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 674–683, iii. 592).

‡ *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, p. 190.

§ G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 455

* In 1611 the two forms seem to be still equally acceptable, and for the most part AV follows previous versions. The previous versions do not always agree, however. Thus in Mt 22^{14} Tindale has, 'For many are called, but feawe be chosen'; but the Great Bible, 'For many be called, but feaw are chosen.' About the middle of the 17th cent. 'are' generally replaces 'be,' as may be seen by comparing the Prayer-Books of 1604 and of 1662 (*e.g.* Keeling's *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, pp. xxii, 6, 38, 93, etc.).

the beam. The same word is tr^{d} 'shuttle' Job 7^{6}. **2.** מְנוֹר *mânôr*, a weaver's beam, to which the web is attached. Goliath's spear handle is compared to it, 1 S 17^{7} and 2 S 21^{19}; his brother Lahmi's, 1 Ch 20^{5}; and that of an Egyptian slain by Benaiah, 1 Ch 11^{23}. **3.** קוֹרָה *ḳôrah*, 2 K 6$^{2.\,5}$, 2 Ch 3^{7}, Ca 1^{17}, a beam to be used as the rafter of a house; hence the roof itself used fig. for the house, Gn 19^{8} 'they are come under the shadow of my roof.' 'Beam' in older Eng. was used for the tree before it was squared into a beam; this use is found in 2 K 6$^{2.\,5}$ 'as one was felling a b.' **4.** גֵּב *gêbh*, 1 K 6^{9} for the beams supporting the roof of Solomon's temple; but the meaning (perhaps the reading) is uncertain. **5.** צֵלָע *ẓêlâʿ*, 1 K 7^{3} in ref. to Solomon's own house. In 6^{5} the same word is tr^{d} 'chambers,' which seems to be its meaning in 7^{3} also. See RVm. **6.** כָּפִיס *kâphîṣ*, Hab 2^{11} 'the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the b. out of the timber shall answer it'—a girder probably (*a connectendo*, says Ges. *Thes. s.v.*).

In NT, only δοκός, Mt 7$^{3.\,4.\,5}$, Lk 6$^{41.\,42\,bis}$ of the beam in the eye: a common classical word for a beam of wood, esp. for roofing. LXX uses it for tr^{n} of *ḳôrah*, Gn 19^{8}, 1 K 6$^{2.\,5}$, Ca 1^{17}. J. HASTINGS.

BEANS (פּוֹל *pôl*, κύαμος, *faba*).—There is no reason to doubt that the vegetable alluded to is the horse-bean, *Faba vulgaris*, L. It is still known by the Arabs as *fûl*, which is the same word as the Heb. *pôl*. It is extensively cultivated in the East, and furnishes a coarse cheap article of diet, which is, however, eaten by the rich as well as the poor. There are several other kinds of beans grown in Palestine, as the string bean, *Vigna Sinensis*, L., var. *sesquipedalis*, L., which is known as *lûbiyeh belediyeh*, and the kidney bean, *Phaseolus vulgaris*, L., *lûbiyeh ifrangîyeh*, and a climbing bean known as *lûbiyeh ḳuṣâṣ*, which is probably a variety of *Phaseolus multiflorus*, L. The *fûl* (horse-bean) is used in two stages of its development: one, the pods in the unripe state, like string beans; the other, the ripe beans, which are boiled as the ordinary white beans. In both these stages they are made into a stew with meat, and a large proportion of fat, or with oil alone, and often flavoured with onion or garlic. *Fûl* is sown in Oct. or Nov., after the early rains, and harvested earlier or later in the spring, according to the stage in which it is to be used. When harvested for the seed, it is plucked up by the roots, the stalks are trodden and cut to pieces on the threshing-floors, and the seeds extracted and winnowed, as in the case of other grains. It was the seeds that were ground with barley, lentiles, millet, and fitches to make bread (Ezk 4^{9}). It is mentioned only once more as part of the supplies brought by the trans-Jordanic friends of David when he had fled to Mahanaim (2 S 17^{28}). This, with the other supplies, would be just what would be needed and available to-day in the same region and under similar circumstances. G. E. POST.

BEAR (דֹּב or דּוֹב *dôb*, ἄρκτος, ἄρκος, *ursus*, *ursa*).—There is but one species of bear in Syria, *Ursus Syriacus*, Ehr. It is known to the natives by the name *dubb*, which is the Arab. form of *dôb*. It closely resembles the brown bear, *Ursus arctos*, L., of Europe. It has, however, a greyish brown fur. Tristram says that it is closely allied to *Ursus isabellinus*, Horsf., of India. The bear is found in all the wilder regions of alpine Lebanon and Anti-lebanon, far more abundantly in the latter range, esp. its more unfrequented northern solitudes, than in the former. During the cold weather of winter, esp. in exceptionally rigorous seasons, it comes down to the lower mountains in search of food. It is found sparingly in the mountains of Bashan, Gilead, and Moab. Very rarely is it seen in Western Palestine.

The bear feeds principally on roots, bulbs, fruits, and other vegetable products. It is fond of the chick pea, which is much cultivated on the higher levels, where the farmer often suffers serious losses from the bear's voracity. When not abundantly supplied with vegetable food, it will attack sheep and other animals. It rarely attacks man, but, on the contrary, usually runs away from him as fast as possible.

It is clear that bears were once abundant in Palestine, when that country was more wooded than it is now. David killed one in Judæa (1 S 17$^{34-36}$). Two she-bears are said to have torn forty-two children between Jericho and Bethel (2 K 2^{24}). There are a number of allusions to the characteristics of bears in OT. The bear lies in wait (La 3^{10}). The she-bear, 'robbed of her whelps,' is described as specially ferocious (2 S 17^{8}, Pr 17^{12}, Hos 13^{8}). It is spoken of as second to the lion in danger to man (1 S 17$^{34.\,36}$, Am 5^{19}). A graphic picture of the peaceful reign of the Messiah is the cow and the bear feeding together, and their young lying down together (Is 11^{7}).

There is not the slightest warrant for the LXX rendering, λύκος (*wolf*, Pr 28^{15}), nor μέριμνα (*anxious thought*, Pr 17^{12}), for *dôb*. In both passages the bear is undoubtedly meant.

G. E. POST.

BEARD.—The Egyptians strongly disliked hair on the face: they shaved themselves, and compelled their slaves also to do so. Joseph, coming from prison, had to shave before appearing to the king (Gn 41^{14}). The unshaven face betokened grief. False beards, however, were worn, varying in size and shape with the rank of the individual. Those of the common people were short—that of the monarch, long and square-bottomed: deities are represented with beards curled up at the end. The Jews and kindred peoples have always attached extreme importance to the beard. The leper alone was bound to shave (Lv 14^{9}). The Jews appear with beards in the Assyr. sculptures of the taking of Lachish. They had no special rule for their slaves; unlike the Romans, who, when they took to shaving, compelled their slaves to wear beards. 'Cutting off the corners of the beard,' and making cuttings in the flesh, are prohibited (Lv 19$^{26-28}$). These practices are marks of idolatry (Jer 41^{5}), and the peoples of the 'polled corners' are to drink the wine-cup of God's wrath (Jer 9^{26} 25^{23} 49^{32}). Certain neighbouring nations cut off the hair between the ear and the eye in honour of the god Orotal. The prohibition distinguished Israel from idolaters. In time the Jews came to regard the hairs on this part as sacred; hence the long grotesque love-locks of the modern Ashkenazim.

A large graceful beard is a coveted distinction in the East, often securing respect for its possessor. Carefully tended, it may yet in grief be neglected, and actually plucked (2 S 19^{24}). The Arab who shaves disgraces his family, who for generations are called 'sons of the shaven one.' To injure a man's beard is a deep insult (2 S 10^{4} etc.). When a Greek priest is deposed, the heaviest humiliation is the cutting of his beard. Deliberate defilement of the beard would be accepted as clear proof of madness (1 S 21^{13}). It is common to swear by the beard; and in pressing a suit, success is greatly facilitated by placing a hand, if possible, under the beard of him who is addressed.

W. EWING.

BEAST.—Three words in Heb. are so translated in AV and RV. **1.** בְּהֵמָה *bĕhêmâh*, the Arab. *bĕhîmah*, which is defined as 'any quadruped, even if it live in water, or any animal not endowed with reason.' In the sense of a quadruped, we have

clean beasts (Gn 7^2); in *contradistinction to man* (Gn 6^7, Ex $9^{9.\,10.\,25}$); *animals to be eaten* (Lv 11^2); *mammalia*, as constituting one of the four principal classes of the vertebrates, *beasts, fowls, creeping things*, and *fishes* (1 K 4^{33}); in the sense of the *animal kingdom* (Pr 30^{30}); of *domestic animals* (1 K 18^5), esp. *riding animals* (Neh 2^{12}); of *wild animals* (Dt 32^{24}). This word is arbitrarily tr. in both AV and RV *cattle* (Gn $1^{24\text{-}26}$ 2^{20} 3^{14} $7^{14.\,21}$ 9^{10} Ps 50^{10} etc.). See CATTLE.

2. בְּעִיר *be'ir* (Ex 22^5, Nu $20^{8.\,11}$ AV 'beasts,' but v.[4] of the same chapter 'cattle.' 'Cattle' is read by RV in Nu $20^{4.\,8.\,11}$, and by AV, RV in Ps 78^{48}. Both give 'beasts' in Gn 45^{17}, the only other occurrence of the word.

3. חַיָּה *ḥayyah* (*ḥaytho*, poetic form, with old case ending, Gn 1^{24}, Ps 50^{10} 79^2 etc.). It is used (1) of animals in general (Gn 8^{17}, Lv 11^2 etc.); (2) in contradistinction to *bĕhêmâh*, i.e. *wild b.* (Gn 7^{14} 8^1 9^2 etc.), specialised in the *b. of the reed* (marg. AV, text RV Ps 68^{30}); *evil b.* (Gn $37^{20.\,33}$ etc.); *b. of the field* (Ex 23^{11} etc.); *ravenous b.* (Is 35^9). The word *ḥayyah* is tr. in other places *living creatures* (Ezk 1^5 etc.); *life* (Ps 143^3, Is 57^{10}, RV *quickening*, etc.); *appetite* (Job 38^{39}); *living thing* (Gn 1^{28} etc.) = Arab. *ḥayawân*, 'animal.'

The words for beast in NT are chiefly: **1.** *θηρίον*, Ac 28^4 of a viper; Tit 1^{12} of the Cretans; more generally in He 12^{20}, Ja 3^7. It is the word used more than 30 times in Rev for the **Beast of the Apocalypse** (on which see NUMBER, REVELATION). **2.** The word *ζῷον* is used in Rev 4^6 foll. of the 'living ones' who were round about the throne (AV 'beasts,' RV more suitably 'living creatures'). G. E. POST.

BEATING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BEATITUDE.—The word 'beatitude' does not occur in the English Bible. In Biblical Theology it signifies either (1) the joys of heaven, or (2) one of the declarations of blessedness made by Christ as attached to certain virtues, or conditions, or persons. The word in this latter sense is the subject of this article.*

Several of Christ's declarations of blessedness are isolated beatitudes, called forth by special circumstances: Mt 11^6 = Lk 7^{23}, Mt 13^{16} = Lk 10^{23}, Mt 24^{46} = Lk 12^{43}, Mt 16^{17}, Lk 11^{28} 12^{37}, Jn 13^{17} 20^{29}. There are no beatitudes in St. Mark, and the word *μακάριος* does not occur in his Gospel, but in the Catholic Epistles and the Apoc. there are several: 1 P 3^{14} 4^{14}, Ja $1^{12.\,25}$, Rev 1^3 14^{13} 16^{15} 19^9 20^6 $22^{7.\,14}$.

But the term is most commonly used of those general declarations of blessedness made by Christ in the discourses recorded by St. Matthew (v.[3-11]) and St. Luke ($6^{20\text{-}22}$), which are sometimes distinguished as the 'Sermon on the Mount' and the 'Sermon on the Plain.' The question whether the two evangelists give us divergent records of the same discourse or records of two different but similar discourses, will probably never cease to be discussed, for proof is impossible. But the beatitudes as recorded by each are a considerable element in the evidence. In Mt we have eight beatitudes and no woes; in Lk four beatitudes and four corresponding woes. Moreover, in the beatitudes which are common to both there are important differences. (1) Those in Mt are in the third person, and apply to all mankind: 'for *theirs* is,' 'for *they* shall,' etc. Those in Lk are in the second person, and apply primarily to those present: 'for *yours* is,' 'for *ye* shall,' etc. (2) In Lk the more spiritual words which occur in Mt are omitted, and the blessings are assigned to external conditions. *Actual* poverty, sorrow, and hunger are declared to be blessed,—no doubt as opportunities of internal graces; and the corresponding woes are uttered against *actual* wealth, jollity, and fulness of bread,—as sources of grievous temptation. In the last beatitude there is less difference between the two. In Lk there is no blessedness assigned to unpopularity, unless it is incurred for the Son of Man's sake; and there is no woe on popularity for His sake.

The first difference explains the second. The universal declarations in Mt require the spiritual conditions. The special declarations in Lk, being addressed to disciples, do not. Even for pagans, to be poor *in spirit* and to hunger after *righteousness* are blessed things: but it is only to the faithful Christian that actual poverty and actual hunger are sure to be blessings. To others these trials may be barren suffering, or may harden rather than chasten. The beatitudes omitted in Lk are the third, fifth, sixth, and seventh of Mt, viz. those relating to the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, and the peacemakers.

The eight beatitudes may be regarded as an analysis of perfect spiritual wellbeing; and nowhere in non-Christian literature shall we find so sublime a summary of the best elements in the felicity attainable by man. They correct all low and carnal views of human happiness. But it is fanciful to find a gradation in the order in which they are recorded, *e.g.* that poverty of spirit is the death of self-righteousness; mourning the burial of self-righteousness; meekness the virtue that takes the place of self-righteousness, etc.

It is more to the point to notice that they do not describe eight different classes of people, but eight different elements of excellence, which may all be combined in one and the same man. Some of them, indeed, are almost certain to be so combined, *e.g.* being poor in spirit with meekness, and endurance of persecution with mourning. And perhaps it is not untrue to say with Ambrose that the four given by St. Luke virtually include the whole eight; but to make each of the four correspond to one of the four cardinal virtues is to force the meaning of one or the other.

The following table will show in a clear way the difference between Mt and Lk in the four beatitudes which they have in common:—

St. Matthew.	St. Luke.	St. Luke.
Blessed	*Blessed*	*Woe*
1. are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.	1. are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.	1. unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.
2. are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.	3. are ye that weep now: for ye shall laugh.	3. ye that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.
4. are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.	2. are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled.	2. unto you, ye that are full now! for ye shall hunger.
8. are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you,	4. are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall sepa-	4. when all men shall speak well of you! for in the same

* *Beatitudo* is used in this sense as early as Ambrose: *Quatuor tantum beatitudines sanctus Lucas Dominicas posuit, octo vero sanctus Matthæus: sed in his octo illæ quatuor sunt, et in istis quatuor illæ octo. Hic enim quatuor velut virtutes amplexus est cardinales* (*Expos. Evang. sec. Luc.* v. 49, Migne, xiv. xv. 1649). In Gr. μακαρισμός has this meaning in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom and elsewhere: the μακαρισμοί are sung on Sundays instead of the third antiphon. In English this use of 'beatitude' is perhaps not earlier than 1500.

and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

rate you, and reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice in that day, and leap for joy: for behold, your reward is great in heaven: for in the same manner did their fathers to the prophets.

manner did their fathers to the false prophets.

A. PLUMMER.

BEAUTIFUL GATE.—See JERUSALEM.

BEBAI.—**1.** (בֵּבַי) The eponym of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 2^{11} 8^{11} 10^{28}, Neh 7^{16} 10^{15}, 1 Es 5^{13} 9^{29}). See GENEALOGY. **2.** (*Βηβαί*) An utterly unknown locality mentioned only in Jth 15^{4}. B and Vulg. omit. The text is probably corrupt.

J. A. SELBIE.

BECAUSE was formerly used (and is still used locally) to express the *purpose*. Thus Burton, *Anat. Mel.* (1621) 'Anointing the doors and hinges with oyl, because (=in order that) they should not creak.' There are two examples in AV, Wis 11^{23} 'And winkest at the sins of men b. they should amend' (RV 'to the end they may repent'); Mt 20^{31} 'And the multitude rebuked them b. (RV 'that') they should hold their peace.'

J. HASTINGS.

BECHER (בֶּכֶר 'young camel').—**1.** Son of Ephraim, Nu 26^{35}=1 Ch 7^{20} where the name appears as **Bered.** Patronymic in Nu 26^{35} **Becherites** (AV Bachrites). **2.** Son of Benjamin, Gn 46^{21}, 1 Ch $7^{6.8}$ and implicitly in 1 Ch 8^{1} where for MT, בְּכוֹרוֹ אַשְׁבֶּל =*his first-born, Ashbel*, we should probably read בֶּכֶר וְאַשְׁבֶּל=*Becher and Ashbel*. J. A. SELBIE.

BECHORATH (בְּכוֹרַת).—One of Saul's ancestors (1 S 9^{1}, 1 Ch 7^{8}).

BECK (from verb 'beck,' which is a short form of beckon), now nearly displaced by 'nod,' occurs 2 Mac 8^{18} AV and RV, 'Almighty God, who at a beck can cast down both them that come against us and all the world' (Gr. *ἐνὶ νεύματι*).

Beckon occurs more frequently, but only in NT. It deserves attention on account of the precision of the Greek words.

1. There is the simple *νεύω*, to nod, to make signs with the *head*, Jn 13^{24} of Simon Peter's nod to John to ask who was to be the betrayer; Ac 24^{10} of Felix's nod to Paul to speak.

2. *Διανεύω*, lit. 'to nod through,' Lk 1^{22} of Zacharias' beckoning (RV 'making signs') to the people, *διά* perhaps expressing the range—not to one, but to many.

3. *Κατανεύω*, lit. 'to nod down to,' Lk 5^{7} 'they beckoned unto their partners in the other boat.'

Other compounds of *νεύω* found in NT, but not trd 'beckon,' are (1) *ἐκνεύω*, Jn 5^{13} 'Jesus had *conveyed himself away*'; (2) *ἐννεύω*, Lk 1^{62} 'they *made signs* to his father'; and (3) *ἐπινεύω*, Ac 18^{20} 'he *consented* not.'

4. Then there is *σείω* 'to shake,' with its compounds *ἀνασείω*, *διασείω*, *κατασείω*, of which only the last is trd 'beckon,' to make signs with the *hand*, esp. before beginning to address an audience, Ac 12^{17} 13^{16} 19^{33} 21^{40}. J. HASTINGS.

BECOME.—**1.** As tr. of *πρέπω* 'to be seemly,' 'appropriate,' 'b.' is found Mt 3^{15}, Eph 5^{3}, 1 Ti 2^{10}, Tit 2^{1} (RV 'befit'), He 2^{10} 7^{26} 'such an high priest became us.' In Tit 2^{3} 'in behaviour as becometh holiness' (RV 'reverent in demeanour'), the Gr. is one word *ἱεροπρεπής*, from *ἱερός* 'sacred' and *πρέπει* 'it is becoming.' In Ro 16^{2} 'as becometh saints' the Gr. is *ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων* 'worthily of the saints'; so in Ph 1^{27} 'as it becometh the gospel of Christ' (RV 'worthy of'). **2.** In Bar 3^{16} occurs the obsolete phrase 'where is become,' for 'what is become of': 'Where are the princes of the heathen become?' (RV omits 'become'). Cf. Wither (1628), 'Why should the wicked . . . say, Where is their God become?'

J. HASTINGS.

BECTILETH Plain (*τὸ πεδίον Βαικτελαλθ*), Jth 2^{21}.—Between Nineveh and Cilicia. Perhaps the Bactiali of the Peutinger Tables, 21 miles from Antioch. The Syriac supposes an original reading, בית קטלה 'house of slaughter' (?). C. R. CONDER.

BED (for which RV substitutes 'couch' in 1 Ch 5^{1}, Est 1^{6} 7^{8}, Job 17^{13}, Ps 41^{3}, Pr 7^{16}, Ca 1^{16}, and 'litter' in Ca 3^{7}) is AV tr. of the following Heb. words:—**1.** מִשְׁכָּב (fr. שָׁכַב 'lie down') 40 times. **2.** יָצוּעַ (fr. יָצַע 'spread out') poet. 1 Ch 5^{1} (fr. Gn 49^{4}), Job 17^{13}, Ps 63^{6} 132^{3}. **3.** מַצַּע (fr. same root) Is 28^{20}. **4.** עֲרוּגָה ('flower-bed') twice, Ca 5^{13} 6^{2}, to which RV adds Ezk $17^{7.10}$. **5.** מִטָּה (fr. נָטָה 'stretch out') 26 times. **6.** עֶרֶשׂ (a four-post bed?) 4 times, Job 7^{13}, Ps 41^{3}, Pr 7^{16}, Ca 1^{16}. The last two words appear to be parallel in meaning in Am 6^{4}, 'that lie upon beds (מִטּוֹת) of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches (עַרְשׂוֹתָם).' Both are used also in the sense of 'bier,' מִטָּה in 2 S 3^{31}, עֶרֶשׂ in Syr. (comp. *'arsâ'* in Lk 7^{14}), while מִשְׁכָּב is applied in 2 Ch 16^{14} to Asa's resting-place in his tomb. All this lends support to the opinion of those who interpret the 'bedstead' of Og (Dt 3^{11}) of a sarcophagus (see Driver, *ad loc.*). The word מטה, written without vowel points, might be read either מִטָּה 'bed' or מַטֶּה 'staff.' Hence in Gn 47^{31} we find, 'Israel bowed himself *upon the bed's head*, the tr. following MT (עַל־רֹאשׁ הַמִּטָּה), while in He 11^{21} we have 'Jacob worshipped, *leaning upon the top of his staff*,' which adopts the LXX *ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ*. See next article. J. A. SELBIE.

BED.—The bed of the Hebrews did not differ in essential respects from that of other Oriental peoples. It consisted of a mat and quilt to lie upon, and a covering or coverlet. 'For the bed is shorter than a man can stretch himself on it; and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it' (Is 28^{20}). The adjuncts were the pillow and the bedstead and its ornaments. Amongst all classes the custom was to sleep in the day-clothes without any material change of garments; sheets were therefore superfluous. In its simplest form the bed consisted only of the day-clothes and the outer garment or cloak. 'If thou at all take thy neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it to him by that the sun goeth down: for that is his only covering; it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep?' (Ex 22^{27}).

The ordinary bedding used throughout the East at the present day is probably similar in character to that which has been in use for centuries, and consists of (1) a mat of rushes or straw; (2) skins, or a cloak or a quilt stuffed with dry herbs, hair, or vegetable fibre to lie upon; (3) a covering of light stuff in summer, or of skins or quilted stuff in winter. The bedding is rolled up (Pr 22^{27}) in the morning, and, after being aired in the sun, is put away in a chamber or closet. Many of these beds are kept in a house, and, when the inmates are few, they are sometimes stacked one on another and form a temporary bedstead. There is little difference between the bed for sleeping on and the divan or couch for resting on during the day. The bed is essentially an article that can be moved about readily from place to place. 'Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may slay him (1 S 19^{15}). 'Behold, men bring on a bed a man that was palsied' (Lk 5^{18-25}).

There is usually some portion of the house set apart as a room where the whole family may sleep. 'My children are with me in bed, I cannot rise and give thee' (Lk 11^{5-8}). Among the very poorest a portion of the floor is set apart, and this is often somewhat raised up above the surrounding floor so as to serve as a bedstead. When there are two

storeys, the beds are on the upper floor, and during the summer time they are usually on the flat roof. Thus references are constantly made to going *up* to bed, which may indicate either a bed raised up on a bedstead, or situated in an upper chamber, or on the roof (Gn 49^{33}). 'Thou shalt not come down from the bed whither thou art gone up' (2 K 1^{4}); 'nor go up into my bed' (Ps 132^{3}; cf. 1 S 28^{23}).

The bed is usually placed near the wall of the chamber, and there are indications that it was placed alongside the wall. 'Then he turned his face to the wall and prayed unto the Lord' (2 K 20^{2}).

The bed used by watchmen, both when in the fields watching for marauders and when acting as doorkeepers, is of the simplest form, and requires no description: 'A booth in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers' (Is 1^{8}. See CUCUMBER).

In accordance with the wealth of the house or family, the bed is enriched and embroidered. This is so also among the Bedawin and dwellers in tents. 'I have spread my couch with carpets of tapestry, with striped cloths of the yarn of Egypt; I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon' (Pr $7^{16.17}$); 'the couches were of gold and silver' (Est 1^{6}).

Pillows and cushions are the usual adjuncts of beds in the East at the present day, and it may be assumed that they were as generally used in early days in Palestine as they were among the Greeks after the Homeric age. A piece of stone such as that used by Jacob (Gn 28^{11}) at Bethel would be naturally accepted as a pillow by a native of Palestine on the line of march at the present day. The quilt or pillow of goats' hair placed by Michal (1 S 19^{12}) in David's bed, though only a makeshift hastily put together, indicates the use of pillows at that time. Those mentioned Ezk 13^{18} do not necessarily appear to be bed pillows. Pillows at the present day are usually made of the same stuff as the bedding, but more profusely ornamented and embossed, and in wealthy houses covered with satin, silk, and embroidery. 'The silken cushions of a bed' (Am 3^{12}). Sometimes the finest linen is lightly tacked on the embroidery, probably to protect the face from the roughness of the work.

Among the poorer classes, bedsteads, when used, were probably light portable frames for keeping the bedding off the ground, and for carrying sick persons, as on a litter. Although there is no direct allusion to a bedstead except perhaps that of Og, king of Bashan, there are several references which indicate that beds were raised above the floor. In the passage relating to Jacob's 'bed of sickness' (Gn 47^{31}), the 'bed's head' is referred to. See also 1 S 19^{15}, 2 S 3^{31}, Lk 5^{18-25}. In whatever sense the passage referring to Og, 'behold his bedstead was a bedstead of iron' (Dt 3^{11}), is to be understood, the hard black basalt so common in Bashan is probably referred to.

There are numerous indications that in the houses of the wealthy, and in the palaces, there were bedsteads highly ornamented, and that the richness and magnificence of the beds and bedsteads among the Asiatics was at least equal to that which obtained among the Greeks and Romans. The bedsteads in the most wealthy houses were of costly kinds of wood, veneered with tortoise-shell and ivory, and ornamented with gold and silver. The couches of 'gold and silver' (Est 1^{6}) probably included the bedstead. The same may be said of the 'beds of ivory' (Am 6^{4} 3^{15}). The ten beds with feet of silver, and the furniture belonging to them, sent to Eleazar the high priest (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 15), evidently included the bedsteads.

The ornaments of the bedstead included the canopy and pillars. 'King Solomon made himself a palanquin of the wood of Lebanon. He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the seat of it of purple' (Ca 3^{10}). 'There were hangings of white cloth, of green, and of blue, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble; the couches were of gold and silver upon a pavement of porphyry and white marble, and alabaster and stone of blue colour' (Est 1^{6}). 'Now Holofernes rested upon his bed under a canopy, which was of purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones inwoven' (Jth 10^{21}).

C. WARREN.

BEDCHAMBER.—See HOUSE.

BEDAD (בֶּדַד).—The father of Hadad, king of Edom (Gn 36^{35}=1 Ch 1^{46}).

BEDAN (בְּדָן).—**1.** Mentioned with Jerubbaal, Jephthah, and Samuel as one of the deliverers of Israel (1 S 12^{11}). The name does not occur in Jg, and it is probably a corruption for Barak (so LXX and Pesh.). Chronologically Barak should precede Gideon, but the order cannot be pressed (cf. v.^{9}). The Jews explain בדן as=בֶּן־דָּן 'a son of Dan,' *i.e.* Samson; this is impossible. The more obvious emendation, 'Abdon (עַבְדֹן, Ewald), is unsuitable, since little is known of this hero. **2.** A Manassite (1 Ch 7^{17}).

J. F. STENNING.

BEDEIAH (בְּדְיָה=עַבְדְיָה 'servant of J"').—One of those who had taken foreign wives (Ezr 10^{35}): in 1 Es 9^{34} apparently Pedias.

BEE (דְּבוֹרָה *dĕbôrâh*, *μέλισσα*, *apis*).—The bee is known in Arab. as *naḥl*, but *dabr* is a swarm of bees, pl. *dubûr*. The common term for wasp or hornet is *dabbûr*, which is a corruption of *zenbûr*.

The bee is an insect found in large numbers in Syria and Pal., both wild and hived. The wild bee is most common in lonely ravines, where it makes its nest in the clefts of the precipitous rocks, often with great difficulty accessible to man. They also make their hives in hollow trees (1 S $14^{25.26}$); but as the forests are few in these lands, they are a less natural refuge for the bees than the rocks (cf. Dt 32^{13}, Ps 81^{16}). Tristram says that they are specially abundant in the wilderness of Judæa, and that most of the honey sold in S. Pal. comes from these wild hives. This explains the allusion (Mt 3^{4}), 'and his meat was locusts and wild honey.' It also explains the sentence (Dt 1^{44}), 'The Amorites, which dwelt in the mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do.' When tame bees are disturbed, it is well known how furiously they will attack their disturber. But their vehemence is as nothing to that of the wild bees, which are unaccustomed to man. Dr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, p. 299) says, 'The people of Ma'alia (in Wady Ḳarn) several years ago let a man down the face of the rock by ropes. He was entirely protected from the attacks of the bees, and extracted a large amount of honey; but he was so terrified by the prodigious swarms of bees that he could not be induced to repeat the exploit.' The Psalmist says (Ps 118^{12}), 'They compassed me about like bees,' alluding to the threatening attacks of these insects.

It was said of the land of promise that it was a 'land flowing with milk and honey.' This is partly justified by the wild bees and honey, but still more so by the large numbers of domesticated bees. Every peasant's house has its beehives. Sometimes they are boxes, as with us; sometimes a broken water jar is made to serve; but more usually they are wicker cylinders, about 4 ft. long and 10 in. in diameter, plastered over with cow-dung, and stopped with the same material at either end, except a few holes for the entry and exit of the bees. These hives are often piled in a pyramidal shape, with four or more at the base, and plastered together with cow-dung to protect them from the heat, and shaded with branches of trees.

For hiving bees, manœuvres are used similar to those so common in the West. The superior of a convent near Beirût had a chest partially filled with figs, through the keyhole of which a swarm of bees entered. The following day four jars, with a little grape honey smeared inside, were put in succession to the keyhole, and filled with bees.

It is certainly not customary for the people in Bible lands to hiss to their bees (Is 7^{18}). It might have been in Bible days. It is, however, universal to whistle to pigeons in order to recall them from their flight. Hundreds of persons can be seen on the flat roofs of the houses in the large cities amusing themselves in this manner a little before sunset. Sir John Lubbock believes that bees lack the sense of hearing.

The honey is usually extracted about the time of the Feast of the Cross, in the middle of Sept. A man with his face masked with iron gauze and his hands protected with mittens, simply puts his hands into the hive and extracts the combs, leaving a little for the bees. The honey is usually squeezed out of the combs, and packed in jars (*bottle*, marg. 1 K 14^{3}) or tins, and sometimes in skins. The people of the Antilebanon plateau, north of Damascus, raise large quantities of honey.

A bee cultivator from America settled some years ago in Beirût to raise bees. He spoke of the Syrian bee as superior to the usual breeds of Europe. It is somewhat smaller than the *Apis mellifica* of Europe, and of a lighter colour. It is the *Apis fasciata*, Lat.

As many of the plants to which the bees resort are aromatics, much of the honey has a decided flavour, often very agreeable, sometimes a little rank. The wax is principally used in making tapers for religious purposes. There is no evidence that candles were known in ancient times. The people are very fond of honey. They dip their bread in it. They make certain kinds of cakes (Ex 16^{31}) and pastry with it. They sometimes preserve fruit in it. They eat it in quantities surprising to Occidentals. It is seldom eaten direct from the comb. It has been from the earliest times an article of commerce in Bible lands. Jacob sent some of it to his son Joseph (Gn 43^{11}). Judah and Israel sold it to Tyrian merchants for export (Ezk 27^{17}). Stores of honey were collected for this purpose, as at Mizpah (Jer 41^{8}). Considering the large quantities of honey produced in Pal. there is no occasion for supposing that דְּבַשׁ *dĕbash* signifies the *dibs*, the *grape honey* of our time.

Much controversy has taken place over the swarm of bees in the carcase of the lion (Jg 14^{8}). The simple fact is, that in a few hours after an animal is dead, jackals, dogs, and vultures often reduce the carcase to a ligamentous skeleton, which is soon dried in the fierce heat, and would make as savoury a hive as the cow-dung-plastered baskets which are used for raising bees, and the cow-dung trays on which silk-worms are developed.

Honey, דְּבַשׁ *dĕbash*, could not be used in burnt-offerings (Lv 2^{11}).

Honey is used to illustrate moral teachings. A man is exhorted to eat honey and the honey comb (Pr 24^{13}), but warned against surfeit (Pr $25^{16.\ 27}$). It was a simile for moral sweetness (Ezk 3^{3}), and for the excellence of the law (Ps 19^{10}), of pleasant words (Pr 16^{24}), and of the lips (Ca 4^{11}), and as a figure for love (Ca 5^{1}).

The LXX adds to Pr 6^{8} 'Go to the bee, and learn how diligent she is, and what a noble work she produces; whose labour kings and private men use for their health. She is desired and honoured by all, and, though weak in strength, yet since she values wisdom she prevails.' This passage exists in the Arabic version, and is quoted by ancient writers. G. E. Post.

BEELIADA (בְּעַלְיָדָע 'Baal knows').—A son of David, 1 Ch 14^{7}, changed in conformity with later usage (see Ishbosheth) into **Eliada** (אֶלְיָדָע 'El knows') in 2 S 5^{16}. J. A. Selbie.

BEELSARUS (Βεέλσαρος), 1 Es 5^{8}.—One of the leaders (προηγούμενοι) of those Jews who returned to Jerus. with Zerub., called Bilshan, Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}. The form in 1 Es appears not to have come through the Gr. of the canonical books, but to be due to a confusion of ר and ן in the Heb. H. St. J. Thackeray.

BEELTETHMUS (Βεέλτεθμος). — An officer of Artaxerxes residing in Pal., 1 Es $2^{16.\ 25}$ (LXX $^{15.\ 21}$). It is not a proper name, but a title of Rehum, the name immediately preceding it in Ezr 4^{8} (A βααλτάμ'). It is a corruption of בַּעַל טְעֵם='lord of judgment,' and is rendered 'chancellor' by AV and RV in Ezr, 'story-writer' in 1 Es 2^{17} (ὁ τὰ προσπίπτοντα, LXX). The title has been explained by the Assyr. inscriptions, and signifies 'lord of official intelligence' or 'postmaster' (Sayce, *Introd. to Ezr., Neh., and Est.* p. 27). See Chancellor. H. St. J. Thackeray.

BEER (בְּאֵר 'a well').—**1.** A station in the journey from Arnon to the Jordan, mentioned Nu 21^{16}, with a poetical extract commemorating the digging of a well at this spot. The context indicates the neighbourhood, but further identification of the station is wanting. Perhaps the words translated 'and from the wilderness,' which immediately follow this extract (Nu 21^{18}), should be translated (following the LXX ἀπὸ φρέατος), 'and from Beer,' or 'the well.' It is generally identified with **Beer-Elim** ('well of mighty men'?), mentioned Is 15^{8}, and in the second part of the compound name it may be conjectured that there is reference to the event commemorated in the song, Nu $21^{17.\ 18}$. See Budde in *New World*, Mar. 1895, p. 136 ff.

2. The place to which Jotham ran away after uttering his parable (Jg 9^{21}). Its position is unknown. If, as some suppose, it is the same as Beeroth (Jos 9^{17}), its site is fixed (see Beeroth). But Beeroth is in Benjamin, and it seems probable that Jotham fled to his own people in Manasseh, and not southward. A. T. Chapman.

BEERA (בְּאֵרָא).—A man of Asher (1 Ch 7^{37}). See Genealogy.

BEERAH (בְּאֵרָה).—A Reubenite who was carried captive by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch 5^{6}).

BEER-ELIM.—See Beer.

BEERI (בְּאֵרִי).—**1.** The father of Judith, one of Esau's wives (Gn 26^{34}), sometimes wrongly identified with Anah (which see). **2.** The father of the prophet Hosea (Hos 1^{1}). H. E. Ryle.

BEER-LAHAI-ROI (בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי 'Well of the Living One that seeth me,' Gn $16^{7.\ 14}$ 24^{62} 25^{11}).—It is expressly described as '*the* fountain in the way to Shur,' signifying that it was well known, on the way to Egypt whither the Egyptian Hagar was naturally fleeing. It is placed between Kadesh and Bered; but the site of neither is certain. Bered has been located at El-Khalasah, 13 miles S.W. of Beersheba. When Abraham dwelt between Kadesh and Shur, he is said (Gn 20^{1}) to have sojourned in Gerar at the same time or shortly after. Gn 25^{11} and 26^{1} also imply that the well, Beer-lahai-roi, was not very far from Gerar. Rowland claims to have found the true site at *'Ain Moilâhhi*, some 50 miles S. of Beersheba, and 10 or 12 miles W. of 'Ain Kadis (*PEFSt*, 1884, p. 177). (See Bered, Hagar, Isaac, Shur.) A. Henderson.

BEEROTH (בְּאֵרוֹת 'Wells').—One of the confederate Hivite cities which wilily made alliance with Joshua after the overthrow of Ai (Jos 9^{17}). It was afterwards in the territory of Benjamin (Jos 18^{25}). The **Beerothites,** like the Gibeonites, maintained their independence as a tribe in Israel even after the return from the Exile (Ezr 2^{25}, Neh 7^{29}). The occasion of their flight to Gittaim (2 S 4^{3}) is not mentioned; and it is uncertain if that is the town named (Neh 11^{33}). Rimmon, the father of the murderers of Ishbosheth, and Naharai, Joab's armour-bearer (2 S 23^{37} RVm, 1 Ch 11^{39}), were Beerothites. It is identified with Bîreh, 8 miles N. of Jerusalem on the great northern road, the usual halting place on the first night from Jerusalem. Tradition connects it with the story of Lk $2^{43.\ 45}$ as the place whence Mary and Joseph returned to Jerusalem. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this tradition, as the distance is convenient, and the usage of Eastern caravans seldom changes.

A. HENDERSON.

BEEROTH-BENE-JAAKAN (בְּאֵרֹת בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן), in Dt 10^{6} RV; 'Beeroth of the children of Jaakan,' AV, LXX Βηρώθ. The place is called Bene-jaakan in the list of stations, Nu $33^{31.\ 32}$. From Gn 36^{27}, 1 Ch 1^{42} the Bene-jaakan are descendants of Seir the Horite, and the name of the adjacent station, Hor-haggidgad (which see), contains חֹר. The border of Seir or Edom is the probable situation of this unidentified spot.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

BEER-SHEBA (בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע, Arab. *Bir es Sebá*).—A village, or settlement, on the N. bank of the Wady es-Sebá, deriving its special interest from its connexion with the patriarchs. It was the residence successively of Abraham (Gn 21^{31}), of Isaac (Gn 26^{23}), and of Jacob (Gn 28^{10}), and received its name ('Well of the oath') as having been the place, marked by a well, where Abraham entered into covenant with Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gn 21^{31} E). (A different derivation is adopted in Gn 26^{33} J.) It was afterwards visited by Elijah when fleeing from the wrath of Jezebel on his way to Horeb (1 K 19^{3}). Beer-sheba fell within the lot of the tribe of Simeon (Jos 19^{2}), though included in the wider boundaries of Judah. It was bounded on the S. by the Negeb or 'South Country,' a spacious tract of undulating chalky downs, wide pastures, and generally waterless brook courses. Its position in the extreme south gave rise to the phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' (Jg 20^{1}, 1 S 3^{20} etc.)=all the territory of Israel. The converse 'from B. to Dan' occurs in 1 Ch 21^{2}, 2 Ch 30^{5}. The soil in the valleys where there is some moisture is exceedingly rich, and is rudely cultivated by the fellahîn, who succeed in producing fine crops of wheat and barley. In the tracts around Beer-sheba the Bedawin find ample pasturage for their flocks and herds, which towards evening assemble in crowds around the wells as they did three thousand years ago. That the district was once thickly inhabited, probably in the early Christian centuries before the Mohammedan irruption, is shown by ruined walls and foundations which are visible at intervals for several miles between Bir es-Sebá and el-Tel Milh. The position of Bir es-Sebá is marked by lines of foundations along some rising ground above the N. bank of the river, amongst which is the foundation of a Greek church, with apse, sacristy, and aisles; and in the valley below are the celebrated wells sunk through alluvial deposits into the limestone rock. These are five or six in number; and of the two principal ones the larger is regarded with confidence as coming down from the time of Abraham. This (according to Tristram) is the tradition of the Arabs, who point to it as the work of Ibraham el-Khalil (Abraham the Friend). Conder, who carried out the Ordnance Survey of this part of Pal., states that the depth of the well is 45 ft., and that it is lined with rings of masonry to a depth of 28 ft. That some of the stones are not very ancient is shown by his discovery of a tablet dated 505 A.H., at a depth of 15 courses. This, however, does not throw any doubt on the extreme age of the well itself, but only suggests that it had been repaired during the 12th cent. The marble blocks which form the rim of the well are deeply cut by the ropes used for drawing water; and rude marble troughs of circular form are arranged round the well for the use of the cattle. A second well, 5 ft. in diameter, is found at about 300 yds. to the W. of that just described, and in the opposite direction is a third, 23 ft. deep, which is dry.

The desert of Beer-sheba is very beautiful in spring and early summer when the surface is carpeted with herbage and flowers; but later in the year it is parched and desolate in the extreme, not a tree breaking the monotony of the landscape or the rays of the sun.

Tell es-Sebá is the site of a village at the junction of the W. el-Khalil, which comes down from Hebron on the north, with the W. es-Sebá, and is 2½ miles from Bir es-Sebá. From its summit, 950 ft. above the Mediterranean, a commanding view is obtained of the country around, terminating along the E. in the deep ravines and rocky slopes which lead down to the basin of the Dead Sea.

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent Work*, 1880; Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*, 1889; *PEF* Map of Western Palestine, by Conder and Kitchener; see also Driver and Trumbull in *Expos. Times*, vii. 567 f., viii. 89.

E. HULL.

BEESHTERAH (בְּעֶשְׁתְּרָה), Jos 21^{27}. See ASHTAROTH.

BEETLE.—The word rendered *beetle* in the AV and *cricket* in the RV (Lv 11^{22}) is חַרְגֹּל *ḥargôl*. It is an insect of the grasshopper kind, having 'legs above its feet' to leap with. The Heb. root חָרַגַל *ḥargal*, as its cognate *ḥarjal* in Arab., signifies to leap. The Arab. word *ḥarjalet* signifies a flight of locusts, and *ḥarjuwân*, the *l* and *n* being interchangeable, a sort of grasshopper or locust that leaps without flying. See LOCUST.

G. E. POST.

BEEVES, the pl. of 'beef,' is used in Lv $22^{19.\ 21}$, Nu $31^{28.\ 30.\ 35.\ 38.\ 44}$ for the animals themselves, not their flesh. Cf.—

> 'A pound of man's flesh, taken from a man,
> Is not so estimable, profitable neither,
> As flesh of muttons, beefs, or goats.'
> Shaks. *M. of V.* I. iii. 68.

RV retains all but Lv 22^{21}, AV 'a free-will offering in beeves or sheep,' RV 'a free-will offering of the herd or of the flock.' The sing. does not occur in AV or RV, but the Douay Bible (1609) renders Dt 14^{5} 'the pygargue, the wilde beefe (AV 'wild ox'), the cameloparde.'

J. HASTINGS.

BEFORE, meaning 'in the presence of,' occurs frequently, and as the tr^{n} of a great variety of Heb. and Gr. words. Notice Gn 11^{28} 'Haran died before his father Terah' (עַל פְּנֵי 'before the face of,' RV 'in the presence of'); Sir 36^{4} 'As thou wast sanctified in us before them, so be thou magnified among them before us'; 39^{20} 'He seeth from everlasting to everlasting, and there is nothing wonderful before him'; Bar 2^{8} 'Yet have we not prayed before the Lord.' In Gal 3^{8} 'the Scripture . . . preached before the gospel unto Abraham,' the words are a lit. tr. of the Greek (*προευηγγελίσατο*) and b.='beforehand,' as RV. See AFORE.

J. HASTINGS.

BEGOTTEN.—Only begotten is the tr^{n} in AV and RV of *μονογενής* at To 8^{17}, Jn $1^{14.\ 18}$ $3^{16.\ 18}$, He 11^{17}

1 Jn 4[9], all (except To 8[17], He 11[17] 'Abraham . . . offered up his only b. son') in ref. to Christ. The same Gr. word is found in Lk 7[12] 'the only son of his mother,' 8[42] 'he had one (RV 'an') only daughter,' and 9[38] 'he is mine only child.'

Firstbegotten is the tr. of *πρωτότοκος* in He 1[6], and in Rev 1[5] (both in reference to Christ), a word which is here by RV and elsewhere by AV and RV tr[d] 'firstborn.' It would have been more accurate if 'first-begotten' had been given as the tr[n] of *πρωτ.*, and 'only-born' of *μον.* The meaning of the latter is indeed, as Westcott points out, obscured under the tr[n] 'only-begotten,' since in its reference to Christ it is the Son's personal Being, not His generation, that is the thought. Both words express the Son of Man's uniqueness among the sons of men, *μον.* more absolutely than *πρωτ.*, and more directly in relation to the Father. See Thayer, *NT Lex.*; and Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*, *s.vv.*, and (esp. for *πρωτ.*), Lightfoot on Col 1[15]. J. HASTINGS.

BEGUILE.—'To beguile' is to act with guile, to deceive; but (like 'amuse,' which originally meant 'to bewilder') it is mostly employed now in the sense of 'to charm away' (care or time). This meaning, though as old as 1611, does not occur in AV, where on the contrary we find the word signifying directly to cheat, as Col 2[18] 'Let no man b. you of your reward' (Gr. *καταβραβεύω*, from *βραβεῖον* 'a prize,' RV 'rob you of your prize.' See the criticism of this tr. by T. S. Evans in *Lat. and Gr. Verse*, p. xlix). J. HASTINGS.

BEHALF (*by his half, i.e.* on his side, then as a prep. with a direct object, *bihalf him*) is used only in prepositional phrases 'in or on (his) behalf,' and (now almost entirely) 'in or on behalf of.'* Until recently a clear distinction was preserved between 'on behalf of' and 'in behalf of,' the former signifying 'in reference to' or 'on account of,' the latter only 'in the interest of,' 'for the sake of.'† This distinction is preserved in AV. Thus, Ex 27[21], 'it shall be a statute for ever unto their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel' (that is, the beaten oil shall be a perpetual gift *from* or *on the part of*, מֵאֵת, the children of Israel); 1 Co 1[4] 'I thank my God always on your behalf' (*περὶ ὑμῶν*, RV 'concerning you'). But 2 Ch 16[9] 'the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is perfect toward him'; Ph 1[29] 'in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake' (RV 'in his behalf'). But 'in this behalf,' or 'on this behalf,' indifferently, as 2 Co 9[3] 'in this behalf,' 1 P 4[16] 'on this behalf' (both *ἐν τῷ μέρει τουτῷ*, TR, but in 1 P 4[16] editors prefer *ὀνόματι*, whence RV 'in his name'). J. HASTINGS.

BEHEADING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BEHEMOTH (בְּהֵמוֹת *bĕhēmôth*, perhaps for Egyp. *p-ehe-mau*, 'ox of the water').—The word is tr. in all passages except Job 40[15-24] as the plural of *bĕhēmâh*, with the signification of *beasts*. It has been supposed by some that *beast* (Ps 73[22]), which is in the original *bĕhēmôth*, refers to the same animal as that in Job. But the first member of the parallelism in the psalm refers to ignorance, and the putting of the intensive plural *bĕhēmôth* = *beasts*, in the second, would seem to condense into his folly all that is in the beasts. Others have supposed that *bĕhēmôth negeb*, *the beasts of the south* (Is 30[6]), refers to the animal of Job, and that the south was Egypt. But *negeb* refers to Egypt only in one other context (Dn 11 often). Isaiah more probably refers to the southern portion of Judæa and the wilderness of et-Tîh, and the fact that a partial catalogue of the beasts is given makes it improbable that one beast, and that not a savage or venomous creature, is intended.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the hippopotamus is the animal intended in Job. As some have thought that some other extinct or living animal, or some animal type, as the pachydermatous, was intended, it will be well to examine, in the light of an accurate rendering, whether the description corresponds to that of the hippopotamus.

15 Behold behemoth, which I made with thee;
He eateth grass like an ox.
16 Behold, his strength is in his loins,
And his power in the muscles of his belly.
17 He lowers his tail like a cedar:
The sinews of his thigh are braided together.
18 His bones are tubes of copper,
Their bulk as a forging of iron.
19 He is the first of God's works:
He who made him gave him his sword.
20 For the hills bring him forth pasture;
All the beasts of the field sport there.
21 Beneath the lotus tree he lieth down,
In the shadow of the reed and swamp.
22 The lotus trees overshadow him;
The willows of the streams surround him.
23 Behold the river swells, and he does not flee;
He is confident though Jordan were poured into his mouth.
24 Will one take him before his eyes;
Or will one bore his nostrils with hooks (rings)?

Remembering that this is Oriental poetry, there is nothing in it which does not well apply to the hippopotamus: he is herbivorous (v.[15]); he is remarkable for the stoutness of his body (v.[16]); his tail is thick and rigid, and his legs sinewy (v.[17]); his bones are solid (v.[18]); he is the largest animal indigenous in Bible lands; his teeth cut the herbage as with a sword (v.[19]); he comes up out of the water to the plantations to feed; the term *hill* is applicable to low elevations as well as to high, and in the language of poetry could be used of the knolls arising from the general level of the Nile basin (v.[20]); the lotus tree (*Zizyphus Lotus*, L.) is common, as also reeds and swamps, in the neighbourhoods where he dwells (v.[21]); so also the willows by the streams (v.[22]); the allusion to the inundation of Egypt fits his case (v.[23]); his strength is such that a direct attack is hazardous, and the poet challenges the reader to bore his nostrils, and lead him with a hook or ring like an ox (v.[24]).

The allusion to behemoth is the approach to the climax which is reached in leviathan, the crocodile. The poet began (ch. 38) with the foundation of the earth, advanced to the powers of inanimate nature, then through the lesser phenomena of animal life to the largest of the quadrupeds, to finish with the invulnerable, untamable 'king over all the children of pride' (ch. 41[34]).

LITERATURE.—*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*; Dillmann and Davidson on Job 40[15ff.]; Delitzsch on Is 30[6]. G. E. POST.

BEHOVE.—'Behoof' is profit, advantage; it occurs only in Pref. to AV 1611 'For the behoof and edifying of the unlearned.' 'Behove,' now only in the impers. phrase 'it behoves,' signifies necessity arising from peculiar fitness. In AV only Lk 24[46] 'it b[ed] Christ to suffer' (TR *ἔδει*, edd. and RV omit), and He 2[17] 'it b[ed] him to be made like unto his brethren (*ὤφειλε*). RV adds Lk 24[26], Ac 17[3] (both *ἔδει*). J. HASTINGS.

BEKA (AV Bekah). — See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BEL (בֵּל), originally one of the Bab. triad, but synonym. in OT and Apocr. with Merodach, 'the younger Bel,' the tutelary god of Babylon (Jer 50[2]

* *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* and *Century Dict.* say behalf is used only with *on* or *in*, forgetting Dn 11[18] AV 'a prince *for* his own b.'

† Except where the meaning is 'in the name of,' when either form was used.

51[44], Is 46[1], Bar 6[41]). See BAAL, BABYLONIA, BEL AND THE DRAGON. J. A. SELBIE.

BEL AND THE DRAGON.—Two legends attached to the book of Dn in the Gr. and other VSS. As in the rest of Dn, the ordinary printed text is that of Theod. (Θ); but Swete has given the text of the unique LXX MS Chisianus, on the opposite page, throughout Dn. In B our stories follow Dn without a break; in A Q, with the intervention of the heading *δρασις ιβ'*. In Vulg. they form ch. 14 of Dn. In LXX and Syr.-Hex. we have the heading, 'From the prophecy of Habakkuk, son of Joshua, of the tribe of Levi.'

Bel.—The points of this story as to which Θ and LXX agree are briefly these:—In Babylon is an image of Bel which Daniel refuses to worship. The king expostulates, and shows how much food it daily devours. Daniel in reply arranges that the king shall see the lectisternia set, and the doors sealed; but takes care, when the priests are gone, that the king shall see the floor sieved with fine ashes. Next morning the seals are intact, but the floor shows marks of naked feet, and the secret door is revealed by which the food has been taken away. After this the priests are put to death and the image destroyed.

Theod.'s task was to revise LXX. In the case before us he had a document, probably Aram., which differed in detail considerably from LXX. In vv.[8-9] he largely transcribes LXX; but after that uses his own materials very freely. The chief variations between Θ and LXX are these: LXX extracts the story from a pseudepigraphic work of Habakkuk, and introduces Daniel as 'a certain man,' 'a priest, son of Abal, a companion of the king.' Θ by attaching the story to Dn identifies him with the prophet, and makes the king to be Cyrus, successor of Astyages. Bel's daily allowance is in LXX, besides the flour, 4 sheep and 6 firkins of oil; in Θ, 40 sheep and 6 firkins of wine. The Phillipp's cylinder, i. R. 65, records that Nebuchadrezzar's daily offering was one fine ox, fish, fowl, etc., the best of oil, and the choicest wines like the waters of a river (Ball, *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 352). LXX introduces in vv.[14. 17] 'honourable priests,' friends of the priest Daniel, with whose signets the doors are sealed. Θ does not. LXX says the food offered was found in the houses of the priests. Θ omits this. While Θ, not LXX, says that Daniel destroyed both the image and the *Temple* of Bel. Cf. Hdt. i. 183; Strabo, xvi. 1.

The Peshitta is taken from Θ. Its chief deviations from Θ are v.[4] 'forty *rams*,' 'Bel *my God*' (cf. Schrader, *COT* ii. 60) v.[6] 'Bel is *alive*'; v.[14] 'The king sealed it . . . with the ring of Daniel.' More important, however, are the cases where it discards Θ, and follows LXX, as in v.[7] 'Nothing has he ever eaten'; v.[18] 'He saw all eaten which had been offered to Bel'; while in v.[21] we have a conflate reading, 'consumed what was "offered to Bel" LXX, "on the table"' Θ. Neubauer in his *Tobit* gives a passage from Midrash Rabba de Rabba, where, in Greek-rabbinic characters, is found an almost verbatim transcript of the Peshitta as given by Lagarde. The Vulg. gives a minutely accurate tr. of Θ. The Syr.-Hex. in Ceriani's *Mon. Sac. et prof.* follows LXX; but its marg. gives three readings of Θ: '40 sheep' for 'four'; 'wine' for 'oil' in v.[4]; and the account of the sieving of the floor in v.[14].

The Dragon.—The points common to all Jewish varieties of this Haggada are as follows: There was in Babylon a great dragon, widely revered, and fed by its worshippers. Daniel was again a non-conformist. In reply to the king's expostulations he volunteered to kill the monster, if the king would consent, without any weapon. Permission being granted, he made a large bolus, of which pitch was the chief ingredient, and threw it down the dragon's throat; thus causing it to *burst* and die. The populace, enraged, clamoured for Daniel's death. The king yielded, and Daniel was cast into a den, where were 7 lions; and he was there 6 or 7 days. On the last day Habakkuk was cooking food for his reapers, when an angel came and carried him and his provisions through the air (cf. Ezk 8[3], and Gospel according to the Hebrews, Resch, *Agrapha*, 381 ff.) to the lions' den, to feed Daniel. When the king came and found Daniel alive, he magnified J", and cast the accusers into the den, where they met with instant death.

The dragon myth had a much wider circulation than that of *Bel*, and was much more flexible in its details. It is doubtless a Judaized version of the old Sem. myth of the destruction of the old dragon, which, terrestrial, maritime, or celestial, represents Chaos or Disorder, which was destroyed by the god of the present order of things. In the Bab. myth, it is Tihamat who is assailed by Bel-Merodach. Bel let loose a storm-wind * which the monster received into its mouth, and 'with violence the wind filled its belly,' and 'its belly was stricken through' (cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 320–323, and Ball in *Speaker's Apocr.* ii. 347).

The fluidity of the myth is shown by the way in which almost every version furnishes details of its own. LXX contributes that Daniel used '30 *pounds* of pitch,' v.[27]; that the king consulted with his companions, v.[30]; that the lions' den was reserved for conspirators against the king, and that the lions were fed daily on the bodies of two criminals, v.[31]; that the mode of death was selected that Daniel might not receive burial, v.[32]; and that Habakkuk had with him a jug of mixed wine, v.[33]. Vulg. closely follows Θ, but, besides some smaller deviations, it appends a doxology, v.[42], after the manner of Dn 6[26. 27]. Lagarde's Syr. adheres closely to Θ; but it adds, v.[40], that the king came to the den 'to weep for Daniel,' and makes a brief repetition in v.[38]. Neubauer's vers. from Midrash Rabba de Rabba, which is mostly a mere transliteration of Syr., adds one item not found elsewhere: 'and they covered the den with a stone, and sealed it with the king's ring, and with their signets,' v.[31]: and with Walton's vers. it says, 'the angel put his hand on the head of Habakkuk.' Raymund Martini, who wrote an anti-Jewish work, *Pugio Fidei*, in the 13th cent., cites *Bel and the Dragon*, professedly from a Midrash Major on Genesis (Neubauer's *Tobit*, p. viii.). His text is almost an exact counterpart (only by a better scribe) of the unique MS containing Midrash Rabba de Rabba, except a hiatus by homœoteleuton in v.[31] (see Delitzsch, *De Habacuci Vita*, p. 32). Another Midrash gives a condensed account of the dragon myth in Heb., but says that Daniel took straw and wrapped *nails* in it which pierced the monster's viscera (*Bĕreshith rabba*, § 68; Del. p. 38). Josippon ben Gorion, the pseudo-Jos., the author of a mytho-historical work, *c.* A.D. 940, ascribes the death of the dragon to *combs* concealed in pitch; he fixes sunset as the hour of Habakkuk's transportation, and says that he returned 'before the reapers finished eating,' Del. *op. cit.* 40.

Gaster (*PSBA*, Nov. Dec. 1894) announces the discovery of an Aram. text of the story of the *Dragon* in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*. This he claims to be the very text used by Θ in revising LXX. It is certainly a striking document. Its dialect, both in vocabulary and grammatical forms, is that of Onkelos. It is a longer narrative than any other, and possesses some unique readings; as, *e.g.*, 'flax' in v.[27]; 'without sword or *spear*,' v.[26]; 'Daniel was in the den *seven* days,' v.[30]; 'land of Israel,' v.[33]; 'and when Habakkuk's spirit returned to him,' v.[37]. But the antiquity of its text is, I think, most clearly evinced by the fact that it contains many readings found in the several VSS, but until now deemed unique; and thus it seems to be a 'Source.' With the Vulg. only, it reads, 'behold now,' v.[23]; 'what ye

* The Aram. word for 'storm-wind' is רוּחָא; for 'pitch,' זִיפָא. Is this an accident? or does it not rather indicate that the story circulated in Aram., and thus 'pitch' was in time substituted for 'storm-wind'? Cf. the omission of ע in בְּל for בְּעֵל.

worship,' v.[27]; and 'from the den *of lions*,' v.[42]. With Syr. only, it reads, 'and the dragon swallowed them, and died,' v.[27]; '*My* Lord,' v.[35]; 'in one *hour*,' v.[39]; 'who *slandered* Daniel,' v.[42]. With Josippon, it adds that the angel took Habakkuk 'with the food that was in his hands," v.[36], and states that Daniel put iron *combs* in the pitch, and that, when the pitch melted, the combs pierced the viscera of the dragon, and thus caused its death, v.[26].

Language.—Most scholars, from Eichhorn to König, have considered the orig. lang. of these stories to be Greek; but Gaster's discovery looks strongly, if not decisively, in favour of Aramaic. The confusion of וְעַפָּא=storm-wind, and וְיַפָּא=pitch, points in the same direction. The awkward word (LXX[14]) *σφραγισάμενος*=חתם is best explained by supposing that the latter was read for סתם=*κλείσας*; and besides this, many divergent parallel readings yield, when translated, very similar Aram. words, *e.g.*—

17	look at seals, אסתכל	safe . . . ? . .	הבתכל
18	king rejoiced, חדא	looked, . .	חוא
19	see the guile, שקרא	threshold, . .	שקפא
31	of the doomed, דרכויא =*περικαθάρματα*	and 2 rams, .	וב' דכרא
40	in the midst, Vulg., בגו	in the den, Chr, .	בגב
42	slandered, אכלו קורציה So Chr, Syr.	cause of his destruction, So Θ, Vulg.	עילא קורציה

Canonicity.—The Roman Church admits the genuineness of these stories, as of the rest of the LXX; and in the uncritical age of the early Church, many Gr. and Lat. Fathers quoted them as part of Dn, *e.g.* Irenæus, iv. 5. 2; Tertullian, *de idololatria*, c.18; and Cyprian, *ad Fortunatum*, c. 11. Julius Africanus was the first to call the matter in dispute, in his *Letter to Origen*. Origen replied; and in his *Stromata*, Book x., expounded *Susanna* and *Bel*. From this exposition Jerome quotes in his commentary on Dn 13. 14. In his *Præfatio in Danielem*, Jerome, while in sympathy with Africanus, conceals himself behind a learned Jew. He says he had heard a Jew deride the Gr. additions to Dn. The Jew asked what miracle, or indication of divine inspiration, there was in a dragon's being killed by a piece of pitch; or in the detection of the tricks of the priests of Bel. These things were done rather by the prudence of a clever man than by the prophetic spirit. As to Habakkuk's aërial flight, with a bowl of pottage in his hand, the Jew refused to accept Ezk 8[3] as at all parallel: since Ezk in the spirit saw himself being carried, and 'was brought in visions of God to Jerus.' Still Jerome, in view of the universal acceptance of the 'Additions,' decided to publish them 'veru anteposito.' Other objections urged more recently are (1) the inconsistencies of Θ and LXX, and their many improbabilities. (2) That dragon-worship was unknown in Babylon (so Eichhorn, Bissell). This is probably true; but the Babylonians had a snake deity. Cf. Baudissin in Herzog, art. 'Drache zu Babel,' and Ball, 357. (3) The image of Bel was not destroyed in the reign of Cyrus, but by Xerxes; Hdt. i. 183.

LITERATURE.—For MSS in which our stories are found, see DANIEL. The best Com. is Ball's in *Speaker's Apocr.* Other useful helps are Bissell in Lange's series; Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu den Apoc.* vol. i.; Zöckler in *Kgf. Kom.* 1891; Delitzsch, *de Habacuci vita atque ætate*, 1842; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 184 ff.; Josippon ben Gorion, ed. Breithaupt, 1710; Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, p. 129 ff., 1892; Neubauer, *Tobit*, Oxford, 1888.

J. T. MARSHALL.

BELA (בֶּלַע).—**1.** 'The son of Beor reigned in Edom; and the name of his city was Dinhabah. And Bela died, and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead' (Gn 36[32. 33], cf. 1 Ch 1[43f.]). The close resemblance of this name to that of 'Balaam (בִּלְעָם), the son of Beor,' the seer, is noteworthy, and has given rise to the Targ. of Jonathan reading 'Balaam the son of Beor' in Gn 36[32].

Apparently Bela, the first Edomite king, was not a native of Edom. Possibly we have in these names the preservation of an old tradition respecting the succession of dynasties and their royal residences. Of Dinhabah nothing is known; but, according to Knobel, the name Danaba is found in connexion with Palmyrene Syria (Ptol. 5. 15. 24), Danabe with Babylonia (Zosim. *Hist.* 3. 27), and Dannaba with Moab (*Onomast.* 1. 14. f. ed. Lag.). Bela the son of Beor may have been of Aramæan origin. For Balaam, the son of Beor, is said to have come from Pethor on the Euphrates (Nu 22[5], cf. Dt 23[5]), a town which has been identified with the Pitru of the Assyrian inscriptions on the W. bank of the river, at its junction with the Sâdshûr (Sagurri), a little south of Carchemish (see Schrader, *COT*[2] i. 143). Now, when this fact is considered in connexion with the mention of the sixth Edomite king (Gn 36[37]), who presumably came from the same Euphratic region, 'Shaul of Rehoboth by the River' (Rehoboth being placed by some Assyriologists at the junction of the Euphrates and the Chaboras, Riehm *HWB*[2] 1291), there is evidently some ground for the theory that Bela the son of Beor was an Aramæan, or possibly Hittite, conqueror who came from the banks of the Euphrates. Still, nothing is known of him; and even the age in which he lived is uncertain; nor can we at present say whether Beor (='burning'), whose son he is termed, was a man or a local deity.

The Sept. transliterates Βάλακ (Cod. A), Βάλεκ (Cod E), as if Bela was to be identified with the king of Moab rather than with the seer.

2. The eldest of the sons of Benjamin (Gn 46[21], Nu 26[38], 1 Ch 7[6] 8[1]). According to 1 Ch 8[3] he was the father of Addar, Gera, Abihud, Abishua, Naaman, Ahoah, Gera (a second mention), Shephuphan and Huram. According to Nu 26[40] the sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman.

3. 'The son of Azaz, the son of Shema, the son of Joel, who dwelt in Aroer, even unto Nebo and Baal-meon; and eastward he dwelt even unto the entering in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates' (1 Ch 5[8. 9]). He was a Reubenite, and a dweller in the Moabite territory. It is noteworthy that this B., like the Edomite king mentioned above, seems to have been traditionally connected with the Euphrates. H. E. RYLE.

BELAITES, THE (הַבַּלְעִי), the descendants of Bela (2), one of the divisions of the tribe of Benjamin mentioned in Nu 26[38].

BELA (בָּלַע), Gn 14[2. 8].—A name of ZOAR.

BELCH.—Ps 59[7] 'they b. out with their mouth' (הִבִּיעַ, used again in a bad sense Ps 94[4], RV 'prate'; but in a good sense 19[2] 'utter speech,' Del. 'well forth speech'; and 119[171] 'utter praise'). B., which is orig. to void wind noisily from the stomach by the mouth, is rarely used in a good sense, though Wyclif has 'belkid out a good word' in Ps 45[1] (RV 'overfloweth with a goodly matter'); rather as Stanyhurst, *Æneis*, ii. 67, 'I belcht owt blasphemye bawling.' J. HASTINGS.

BELEMUS (Βήλεμος), 1 Es 2[16] ([15], LXX). See BISHLAM.

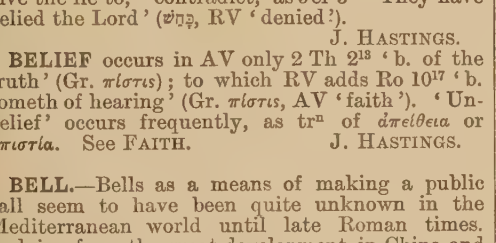
BELIAL (בְּלִיַּעַל).—The common view is that this word is derived from בְּלִי *not*, and יָעַל in Hiph. *to profit*; and that its primary meaning is 'worthlessness,' 'wickedness,' and its secondary 'destruction.' But Cheyne has sought to show (*Expositor*, June 1895, p. 435) that this derivation is erroneous, and that the primary meaning is 'hopeless ruin,' and the secondary 'great or extreme wickedness.' He regards the word as a mythological survival, the

name of 'the subterranean watery abyss' which was understood to mean 'the depth which lets no man return' (בְּלִי יַעֲלֶה). In the OT the word in the sense of 'worthlessness' or 'wickedness' is mostly found in combination with a noun: 'daughter' (1 S 1^{16}), 'thing' (Dt 15^{9}), 'man' (1 S 25^{25}, 2 S 16^{7} 20^{1}, Pr 16^{27}), 'witness' (Pr 19^{28}), 'person' (Pr 6^{12}), 'men' (1 S 30^{22}), 'sons' (Dt 13^{13}, Jg 19^{22} 20^{13}, 1 S 2^{12} 10^{27} 25^{17}, 2 S 23^{6}, 1 K $21^{10.\ 13}$, 2 Ch 13^{7}), and in the AV following the Vulg. is, with few exceptions, rendered literally, as if a proper name; so also frequently in the RV; but the margin here gives renderings, 'base fellows,' 'wicked woman,' etc., which the American Revisers desired to see in the text. Owing to the poverty of the Heb. language in adjectives, this combination was 'a favourite expression in the accounts of the earlier monarchical period' for sinners of 'deepest dye.' In the sense of 'destruction' the word is found only four times, Ps 18^{4} RV 'floods of *ungodliness*'; but Cheyne and others, 'the rushing streams of *perdition*'; Ps 41^{8} AV and RV 'an evil disease'; Nah 1^{11} AV 'a wicked counsellor,' RV 'that counselleth wickedness,' but Cheyne assigns to *belial* here the sense of 'hopeless ruin'; 1^{15} AV 'the wicked,' RV 'the wicked one,' but others render 'the destroyer'; and Cheyne sees here already a transition to the absolute use of the word as a personal name for Satan, found in 2 Co 6^{15}. In this passage the AV and RV both read Βελιαλ; but the reading now usually preferred is Βελιαρ, which is 'either to be ascribed to the harsh Syr. pronunciation of the word Βελιαλ, or must be derived from בַּל יַעַר, lord of the forest.' St. Paul uses the word as a name of Satan with reference to unclean heathenism; and his use shows that the word had come to be used generally as a proper name. Milton gives this name to the fallen angel who is the representative of impurity (*Par. Lost*, i. 490–505; *Par. Reg.* ii. 150). A. E. Garvie.

BELIE.—To belie is to tell lies about a person or thing, as Wis 1^{11} 'the mouth that belieth slayeth the soul' (καταψεύδομαι, in ref. to καταλαλία 'backbiting' mentioned before). Then 'to give the lie to,' 'contradict,' as Jer 5^{12} 'They have belied the Lord' (כָּחַשׁ, RV 'denied'). J. Hastings.

BELIEF occurs in AV only 2 Th 2^{13} 'b. of the truth' (Gr. πίστις); to which RV adds Ro 10^{17} 'b. cometh of hearing' (Gr. πίστις, AV 'faith'). 'Unbelief' occurs frequently, as tr^{n} of ἀπείθεια or ἀπιστία. See Faith. J. Hastings.

BELL.—Bells as a means of making a public call seem to have been quite unknown in the Mediterranean world until late Roman times. Judging from the great development in China and India, and in Buddhistic worship, it seems probable that the use of large bells is due to the farther East. The means of public call among the Hebrews was never by a bell, but by trumpets; these are stated to be of silver (Nu 10^{2}), and are shown as a special part of the holy spoils on the arch of Titus, though, strange to say, the ram's horn, *shophar*, is still used in synagogues. On a small scale, tinkling bells were used for religious purposes in post-Exodic times in Egypt, as among the Hebrews. But they are only mentioned on the borders of the high priest's robe (Ex 28^{33} פַּעֲמֹנִים); and the tinkling there was probably by their striking the alternating pomegranates, rather than by a clapper. The design of bells and pomegranates is apparently the old Egyp. lotus and bud border, such a pattern having lost its original meaning in course of transfer to other lands. See Art. The bells of the horses referred to in Zec 14^{20} (מְצִלּוֹת) seem more likely to be bridles, as in AVm, as a small horse-bell is not so suitable for an inscription as the long length of bridle or trappings. Small bells of the ball and slit form were used in Pal. in late Jewish times, as one was found at Tell el-Hesy.



EGYPTIAN BELLS.

W. M. Flinders Petrie.

BELLOWS.—The only mention of bellows in Scripture is Jer 6^{29} (מָפֶחַ). Derivation,* context, and, in particular, the evidence of the VSS (LXX φυσητήρ, Vulg. *sufflatorium*, Pesh. *mappôḥâ*, Targ. Jon. מְשַׁב נַפָּחִים, a blacksmith's bellows), confirm the traditional rendering. There is no reason for supposing that 'smelting-oven' is intended, as has been suggested by Bezold, *Zeitsch. f. Assyriol.* ii. 448. We do not know if the Jews had the bellows as an article of domestic furniture, the reference above being to the bellows of the metal-smelter. An excellent illustration of the bellows as used for this purpose in ancient Egypt is given by Wilkinson in his *Anc. Egyp.* (1854) ii. 316. The bellows there figured consist of 'a leather bag, secured and fitted into a frame, from which a large pipe extended for carrying the wind to the fire. They [the bellows] were worked by the feet, the operator standing upon them, with one under each foot, pressing them alternately, while he pulled up each exhausted skin with a string he held in his hand.' The tube or pipe seems to have been of reed, 'tipped with a metal point, to resist the action of the fire' (Wilk. *loc. cit.*). A. R. S. Kennedy.

BELLY.—See Body.

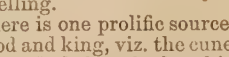
BELMAIM (Βελβαίμ Jth 7^{3}, Βαιλμαίν Jth 4^{4}).—It seems to have lain south of Dothan, but the topography of Judith is very difficult. Bileam in Manasseh lay farther north than Dothan. C. R. Conder.

BELOVED is the tr^{n} of אָהַב *'âhabh*, to love; or דּוֹד *dôdh* (possibly the original of דָּוִד *dâvîdh* David) used often in Ca, elsewhere only Is 5^{1} 'a song of my b.'; or [יָדִיד] *yâdhîdh*, as Ps 127^{2} 'he giveth his b. sleep'; or מַחְמָד *maḥmâdh*, only Hos 9^{16} 'the b. fruit of their womb.' And in NT either ἀγαπάω or (most freq.) ἀγαπητός. The latter word has been tr^{d} 'dearly b.' in nine places (RV always omits 'dearly'), and 'well-beloved' in three places (RV omits 'well'). 'Dearly b.' is found in OT, only Jer 12^{7} 'the dearly b. of my soul' (יְדִידוּת *yĕdhîdhûth*, so RV). 'Well-beloved' is found Ca 1^{13} (דּוֹד RV 'beloved'), Is $5^{1\ bis}$ [יָדִיד] so RV). 'Greatly b.' is given in Da 9^{23} $10^{11.\ 19}$, in ref. to Daniel, as tr^{n} of חֲמוּדוֹת (or חֲמֻדוֹת) *ḥămûdhôth*, lit. 'desirable things,' thus 9^{23} 'thou art greatly b.'= 'thou art a precious treasure.' J. Hastings.

BELSHAZZAR is mentioned in Dn as the son of Nebuchadrezzar, and the last reigning king of Babylon, just on the eve of its fall, before Cyrus. The word appears in the forms בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר (Dn 5^{1}) and

* From נָפַח *to blow*. The formation in Heb. denotes an instrument or tool; see Barth, *Nominalbdg*, etc, 1894, § 169c.

בֶּלְאשַׁצַּר (Dn 7[1]). LXX and Th. read Βαλτασάρ, and Jos. (*Ant.* x. xi. 2) says that among the Bab. he was known as son of Ναβοάνδηλος. Herodotus speaks of him as Labynetus II. son of Labynetus I. (Nebuchadrezzar). Xen. (*Cyrop.* vii. 5. 3) says that Babylon was taken by night while the inhabitants were revelling.

But there is one prolific source of information for this period and king, viz. the cuneiform inscriptions. In these we find that the last king of Babylon was Nabonidus (*Na-bû-na'id*), and that his firstborn son was named Belshazzar. One method of writing the name is as follows:  *Bel-šarra-uṣur*, 'may Bel protect the king.' He was thus the prince-regent of the throne. The authority for these statements is the following (in Rawlinson's *W. Asiatic Inscr.* i. 68, col. ii. line 24 f.): 'and as for Bel-šarra-uṣur, the exalted son, the offspring of my body, do thou cause the adoration of thy great divinity to exist in his heart; may he not give way to sin; may he be satisfied with life's abundance.' There is no evidence that he was related as grandson (cf. Dn 5[11]) to the old monarch and creator of the new Bab. empire. According to the inscr. Nabonidus was son of Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳbi. Rawlinson conjectures (*Herodot.* Essay viii. § 25) that B. may have been related to Nebuchadrezzar through his mother (Dn 5[11]), the wide-awake counsellor on that last fateful night. Schrader's theory (*COT* ii. 132 f.), that 'father' is used here in the broad signification of predecessor and ruler in the crowning period of Bab. history, is more plausible. Such usage is held by some to be paralleled by 'Jehu, *son* of Omri' (Layard's *Inscr.* p. 982; Rawl. *WAI* vol. iii. p. 5), when Jehu was the *extirpator* of Omri's dynasty. (See on other side Sayce, *HCM* 525 ff.) It is then *just possible* that the writer of Dn intended only to designate B. as a successor of king Nebuchadrezzar on the throne. It appears from at least three contract tablets (Strassmaier, *Bab. Texte: Inschriften von Nabonidus*, vols. i. and iii., and Tablets, Nos. 184, 581, and 688; a tr. by Sayce in *RP*, new ser. iii. 124–126) that B. was a man of some property, and was obliged to transact business on legal principles. On one tablet we find that 'the secretary of B., the son of the king,' Nebo-yukin-akhi, leases a house for a term of three years, for one and one-half manehs of silver, sub-letting of the house being forbidden, as well as interest on the money. Dated, '5th year of Nabonidus king of Bab.,' *i.e.* B.C. 551. On the second tablet facts of greater interest appear: 'The sum of 20 manehs of silver for wool, the property of B., the son of the king, which has been handed over to Iddin-Merodach . . . through the agency of Nebo-ẓabit the steward of the house of B., the son of the king, and the secretaries of the son of the king . . . The house of . . . the Persian and all his property in town and country shall be the security of B., the son of the king, until he shall pay in full the money aforesaid.' Dated, '11th year of Nabonidus king' [of Bab.], *i.e.* B.C. 545. On the third tablet, a steward, Nebo-ẓabit-idâ, of the house of B., had lent through a loans-broker a sum of money, and taken as security the crops to be grown near Babylon. Dated at 'Babylon, the 27th day of the second Adar, the 12th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon,' *i.e.* B.C. 544.

There is now ample evidence that this 'son of the king' held a high office under his father-king. On an annalistic tablet of Nabonidus (cf. Pinches in *TSBA* vii. 153 ff.), the prince-regent, in the 7th year of his father's reign, was with the army in Akkad with the chief men of the kingdom, the king himself being in Tema. This describes the same condition of things in the 9th, 10th, and 11th years. In the 17th year Cyrus led his forces across the boundary lines of Babylonia. Nabonidus, with the army stationed in Akkad, attempted to defend Sippar against the invader. But on the 14th of Tammuz the city fell, without a stroke, into the hands of Cyrus, and Nabonidus fled. On the 16th the general of the army of Cyrus, Gobryas, entered Babylon 'without fighting.' Neither during nor after the battle at Sippar do we find the name of B. on the somewhat mutilated and broken inscriptions within our reach. By some (*e.g.* Schrader) he is thought to have perished in a battle at Akkad; acc. to others (as Pinches and Hommel), he was slain in the final taking of Babylon.

LITERATURE.—Add to the reff. in the article, Schrader, *COT*[2] ii. 130, 135; Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 158, and *HCM* pp. 497, 525 ff.; Evetts, *New Light on the Bible and the Holy Land*, p. 298 ff.; Farrar, *Daniel*, p. 203 ff.; and Whitehouse and others in *Expos. Times*, iv. 400, v. 41, 69, 180, 285, 382, 474. See also art. BABYLONIA, p. 229*b*.

IRA M. PRICE.

BELTESHAZZAR (בֶּלְטְשַׁאצַּר, Βαλτασάρ), the Chaldæan name given to Daniel (Dn 1[7] 2[26] 5[12]). Opinions differ as to whether the first part of the compound contains the name of Bel (male) or of Beltis or Bilat (female). The latter view is supported by Sir H. Rawlinson and Sayce, the former by Canon Rawlinson (*Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 82). Those who derive the word from Bel have explained it in different ways. (1) It is asserted that Bel is here a genitive form, and that *ẓar=sar* (שַׂר)=prince: 'the prince whom Bel favours' (Ges.). (2) The word is regarded as a contraction for *Bel-balâṭsu-uṣur*='Bel protect his life' (Fried. Delitzsch). (3) It is derived from *Bel, ṭisha* (Heb. מִשְׁאָה 'a secret') and *uṣur* (נָצַר)=to guard—the composition of the elements giving a meaning which might be considered appropriate in the case of Daniel.

G. WALKER.

BEN (בֵּן 'son').—A Levite, 1 Ch 15[18], omitted in parallel list in v.[20] in both MT and LXX. The latter omits it also in the first-named passage.

BEN-ABINADAB (בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב, AV 'son of Abinadab').—One of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4[11]).

BENAIAH (בְּנָיָה, בְּנָיָהוּ 'J" hath built up').—**1.** Son of Jehoiada, a priest (see JEHOIADA) of Kabzeel, a town in the S. of Judah (Jos 15[21]). B. is an example of the silent faithful soldier. A 'mighty man' rather than a general, he is not specially mentioned in the history of David's campaigns, but was captain of the bodyguard of Cherethites (Carites, 2 S 20[23], Kethibh, cf. 2 K 11[4]) and Pelethites (2 S 8[18]). The RVm 'council' for 'guard' in 2 S 23[23] is supported by the LXX and Vulg., and by 1 Ch 27[34], if we read with Bertheau and Graf 'after Ahithophel was Benaiah, son of Jehoiada' (instead of 'J. son of B.'), as 'king's counsellor.' He was captain of the host for the third month, his lieutenant being his son Ammizabad (1 Ch 27[5, 6]).

His special exploits indicate a man of extraordinary activity. They are detailed in 2 S 23[20ff.] (copied 1 Ch 11[22]). (*a*) 'He slew the two [sons of] Ariel [of] Moab,' which probably means two champions of Moabitish sanctuaries (Sayce, *HCM*[3] pp. 349, 376. But see Budde *ad loc.* in Haupt's *OT*). (*b*) A lion having been, in winter time, driven by hunger near human habitations, and fallen into a pit or dry well, Benaiah descended into it and killed the wild beast. (*c*) He encountered an Egyptian champion (5 cubits high, Ch) whose spear was like the side of a ladder, ὡς ξύλον διαβάθρας (Ewald, the beam of a bridge, EV 'like a weaver's beam'). Benaiah, who was armed only with a staff, grappled with his cumbrously armed antagonist, and slew him with his own spear. These feats gave him a place above

'the thirty,' and last of the second three mighty men; the others being Abishai, and probably Joab. It is implied (2 S 15[18]) that he accompanied David in his flight from Absalom, and he remained faithful during Adonijah's rebellion (1 K 1[8. 10. 26]). At David's request he assisted Zadok and Nathan in the coronation of Solomon (vv.[32. 38. 44]). On this occasion he makes a speech to David, which is re-echoed by the king's servants (v.[47]). As chief of the bodyguard he executed Adonijah (1 K 2[25]), Joab (v.[29ff.]), and Shimei (v.[46]). He succeeded Joab as captain of the host under Solomon (1 K 2[35] 4[4]. **2.** (2 S 23[30], 1 Ch 11[31]) One of David's mighty men, of Pirathon in Ephraim (Jg 12[13. 15]). He was captain of the host for the eleventh month (1 Ch 27[14]). **3.** (1 Ch 4[36]) A prince of Simeon. **4.** (1 Ch 15[18. 20] 16[5]) A Levite singer, in David's time, 'of the second degree,' who played 'with psalteries set to Alamoth.' **5.** (1 Ch 15[24] 16[6]) A priest, in David's time, who 'did blow with the trumpets before the ark.' **6.** (2 Ch 20[14]) An Asaphite Levite, ancestor of Jahaziel. **7.** (2 Ch 31[13]) A Levite, in Hezekiah's time, one of the overseers of the dedicated things. **8, 9, 10, 11.** (Ezr 10[25. 30. 35. 43]) Four of those who 'had taken strange wives.' In 1 Es 9[26. 31. 34. 35], Banneas, Naidus, Mamdai, Banaias respectively. **12.** (Ezk 11[1. 13]) Father of Pelatiah, one of the 'princes of the people.'

N. J. D. White.

BEN-AMMI (בֶּן־עַמִּי 'son of my people') the son of Lot's younger daughter. According to the popular Heb. tradition, preserved in Gn 19[38], he was the ancestor of the Ammonite nation, the father of the בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן. But the explanation in this narrative, that 'Ammon' is equivalent to Ben-ammi, rests on no scientific foundation, and, like the derivation given of Moab in the same context, is based on the resemblance in the sound of the two words. The name 'Ammi,' which is found in the cuneiform inscriptions as part of the title of Ammonite sovereigns, *e.g.* Ammi-nadab, has been identified with a deity (Dérenbourg, *Rev. Etudes Juives*, 1881, p. 123 f.; Halévy, *JA* vii. 19, p. 480 f.; but see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 49 f.). Traces of this deity are perhaps to be found in the Heb. names Ammiel, Amminadab, Ammihud, Ammishaddai. According to Sayce (*Patr. Pal.* p. 22), Ammi or Ammo was the name of the god who gave his name to the nation; and the same scholar conjectures that 'even the name of Balaam, the Aramæan seer, may be compounded with that of the god' (p. 64). We find it (Ammi) in the proper names both of S. and of N.-W. Arabia. The early Minæan inscriptions of S. Arabia contain names like Ammi-karib, Ammi-zadika, and Ammi-zaduk (p. 63). Sayce mentions also the Babylonian king Ammi-satana, and the Edomite Ammianshu. This gives a more probable origin for the name Ammon than the one recorded in Gn 19[30-38], which has been said to emanate from racial hostility. The Hebrew legend has probably attributed the foulness of Ammonite religious rites to hereditary taint, for which a play on the names Moab and Ammon offered an explanation.

H. E. Ryle.

BEN-DEKER (בֶּן־דֶּקֶר 'son of Deker'; *υἱὸς* Ρῆχαβ B, *υἱὸς* Ρῆχας Luc., *υἱὸς* Δακάρ A. Deker perhaps means *sharp, piercing instrument*, as in Talmud). —Patronymic of one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4[9]). C. F. Burney.

BENE-BERAK (בְּנֵי בְרַק), Jos 19[45].—A town of Dan near Jehud (*el-Yehudîyeh*), now the village *Ibn Ibrâḳ*, E. of Jaffa. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiii.

C. R. Conder.

BENEFACTOR.—Lk 22[25] only, 'they that exercise authority over them (the Gentiles) are called benefactors.' The word is an exact tr[n] of the Gr. *Εὐεργέτης*, a title of honour borne by two of the Gr. kings of Egypt before Christ's day, Ptolemy III. (B.C. 247–222) and Ptolemy IX. (B.C. 147–117). Hence RV properly spells with a capital, 'Benefactors.' J. Hastings.

BENE-JAAKAN (בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן). — A station in the journeyings, mentioned Nu 33[31. 32] (cf. Dt 10[6], and see Beeroth-bene-Jaakan). A. T. Chapman.

BENEVOLENCE.—1 Co 7[3] only, 'Let the husband render unto the wife due b.' where b. is used in the sense of affection. This tr[n], which is due to Tindale, follows TR *τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν*; but all edd. give simply *τὴν ὀφειλὴν*, whence RV 'her due'; cf. Rheims 'his dette.' The Gr. word *εὔνοια* thus occurs only in Eph 6[7], 'goodwill' EV; the verb is found Mt 5[25] 'Agree with (*ἴσθι εὐνοῶν*) thine adversary quickly.' J. Hastings.

BEN-GEBER (בֶּן־גֶּבֶר, AV **'son of Geber,'** which see).—Patronymic of one of Solomon's 12 commissariat officers who had charge of a district N.E. of the Jordan (1 K 4[13]). C. F. Burney.

BEN-HADAD (בֶּן־הֲדַד, *υἱὸς* Ἀδερ, *Benadad*).—Three kings of Damascus of this name are mentioned in the OT. **Ben-hadad I.**, the son of Tab-rimmon, the son of Hezion (? Rezon), was bribed by Asa of Judah, with the treasures of the temple and palace, to attack Baasha of Israel while the latter was building the fortress of Ramah, and thereby blocking the Jewish high-road to the north. Asa urged that there had been alliance between his father and Tab-rimmon; but his gold was doubtless more efficacious in inducing Ben-hadad to invade the northern part of Israel, and so oblige Baasha to desert Ramah. Thereupon Asa carried away the stone and timber of Ramah, and built with them Geba and Mizpah (1 K 15[18-22]). **Ben-hadad II.** was the son and successor of Ben-hadad I. We have an account of his war with Ahab, and unsuccessful siege of Samaria, in 1 K 20. Thirty-two kings are said to have been his vassals or allies. He was, however, signally defeated at Aphek, and compelled to restore the cities taken by his father (1 K 20[34]), as well as to grant the Israelites a bazaar in Damascus. At a later period Ben-hadad again besieged Samaria; but a panic fell upon his army, and they fled, believing that the king of Israel had hired against them 'the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians' (2 K 7[6. 7]). Having fallen ill, Ben-hadad afterwards sent Hazael to the prophet Elisha, who had come to Damascus, to ask whether he should recover; but the result of the mission was, that on the following day Hazael smothered his master and seized the crown (2 K 8[7-15]). **Ben-hadad III.** was the son of Hazael, and lost the Israelitish conquests that his father had made. Thrice did Joash of Israel 'smite him, and recovered the cities of Israel' (2 K 13[25]).

Ben-hadad, 'son of the god Hadad,' is a Hebraised form of the Aram. Bar-hadad, which appears in the Assyr. inscriptions as Bur-hadad and Bir-dadda. Bur-hadad was a prince of northern Mesopotamia, who was put to death by Assur-naẓir-pal, and Bir-dadda is mentioned by Assur-bani-pal as a north Arabian prince (*WAI* iii. 24. 10). Hadad, Dadda, or Dad, and Addu, are stated by the cuneiform lexical tablets to be variant forms of the same divine name, the god Hadad being further identified in them with Rimmon. But it would seem that, like Hadad, Bar-hadad was also a divine name, and denoted the younger deity whom the Syrians associated with his father, the sun-god. A Bab. contract, dated in the ninth year of Nabonidus (B.C. 547), relates

to a certain Syrian called Bar-hadad-nathan, who had adopted Bar-hadad-amar as a son. As the Jews Hebraised Bar-hadad into Ben-hadad, so the Babylonians changed it into Abil-hadad, *abil* being the Babylonian word for 'son.'

It follows from this that Bar-hadad or Ben-hadad cannot have been the full name of a king. And the Assyr. inscriptions prove that such was the case. They have much to tell us about Ben-hadad II., whom they call Dad-idri, the Hebraised form of which is found in the OT as Hadad-ezer. In B.C. 853 Dad-idri and his allies were utterly defeated at Karkar on the Orontes by Shalmaneser II. of Assyria. The king of Damascus had brought into the field 1200 chariots, 1200 horses, and 20,000 men; his allies were Irkhulini of Hamath, with 700 chariots, 700 horses, and 10,000 men; Ahab of Israel, with 2000 chariots and 10,000 men; the Kuans, from the Gulf of Antioch, with 500 men; 1000 Egyptians; 10 chariots, and 10,000 men from the land of Irkanat (Arka); Matinu-baal of Arvad with 200 men; 200 men from Usanat (near Tyre); Adoni-baal of the Sinites with 10,000 men; Gindibu the Arab with 1000 camels, and Baasha the son of Rehob of Ammon with more than 100 men. The battle must have been fought shortly before Ahab's death and his final rupture with Ben-hadad (1 K 22^{1-3}). Shalmaneser states in one passage that 20,500—in another passage 14,000—of the enemy were left dead on the field.

Five years later Dad-idri was again defeated by Shalmaneser, and in B.C. 845 Shalmaneser entered Syria with 120,000 men and overthrew the combined forces of Dad-idri, Irkhulini, and 'the twelve kings of the coast of the upper and lower sea.' Professor Schrader is doubtless right in thinking that by the latter expression are meant the Phœnician and north Syrian portions of the Mediterranean. Four years later Shalmaneser's opponent in Damascus was Hazael, so that Dad-idri (Ben-hadad-ezer) must have died between B.C. 845 and 841. A. H. SAYCE.

BEN-HAIL (בֶּן־חַיִל 'son of might').—A prince sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{7}). (But see Gray, *Heb. Pr. Names*, 65, 231.)

BEN-HANAN (בֶּן־חָנָן 'son of a gracious one').—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{20}).

BEN-HESED (בֶּן־חֶסֶד, AV **'Son of Hesed'** [= 'kindness']).—Patronymic of one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers who had charge of a district in Judah (1 K 4^{10}). C. F. BURNEY.

BENINU (בְּנִינוּ, perhaps 'our son').—One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{13}).

BENJAMIN (בִּנְיָמִין, or more usually בִּנְיָמִן *binyâmîn*, 'son of the right-hand,' Βενιαμείν).—**1.** The youngest of the sons of Jacob. He was born between Bethel and Ephrath, and Rachel died in giving him birth. As she was at the point of death she named him Ben-oni (בֶּן־אוֹנִי 'son of my sorrow,' LXX *υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου*), but Jacob changed it to Benjamin, probably to avoid the evil omen of the name Benoni (Gn 35^{18}). He and Joseph were full brothers, they being the only sons of Jacob by Rachel, and he was the only son of Jacob born in Canaan. That he is enumerated by P among the sons born in Paddan-aram (Gn 35^{24-26}) need not be pressed. At the time of the famine (Gn 42 ff.) Joseph insisted that he should come down with his brethren on their second visit to Egypt to buy corn. Jacob is most reluctant to send him, but Judah (according to J, Reuben according to E) answers for his safety, and he goes. On his arrival, according to E, Joseph makes himself known to his brethren, and gives B. 300 pieces of silver and five changes of raiment. According to J, he gives B. a mess five times as large as that given to the others; then brings them back after their departure, and threatens to keep B. as his slave because the silver cup is found in his sack; and, moved by the eloquent appeal of Judah, declares who he is. At this time B. is represented as quite young, 'a little one,' and the pet of the family (Gn 44^{20}). But in Gn 46^{21} he is spoken of as the father of ten sons, who are unquestionably regarded as going down to Egypt with Jacob (Gn 46^{26}). There is no need to reconcile these incompatible views, as the latter belongs to one of the latest strata in the Hex., being probably due to R.

It is held by many modern critics that B. is not a hist. character, but the eponymous ancestor of the tribe. If so, the account in Gn will throw light on the early history of the tribe. The tribal system, as we have it in the biblical history, is probably not earlier than the conquest of Canaan. Originally there were Leah tribes and Rachel tribes. To the latter belonged the tribes grouped under the name of Bilhah, and the tribe of Joseph. To the tribe of Joseph it would seem that B. originally belonged, but became a distinct tribe earlier than Manasseh and Ephraim, which were always recognised as belonging to Joseph, while B. was regarded as, like Joseph, a son of Jacob. But we find a trace of the earlier view in 2 S 19^{20}, where Shimei, a Benjamite, speaks of himself as belonging to the house of Joseph. It is also probable that B. was the latest formed of the tribes, except Ephraim and Manasseh; and the record of the birth in Canaan (Gn 35^{18}) is a reminiscence of this formation after the conquest.

The territory of the tribe adjoined that of Ephraim. Its limits and the towns in it are given in Jos 18^{11-28}, a passage which belongs to the late document P. According to this, it was bounded on the E. by the Jordan, on the N. by a line passing from Jordan by Jericho on the N. to Bethel, and thence to Beth-horon; on the W. by a line passing from Beth-horon to Kiriath-jearim; and on the S. by a line reaching from Beth-horon to the N. bay at the Salt Sea, keeping Jerus. on the N. Twenty-six towns are mentioned, the chief of which are Jericho, Bethel, Geba, Gibeon, Ramah, Mizpeh, Jerusalem, Gibeath, and Kiriath. It is not certain, however, whether all these towns properly belonged to B. Bethel is regarded by Jg 1^{22} as belonging to 'the house of Joseph,' and it certainly belonged to the N. kingdom, though this does not preclude the view that it was in the territory of B. The case of Jerus. is somewhat similar. It stood near the border line that divided B. from Judah, and the Jews spoke of the temple itself as in B., while its courts were in Judah. Till the time of David it was in the hands of the Jebusites. There are some indications that before the Exile Jerus. was reckoned to Judah. Thus (Jer 37^{12}) 'Jeremiah went forth out of Jerusalem to go into the land of B.' On the other hand, in the blessing of Moses, the temple is certainly regarded as in B.: 'Of B. he said, The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by him; he covereth him all the day long, and he dwelleth between his shoulders' (Dt 33^{12}). Jer 6^{1} 'Flée for safety, ye children of B., out of the midst of Jerus.,' has little bearing on the point.

The character of the country was fitted to breed a race of hardy warriors rather than peaceful agriculturists. The level of the country was more than 2000 ft. above the sea, and it was studded with many hills. G. A. Smith has thus described it: 'A desolate and fatiguing extent of rocky platforms and ridges, of moorland strewn with boulders, and fields of shallow soil thickly mixed

with stone, they are a true border,—more fit for the building of barriers than the cultivation of food' (*Hist. Geog.* p. 290). This had its influence on the character of the tribe, which is graphically depicted in the blessing of Jacob: 'B. is a wolf that ravineth: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at even he shall divide the spoil' (Gn 49[27]). And the character of the land helped B. to play its magnificent part in the warfare against the Philistines. Several important roads ran through it towards Judah and Jerus., and these were commanded by its fortresses. Michmash, Geba, Ramah, Adasa, Gibeon, formed 'a line of defence that was valid against the Aijalon and Ai ascents, as well as against the level approach from the N.' (Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 291), while Bethel commands the routes from Gophna and Shechem, and 'a road from the Jordan Valley through the passes of Mt. Ephraim.' From the E. and W. sides, passes strike up into the heart of the country, those on the E. side being much the more difficult. Through the western passes the Philistines delivered their attacks against the tribe.

The history of B. is important till the time of Saul only. The tribe took part in the campaign of Deborah and Barak against Sisera (Jg 5[14]). The narrative in Jg 19–21 also falls in the period of the Judges, but calls for special discussion. It was in connexion with the Philistine oppression that the greatest work of B. was done. The narrative is in parts concise and obscure, so that the exact development of events is hard to follow. But the movement for the deliverance of Israel that proved ultimately successful, seems to have originated in B. The anointing of a king was for the breaking of the Philistine yoke, and he was selected from the tribe of B. And it was within B. itself that the movement for freedom began. (See SAUL.)

On the death of Saul, his own tribe B. naturally remained faithful to his house. The army of Ishbosheth, commanded by Abner, seems to have consisted chiefly of Benjamites. In the ferocious combat, when twelve men of Abner engaged twelve of Joab's army, the former are spoken of as 'twelve for B.' (2 S 2[15]), and Abner's soldiers are referred to as 'the children of B.' (2[25]). In the subsequent negotiations between David and Abner, special mention is made of B. apart from the rest of Israel ('and Abner had communication with the elders of Israel . . . And Abner also spake in the ears of B.: and Abner went also to speak in the ears of David in Hebron all that seemed good to Israel and to the whole house of B.,' 2 S 3[17-19]). After Ishbosheth had been murdered by two Benjamites, David became king over the whole of Israel. But the hate of him was not dead in B. When he fled from Jerus. on the occasion of Absalom's rebellion, it was a Benjamite of the house of Saul, Shimei, who pursued him with curses (2 S 16[5]). And when, through David's unwise partiality for Judah, dispute arose between the latter and the other tribes, it was a Benjamite, Sheba, who raised the standard of revolt (2 S 19. 20).

It is therefore natural to expect that, when the revolt took place from Rehoboam, B. should throw in its lot with the seceding tribes, and not with Judah. It is, however, stated explicitly in some passages, that B. remained with Judah (1 K 12[21. 23], 2 Ch 11[10. 12. 23] 14[8] 15[2. 9] etc.). But there are other passages which point another way. Thus in 1 K 12[20] we read 'there was none that followed the house of David but the tribe of Judah only.' The prophecy of Ahijah is a little ambiguous; the garment is rent into twelve pieces, of which ten are given to Jeroboam with the explanation that he is to have ten tribes. But the house of David is to have, not two tribes, but one (1 K 11[26-37]). If Levi is omitted, and Ephraim and Manasseh counted as one tribe, Israel would consist of eleven tribes, and B. would then be reckoned among the ten tribes. The truth is, probably, that B. as a whole joined the revolt. But owing to its nearness to Judah, and especially to the fact that Jerus., the capital city of Judah, was, even if not wholly in B., yet on the border, the S. part of the tribe can hardly have escaped union with Judah. After the overthrow of the N. kingdom, the territory of B. largely fell into the hands of Judah, and many Benjamites are mentioned among those who returned from exile. The Apostle Paul belonged to this tribe.

One incident in the history of the tribe has been left for separate examination. This is the outrage at Gibeah, and almost entire destruction of B., in consequence of its support of the perpetrators (Jg 19–21). The narrative as it stands presents insuperable difficulties. These are chiefly to be found in the account of the war with B. (Jg 20). Israel is spoken of as a 'congregation,' and represented as acting together as one man, unlike everything else we know of the period. The size of the army raised (400,000) is quite incredible, and the incidents of the campaign no less so. B. with 26,700 destroys in two days 40,000 Israelites, but does not lose a single man. On the third day the whole tribe of B. is destroyed, with the exception of 600 men. The date given for this is vague; it is said to have been in the days of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron. This chapter presents close points of contact with P in the Hex. Critics are generally agreed that its representations are on that account unhistorical. But it is a matter of dispute whether this judgment should be passed on the whole story. Some (*e.g.* Wellhausen) regard it as a post-ex. fiction, intended to throw discredit on Saul and his tribe and family. The outrage takes place in Gibeah, a place specially connected with Saul; and that it is perpetrated on a Levite increases its heinousness; while the inhospitable character of the inhabitants comes out, not only in their disgraceful conduct, but in the fact that the only man who offers entertainment is not a native of the place. Saul's tribe consents to the crime, and refuses to surrender the authors of it. Jabesh-gilead, which Saul had rescued from the Ammonites, and whose inhabitants had rescued Saul's body from the Phil., is the only place which did not join in the holy war against B., and is destroyed for this. The details also recall the conduct of the men of Sodom. It is true that the coincidences with points in Saul's history are very striking. Yet it is difficult to resist the conviction that there must be a hist. basis for chs. 19 and 21, and for so much of ch. 20 as relates the extermination of a large part of the tribe. That the whole of Israel took part cannot be maintained; perhaps Judah (20[18]), to which the murdered woman belonged, took the chief part in inflicting vengeance. See Moore (*Judges, in loc.*), who argues forcibly for the view taken here.

2. A great-grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch 7[10]). **3.** One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[32], prob. same as B. of Neh 3[23] 12[34]).

A. S. PEAKE.

BENJAMIN, GATE.—See JERUSALEM.

BENO (בְּנוֹ 'his son').—In both AV and RV a proper name in 1 Ch 24[26. 27], but we should perhaps render, 'of Jaaziah *his son*, even the sons of Merari by Jaaziah *his son*' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

J. A. SELBIE.

BENONI.—See BENJAMIN.

BEN-ZOHETH (בֶּן־זוֹחֵת).—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4[20]). The text appears to be corrupt.

BEON (בְּעֹן), Nu 32[3].—See BAAL-MEON.

BEOR (בְּעוֹר 'a burning,' Βεώρ).—**1.** Father of Balaam, Nu 22[5] 24[3. 15] J, Jos 24[9] E (LXX omits), also Nu 31[8], Dt 23[4], Jos 13[22], Mic 6[5], 2 P 2[15] (Bosor, AV and RVm). **2.** Father of Bela, king of Edom, Gn 36[32] J, 1 Ch 1[43].

G. H. BATTERSBY.

BERA (בֶּרַע, etym. and meaning unknown).—King of Sodom at time of Chedorlaomer's invasion (Gn 14[2]).

BERACAH (בְּרָכָה 'blessing,' AV **Berachah**).—One of Saul's brethren who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[3]).

BERACAH, Valley (בְּרָכָה), 2 Ch 20[26] only.—'The valley of blessing,' where Jehoshaphat gave thanks

for victory over the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, who had marched from Engedi to Tekoa (vv.[2. 20]). The name survives at the ruin *Breikût* on the main road from Jerusalem to Hebron, west of Tekoa. See further in Robinson, *BR* ii. 189; Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 317; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of Holy Land*, 272; and *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.

C. R. Conder.

BERAIAH (בְּרָאיָה 'J" hath created').—A man of Benjamin (1 Ch 8[21]).

BEREA (Βερέα, 1 Mac 9[4]).—See Berœa.

BEREAVE, now restricted to the loss of relatives or friends, once meant to deprive of any possession. Thus Ec 4[8] 'For whom do I labour, and b. (RV 'deprive,' Heb. מְחַסֵּר) my soul of good?' In this sense 'bereft,' an alternative past tense and past ptcp. with 'bereaved,' is still used. **Bereft**, not in AV, is given by RV at 1 Ti 6[5] 'b. of the truth' (AV 'destitute,' Gr. *ἀπεστερημένος*). RV also introduces **bereavement**, Is 49[20] 'The children of thy b.' (בְּנֵי שִׁכְלֻלַיִךְ, that is, says Cheyne, who adopts the same rendering, 'those born while Zion thought herself bereft of all her children'; AV 'the children which thou shalt have, after thou hast lost the other'). RV introduces further the very rare word **bereaver**, Ezk 36[13] 'a b. of thy nation,' of which the latest example found by *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* is in W. Hall, *Man's Gt. Enemy* (1624): 'Of soule and bodie's good hee's a bereauer.'

J. Hastings.

BERECHIAH (בֶּרֶכְיָה, abbrev. from יְבָרְכֵיהוּ 'J" blesseth').—**1.** Father of Asaph (1 Ch 6[39], AV **Berachiah**). **2.** Son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3[20]). **3.** Father of Meshullam, one of Nehemiah's chiefs (Neh 3[4. 30] 6[18]). **4.** A Levite guard of the ark (1 Ch 9[16] 15[23]). **5.** Father of the prophet Zechariah (Zec 1[1]). **6.** An Ephraimite chief (2 Ch 28[12]). See Genealogy.

J. A. Selbie.

BERED (Person).—See Becher.

BERED (בֶּרֶד 'hail'(?), Gn 16[14]).—**1.** A place between Beersheba and Beer-lahai-roi. The Targum of pseudo-Jonathan identifies it with Ḥaluṣa, now Ḥalasah, the Elusa of Ptolemy, where there are extensive ruins 13 miles south of Beersheba. The ecclesiastical history of Elusa in this era is given by Robinson, i. 201, 202. Jerome says the inhabitants in his time called it Barec. Possibly this was the correct name, as such a change is not likely to occur in speech, but could very easily indeed be made in writing by the change of ך into ר. At *Ḥalasah* there is a distinct bend on the hills and the valley between them, such as might most naturally suggest the name ברך 'a knee.' See map in Trumbull's *Kadesh Barnea*.

A. Henderson.

BERI (בֶּרִי, perhaps=בְּאֵרִי, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, and connected with בְּאֵר 'a well').—A division of the Asherite clan Zophah, 1 Ch 7[36]. See Berites.

W. H. Bennett.

BERIAH (בְּרִיעָה).—The etymology is quite uncertain, the root ברע not being used in Hebrew. The root occurs in Arabic in the senses of *mount, excel, be munificent*. The name may have meant *distinguished, hero*, or *chieftain*. The statement in 1 Ch 7[23] that Beriah 2 was so called 'because it went evil (בְּרָעָה, lit. 'in evil') with his house,' indicates what the name in course of time may have come to suggest, and does not give its original etymology. **1.** *A son of Asher, and the clan descended from him.* Gn 46[17] (P, probably late stratum), Nu 26[44-46] (P), 1 Ch 7[30. 31] include B. among the sons of Asher, and make him the ancestor of the clans of Heber and Malchiel, who are mentioned as his sons. In the LXX, however, of Nu 26[45] (LXX [29]) the clause 'of the sons of Beriah' is omitted, probably by an oversight, so that Heber and Malchiel appear as direct descendants of Asher. In Nu 26[44], B. is the ancestor of 'the clan of the Beriites' (מִשְׁפַּחַת הַבְּרִיעִי). **2.** *A son of Ephraim, and a clan descended from him. This clan in later times included large Benjamite elements.* B. is not included in the list of Ephraimitic clans in Nu 26[35-37] (P); but in 1 Ch 7[20-23] we read, 'And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eleadah his son, and Tahath his son, and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in the land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle. And Ephraim, their father, mourned many days, and his brethren came in to comfort him. And he went in to his wife, and she conceived, and he called his name B., because it went evil with his house.' The mention of Ephraim at first sight suggests that this episode occurred at the beginning of the sojourn in Egypt; but Ezer and Elead appear to be brothers of the second Shuthelah, and six generations are mentioned between them and Ephraim. They *came down* to Gath, presumably from the neighbouring highlands of Ephraim. 'Ephraim' and 'his brethren' can scarcely mean the patriarchs, who lived and died in Egypt. Actual sons of Ephraim must have come from Egypt, across the desert, past Phil. and Can. towns. A simple and probable explanation seems to be that the chronicler is using a natural and common (cf. Jg 21[1-6]) figure to describe the distress in the tribe of Ephraim when two of its clans were cut off, the sympathy of the neighbouring tribes, and the fact that a new clan Beriah was formed to replace those that were cut off. This new clan was partly Benjamite. In 1 Ch 8[13] we read of two Benjamites, 'Beriah and Shema, who were heads of fathers' houses of the inhabitants of Aijalon, who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath.' The episode was probably somewhat as follows:—Two Ephraimite clans, Ezer and Elead, set out to drive the cattle 'of the men of Gath, who were born in the land,' *i.e.* of the aboriginal Avvites, who had been dispossessed by the Philistines, but still retained some pasture lands. The Ephraimites were defeated, and nearly all the fighting men of the two clans perished. The victors invaded Ephraim, whose border districts, stripped of their defenders, lay at the mercy of the enemy. The Benjamite clans Beriah and Shema, then occupying Aijalon, came to the rescue and drove back the invaders. The grateful Ephraimites invited their allies to occupy the vacant territory, and, in all probability, to marry the widows and daughters of their slaughtered kinsmen. Hence B. is sometimes reckoned as Ephraimite and sometimes as Benjamite. (Cf. Bertheau, also *Expositor's Bible*, on 1 Ch 7 and 8.) **3.** *A Levite of the clan Gershom*, 1 Ch 23[10. 11].

Beriites.—See under 1 above.

W. H. Bennett.

BERITES (בְּרִים) occurs only in the account of Joab's pursuit of the rebel Sheba, in the obscure and doubtful passage 2 S 20[13-15] 'Joab . . . went through all the tribes of Israel unto Abel, and to Beth-maacah, *and all the Berites*: and they were gathered together, and went also after him. And they came and besieged him in Abel,' etc. (RV). The MT apparently intends to state that Joab came to the *district* of the Berites, possibly descendants of Beri, and that *all the tribes of Israel* gathered together, etc. According, however, to Driver, *Text of Samuel*, 264, the MT yields no intelligible sense if 'all the Berites' is coupled to what precedes; *went after* (וַיָּבֹאוּ אַחֲרָיו) must mean to go into a place after any one. He understands that Sheba went through all the tribes of Israel to

Abel, and the Berites—or rather Bichrites (see below)—followed him into Abel as allies. Both Driver and Budde (Sam. in Haupt's *Sacred Books of OT*) follow Klostermann in reading בִּכְרִים *Bichrites*, for בְּרִים Berites, after the LXX ἐν Χαρρεί. Sheba is styled 'ben Bikhri.' Many others read בָּחֻרִים *choice young men*, after Vulg. *viri electi*.

W. H. BENNETT.

BERNICE or **BERENICE** (Βερνίκη).—See HEROD.

BERŒA.—Two places bearing this name fall to be noticed, along with a third which appears as **Berea**. **1.** Berœa (Βέροια or Βέρροια), a Macedonian city, which was the scene of brief but fruitful missionary work by St. Paul, after Jewish hostility had driven him away from Thessalonica (Ac 17[10-14]). It was situated in the district called Emathia (Ptol. iii. 12), at the eastern base of Mount Bermius (Strabo, vii. 26), about 30 miles S. of Pella, and 50 S.W. of Thessalonica. It was an old town, whose natural advantages in a well-watered and fertile district gave to it considerable population and importance, which it still retains under the name of *Verria* or *Kara Feria* (see the interesting description in Leake, *NG* iii. 290–292). The Jewish residents in St. Paul's time were not only numerous enough to have a synagogue, like those in Thessalonica, but are commended as nobler in disposition (εὐγενέστεροι) than they, in respect of their readiness to receive the word preached, and daily to examine what they heard by the light of their own Scriptures; so that many Jews believed, as well as not a few women of Greek nationality and 'honourable estate' (εὐσχημόνων). When Jewish zealots from Thessalonica came thither and stirred up fresh troubles, the newly-converted 'brethren' at once sent St. Paul out of the city 'to go as far as to' (ἕως, rather than ὡς='as it were') the sea, by which he went on to Athens, leaving Silas and Timotheus behind at Berœa. Sopater, another of St. Paul's associates, is designated as a Berœan (Ac 20[4]). Tradition made Onesimus first bishop of the Church (*Const. Ap.* vii. 46).

2. In 2 Mac 13[4] Berœa appears as the place at which Antiochus Eupator caused Menelaus, the former high priest, to be put to death. This Berœa was the well-known Syrian town now called Haleb or Aleppo; it lay between Hierapolis and Antioch, about one and a half day's journey from either; it was named by Seleucus Nikator after the Macedonian city; it became in the Middle Ages the capital of a Saracenic power, resuming its earlier name of Haleb; and though it has suffered much during the present century from earthquake, plague, and cholera, it remains an imposing and important city of about 100,000 inhabitants.

3. At 1 Mac 9[4] Berea (Βερέα) is mentioned as a place to which Bacchides, after 'encamping against Jerusalem,' removed, while Judas lay encamped at Elasa prior to the battle in which the latter fell. It is now generally identified with Beeroth (Jos 9[17]) or Beroth (1 Es 5[19]), the modern *Bireh*, situated about ten miles north of Jerus., on the main road to Nablûs and the north. For description of ruined church there, see *SWP* vol. iii. p. 88 f.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

BEROTH.—See BEEROTH.

BEROTHAH (בְּרוֹתָה), Ezk 47[16]; **Berothai** (בְּרוֹתַי), 2 S 8[8], but in 1 Ch 18[8], Cun (see Kittel, *ad loc.*).—A Syrian city. The first cited passage seems to show that Beirût is not intended, since the town lay between Hamath and Damascus. The name probably signifies 'fir trees,' and is thought to survive in *Wâdy Brissa*, on the eastern slope of Lebanon, near Kadesh on the Orontes.

C. R. CONDER.

BEROTHITE (בְּרֹתִי), 1 Ch 11[39]; **Beerothite** (בְּאֵרֹתִי), 2 S 4[2. 3. 5. 9] 23[37].—An inhabitant of Beeroth.

BERYL.—See STONES, PRECIOUS.

BERZELUS.—See ZORZELLEUS.

BESAI (בְּסַי).—'Children of B.,' Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[49], Neh 7[52]; = Basthai, 1 Es 5[31]).

BESIDE, BESIDES.—These two forms seem to have been used in 1611 (and earlier) indifferently; cf. Mk 3[21] 'He is beside himself,' 2 Co 5[13] 'whether we be besides (so 1611) ourselves,' and Ac 26[24] 'Paul, thou art beside thyself'; again, as to Ac 26[24], Tindale, who introduces this tr[n], has 'besides,' Cranmer 'beside,' the Geneva 'besides,' AV 'beside.' Modern edd. of AV give 'beside' 125 times, 'besides' only 8 times, but in ed. of 1611 the relative proportion was closer.

Treating both forms as one word, then, b. is either an adv. or a prep., and the meaning is 'by the side of.' But the side may be reached either from a position that is farther off or from one that is still nearer. Compare Ps 23[2] 'He leadeth me b. (עַל) the still waters,' Is 32[20] 'Blessed are ye that sow b. (עַל) all waters,' or 1 S 19[3] 'I will go out and stand b. (לְיַד) my father,' with Mt 14[21] 'five thousand men, b. (χωρίς) women and children,' or Gaule (1629), 'Oh, doe him not the wrong to look b. him, for if you see him not, hee comes by to no purpose'; or Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* ii. 384, 'He put the new Pope Alexander b. the cushion and was made pope himself.' Hence b. expresses either *addition* or *separation*.

1. ADDITION.—Gn 19[12] 'Hast thou here any b.?' (עוֹד); Mt 25[20] 'I have gained b. (ἐπί) them five talents more'; Lk 24[21] 'Yea and b. (σύν) all this'; 2 P 1[5] 'And b. this, . . . add to your faith virtue' (Gr. καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δέ, RV 'Yea, and for this very cause'); Philem v.[19] 'thou owest unto me even thine own self b.' (προσοφείλεις); Sir 17[11] 'B. this he gave them knowledge' (προσέθηκεν αὐτοῖς).

2. SEPARATION.—Jos 22[29] 'God forbid that we should rebel . . . to build an altar . . . b. (מִלְבַד 'separate from') the altar of the Lord our God that is before his tabernacle' (AV 'beside,' RV 'besides'); Is 43[11] 'b. me (מִבַּלְעָדַי) there is no Saviour.' Hence arises the expression 'beside oneself' which occurs three times, Mk 3[21], 2 Co 5[13] (both ἐξίστημι), Ac 26[24] (μαίνομαι). Compare 'b. the mark'; 'b. the real issue' (Froude); 'Like an enchanted maid b. her wits' (Hood); 'I felt quite b. myself for joy and gratitude' (Q. Victoria); 'A Lye is properly an outward Signification of something contrary to, or, at least, b. the inward Sense of the Mind' (South).

J. HASTINGS.

BESODEIAH (בְּסוֹדְיָה Neh 3[6]).—Meshullam, the son of Besodeiah, took part in repairing the Old Gate. The name means, perhaps, 'In the secret of J",' בְּסוֹד יָהּ, cf. Jer 23[18. 22].

H. A. WHITE.

BESOM.—Is 14[23] only, 'I will sweep it with the b. of destruction' (מַטְאֲטֵא, from מָאַט tr[d] here 'sweep,' so lit. 'I will sweep it with the sweeper of destruction'; cf. טִיט mud, mire; and for the simile Is 30[28] 'to sift the nations with the sieve of vanity' [RVm 'destruction,' Cheyne 'annihilation,' Heb. שָׁוְא]). The besom, though used in earlier Eng. and still locally as a mere synonym for 'broom' (cf. Lyly, *Euphues*, 1580, 'There is no more difference betweene them than between a Broome and a Beesome'), is properly made, not of broom, but of heath, in Devonshire called *bisam* or *bassam*.

J. HASTINGS.

BESOR, Brook (נַחַל הַבְּשׂוֹר), 1 S 30[9. 10. 21].—A torrent, apparently south or south-west of Ziklag, on the

way to the country of the Amalekites and Egypt, in the Tih desert. The name has not been recovered. It is identified by Guérin with the Wady *Razze*, which flows into the sea S.W. of Gaza.

C. R. CONDER.

BESTEAD.—Is 8^{21} only, 'hardly b. and hungry.' 'Bestead' (the proper spelling is *bested*, the other arose from a supposed connexion with *bestead*, to help) means simply 'placed,' and that is its meaning here. The Heb. is one word, נְקֻשָׁה, niph. ptcp. from קָשָׁה, to be hard. Amer. RV has 'sore distressed,' Cheyne 'hard-prest.' J. HASTINGS.

BESTIALITY.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

BESTOW (from *bi* or *be* and *stow* a place) means in mod. Eng. to confer as a gift, but is used in AV in other obsolete senses. **1.** To place, 1 K 10^{26} 'chariots and . . . horsemen whom he b^{ed} in the cities for chariots' (RV 'in the chariot cities'). Cf. Shaks. *Temp.* v. i. 299—

'Hence, and bestow your luggage where you found it.'

2. To lay up in store, to stow away, Lk 12^{17} 'I have no room where to b. my fruits.' **3.** To apply to a special use, 2 K 12^{15} 'the money to be b^{ed} on workmen'; Dt 14^{26} 'thou shalt b. that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after'; 1 Co 13^{3} 'though I b. all my goods to feed the poor' (Gr. *ψωμίζω* to feed by giving morsels, from *ψωμός* a morsel). **4.** To spend (without special application), 1 Co 12^{23} 'those members of the body which we think to be less honourable, upon these we b. more abundant honour' (*περιτίθημι*, RVm 'put on'); Jn 4^{38} 'I sent you to reap that whereon ye b^{ed} no labour' (*κοπιάω*, RV 'whereon ye have not laboured'). Cf.—

'Fellow, wilt thou bestow thy time with me?'
Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* v. v. 61.

J. HASTINGS.

BETAH (בֶּטַח), 2 S 8^{8}.—See TIBHATH.

BETANE (Βαιτάνη), Jth 1^{9}.—A place apparently south of Jerusalem, and not Bethany. It may be the same as Bethanoth. C. R. CONDER.

BETEN (בֶּטֶן), Jos 19^{25}. — A town of Asher, noticed next to Achshaph. The site is doubtful. In the fourth century (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Bathne) it was shown 8 Roman miles east of Ptolemais (Acco), and then called Bebeten or Bethbeten. The place intended appears to be the present village *El B'aneh*, which would be suitable for the position of Beten. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet v.

C. R. CONDER.

BETH (ב), the second letter of the Heb. alphabet (see ALPHABET). Beth is the heading or title of the second part of Ps 119, and each verse of that part begins with this letter (see PSALMS). In Heb. *bêth* (בַּיִת) is the construct form of *bayith* (בַּיִת) 'a house,' and enters into the composition of many place-names. See BAYITH, NAMES.

BETHABARA (Βηθαβαρά, Heb. בֵּית עֲבָרָה 'place of passing over,' Jn 1^{28} AV only).—It was east of the river, and a day's distance at most from Cana of Galilee (2^{1}). The reading in א A B C is **Bethany** (so RV), as in the time of Origen, who, however, regarded this as incorrect. The traditional site, from the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.*) was at the ford east of Jericho; but this is clearly much too far south. The name survives at the ford called *'Abârah*, north-east of Bethshean, and this is the only place where this name occurs in Palestine. The site is as near to Cana as any point on the Jordan, and within a day's journey. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet ix. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ANATH (בֵּית־עֲנָת 'temple of Anath,' so Nestle, Baethgen, Meyer), Jos 19^{38}, Jg 1^{33}. — A town of Naphtali, now the village *'Ainatha*, in the mountains of Upper Galilee. (*SWP* vol. i. sheet iv.) See DABERATH for the early Egyptian notice.

C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ANOTH (בֵּיתעֲנוֹת, perhaps 'temple of 'Anath'), Jos 15^{59}. — A town in the mountains of Judah near Gedor. It is the present *Beit 'Ainûn*, S.E. of Halhul. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi.

C. R. CONDER.

BETHANY (Βηθανία).—**1.** A village near Jerusalem (Mt 21^{17}), near Bethphage, and at the Mount of Olives (Mk 11^{1}, cf. $^{11, 12}$), where was Simon's house (14^{3}), on the road from Jericho to Jerusalem by Olivet (Lk 19^{29}); the home of Lazarus, about fifteen furlongs, or less than two English miles, from the city (Jn $11^{1, 18}$ 12^{1}). The situation agrees with that of the village *El 'Azeriyeh*, 'The place of Lazarus,' where it has been placed since the 4th cent. A.D. (See *Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Bethania.) The name means perhaps 'house of dates.' It is a small stone village, on the south-east slope of Olivet, north of the Jericho road, surrounded with fig-gardens and terrace-walls. The most conspicuous feature is the tall square tower in the centre of the village, which belonged to the convent of St. Lazarus, founded by queen Milicent in A.D. 1147 for Benedictine nuns. There is a vault below, converted into a diminutive rock-cut chapel by apses cut to the east. This is shown as the tomb of Lazarus. A church was shown at this spot in the 4th century, but the ancient rock-cut tombs are farther to the east beside the road. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii., and Neubauer, *Géog. Tal. s.v.*, for the Talmudic notices. **2.** RV of Jn 1^{28}. See BASHAN, BETHABARA. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ARABAH (בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה), 'place of the Arabah' (wh. see), Jos $15^{6, 61}$ 18^{22}; Arabah, 18^{18}.—A place in the Jericho plain, apparently north of Beth-hoglah, in the 'wilderness.' In the last cited passage the district only is mentioned. The name has not been recovered. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ARBEL (בֵּית אַרְבֶאל), Hos 10^{14} only.—The site is quite uncertain. It is said to have been spoiled by Shalman (perhaps Shalmaneser III.), and may have been in Syria. Two places called Arbela exist in Palestine, one (now *Irbid*) west of the Sea of Galilee (Jos. *Ant.* XII. xi. 1), the other (*Irbid*) in the extreme north of Gilead, both noticed in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onom. s.v.* Arbela). (See Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 440 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, 217, n. 5; Wellh., *Kl. Proph.* 123.)

C. R. CONDER.

BETHASMOTH (Βαιθασμώθ), 1 Es 5^{18}.—For Beth-azmaveth.

BETH-AVEN (בֵּית אָוֶן 'house of iniquity,' or 'idolatry'?).—Close to Ai (Jos 7^{2}), by the wilderness (18^{12}), north-west of Michmash (1 S 13^{5}), and on the way to Aijalon (14^{23}), still inhabited in the 8th cent. B.C. (Hos 5^{8}). The 'calves of Bethaven' were probably those at Bethel close by (Hos 10^{5}). Bethel is prob. meant also in Hos 4^{15} 5^{8} (see Am 5^{5}) 10^{8} (Aven). The name may have been altered from original בֵּית אוֹן 'house of wealth.' See BETHEL, p. 278^{a}. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-AZMAVETH (Neh 7^{28}).—See AZMAVETH.

BETH-BAAL-MEON (Jos 13^{17}).—See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-BARAH (בֵּית בָּרָה), Jg 7^{24}.—Near Jordan and the valley of Jezreel. Some suppose it to be the same as Bethabara, in which case the guttural has been lost in copying. The situation would suit. See BETHABARA. C. R. CONDER.

BETHBASI (Βαιθβασί), 1 Mac 9[62-64].—Jos. (*Ant.* XIII. i. 5) reads Bethhoglah. The name has not been recovered. Jonathan and Simon the Hasmonæans here hid in the desert of Jericho. It may represent an ancient בית בצי, or 'place of marshes.'
C. R. CONDER.

BETH-BIRI (בֵּית בִּרְאִי), 1 Ch 4[31]. —A town of Simeon, perhaps textual error for בֵּית לְבָאוֹת Jos 19[6] =Lebaoth, Jos 15[32]. The ruin *Bîreh* on the west slopes of the Debir hills may be intended. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-CAR (בֵּית כָּר), 'place of a lamb,' 1 S 7[11]. —The Peshiṭta reads Beth-jashan (see SHEN). The whole topography of this episode is doubtful, for the sites of Mizpeh and Ebenezer are uncertain. Beth-car evidently stood above a valley by which the Philistines fled from the hills near Jerusalem. The present *'Ain Kârim*, a village overlooking the upper part of the valley of Sorek, west of Jerusalem, would be a possible site. It is the later Carem (added verse, LXX Jos 15[59]). See BETH-HACCHEREM. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-DAGON (בֵּית־דָּגוֹן 'house of Dagon,' Βηθδαγών, Βαγαδιήλ).—The name of two different towns mentioned in OT. **1.** One of these (Jos 15[41]) is in the territory of Judah, in the second of the four groups of the cities of the lowland or *Shephelah*, and is provisionally identified with *Beit-dejan*, about 4 miles S.E. of Joppa. **2.** The other (Jos 19[27]) was one of the border cities of Asher, apparently to the E. of Carmel, and is not identified. There is another *Beit-dejan*, however, farther to the N., and perhaps yet others (see G. A. Smith's *Hist. Geog.* p. 332 n., p. 403 n.), indicating that there were many Beth-dagons. Jos. mentions a Dagon 'beyond Jericho' (*Wars*, I. ii. 3; *Ant.* XIII. viii. 1). Perhaps this points to a time when the worship of Dagon was widely disseminated, both in and out of the Phil. country. However, the name may mean no more than 'corn house.' See DAGON. In the time of Hezekiah, Sennacherib captured the Beth-dagon near Joppa (Smith, *Assyr. Disc.* p. 303).
W. J. BEECHER.

BETH-DIBLATHAIM (בֵּית דִּבְלָתָיִם 'house of two fig-cakes'?).—In Jer 48[22] mentioned with Dibon and Nebo, see ALMON-DIBLATHAIM; the next camp to Dibon before Nebo (Nu 33[46f.]). It is thought by some to be the Diblath of Ezk 6[14]; but this seems impossible. The name (which occurs on the Moabite Stone, l. 30) has not been found in Moab.
C. R. CONDER.

BETH-EDEN (Am 1[5] marg.).—See EDEN.

BETHEL (בֵּיתְאֵל 'house of God,' LXX Βαιθήλ, Jos. Βηθήλ, Βεθήλη πόλις) is usually identified with the modern *Bêtîn* (*PEF Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 305), about four hours N. of Jerusalem, on the Nablûs road (Jg 21[19]), though the ancient town may have lain farther N. than the present village (Baed. *Paläst.*[8] p. 215). The situation is high up (2880 ft.) in the central range; hence the mention of 'hill-country' (Gn 12[8], Jos 16[1], Jg 4[5], 1 S 13[2]), and the use of the verb 'to go up,' in connexion with Bethel (Gn 35[1], Jos 16[1], Jg 1[22] 20[18. 26. 31], 1 S 10[3], Hos 4[15]).

The earlier name of Bethel was Luz (Gn 28[19] R, 35[6] R, 48[3] P, Jos 18[13] P, Jg 1[23] J). In Jos 16[2] JE, however, a distinction is made between the two places ('from Bethel to Luz'). Perhaps, therefore, the spot where Jacob spent the night was not actually in Luz, but in its neighbourhood.*

Eusebius, in the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Λουζά), places Luz of Joseph 9 miles from Neapolis, Jerome (*Onomast. ib.*), 'in tertio lapide Neapoleos'; but neither of these distances can be right. The Talmud mentions some curious legends in connexion with Luz: 'where blue wool is dyed; a place which neither Sennacherib nor Nebuchadrezzar could take, and where the angel of death is powerless,' etc.* Another town called Luz was founded by a man of Bethel in the land of the Hittites (Jg 1[26]).

The first mention of Bethel occurs in the account of Abraham's immigration: the patriarch pitches his tent in the neighbourhood of Bethel, builds an altar, and worships J". He visits this sanctuary a second time, on his return from Egypt (Gn 12[8] 13[3. 4] J). But the origin of the name, and the foundation of the sanctuary, is especially connected with a memorable episode in the life of Jacob. Two divergent accounts exist. According to the one, Jacob encounters the vision at Luz in the course of his flight *to* Haran (Gn 28[10-22]); this is the earlier narrative, and belongs to JE; according to the other, God appears to him on his return *from* Paddan-aram, many years later (Gn 35[9-13. 15]): this is the account of P.

a. To take the earlier narrative first. It is composite in structure. The two documents, J and E, are interwoven, and differ considerably in details. In J (vv.[13-16. 19a]), J" appears standing beside Jacob, and repeats the promise made to Abraham (12[3] 13[14-16] J), adapting it to the circumstances of Jacob, whose words on awaking are, 'Surely J" is in this place, and I knew it not. And he called the name of the place Bethel' (*house of El*).† In E ([10-12. 17. 18. 20-22]), on the other hand, we hear of the stone pillow, of the ladder, and of the angels; Jacob's exclamation is, 'This is none other but the house of God,' etc.; he sets up the stone as a pillar (*maṣṣēba*), anoints it with oil, and makes a solemn vow.

It is difficult to account for these divergences. Some authorities, such as Wellhausen,‡ suppose that J contained an independent narrative; others, as Kuenen,§ hold that we have here, not the work of J, but a passage expanded and modified from E by 'a follower of J'; according to the latter scholar, J probably carried back the consecration of Bethel to Abraham and not to Jacob (Gn 12[8]; cf. 13[3]).

b. In the later account of P (Gn 35[9-13. 15]) there is no mention of the characteristic features of the earlier narrative. The salient points here seem to be that God changes Jacob's name to Israel, and the name Bethel is given to the place because God spake with him there. God reveals Himself by the name El-Shaddai, and the promise (vv.[11. 12]) is cast into the form characteristic of P. This account is referred to again in 48[3] P.

In Hos 12[4] the vision at Bethel comes after Jacob's wrestling, *i.e.* after his return from Paddan-aram, as in P, though not necessarily implying that Hosea used this narrative.‖ In the subsequent

* Dillmann, *Genesis*[6], p. 337. Jos 16[2] might be rendered 'from Bethel-Luza'; but this would imply that Bethel is determined by Luz, whereas everywhere else it is Luz that is determined by Bethel, the better-known place. 'Luza,' then, may be a gloss inserted to accommodate the passage to Jos 18[13]. The LXX has the name not here (16[2]), but at the end of v.[1]. Dillm. *Num. Deut. Josh.*[2] p. 539.

* Talm. Bab. *Sota*, 46*b*; *Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 69. See Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talm.* p. 156.

† Cf. Beth-Shemesh, Beth-Dagon (Jos 15[41]), Beth-Peor (Dt 3[29]), Beth-Baal-Meon (Jos 13[17]).

‡ *Comp. de Hex.* p. 33. The variations which occur in the terms of the promise in v.[14] when compared with the other promises in J (Gn 12[3] 13[14] 18[18] 22[18]) are explained by supposing that J here has been worked over by a later hand.

§ *Hexateuch*, p. 147. The 'follower of J' incorporated 12[3b] almost word for word in v.[14], and modified E in v.[21b]; thus vv.[13-16] become homogeneous with 22[14-18]. It will be noticed that both views involve a modification of J in a lesser or greater degree.

‖ Gn 35[9-15] has been expanded by the redactor with extracts from JE, *e.g.* in v.[14]. The *maṣṣēba* and libation are quite foreign to P. The word 'again,' v.[9], is not original, but was inserted to harmonise with Gn 28[10f.]. It is the second visit to Bethel recorded by E (35[1. 3. 6. 7]), once, perhaps, a fuller narrative, which lies behind the prophet's words. Kuen. *ib.* p. 228.

narrative E records the command to return to Bethel, where Jacob had set up and anointed a pillar; now he builds an altar in memory of the revelation years before (Gn $35^{1.\,3.\,6.\,7}$). 'And he called the name of the place El-Bethel.'* Nothing is said of the fulfilment of the vow to dedicate a tenth promised in 28^{22b}; but this particular is generally held to have been inserted later. On the occasion of this second visit Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died, and was buried 'below Bethel, under the oak.'

Thus tradition connected Bethel with the patriarchal history; and the connexion is a witness to the high antiquity of the sanctuary. It has been supposed that, like many other sanctuaries, such as Jerusalem, Jericho, Shechem, Hebron, etc., Bethel was originally a Canaanite holy place, and that after it had passed into the hands of the Israelites it was adopted into Israelite traditions, and assigned a patriarchal consecration. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence that Bethel was a Canaanite sanctuary; all that the OT knows about its earlier history is that its ancient name was Luz; so we are justified in concluding that its sanctity was of purely Israelite origin.† At the same time, it possessed a sanctity independent of the dedication which Jacob is said to have given it. It was a haunt of angels, a place where a ladder was always fixed between earth and heaven; and when Jacob passed the night there he saw it.‡ It was not so much that J″ found Jacob, as that Jacob was unconsciously guided to find J″ there.

The setting up and anointing of the pillar in Bethel is important as illustrating primitive religious ideas. Several of these pillars are mentioned in the history of Jacob (Gn 31^{45} 35^{20} E; cf. Jos 24^{26} E), and the narratives give the impression that they were memorial-stones, marking the scene of a divine revelation. But this was not their primary significance. It is the stone of Bethel, not the place, that is called 'a house of God' (Gn 28^{22}), the stone being regarded as the shrine of the Deity, and the symbol of His presence.§

In the Book of Joshua Bethel is mentioned several times in connexion with the capture of Ai (Jos 7^{2} $8^{9.\,12.\,17}$ JE); its inhabitants assisted those of Ai in attacking the Israelites (Jos 8^{17}). The Deuteronomic compiler of Jos defines the situation of Ai by Bethel, showing the importance of the place in his day, and mentions a king of Bethel (Jos $12^{9.\,16}$ D^{2}).

A frontier town on the S. border of Joseph (Jos $16^{1.\,2}$ JE), and on the N. border of Benjamin (Jos 18^{13} P), it is reckoned as belonging sometimes to Benjamin (Jos 18^{22} P), sometimes to Ephraim (Jg $1^{22f.}$ J, 1 Ch 7^{28}). Lying on the frontier, it must have changed hands from time to time; *e.g.* Abijah, king of Judah, is said to have taken Bethel from Jeroboam (2 Ch 13^{19}).

After its capture and occupation by the house of Joseph (Jg $1^{22\text{-}25}$), Bethel became, together with Jericho, Ai, and Hebron, one of the principal settlements of the Israelites. Gilgal was the headquarters at the first stage in the occupation of the land, Bethel at the second (Jg 2^{1} LXX: ἀπὸ Γαλγὰλ ἐπὶ Βαιθήλ).*

In the period of the Judges Bethel became the chief religious centre of the northern tribes. The ark was stationed there (Jg 20^{18}); it was frequented as a place for sacrifice (Jg 2^{5b} Budde, 1 S 10^{3}), or for consulting the divine oracle (Jg $20^{18.\,26}$ 21^{2}), and the sanctuary was rendered accessible by roads (Jg 20^{31} 21^{19}). In the neighbourhood was the palm under which Deborah the prophetess dwelt (Jg 4^{5}); and, in a late passage, Samuel is said to have included Bethel in his yearly circuit (1 S 7^{16}).

The importance of the sanctuary was greatly increased by Jeroboam I. Its geographical position combined with political expediency to make it the religious capital of the N. kingdom. Here and at Dan the golden calves or steers were set up, and a form of J″-worship organised in accordance with the practice of the popular religion (1 K $12^{29.\,32f.}$).† This no doubt provoked a certain amount of opposition from the prophets; probably Ahijah disapproved of it (1 K $14^{8f.}$). The story of the 'man of God from Judah' who cried against the altar of Bethel is, however, much later than this period, so that we cannot be sure how far it represents the contemporary opinion of the prophets. The story is given in 1 K 13 ('Bethel,' vv.$^{1.\,4.\,10.\,11.\,32}$).‡ Elijah, Elisha, and Amos have nothing to say against the golden calves; Elijah himself was sent to Bethel by the Lord (2 K 2^{2}).

In the reign of Ahab a Bethelite named Hiel rebuilt Jericho (1 K 16^{34}).

The splendour and importance of the sanctuary increased with the prosperity of the N. kingdom. The worship instituted by Jeroboam had the support of Jehu (2 K 10^{29}); but it was under Jeroboam II. that the great Ephraimite sanctuary reached the summit of its renown as 'a royal sanctuary and house of the kingdom' (Am 7^{13}). It had its dignified priesthood (Am 7^{10}) and college of prophets (2 K 2^{3}; cf. 1 K 13^{11}); the ritual, the sacrifices, the public feasts, attained a degree of luxurious splendour unparalleled before. But all this went along with a deep-seated degradation, moral and religious. Amos gives a vivid picture of Bethel at this period. The sanctuary itself had become the seat of cruelty and extortion; the sacred feasts, supported out of the tithes (4^{4}),§ had degenerated into luxurious banquets for the rich at the expense of the poor (5^{11}). Hence the sanctuary of Bethel is denounced in unmeasured terms both by Amos and Hosea (Am 3^{14} 4^{4}, Hos 10^{15}); it is threatened with severe visitation and overthrow of its altar (Am 9^{1} 3^{14} 'Bethel shall come to nought' [*Aven*] 5^{5}).‖ In Hosea, Beth-aven has become

* That is, *El of Bethel*; a local name of J″, pointing to a belief in a local deity inhabiting this particular spot. Cf. the name of the *mazzēba* of Shechem, 'El God of Israel' (Gn 33^{20}), and of the place where Abraham sacrificed the ram (Gn 22^{14}); so, too, El-roi, the God of the well of Lahai-roi (Gn 16^{13}); El Olam, the God of Beersheba (Gn 21^{33}). Cf. the various local names of Baal. See Nowack, *Hebr. Archäologie*, ii. p. 9, and Stade, *Geschichte d. V. Isr.* i. p. 447. The LXX, Pesh. Vulg. omit the first El (Gn 35⁷), perhaps because the expression was not understood. There is no need to doubt its originality.

† So Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xlii. p. 482; but see Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, p. 125.

‡ Wellhausen, *Composition*, p. 82; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, p. 110; Benzinger, *ib.* p. 376.

§ W. R. Smith, *ib.* 4, 187; Benzinger, *ib.* pp. 57, 380; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* i. p. 91, ii. p. 9; Stade, *Geschichte*, i. p. 456. Thus בית־אל passed into Greek and Latin as *βαιτύλιον* and *baetylus*, the *λίθοι λιπαροί*, *λίθοι ἔμψυχοι* (prob. aerolites), which were worshipped as divine. Curious information on this subject may be found in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* i. 10, and in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ccxlii. p. 1062 f. Cf. also Lucian, *Alex.* 30; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. p. 713. The sacred stone of Mecca is a well-known example from Semitic paganism which has survived in Islam. Stone-worship is alluded to in Is 57^{6}.

* The Heb. text here is to be corrected from LXX. The latter, however, is not its original state, for *ἐπὶ τὸν Κλαυθμῶνα καί* is a gloss inserted to satisfy the dubious אל הבכים of the Heb. See Budde, *Richter u. Sam.* pp. 20 f., 89. In v.^{5} בכים is in its right place. Wellhausen, *Comp.* p. 215, notes that בכים was in the neighbourhood of Bethel (Gn 35^{8}, אלון בכות).

† The golden calves were *not* of Egyptian but of native origin. For the popular worship of J″ under the form of an image, see Jg 8^{27} 17^{4} $18^{14.\,30f.}$ etc.

‡ Driver, *LOT*, p. 183; Kuenen, *Einleitung*, ii. p. 76 (Germ. trans.).

§ See W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, p. 229 ff. Gn $28^{22f.}$ no doubt justified and explained the custom of paying tithes at Bethel (Am 4^{4}). See above.

‖ W. R. Smith, *ib.* p. 470. Perhaps the altar was 'a pillar crowned by a sort of capital bearing a bowl,' serving as a kind of cresset. This would give additional force to the language of Amos in 9^{1}.

the desecrated name of Beth-el (4^{15} 5^{8} $10^{5.8}$):* the calf-worship is for the first time emphatically denounced as the very root of Israel's sin.

The prophets' denunciations were soon fulfilled, for Bethel must have been involved in the general overthrow of the N. kingdom by the Assyrians in 722; cf. Jer 48^{13}. According to Jewish tradition, Shalmaneser 'carried off the golden calf which was in Bethel, and departed to set it up.'†

During the Captivity Bethel is mentioned as the residence of a priest who was despatched by the conquerors to teach the strangers settled there 'how they should fear J"' (2 K 17^{28}).

The reforming zeal of Josiah was directed against so much of the sanctuary as had survived the Assyrian devastation. The king carried to Bethel the ashes of idolatrous vessels from Jerusalem; he defiled the altar which was still standing, but allowed the monument of the prophet, who had foretold the overthrow, to remain undisturbed (2 K $23^{34.15.17.19}$).

Among the exiles who returned from Babylon 'the men of Bethel' are named (Ezr 2^{28}=Neh 7^{32}); and the ancient city was inhabited once more by the children of Benjamin (Neh 11^{31}). In the fourth year of Darius a deputation was sent from Bethel to Jerusalem to inquire about the continuance of the stated fasts (Zec 7^{2}).

In the wars of the Maccabees Bethel was one of the places fortified by Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}). Finally, it was captured by Vespasian in his campaign against Jerusalem (Jos. *Jew. Wars*, IV. ix. 9).

2. There was another Bethel in Judah, mentioned in 1 S 30^{27}, Jos 19^{4} בְּתוּל, and 1 Ch 4^{30} בְּתוּאֵל (cf. for the form פְּנוּאֵל). It is mentioned in the Midrash (*Ekha* ii. 3) as one of the three places in which Hadrian placed garrisons to arrest deserters. The site is unknown.‡ G. A. COOKE.

BETH-EMEK (בֵּית הָעֵמֶק 'house of the deep valley'), Jos 19^{27}. — A town of Zebulun in the border valley, east of Acco, apparently near Cabul. The name has not been recovered.
C. R. CONDER.

BETHER (תְּרֵי בֶתֶר 'mountains of cutting'—or 'of divisions,' Ca 2^{17}). — If a proper name, the famous site of Bether near Jerusalem (see added verse of LXX Jos 15^{59}) might be intended, the hill-ridge to the south being uncultivated land, near woods in which deer might have been found. Bether is celebrated for the resistance of the Jews to Hadrian under Bar-Cochba in A.D. 135 (see authorities quoted by Robinson, *Bib. Res.* vol. iii., and the account in Neubauer's *Géog. Talm. s.v.*). The site was recognised by Canon Williams at *Bittîr*, south-west of Jerusalem — a village on a cliff in a strong position, with a ruin near it called 'Ruin of the Jews,' from a tradition of a great Jewish massacre at this place. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

BETHESDA (Βηθεσδά, TR), Jn 5^{2}.—A pool at Jerusalem, by the προβατικὴ or 'sheep place' (market or gate), having five porches or cloisters. In ℵ and L the name is given as *Bethzatha* (comp. the name of Bezetha for the north quarter of Jerusalem), in B it is *Bethsaida*. It appears to have had steps from the cloisters, and the water was at times 'troubled.' The account of the angel troubling the waters (v.[4]) is omitted in ℵ B and D, but occurs in A C^{3}, the Vulgate, the Peshiṭta, etc. It may therefore be thought that the troubling of the waters had a natural cause. The site is not definitely fixed by the description. The Sheep Gate was north of the Temple, but a place where the flocks were gathered for watering may be intended. The most probable derivation of the name seems to be from בֵּית אֶשְׁדָּה *Betheshdah*, 'house of the stream' (see under PISGAH, and Gesen. *Lex. s.v.*). The traditions as to Bethesda have varied. In the 4th century it was placed (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Bethesda) at the Twin Pools, in the ditch at the north-west angle of Antonia, one of these being the Sheep Pool and the other that with porches, the fifth of which was supposed to divide the two; but this pool was very probably made in the fosse at a later period (2nd or 6th century A.D.). In the 12th century Bethesda was shown farther north, at the Piscina Interior west of St. Anne. It is now shown at the *Birket Israil*, part of the northern fosse immediately east of the Twin Pools; but here, again, the masonry is of later date than that of the Herodian walls of the Temple. A more probable site for Bethesda is the Virgin's Pool (Gihon and En-rogel), the only natural spring of Jerusalem, at the foot of the Ophel slope south-east of the Temple, as proposed by Robinson. This answers the requirements that it still presents the phenomenon of intermittent 'troubling of the water,' which overflows from a natural syphon under the cave, and that it is still the custom of the Jews to bathe in the waters of the cave, when this overflow occurs, for the cure of rheumatism and of other disorders. It is also still the place where the flocks are gathered for watering. A long flight of steps leads to the cave, and the débris is heaped up round these, so that it is impossible to say whether any buildings existed round the cavern. A Greek text of late date was found by Tobler built into the masonry near. The name, 'house of the stream,' would be suitable for this site, whence a stream flowed to Siloam. See *SWP*, Jerusalem vol., *s.v.* *'Ain Umm ed Deraj*; also Westcott and Hort's *N.T.* App. 76^{b}.
C. R. CONDER.

BETH-EZEL (בֵּית הָאֵצֶל), Mic 1^{11}.—Perhaps 'place near,' see AVm: mentioned with Zaanan and Shaphir. It seems to have been a place in the Philistine plain, but the site is unknown. According to some it is=Azel of Zec 14^{5}.
C. R. CONDER.

BETH-GADER (בֵּית גָּדֵר), 1 Ch 2^{51}, mentioned with Bethlehem and Kiriath-jearim. It may be the same as Geder, Jos 12^{13}.

BETH-GAMUL (בֵּית גָּמוּל), Jer 48^{23}. — A place in Moab, noticed with Dibon, Kiriathaim, and Beth-meon. It is now the ruin *Umm el-Jemâl*, towards the east of the plateau, south of Medeba—a site where a Nabatæan inscription was found by Warren, which may date about the 2nd cent. A.D.
C. R. CONDER.

BETH-GILGAL (Neh 12^{29}, AV 'house of Gilgal'), perhaps identical with Gilgal to the east of Jericho. See GILGAL.

BETH-HACCHEREM (בֵּית הַכֶּרֶם 'place of the vineyard'), Neh 3^{14}, Jer 6^{1}. It appears to have had a commanding position for a beacon or ensign. Tradition fixed on Herodium south of Bethlehem, probably because it was a conspicuous site near Tekoa, with which it is noticed. A possible site is *'Ain Kârim* west of Jerusalem, where there are vineyards. On the hill to the east are the remarkable stone cairns which stand above the valley of Rephaim. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

* The LXX points בֵּית אָוֶן as בֵּית אֵל, and transliterates οἶκος Ὦν, Hos 4^{15} 5^{8} $10^{5(8)}$ 12^{4}; Aquila renders οἶκος ἀνωφελοῦς. Targ. on Hos 4^{15} 5^{8} gives בֵּיתאֵל. Cyril, *in Hos.* (*Opera*, vol. iii. p. 145, ed. 1638), connects οἶκος Ὦν (=τίμενος Ἡλίου) with Heliopolis.

† *Seder 'Olam*, ch. xxii.

‡ Probably the Chesil (כְּסִיל) of Jos 15^{30} is a textual error for this same Bethel (cf. notes in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT* in *ll.cit.*).

BETH-HARAM (בֵּית הָרָם, AV Beth-aram) was situated 'in the valley-plain of the Jordan' (Jos 13[27]). In Nu 32[36] **Bethharan**. Its site has been recovered at Tell Râmeh at the mouth of the *Wâdy Heshbân*, 6 miles east from the familiar bathing-place of pilgrims in the Jordan. According to Tristram it retains its old name, and is still known as *Beit-Harran* (*Land of Moab*, p. 348). Eusebius describes it as Betharamphtha. Jos. calls it Amathus (*Ant.* XVII. x. 6). It was rebuilt and fortified by Herod Antipas when he became tetrarch, and in honour of the Roman empress was called Livias or Libias. Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, p. 383) gives good reasons for believing that it was in the palace here that Herod celebrated his birthday by the feast recorded (Mt 14[6-12], Mk 6[21-28]), and that the Baptist's head was brought hither from Machærus, some 20 miles south. A. HENDERSON.

BETH-HARAN (בֵּית חָרָן), Nu 32[36].—See BETH-HARAM.

BETH-HOGLAH (בֵּית חָגְלָה 'place of the partridge'), Jos 15[6] 18[19]. In the Jericho plain. Now the large spring called *'Ain Hajlah*, 'partridge spring,' south-east of Jericho. Close by is the monastery called *Ḳasr Hajlah*, occupied by Greek monks, but which in 1874 was still a fine mediæval ruin, with frescoes of the 12th cent., since destroyed. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xviii. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-HORON (בֵּית־חוֹרוֹן 'place of caves'?). — In 1 Ch 7[24] RV we read that Sheerah, daughter of Ephraim, built 'Beth-horon, the nether and the upper, and Uzzen-Sheerah.' Her name possibly survives in *Beit-Sira* = Uzzen-Sheerah, and certainly the other two places ascribed to her still exist, with their old appellations but little changed. Their survival and their historical importance are due to their position.

From the valley of Aijalon three gorges break through the steep wall of the western front of the central range of Palestine. The northernmost of these is the pass to El-Jib (Gibeon), up which, always the easiest approach from the west to the Jewish capital, a well-trodden path leads, in about fifty minutes, to *Beit-ûr et-Taḥta* or Lower Beth-horon. It stands on a ridge, about 1240 ft. above the sea, with the remains of a castle near. Crossing a small wady, and mounting a long and steep ascent, rocky and rough, but with the rock in places cut into steps, the traveller after an hour's climb reaches *Beit-ûr el-Fôḳa* or Upper Beth-horon, which stands 1730 ft. above the sea, on a mountain spur with a deep valley both to north and south. The village is small, but exhibits traces of ancient walls and foundations, and to the east of it is a reservoir, apparently of great antiquity.

So situated, the B.s could not fail to be connected with the march and retreat of armies. 'Throughout history we see hosts swarming up this avenue or swept down it in flight.' More than one memorable battle takes its name from B. (see below). Thrice the two towns were fortified —by Solomon (1 K 9[17], 2 Ch 8[5]), by the Syrian general Bacchides (1 Mac 9[50], Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 3), and by the Jews against Holofernes (Jth 4[4. 5]). It was by B. that Cestius Gallus advanced in the first onset of the Roman armies on Jerusalem, and down its gorge he was driven in rout by the insurgent Jews (Jos. *Wars*, II. xix. 1, 8). And B. saw the first Crusaders march to Jerusalem; and saw Richard, in the third Crusade, in vain try to force a passage by the same route.

A further importance attached to the two towns as frontier posts. Both Upper and Nether Beth-horon were either on, or close to, the boundary between Benjamin and Ephraim, being reckoned the possession of the latter tribe (Jos 16[5] 18[13. 14] 21[22], 1 Ch 6[68]). After the rupture of the kingdom they naturally fell to Israel. The absence of mention of them in Ezra and Nehemiah may indicate that they did not form part of the Return settlement, though they must have been close on its frontier. If the designation of Sanballat ('the Horonite') connects him with B. (and not rather with Horonaim), this would be conclusive of its dependence on Samaria. But under the Maccabees, about B.C. 161, we find B. described as 'a village of Judæa' (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 1), though it was not till sixteen years later that the district in which it lay was formally transferred by the Syrian monarch.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* iii. 59, with references there to patristic and other writers; Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 210, 213, 254; Baedeker, *Pal. and Syria*, 142; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 212.

BATTLES OF BETHHORON. — The Gibeonites, being besieged by the five kings, had summoned Joshua to their relief. By a forced march he obeyed the summons. At sunrise 'he was already in the open ground at the foot of the heights of Gibeon,' and the battle began. It had three stages.

The Canaanites were thrown into dismay by the shout and the sudden onset of Israel, and broke, flying up the rocky ascent to Upper B. (Jos 10[10]).

But they made no stay there, and we next see them in headlong flight down the other side of the ridge towards Lower B., while a terrible storm raged, and contributed more to their defeat than even the pursuit of the Israelites (v.[11]).

It is here that the prose narrative is interrupted by the quotation from the Book of Jashar, where 'the hero appears in the ancient song of the Book of Heroes,' standing on the crest of the hill with outstretched hand and spear, calling to the sun to stand still upon Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Aijalon (v.[12ff.]).

'In the lengthened day thus given to Joshua's prayer comes the third stage,' the hiding of the kings in the cave of Makkedah, where they were guarded while the pursuit of their beaten forces lasted, and were then put to death (vv.[16-27]).

The second battle of Beth-horon was won by Judas Maccabæus over Seron, 'a prince of the army of Syria.' Judas, born at Modin, in the neighbourhood, must have foreseen his advantage from the nature of the ground, as he saw the Syrians 'coming near to the going up of Beth-horon.' But he trusted more to the help of J", and, encouraging his scanty host by reminding them that 'the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of a host, but strength cometh from heaven,' he 'leapt suddenly' upon the foe, and drove them down to the plain. This was in B.C. 166. Five years later he won another victory on the same ground over Nicanor (1 Mac 3[13-24] 7[39-50]; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 1, x. 5.).

A. S. AGLEN.

BETHINK.—In 1 K 8[47], 2 Ch 6[37] b. occurs as a reflex. verb in the obsol. sense of 'to take thought,' 'to come to oneself': 'if they shall b. themselves . . . and repent' (הֵשִׁיב אֶל־לֵב 'bring back to heart.' See the same phrase in Dt 4[39] 'consider it in thine heart,' RV 'lay it to thine heart'; 30[1] 'call to mind'; Is 44[19] 'none considereth in his heart,' RV 'calleth to mind'; 46[8] [עַל] 'bring again to mind'; La 3[21] 'recall to mind'). Cf. Lk 15[17] 'when he came to himself' (Gr. *εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθών*).

J. HASTINGS.

BETH-JESHIMOTH (in AV also Jesimoth) (בֵּית הַיְשִׁמוֹת, 'the place of the desert'), the S. limit of the encampment on 'the plains of Moab' at the close of the journeyings, Nu 33[49]. In Jos 12[3] it is mentioned as in the S. of the Arabah towards the Dead Sea. In 13[20] it is assigned to Reuben, the 'slopes

of Pisgah' being mentioned immediately before it; and in Ezk 25[9] it is spoken of as belonging to Moab. Eusebius places it 10 miles S. of Jericho, and Jos. (*Jewish Wars*, IV. vii. 6) refers to Βησιμώθ in that direction. Some ruins and a well at the N.E. end of the Dead Sea bear the name of Suwaimeh, which is considered as a modification of Jeshimoth; and this situation suits the requirements of the biblical narrative. A. T. CHAPMAN.

BETH-LE-APHRAH (בֵּית־לְעַפְרָה, AV 'house of Aphrah').—The name of a town apparently in Phil. territory, whose site is quite unknown (Mic 1[10]). In the call 'at B. roll thyself in the dust,' there is a double play upon words, '*Aphrah* containing a punning allusion to '*Aphar* (dust) and הִתְפַּלָּשִׁי (roll thyself) to פְּלִשְׁתִּי (Philistine). It seems out of the question to identify the place with **Ophrah** of Benjamin (Jos 18[23]). See G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, 383 f. J. A. SELBIE.

BETH-LEBAOTH (בֵּית לְבָאוֹת), Jos 19[6] 'house of lionesses'?—A town of Simeon near Sharuhen. Unknown. (See BETH-BIRI.)

BETHLEHEM (בֵּית לֶחֶם 'place of bread').—Two places so named in Palestine are noticed in the OT.

1. Bethlehem Judah, called also **Ephrathah**, the home of David, 5 miles S. of Jerusalem. It is now a small white town on a spur running out east from the watershed. The inhabitants are Christians, and wear a peculiar costume. At the east end of the town is the Church of the Nativity and attached monastery, standing above the orchards of figs and olives, and the vineyards which surround this prosperous village. The church is perhaps the oldest in existence founded for orthodox Greek rites: the pillars are those of Constantine's Basilica, commenced about A.D. 330; the mosaics on the wall above belong to the 12th cent. The oak roof was given by Edward III. To the north is the Latin chapel, and under this the cave-chapel, in which Jerome is said to have lived while writing the Vulgate. The Cave of the Nativity, under the choir of the ancient Basilica, is the only site (excepting the chapel on Olivet) connected with the history of Christ, which is noticed before the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. A cave in Bethlehem, supposed to mark the 'inn' of the Nativity, is noticed by Justin Martyr in the 2nd cent. A.D. (*Trypho*, 78): it was known to Origen, and appears to have been found, in the 4th century A.D., consecrated to Tammuz, and standing in a grove, which was cut down when the place was reconsecrated by queen Helena. An 'inn' at Bethlehem is possibly referred to in Jer 41[17] (RVm), the place being on one of the highways to the south. In the Hebron hills there are many rock-cut stables for cattle, which resemble the cave under the choir at Bethlehem, which possesses a rock-cut recess that may have been a manger.

Some scholars suppose Bethlehem to take its name from *Lakhmu*, a deity noticed in the Assyrian account of the Creation, but it is not known that he was adored in Palestine. Under the name **Ephrath**, B. is noticed in Jacob's time (Gn 35[16. 19] 48[7], if the gloss 'the same is B.' is correct), but it is not mentioned in the Book of Joshua (except in the added verse, LXX Jos 15[59]). The name Bethlehem first occurs in 1 S 16[4]. The cemetery is noticed in 2 S 2[32], and the well in 2 S 23[14-16]. The traditional site of this well is a rock-cut cistern northwest of the town. Bethlehem is ill supplied with water, and depends mainly on the Roman aqueduct tunnelled through the hill. The most probable site is a well to the south in the valley. The family of Caleb spread to Bethlehem (1 Ch 2[19. 24. 51. 54]): the Philistines held the city in the time of Saul (2 S 23[14], 1 Ch 11[16. 17]); the well is then described as being 'at the gate.' Bethlehem was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11[6]), and occupied by the Jews after the Captivity (Ezr 2[21], Neh 7[26]). In the 8th cent. B.C. (Mic 5[2]) it appears to have been a small place, still known by its old name **Ephrathah**, as well as by the later (comp. Ru 2[4] 4[11]), but possessing cornfields and—in Jeremiah's age—an inn (?). Whether Bethlehem is intended in Ps 132[6] as a place where the ark was supposed to be, appears doubtful. The birth of Christ at Bethlehem is noticed in Mt 2[1. 5. 6. 8], Lk 2[4. 15]. The manger was not in the inn (Lk 2[7]), but probably belonged to it. The Gospels refer to Micah (5[2]) as prophesying the birth of Messiah at the home of David.

The city was sacred to Christians from the earliest times, and the first care of the Crusaders was to secure the safety of its Christian population in A.D. 1099, before Jerusalem was taken. It was subsequently made a bishopric. One of the most remarkable Christian texts is that on the font in the Basilica, which is said, with true modesty, to have been presented by 'those whose names are known to the Lord.' The glass frescoes are of high interest, and were presented by Michael Comnenos in the 12th cent. A.D. The crests of knights who visited the church in the Middle Ages are drawn upon the shafts of the Basilica pillars. For a study of this church, see de Vogüé, *Églises de la Palestine*, and *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. For population, see PALESTINE.

2. Bethlehem of Zebulun. Jos 19[15], and perhaps Jg 12[8. 10].—Now the village *Beit Lahm*, in the low hills, 7 miles N.W. of Nazareth. *SWP* vol. ii. sh. v. C. R. CONDER.

BETHLEHEMITE (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי), a native of Bethlehem, is applied to Jesse in 1 S 16[1. 18] 17[58], and to Elhanan in 2 S 21[19]. In 1 Ch 20[5] also we should prob. read בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי for MT אֶת־לַחְמִי. See ELHANAN, LAHMI. J. A. SELBIE.

BETH-LOMON (Βαιθλωμών), 1 Es 5[17].—For Bethlehem of Judah.

BETH-MAACAH (בֵּית מַעֲכָה). — A descriptive epithet of the city of Abel, 2 S 20[14. 15], where 'Abel *and* B.' should be 'Abel *of* B.' (cf. 1 K 15[20], 2 K 15[29]). See ABEL, No. 1.

BETH-MARCABOTH (בֵּית הַמַּרְכָּבוֹת 'place of chariots'), Jos 19[5], 1 Ch 4[31].—A city of Simeon in the southern plains, near Ziklag, deserted in David's time. The site is unknown.

BETH-MEON.—See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-MERHAK (בֵּית הַמֶּרְחָק), 2 S 15[17] RV, for the AV 'a place that was far off'; RVm 'the Far House.'—Stade and others understand it to mean *the last house* of the city. No town so called is known between Jerusalem and Jericho.

BETH-MILLO (Jg 9[6] RVm; 2 K 12[20] AVm, text 'house of Millo').—See MILLO.

BETH-NIMRAH (בֵּית נִמְרָה), 'place of leopard.' In Nu 32[3] **Nimrah**. See v.[36], Jos 13[27].—The same as **Nimrim**, Is 15[6]. Now the ruined mound *Tell Nimrîn*, at the foot of the mountains opposite Jericho. A good-sized stream flows N. of the mound to join the Jordan. The town, with others in the Shittim plain, belonged to Gad; the only city in this region assigned to Reuben being Beth-jeshimoth, south of the plain. In the 4th cent. A.D. Nimrim was known (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Betham-

naram) as lying 5 Roman miles north of Livias (Tell er-Râmeh). See *SEP* vol. i. *s.v.* Tell Nimrîn. C. R. Conder.

BETH-PAZZEZ (בֵּית פַּצֵּץ), Jos 19[21].—A town of Issachar near Engannim and Enhaddah. The name has not been recovered.

BETH-PELET (בֵּית פֶּלֶט), RV; in AV **Beth-palet**, Jos 15[27]. **Beth-phelet**, Neh 11[26].—The **Paltite** (פַּלְטִי), 2 S 23[26], called by scribal error **Pelonite** in 1 Ch 11[27] 27[10], was an inhabitant of this place. The site was south of Beersheba, but is unknown. C. R. Conder.

BETH-PEOR (בֵּית פְּעוֹר), Dt 3[29] 4[46] 34[6], Jos 13[20]. See Baal-Peor (Nu 25[3. 5]) and Peor (Nu 23[28]).—A Moabite town given to Reuben. The 'top of Peor' commanded a view of the Jeshimon west of the Dead Sea, and seven altars were here erected by Balak. The Shittim Valley was 'over against Beth-peor,' and from Nebo the body of Moses is said to have been taken to a valley in Moab, 'over against Beth-peor,' which was not the Arabah or Shittim Valley. The name of Peor has not been found east of Jordan, but the site is placed near Heshbon in the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Abarim and Fogor). There is no doubt that Beth-peor was named from Baal-peor (פְּעוֹר), the god of the Moabites and Midianites; and a possible site for the 'top of Peor' is the cliff at *Minyeh*, south of Wâdy Jedeideh (probably Bamoth Baal) and of Pisgah (Nebo). The three points of view of the Israelite camp (Nu 23) were evidently on the edge of the Moabite plateau, whence alone Shittim was visible; and the view from Nebo appears (v.[13]) to have been less extensive than from the other two sites, so that ridges extending farther west than Nebo would meet the requirement. This applies to the ridge above Wâdy Jedeideh, and to the ridge of Minyeh, the latter being the most southern, and extending farthest west. From it we may suppose (Nu 24[18-21]) were seen Edom, Amalek, and the 'nest of the Kenite' on a crag, indicating a position in the south of Moab, whence Edom and the conspicuous knoll of *Yukîn* (Cain) are seen. The name Minyeh is connected with a legend, and means 'wishing,' being the name of a deity, Meni (Is 65[11]). Seven circles, including central altar-stones, still exist at the edge of the cliff. Farther east is a remarkable circle, with three standing stones, at a place called *el-Mareighât*, or 'the smeared things'—evidently an ancient place of worship. Round the circle are numerous erect stones, and to the north a large group of cromlechs. This site, on the same ridge with Minyeh, may represent the old Beth-peor or 'temple of Peor,' while Minyeh itself represents the 'top of Peor.' To the south of the ridge is the fine ravine of the Zerka Mâ'in — probably Nahaliel or the 'valley of God,' and this would be a natural site for the burial of Moses in a valley 'over against Beth-peor.'

In the added verse of the LXX, after Jos 15[59], a **Peor in Judah** is noticed. This was also known in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Fogor) as near Bethlehem. It is the present ruin *Faghûr*, north-west of Bethlehem, and, though named from the same deity, is quite a distinct site.

Literature.—*Mem. East Pal. Survey*, vol. i., for Minyeh and El-Mareighât, under those names, and *Mem. West Pal. Survey*, vol. iii. sheet xvii. for the Judæan site. C. R. Conder.

BETHPHAGE (Βηθφαγή), Mt 21[1], Mk 11[1], Lk 19[29].—A village near Bethany, which see. The site is unknown. The name means 'place of figs.' See Neubauer, *Géog. Tal. s.v.* for the Talmudic notices, which do not, however, suffice to fix the site. C. R. Conder.

BETH-RAPHA (בֵּית רָפָא), perhaps 'house of the giant,' 1 Ch 4[12]. Perhaps not a geographical name. See Rephaim.

BETH-REHOB (בֵּית־רְחוֹב, ὁ οἶκος Ῥαάβ, Jg 18[28], 2 S 10[6], in v.[8] 'Rehob'; apparently also **Rehob** of Nu 13[21]).—A district of Syria near Hamath. From its situation in the valley in which lay Dan, or Laish (Jg 18[27. 28]), Robinson was led to suggest Hunîn, which commands the plain of Hûleh. If Rehob means a 'broad place' or 'boulevard,' it could hardly be at Hunîn. Thomson would place Beth-rehob at Banias. (See Rehob.)

A. Henderson.

BETHSAIDA (Βηθσαιδά, 'House of Sport,' or 'Fisher-home').—Opinion is much divided as to whether this was the name of two places, or only of one, on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. That one B. stood to the east of the Jordan, near its entrance into the lake, in the district of Lower Gaulonitis, is beyond dispute. It was this village, 'situated at the Lake of Gennesaret,' that Philip 'advanced to the dignity of a city, and called it by the name of Julias, the same name with Cæsar's daughter' (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. ii. 1; see also *Ant.* xviii. iv. 6; *BJ* ii. ix. 1; iii. x. 7; *Life*, 71, 72, 73; and Jerome, *Com. on Matthew*, 16[13]). This corresponds to Bethsaida of Lk 9[10], near which was the 'desert place' of Mt 14[13] and Mk 6[31], where the 5000 were fed. Codex ℵ stands alone, possibly as the result of an interpolation, in describing the scene of this miracle as near 'to Tiberias.' In this neighbourhood also probably lay the 'desert place' where the 4000 were also miraculously supplied, whence Jesus sailed with his disciples to 'the parts of Dalmanutha,' in 'the borders of Magadan' or 'Magdala,' returning thence 'to the other side,' 'to B.' (Mt 15[32-39], Mk 8[1-22]).

As to the existence of a second B., west of the Jordan, on the lake shore, there is great diversity of opinion; but where such authorities as Reland, Robinson, Stanley, and Tristram agree, there is at least a presumption in their favour. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ii. p. 423) suggests that the Jordan may have divided the town, the western part being 'in Galilee,' the eastern part being that 'which Philip repaired and called Julias.' In Smith (*DB*, art. 'Bethsaida'), it is suggested that 'if there was only one B. it was probably near the mouth of the Jordan, and perhaps, like Kerak (Tarichæa), surrounded by the river, and so liable to be included at one period in Galilee, and at another in Gaulonitis.' G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geog.* p. 458) says: 'B. in Galilee need not mean that it lay W. of the Jordan, as the province of Galilee ran right round the lake, and included most of the level coast-land on the E.' But none of these suggestions quite satisfies the requirements of the Gospel story. The feeding of the 5000 took place on the other side of the sea from Capernaum, near B. Julias. Thence Jesus sent His disciples 'to go before him unto the other side, to B.' (Mk 6[45]). John (6[17]) describes them as going 'over the sea towards Capernaum.' B., whither they were sent, and Capernaum, were therefore practically in the same direction from the place where they embarked. This could not be true of B. Julias and Capernaum, even if the latter were at *Tell Hûm*, which is most unlikely (see Capernaum). If, on the other hand, Capernaum were at *Khân Minyeh*, and B. say at *eṭ-Ṭâbgha*, the direction from the E. coast would be practically identical, and a very slight deflection from its course by the storm would be sufficient to bring the boat to land in Gennesaret. Again, it would be difficult to prove that the 'province of Galilee ran right round the lake.' Josephus is indeed guilty of confusion in speaking of Judas of Gamala, who headed a revolt

against the Romans, now as a Gaulonite (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1) and again as a Galilean (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 6), but nowhere does he indicate that the district of Gamala belonged to Galilee. It is true that subsequently, for military purposes, Gamala, 'as the strongest city in these parts,' was put under Josephus along with the two Galilees (*BJ* II. xx. 4), but he was careful to distinguish what belonged to the different provinces. Thus he says that along with other cities 'in Gaulonitis' he fortified Gamala (*BJ* II. xx. 6). Jesus retired to B. on hearing of the murder of John the Baptist, and the presumption is that he went out of the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. If B. Julias had been in the province of Galilee, Philip would hardly have ventured to interfere with it. But Josephus explicitly says it was in 'Lower Gaulonitis' (*BJ* II. ix. 1). For 'B. of Galilee' we must therefore turn to westward of the Jordan.

B. Julias has usually been identified with *et-Tell*, a considerable ruin situated E. of the Jordan, just where the river leaves the hills, and enters the plain of *el-Baṭeiḥa*. In the absence of any definite proof, however, it is natural to suppose that the city, 'Fisher-home,' stood much nearer the lake. This supposition is supported by the existence of an ancient site, by the mouth of the river, close to the shore, called *Mas'adîyeh*, wherein we may detect some resemblance to the old name. The remark of Josephus (*BJ* III. x. 7) that the Jordan 'passes by the city of Julias' into the Sea of Galilee would apply to either of these sites, but perhaps most appropriately to the latter. Attention may be drawn to the abounding grass, covering the rich plain, and running up like a wave of emerald over the lower slopes of the E. hills. There is no place round the lake where the natural luxuriance was so likely to call forth John's remark, 'now there was much grass in the place.' The Arab. *barrîyeh* 'the wilderness,' or wild grazing land beyond the cultivated plots surrounding the town, doubtless corresponds to the 'desert place' of the Gospels.

The most probable site for 'B. of Galilee,' as yet suggested, is *et-Ṭâbgha* (Heptapegon?) on the N.W. shore of the Sea of Galilee. It lies in a little vale, bordering a beautiful curve in the beach, E. of the rocky promontory of *Tell 'Areimeh*,—the monkish 'Mensa Christi,'—which forms the N.E. boundary of the plain of Gennesaret. Capernaum (Khân Minyeh) to the south-west, and Chorazin (Karâseh) among the hills to the north-east, B. would here occupy the middle position, probably indicated by the order in which Jesus refers to these cities (Mt 11^{21-23}). This seems to be confirmed by Willibald (A.D. 722), who, coming from Magdala through Gennesaret, passed first Capernaum, then B., whence he went on to Chorazin. Perhaps also a reminiscence of the ancient name is found in that of the local shrine of *Sheikh 'Aly eṣ-Ṣaiyâdîn* 'Sheikh 'Aly of the Fishermen.' Copious streams of water from the warm springs on the E. edge of the vale served in time past to drive several mills on the shore, being conducted thither by aqueducts, now crumbling and covered with ferns and ivy. They also afforded supplies, led round the W. promontory, to water part of the plain of Gennesaret (see art. CAPERNAUM). The vale is extremely fertile, and has been chosen by the Prussian Catholic Pal. Society as the site of B., for the establishment of a religious colony. The shallow water round the little bay literally swarms with fish, attracted thither by the warm water from the springs. This place, and the coast of *el-Baṭeiḥa*, near the other B., are to this day favourite haunts of the fishermen from Tiberias.

W. EWING.

BETHSHAN ($1\,S\,31^{10.12}$, $2\,S\,21^{12}$, $1\,Mac\,5^{52}\,12^{40.41}$) = Bethshean.

BETH-SHEAN (in OT בֵּית־שְׁאָן or בֵּית־שָׁן; in Apocr. Βαιθσάν, 1 Mac 5^{52} 12^{41}, or Βεθσά, 1 Mac 12^{40}, also Σκυθῶν πόλις, 2 Mac 12^{29}, cf. v.^{30} Jth 3^{10}; in Jos. also Σκυθόπολις; in some class. writers, as Pliny, *HN* v. 74, and on coins Nysa. In modern Arab. *Beisân*).—A town between the Little Hermon and Gilboa ranges, on a plain about 300 ft. above the valley of the Jordan, and about 3 miles to the W. of that river. The old town was built on the basaltic plain now occupied by the small village of Beisân and the tell or mound to the N. of it. To the S. is a large extent of marsh, between which and the town runs an ancient road leading from the N. end of the Jordan to Jenin. The tell is bounded on the N. by the river Jalud, beyond which the ancient sepulchres still exist. Both mound and plain are covered with the ruins of temples, walls, and a large amphitheatre. In OT Beth-shean does not play an important part, apparently because, although according to 'the oldest book of Heb. history' it was apportioned to Manasseh (Jos $17^{11.16}$, cf. $1\,Ch\,7^{29}$), it remained in the hands of its own people (Jg 1^{27}). After the battle of Gilboa the bodies of Saul and his sons were carried by the Philistines to Beth-shean, and there fastened to the wall (or in the 'broad place'), whence they were removed later by the men of Jabesh-gilead ($1\,S\,31^{10-13}$, $2\,S\,21^{12}$). In the reign of Solomon the city seems to have given its name to a district ($1\,K\,4^{12}$).

The name **Scythopolis** given to this city as early as the 3rd cent. B.C. seems to contain a trace of an invasion of Scyths mentioned in Herodotus, i. 105 (cf. Pliny, *HN* v. 74), or to be due to the use of the word 'Scyths' to denote barbarians generally. In the 3rd cent. B.C. Scythopolis paid tribute to the Ptolemies. In 218 it surrendered to Antiochus the Great. About a century later it fell into the hands of John Hyrcanus, but was taken from the Jews by Pompey, restored by Gabinius, and became an independent town of the Rom. Emp. and one of the most important cities in the Decapolis. In the 4th cent. A.D. it was the seat of a bishopric.

LITERATURE.—For description of the site—*SWP* ii. 101–114; Robinson, *Later BR* 326–332. For history—Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 110 ff.; Jos. *Ant.* and *Jewish Wars*.

G. W. THATCHER.

BETH-SHEMESH (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ 'temple of the sun').—Three places so named occur in the OT in Pal. **1.** Jos 15^{10} 21^{16}, $1\,S\,6^{7-20}$, $1\,K\,4^{9}$, $2\,K\,14^{13}$, $1\,Ch\,6^{59}$, $2\,Ch\,28^{18}$ = Irshemesh of Jos 19^{41}, a city of Judah given to the Levites, and afterwards included in Dan. It was here that the ark rested by a stone (see ABEL), and it was a chief city of Solomon's province of Dan. Amaziah was here captured by Jehoash of Israel, and the Philistines took it in the time of Ahaz. It is the present ruin *'Ain Shems*, in the valley of Sorek S.E. of Zorah. (*SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.) **2.** Jos 19^{38}, a city of Naphtali in Upper Galilee. See Jg 1^{33}. The site is unknown. **3.** Jos 19^{22}. A city in Issachar. The site is also doubtful. There is a *Tell esh-Shemsîyeh* in the Jordan Valley, but it seems to be too far north to be in Issachar, although its proximity to Tabor would perhaps suit (*Pal. Survey Map*, sheet ix.)

It is to be noted that No. 1 is specially noticed ($2\,K\,14^{11}$) as belonging to Judah, to distinguish it from the other sites. Bethshemite occurs as gentilic derivative from this name in $1\,S\,6^{14.18}$.

C. R. CONDER.

BETH-SHEMESH.—'The pillars of Beth-shemesh that is in the land of Egypt' (Jer 43^{13}).—The LXX, being written in Egypt, gives simply τοὺς στύλους Ἡλίου πόλεως τοὺς ἐν Ὄν, 'the pillars of

Heliopolis that are at On.' The place is therefore On in Lower Egypt. Like Heliopolis, 'city of the sun,' Beth-shemesh, 'house of the sun,' is here a translation of *Per Ra'*, 'house of the sun,' the sacred or temple name of On. The pillars, στύλοι, מַצֵּבוֹת, must be the obelisks characteristic of the worship of Ra, the sun-god. See AVEN and ON.

F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

BETH-SHITTAH (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה), 'place of the acacia,' Jg 7[22].—In the vicinity of Abel-meholah. It is the present *Shuṭṭa*, a village on a knoll, in the Jezreel Valley. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet ix.

C. R. CONDER.

BETHSURA (Βαιθσούρα), 1 Mac 4[29. 61] 6[7. 26. 31. 49. 50] 9[52] 10[14] 11[65] 14[7], 2 Mac. 13[19. 22].—The Greek form of Bethzur. In 2 Mac 11[5] **Bethsuron.**

BETH-TAPPUAH (בֵּית־תַּפּוּחַ), 'place of apples,' Jos 15[53].—In the Hebron mountains, a town of Judah (see Tappuah in 1 Ch 2[43]). Now the village *Taffûḥ*, west of Hebron. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi. C. R. CONDER.

BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל). — The son of Nahor and Milcah, nephew of Abraham, and father of Laban and Rebecca (Gn 22[23] 24[15. 24. 47. 50] 25[20] 28[2. 5]). In Gn 28[5] (P) he is called 'Bethuel the Syrian' (הָאֲרַמִּי). While frequently mentioned, he only appears in person in the narrative of the betrothal of Rebecca to Isaac, and even then his son Laban is the principal agent in the transaction.* This may have been due to a usage which gave a brother a special interest in the reputation and disposal of his sister (cf. Gn 34[5. 11. 25], 2 S 13[20. 22]). Jos. (*Ant.* I. xvi. 2) speaks of Bethuel as dead at the time.

R. M. BOYD.

BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל), 1 Ch 4[30]. **Bethul** (בְּתוּל), Jos 19[4].—A town of Simeon, noticed with Hormah, apparently S. of Beersheba. The site is unknown. See BETHEL 2.

BETHUL (בְּתוּל), Jos 19[4].—See BETHUEL.

BETHULIA (Βαιτουλουά), Jth 4[6. 7] 6[11. 13. 14] 7[1. 7. 10. 13. 21] 13[10].—A town near Dothan, on a hill overlooking the plain, with springs in the valley. The site was unknown in later times, and placed at Safed, in Galilee, in the Middle Ages. The village of *Mithilieh* answers in position to these requirements, being south of Dothan, on a hill at the edge of the plain. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xi.

C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ZACHARIAS (Βαιθζαχαριά), 1 Mac 6[32. 33].—A village on the mountain pass, south of Jerusalem and west of Bethlehem, now the ruin *Beit Skaria*. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

BETH-ZUR (בֵּית־צוּר), 'house of rock,' Jos 15[58], 1 S 30[27] (in LXX), 1 Ch 2[45], 2 Ch 11[7], Neh 3[16]. The Bethsura of 1 Mac 4[29] etc. A town of Judah in the Hebron mountains, fortified by Rehoboam, and still important after the Captivity. Judas Maccabæus here defeated the Greeks under Lysias in 165 B.C. The present ruined site, *Beit Sûr*, on a cliff west of the Hebron road, near Halhul, is remarkable for a ruined tower, probably built in the 12th cent. A.D., and for more ancient rock-cut tombs. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxi. C. R. CONDER.

BETIMES is 'in good time,' as Pr 13[24] 'he that loveth him [his son] chasteneth him b.' (*i.e.* in early life); the Heb. is מוּסָרוֹ שִׁחַר,† lit. 'visits him [diligently] with chastisement,' the idea expressed by 'betimes' being contained in the verb, which however means 'to seek diligently' as RVm, rather than 'to seek early'; so Job 8[5] 24[5]. In Gn 26[31] 'they rose up b. in the morning,' the idea expressed by 'b.' is again in the verb (וַיַּשְׁכִּימוּ), and b. or 'early' is the correct idea; so 2 Ch 36[15] 'rising up b.' (RV 'early'). Besides the above, 'b.' occurs Sir 6 (heading) 'Seek wisdom b.' (in ref. to v.[18] 'gather instruction from thy youth up'), 6[36] 51[30], 1 Mac 4[52] 5[30] 11[67]. **Betime** is found only in Bel v.[16] 'In the morning b. the king arose' (καὶ ὄρθρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ πρωΐ).

J. HASTINGS.

BETOLION (B Βετολιώ, A Βητ-, AV **Betolius**), 1 Es 5[21].—52 persons of this place returned from captivity with Zerub. (See BETHEL.) Ezr 2[28] has 'the men of Bethel and Ai' 223, and the number 52 belongs to the next named place, Nebo. 1 Es has perhaps dropped a line in the Hebrew.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BETOMASTHAIM (Βαιτομασθάϊμ, Jth 15[4], AV **Betomasthem**); **BETOMESTHAIM** (Βετομεσθάιμ, 4[6], AV **Betomestham**).—Apparently N. of Bethulia and facing Dothan. There is a site called *Deir Massîn* W. of the Dothan plain, but the antiquity of this name is doubtful. C. R. CONDER.

BETONIM (בְּטֹנִים), Jos 13[26].—In N. Gilead. The name may survive in that of the *Butein* district, the extreme N. of Gilead.

BETRAYAL OF TRUST.—See CRIMES. **BETROTHING.**—See MARRIAGE.

BETTER.—As a subst. 'one's betters,' the word is not used in AV, but the adj. in Ph 2[3] shows how that expression arose: 'let each esteem other b. than themselves' (ὑπερέχοντας). The verb is found Mk 5[26] 'was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse' (*i.e.* made better, lit. 'profited,' ὠφελέω).

J. HASTINGS.

BETWEEN, BETWIXT.—'Between' was once used freely with a reflexive pronoun to express that which is *confined* to two (or more) persons. Thus Tindale's tr[n] of Jn 11[56] is 'and spake bitwene themselves' (μετ' ἀλλήλων, AV 'among'). AV has Lk 23[12] 'they (Pilate and Herod) were at enmity b. themselves' (πρὸς ἑαυτούς TR, edd. mostly αὐτούς); Ac 26[31] 'they talked b. themselves' (πρὸς ἀλλήλους, RV 'they spake one to another'); Ro 1[24] 'to dishonour their own bodies b. themselves' (ἐν ἑαυτοῖς TR, edd. mostly αὐτοῖς; see Sanday and Headlam *in loc.*; RV 'among themselves'). We still retain the phrase 'b. ourselves!'

Between and **betwixt** were for a long time interchangeable; the latter is now archaic or local. Betwixt is used in Gn 17[11] 23[15] 26[28] 30[36] 31[37. 50. 51. 53] 32[16], Job 9[33] 36[32], Ca 1[13], Is 5[3], Jer 39[4], 1 Mac 12[44] 16[5], Ph 1[23]. RV retains all except Job 36[32] (see RV and Davidson *in loc.*), and adds Job 4[20] 'B. morning and evening' (AV 'from . . . to').

J. HASTINGS.

BEULAH (Heb. בְּעוּלָה 'married' (of a wife)).—Is 62[4. 5]. An allegorical name applied to Israel by the Deutero-Isaiah. She was no longer to be a wife deserted by God, as she had been during the Captivity, but married (1) to God, (2) by a strange application of the figure, to her own sons. In Hos 1. 2 the figure in its first application is reversed. There it is used to point out the faithlessness of Israel to her Spouse. F. H. WOODS.

BEWAIL as a reflex. verb occurs only Jer 4[31] 'the daughter of Zion that b[eth] herself' (יָפַח [all], 'to breathe,' hithp. 'gasp for breath,' as RV). In Lk 8[52] 23[27] the meaning is 'to beat the breast in grief (κόπτομαι, used without an obj. in Mt 11[17] 'ye have not lamented,' RV 'did not mourn,' and 24[30]). See MOURNING. J. HASTINGS.

* In Gn 24[50] the words 'and Bethuel' were probably inserted by R. See Ball's note in Haupt's *Heb. OT.*

† On this double accus. see Davidson, *Syntax*, § 77.

BEWITCH.—Ac 8[9] 'Simon . . . used sorcery, and b[ed] the people' (ἐξίστημι, RV 'amazed' as frequently, and as AV in v.[18]; but see BESIDE); so 8[11]. In Gal 3[1] 'O foolish Galatians, who hath b[ed] you?' (RV 'did b. you?'); the Gr. is *βασκαίνω*, 'to speak evil of,' next 'bring evil on,' and so, as here, 'lead into evil' (see Lightfoot, *ad loc.*); it is used here only in NT, but in LXX Dt 28[54. 56] (for רָעַע), Sir 14[6. 8]. **Bewitching.**—Wis 4[12] 'the b. of naughtiness' (*βασκανία φαυλότητος*, Vulg. *fascinatio*). It seems probable that in all these passages (as in 4 Mac 1[26] 2[15], *βασκανία*) the reference is more or less consciously to 'the evil eye' (cf. *βάσκανος* for רַע עַיִן Pr 23[6] 28[22]). See DIVINATION, EYE. J. HASTINGS.

BEWRAY, distinct in origin and meaning from 'betray,' is to reveal, disclose. Cf. Adams, *Works*, ii. 238 'Well may he be hurt . . . and die, that will not bewray his disease, lest he betray his credit.' Pr 29[24] 'he heareth cursing, and bewrayeth it not' (RV 'he heareth the adjuration and uttereth nothing,' הִגִּיד 'shew,' 'tell'); 27[16] (קָרָא 'proclaim,' so RVm, but RV 'encountereth' from קָרָא 'light upon'); Is 16[3] 'hide the outcasts; b. not him that wandereth' (גָּלָה 'uncover,' 'reveal'; Amer. RV 'betray.' Sir 27[17] 'if thou b[est] his secrets' (*ἀποκαλύπτω*; so 27[21]); Mt 26[73] 'thy speech b[eth] thee' (*δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ*, 'makes thee manifest'). **Bewrayer,** only 2 Mac 4[1] 'a b. of the money, and of his country' (*ἐνδείκτης*, 'one who reveals,' RV 'who had given information of the money, and *had betrayed* his country'). J. HASTINGS.

BEYOND.—**1.** This is in AV the occasional rendering of Heb. בְּעֵבֶר *be'ēbher*, which, when attached to הַיַּרְדֵּן 'the Jordan' (as it always is, except Jg 11[18], 1 S 31[7], Jer 25[22]) assumes considerable critical importance. In AV בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן is tr[d] 'beyond Jordan' in Gn 50[10. 11], Dt 3[20. 25], Jos 9[10] 13[8], Jg 5[17]; 'on this side J.' Dt 1[1. 5] 3[8] 4[41. 46. 47], Jos 1[14. 15] 9[1] 12[7] 22[7]; 'on the other side J.' Dt 11[30], Jos 2[10] 7[7] 12[1] 22[4] 24[2. 8. 14. 15], Jg 10[8], 1 S 31[7]; and 'on the side of J.' Jos 5[1]. RV gives 'beyond J.' in every place. Again מֵעֵבֶר is used with הַיַּרְדֵּן, Nu 22[1] 32[19. 19. 32] 34[15] 35[14], Jos 13[32] 14[3] 17[5] 18[7] 22[7], Jg 7[25]; and the simple עֵבֶר Dt 4[49] (AV 'on this side'), Jos 13[27] (AV 'on the other side'). Now it is true that the phrase may equally well be tr. 'across J.'; it is also true that it is used of *either* side of the Jordan (cf. Dt 3[8] *east*, with 3[20. 25] *west*); it even seems that 'beyond Jordan' may be used of that side of the Jordan on which the writer himself stands (Jos 5[1] 9[1] 12[7]); but the critical importance of the phrase lies in this, that wherever the author of Deut. speaks in his own person (as Dt 1[1. 5] 4[41. 46. 47. 49]) it refers to the country *east* of Jordan; wherever Moses is introduced as the speaker (as Dt 3[20. 25] 11[30]) it refers to the *west*.* From which the conclusion is drawn that the author (at least of Deut.) must have lived after Moses' day, from whom he is careful to distinguish himself.

LITERATURE.—Green, *Higher Criticism of the Pent.* p. 50; Douglas, *Why I still believe that Moses wrote Deut.* p. 30, and *Lex Mosaica*, p. 95; Perowne, *Contemp. Rev.* Jan. 1888, p. 143 f.; Driver, *Deut.* p. xlii f.; Harper, *Deut.* p. 4 f.

2. To go beyond=to circumvent, 1 Th 4[6] 'that no man go b. and defraud his brother' (*ὑπερβαίνω*, RV 'transgress,' RVm 'overreach'). J. HASTINGS.

BEZAANANNIM (Jos 19[33] RVm).—ZAANANNIM.

BEZAI (בֵּצַי).—**1.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[18]). **2.** The eponym of a family that returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[17], Neh 7[23])= Bassai of 1 Es 5[16].

BEZALEL (בְּצַלְאֵל, Βεσελεήλ, *Beseleel*, AV Bezaleel). —**1.** The chief architect of the tabernacle. The name occurs only in the narrative of the Priests' Code and in the Bk of Chron. (1 Ch 2[20], 2 Ch 1[5]). It probably signifies 'in the shadow (*i.e.* under the protection) of El.'* In both the sources named, B. is given as 'the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah.' The various links in the genealogical chain will be found in 1 Ch 2[18. 19. 20. 50]. There is no ground for identifying the grandfather of B. with Hur, the companion of Moses (Ex 17[10]). According to P's representation, B. was expressly called (קָרָאתִי בְשֵׁם) by J" (Ex 31[2]) to superintend the erection of the 'tent of meeting,' and endowed with the special gifts required for the proper execution of his task (vv.[3-5]). He was also charged with the construction of the furniture for court and tabernacle, as well as with the preparation of the priestly garments, and of the necessary oil and incense. Yet while B. is represented as, in the main, merely carrying out the Divine instructions, he is also said to be endowed with originality of invention as regards details (Ex 31[3. 4] 35[32]). Among the gifts thus bestowed upon him, not the least was the gift of teaching the arts of which he was himself a master, to his subordinates (Ex 35[34]), the chief of whom was Aholiab (Ex 31[6] 35[34] etc.). See TABERNACLE. **2.** B. occurs in Ezr 10[30] as one of the eight sons of Pahath-moab that had married foreign wives in the days of Ezra.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BEZEK (בֶּזֶק).—Two places so called are perhaps to be distinguished in OT. **1.** Jg 1[5]. A place attacked by Judah after Joshua's death, probably *Bezkah*, a ruin W. of Jerusalem, in the lower hills. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. **2.** 1 S 11[8], where Saul gathered Israel before advancing on Jabesh-gilead. The most likely site in this connexion is the ruin *Ibzîk*, N.E. of Shechem, opposite Jabesh. This site was known in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Bezec), but identified with No. 1. It was 17 Rom. miles from Shechem, on the road to Scythopolis (Beisân), which is correct. (See Moore on Jg 1[5].)

C. R. CONDER.

BEZER (בֶּצֶר 'fortress').—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7[37]).

BEZER (בֶּצֶר, Βόσορ).—A city belonging to Reuben, situated 'in the wilderness, on the מישׁר,' or flat table-land, E. of Jordan (Dt 4[43], Jos 20[8]), a city of refuge (*ll.cc.*), allotted, according to P, to the Merarites (Jos 21[36], whence 1 Ch 6[78 (63)]). It is mentioned also by Mesha' (Moab. Stone, l. 27), as being in ruins in his day, and as having been rebuilt by him, after his revolt from Aḥab, and expulsion of the Israelites from the territory N. of the Arnon (which, though assigned formally to Reuben, was occupied by the Moabites; see MOAB). From its being described as being in the 'wilderness' (cf. Dt 2[8])—*i.e.* in the great rolling plains of grass or scrub stretching out on the E. of Moab (Tristram, *Moab*, pp. 148, 169)—it may be inferred that it was situated towards the E. border of the Moabite table-land. The site has not yet been recovered. Euseb. (*Onom.* 232) identifies it wrongly with Βοστρα, in Bashan, the capital of the later province of 'Arabia' (G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* 624). Kuṣr Bshêr, which has been suggested, about 15 miles S.E. of Dhiban (see the map in *PEFSt* 1895, p. 204), is too far to the S., being on the S. side of the Arnon, and consequently not in the territory of Reuben at all (Jos 13[16]): the name, moreover,

* The only exception is Dt 3[8], where, although in a passage attributed to Moses, 'beyond Jordan' means the land of Moab; but 'the long archæological note' in which the phrase occurs is held to be a comment of the writer's or of some editor, not original to Moses. See Harper, *Deut.* p. 5.

* Cf. Sil-Bêl, a king of Gaza in the time of Sennacherib and his successors, see *COT* under Jos 11[22]; also Ina-silli-Bêl, Ges. *Lex.*[12]).

does not correspond phonetically as it ought to do. Bezer is not improbably identical with *Bozrah* (LXX Βοσόρ), one of the cities in the possession of Moab, mentioned by Jer (48[24]), and also, it is implied (v.[21]), situated on the 'table-land.'

S. R. Driver.

BEZETH (Βηζέθ), 1 Mac 7[19].—A place apparently near Jerus. Jos. calls it Bethzetho (*Ant.* XII. x. 2), and mentions it as a village. The situation is doubtful. It may be a corruption for Berzetho.

C. R. Conder.

BIBLE.—

A. Internal Relations of the Bible.
I. Names.
II. Original Languages.
III. Division and Arrangement.
IV. Canon.
i. OT Canon and Criticism.
ii. NT Canon.
V. Text.
VI. Versions.
B. External Relations of the Bible.
I. The Literature of other Religions.
II. The Bible in relation to this Literature.
i. Revelation.
ii. Inspiration.

A word or two of explanation may be desirable as to the purpose which the article 'Bible' in a Bible Dictionary is intended to fulfil. Its design is twofold, according as it has in view the *internal* or the *external* relations of the sacred volume. The whole Dictionary being intended to explain the form and illustrate the contents of the B., the special article should, as far as may be, afford the means of gathering the information thus supplied into the unity of a system, of exhibiting it in topical rather than alphabetical order, so that the usefulness of a systematic work may be, to some extent, combined with the convenience of the lexical arrangement. In particular, the article should give, in an abridged and ordered form, an account of the various parts of which the Bible consists, and the various forms in which it has appeared, including such subjects as Canon, Text, and Versions, referring to the special articles so entitled for details. In this way it will be of use to those who desire no more than an outline or summary of these subjects, or who wish to understand their mutual relations. It should include, of course, the particulars respecting the B. as a whole, such as its names and arrangement. Having thus, in the first part, surveyed its internal relations, the article should proceed in the second part to consider the B. as one of the sacred literatures of the world, its claims to uniqueness and authority, its reception in the Christian Church, and the position accorded to it there. Into the two divisions thus indicated, the present article will fall.

A. INTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

I. Names.—The word 'Bible' is derived from the Greek. Ancient books were written upon the Byblus or Papyrus reed, and from this custom naturally came the Gr. name βίβλος (Mt 1[1]), in the diminutive form βιβλίον (Lk 4[17]) for a book. As the recognised records of Divine Revelation, the writings which made up their sacred volume became known to the Greek Christians as τὰ βιβλία, 'the books' *par excellence*. This expression is said to appear for the first time in this connexion in the 2nd Epistle (14[2]) falsely attributed to Clement of Rome, and written probably towards the middle of the 2nd cent.; but the word afterwards became very common, though generally qualified by an adjective such as 'holy,' 'divine,' 'canonical.' In its Latin form, however, by a misunderstanding in which there is not a little significance, the neuter plural 'biblia' (gen. *bibliorum*) came to be regarded and treated as a fem. sing. (gen. *bibliæ*), the transition being no doubt assisted by the growing conception of the B. as the one utterance of God rather than as the multiplicity of voices speaking for Him. As a singular name, accordingly, it has been adopted into the language of the Western Church, and is employed in the tongues of modern Europe.

Another name, 'Bibliotheca,' appears to have been commonly used for the B. throughout the Middle Ages, as evidenced by the paronomasia—'*Habeo bibliothecam in mea bibliotheca*'—which was then current. It appears with this meaning in old English, and was technically employed by mediæval writers to designate a complete MS of OT and NT. When originally used by certain of the Lat. Fathers, such as Jerome, the adjective 'Divina' had been prefixed to 'Bibliotheca,' but this was ere long dispensed with, and, as in the case of 'the Books,' the Scriptures became pre-eminently 'the Library.' This change of the point of view from plurality to unity is, as we shall see afterwards, precisely that which modern thought and investigation find it necessary to some extent to reverse. But it is interesting to observe the process thus embodying itself in language.

The names employed in OT and in the Apocr. for the Jewish Scriptures are such as 'the books' (Dn 9[2]), 'the holy books' (1 Mac 12[9]), 'the book of the law' (1 Mac 1[56] 3[48]), 'the book of the testament' (1 Mac 1[57]). In the NT the usual term is αἱ γραφαί, 'the Scriptures' (Lat. *scriptura*), that is, the sacred writings (Mt 21[42] 22[29], Lk 24[32], Jn 5[39], Ac 18[24]). It is to be noted, that while the Jewish Scriptures as a whole are thus designated, ἡ γραφή, in the singular, is always used for a special passage (Lk 4[21], Jn 20[9], Ja 2[8]), and not as with us, by whom *Scripture* is employed perhaps even more frequently in the collective than in the special sense. Occasionally for the simple αἱ γραφαί we find γραφαὶ ἁγίαι (Ro 1[2]) or τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (2 Ti 3[15]). Another variant is when the leading (Jewish) divisions of OT are indicated, as 'the law, the prophets and the psalms' (Lk 24[44]), 'the law and the prophets' (Ac 28[23]), 'the law' (Jn 12[34]). The same practice is also common in rabbinical writings, though sometimes, instead of the divisions, the number of the books is given, and the OT is known as 'The Twenty-four'; sometimes, again, the simple term 'The Reading' is employed, which, in contrast with αἱ γραφαί, reminds us of the use of the Scriptures in the services of the synagogue. By the early Christians the most common designation for the whole B. was 'The Scriptures,' accompanied as a rule by some such adjective as in the case of *Biblia*.

The term 'Testament,' in the expression 'Old and New Testaments,' applied to the two great divisions of the B., has an interesting history. There can be no doubt that it is due to an accidental mistranslation of διαθήκη, which, originally meaning 'arrangement' or 'disposition,' came to signify a testament or will. But in the LXX the word was adopted as the tr. of the Heb. בְּרִית or 'covenant,' and the 'new covenant' was in due time expressed by the same term. St. Paul speaks of the Heb. Scriptures read in the synagogue as the 'old covenant' (2 Co 3[14] RV), and of the ministers of Christ as 'ministers of a new covenant' (2 Co 3[6]). Only in He 9[16. 17] is it possible to maintain that the sense of testamentary disposition is more probable than that of covenant. By the end of the 2nd cent., accordingly, we find ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, *the old covenant*, and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, *the new covenant*, the established expressions for the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Origen, in the beginning of the 3rd cent.,

mentions 'the divine Scriptures, the so-called Old and New Covenants' (*De Princip.* iv. 1).

In the Latin rendering of διαθήκη there was at first some hesitation between *instrumentum* and *testamentum*, both legal terms, the former denoting any authoritative or official document; the latter, as already indicated, meaning 'will' or 'disposition' (of property). *Instrumentum* is referred to by Tertullian as being used in Africa; but the other, through the authority of the Vulg., passed into more general use. When in the Vulg. Jerome is translating directly from the Heb., he uses *fœdus* or *pactum* for the Heb. *bĕrîth*; but when, as in NT and in certain portions of OT, he is revising the Old Lat. Version, he allows *testamentum* to remain. Thus, though in thought the Christian Church has never lost sight of the two great divisions of Scripture as the records of the two dispensations or covenants which God instituted for His people, the idea has been somewhat obscured by the titles appropriated to these groups of writings.

II. Original Languages.—The language of by far the greater part of OT is Hebrew. The name Hebrew (עִבְרִי) is applied to Abraham (Gn 14^{13}), either in respect of descent from an ancestor Heber (Gn $10^{21.\ 24.\ 25}$), or more probably because he came (Jos 24^{3}) 'from the other side of the flood,' מֵעֵבֶר הַנָּהָר. Hebrew is a branch of the great Semitic (so called from Shem, son of Noah) family of languages, and has its cognates in the Arabic, the Assyrian of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Aramaic, Phœnician, and Ethiopic tongues. Though traces of dialectic differences appear in the Scriptures themselves (compare the pronunciation of the word *Shibboleth*, Jg 12^{6}), the comparative isolation of the Hebrews preserved their language more or less unaffected by foreign influences until after the Captivity, when other elements were introduced into it. The Hebrew (Aram.) dialect is referred to several times in NT (Jn 5^{2} $19^{13.\ 17.\ 20}$, Ac 21^{40} 22^{2} 26^{14}), and even (Mt 26^{73}) a provincial (Galilæan) form of this. The exceptions to the general use of Hebrew in OT are Ezr 4^{8}–6^{18} 7^{12-26}, Jer 10^{11}, Dn 2^{4}–7^{28}. These passages are written in an Aramaic dialect, which, however, differs from that in which the Targums were written, and also from Syriac.

The language of NT writers, on the other hand, is Greek, but in the form known as Hellenistic Greek, that is, the form which had come into use among the Hellenists or Jews of the Dispersion. From the time when Alexander the Great (B.C. 356–323) founded a Jewish colony in Alexandria, this dialect had established itself at all centres where Jew and Greek came into frequent contact. The OT had been translated into it, forming the version known as the Septuagint (LXX), and this 'Hebrew thought in Greek clothing,' as it has been termed, gave its tone and character to the language in which the NT is also written. At the time of Christ, Greek was the prevailing language throughout the Roman Empire, the language of educated men, and no less that of commercial life. It has been ably argued that Greek was the common language of Palestine in the days of our Lord, and that the Gospel records therefore present us with His discourses in the very words in which they were spoken. But the general consensus of opinion is against this hypothesis, and indeed there is reason to believe that the greater part, at least, of St. Matthew's Gospel, may have had an Aramaic original. The Greek of NT is the 'common dialect,' which had been formed out of Attic Greek by the introduction of provincialisms and the various modifications necessary to enable it to serve many purposes throughout a vast region. As it appears in our sacred writings it is largely influenced, as already indicated, by the LXX, and adapted for the communication of the religious ideas due to the special character of Christianity.

III. Division and Arrangement.—The great division of the B., as already mentioned, is into the Books of the OT and those of the NT. The former consists, in the Eng. B., of 39 books, but in the Heb. B. of 24 only—1 and 2 S, 1 and 2 K, 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr and Neh, and the 12 Minor Prophets being respectively counted as one book. The number, according to the account of Josephus, was in his time still further reduced by adding the Book of Ruth to Judges, and that of Lamentations to Jeremiah. This reckoning probably originated in a desire to bring the number of books, possibly as part of a general mnemonic scheme, into accordance with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. It was in use, according to the testimony of Origen, as late as the middle of the 3rd cent. Another enumeration is that of Epiphanius, who, by resolving Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles again into two books each, made of the twenty-four, twenty-seven books. A point of greater interest and importance is the *grouping* of these books. In the Heb. B. they fall into three main divisions:—1. The Law, or Torah (תּוֹרָה); 2. The Prophets, or Nebiim (נְבִיאִים); 3. The Holy Writings, or Kethubim (כְּתוּבִים, ἁγιόγραφα). The Torah includes the five books (Pentateuch) associated with the name of Moses. The Nebiim are divided into the 'former prophets,' or historical books, and the 'latter prophets,' or prophetical writings in the stricter sense. The Kethubim include (*a*) the Poetical books—Ps, Pr, Job; (*b*) the five Megilloth or Rolls—Ca, Ru, La, Ec, Est; (*c*) other books, Dn, Ezr, Neh, 1 and 2 Ch. Within these divisions the order of the books sometimes varied, and other divisions of great antiquity are extant; but the one given is of special importance, as will be seen when we touch upon the history of the Canon. In LXX (A.) the arrangement is mainly determined by a consideration of the contents of the books: first come the Historical, then the Prophetic, and lastly the Poetical books. From the LXX this arrangement passed into the Vulg. and other versions.

The following has been given (*Cambridge Companion*, p. 7) as a useful classification of the OT books according to subject-matter. A. *Historical*: (1) Pentateuch and Joshua, the origin of the people, the foundation of the Israelite constitution, and the settlement in Palestine; (2) Jg, S, K, the history of the people to the downfall of the monarchy; (3) Ezr, Neh, personal memoirs of the Captivity and the Return; (4) Ru, Est, Ch, special incidents in, and aspects of, the history. B. *Prophetical*: Is, Jer, Ezk, Min. Proph. (except Jon). C. *Poetical*: (1) Ps and La (lyrical); (2) Canticles (idyllic). D. *Didactic*: (1) Job (dramatic); (2) Jon (allegorical). E. *Sapiential*: (1) Pr (gnomic); (2) Ec (speculative). F. *Apocalyptic*: Dn, and part of Ezk (40–48) and Zec (1–6⁸).

The NT presents no serious difficulty in regard to the arrangement of its books. These, 27 in number, fall naturally into the following groups. 1. The Gospels. 2. The Acts of the Apostles. 3. The Epistles of St. Paul, among which the Epistle to the Hebrews may for this purpose be included. 4. The General Epistles. 5. The Book of Revelation. This distribution, which has passed from the Vulg. into general acceptance by the Christian Church, is commended by its conformity with the order of contents of the several books. First, the Life of Christ; then the Activity of His Apostles, and the foundation of the Church of Christ; then the correspondence of those engaged in this work; and lastly, the sole monument of the apocalyptic spirit and its activity within the Church. The arrangement found in the MSS presents some interesting and suggestive variations, and has been held to point to an early division into four groups —the Gospels, the Acts and Catholic Epistles, the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse. Usually

the Catholic Epistles precede those of St. Paul, and among the latter the Epistle to the Hebrews is often found coming before the Pastoral Epistles. The order of the Gospels also varies; probably from a feeling that those written by apostles should have precedence of those by 'apostolic men,' they are frequently arranged (*e.g.* in Codex Bezæ), Mt, Jn, Lk, Mk. For the purpose of following the development of thought and doctrine in the NT, it is desirable to keep in view not only the arrangement determined by contents, but approximately the chronological order in which its books appeared. The following is such an approximate order: the great Epistles of St. Paul to the Thess, Cor, Gal, and Rom; the Ep. of St. James; Ph, Eph, Col, Philem; 1 P, the Synoptic Gospels, Ac, the Pastoral Epistles, Jude, Rev, He—all prior to the destruction of Jerus. by Titus, A.D. 70. 2 P and the Gospel and three Epistles of St. John come after the destruction of Jerus., the last towards the end of the 1st cent.

Minor divisions of the sacred text, which are for the most part also modern divisions, have been made for two distinct purposes—(1) to adapt it for use in the public services, whether of the Synagogue or of the Church; and (2) for convenience of reference. Upon the elementary expedient of separating words and sentences by short spaces to promote facility in reading, or upon that of indicating the members of a poetical composition, either by an interval between them or by writing them on different lines, it is not necessary to dwell. It is only remarkable how long the inconvenient *scriptio continua* maintained itself, especially in the MSS of the Greek text. To the first of the two classes of divisions mentioned belong the Parshioth and Haphtaroth of the Hebrew Scriptures. The former (פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת, sing. פָּרָשָׁה Parashah) are sections mainly of the Pentateuch, though extended in principle to other parts of the OT. They are distinguished as Smaller and Larger Parshioth, and the smaller are again divided into closed and open. Of the smaller there are 669 (379 closed and 290 open) in the Pentateuch; of the larger 54, the latter being commonly called Sabbath Parshioth, one being appointed to be read on each Sabbath of the year. In certain years, according to the Jewish reckoning, there were 54 Sabbaths; when there were less than that number, two Parshioth were read on one Sabbath. The open Parashah (indicated by ס, for פְּתוּחָה), generally introducing a subject of greater importance, was begun on a new line; the closed (indicated by ס, for סְתוּמָה) might begin in the middle of a line. The Haphtaroth were selected sections from the prophetical writings, read in connexion with the appointed sections of the Law, and usually standing in some correspondence with the latter. They were analogous to the Pericopæ of later ecclesiastical usage. It was common to refer to these Hebrew sections by words denoting the subject,—as the Parashah *Balaam*, *red heifer*, etc., compare Mk 12[26] *ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου*, *in the Bush*; Ro 11[2] *ἐν Ἠλίᾳ*, *in Elijah* (RVm),—or sometimes by the words beginning the section. Divisions more nearly corresponding to our present verses are referred to in the Talmud as Peṣukim (פְּסוּקִים), and perhaps were early denoted by the Soph-paṣuḳ (׃) now used at the end of verses in our Hebrew Bibles. There is some doubt as to how far Jerome's *capitula* and *versus* correspond to the Parshioth and Peṣukim of the Jews. Sometimes his *versus* seem to indicate whole verses, sometimes only the *στίχοι* or members of a verse in the poetical books.

Turning to MSS of the NT, there is found even so early as the Codex Vaticanus (4th cent.) a marginal indication of sections divided according to the sense, and apparently constructed for purposes of reference. It bears traces of having been copied from a yet more ancient document. A division of the Gospels into larger chapters (*κεφάλαια majora*) is ascribed to Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr. These are also known as *τίτλοι* from the summary of the contents of the section commonly appended to the numeral indicating it. In Latin the *κεφάλαια* were termed *breves* and the summaries *breviaria*. The relations of the different narratives of the same event contained in the Gospels must early have attracted attention, and to exhibit these was the design of the *κεφάλαια minora*, attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria, who lived in the 3rd cent. Upon these Eusebius of Cæsarea a century later founded his ten canons, by means of which it is possible to ascertain whether a passage occurs in one Gospel alone or in any combination of two or more. In the 5th cent. Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, published first St. Paul's Epistles and then the Acts and Catholic Epistles, divided into *κεφάλαια* similar to the *τίτλοι* of the Gospels; and Andreas, Archbishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, completed the work so far by dividing the Apocalypse into twenty-four paragraphs (*λόγοι*), of which each was subdivided into three *κεφάλαια*. (But see Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 1895).

The modern division of the whole Bible into *chapters* has usually been attributed to Hugues de St. Cher (Hugo de Sancto Caro), Provincial of the Dominicans in France, afterwards Cardinal in Spain (died A.D. 1263), but recent investigations ascribe it with greater probability to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, died 1227 (see Gregory, Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *NT*, ed. viii. p. 164; König, *Einleit. in das Alte Test.* p. 464). Engaged about 1248 in preparing a concordance, or index of declinable words, Hugo, adopting Langton's division into chapters, subdivided them by placing the letters A–G in the margin at equal distances from each other. The chapters were soon introduced into the Latin Vulgate, and thence into Greek MSS and printed editions circulating in the West. Scrivener (*Introd. to the Crit. of NT*) gives several instances of inappropriate division due to this arrangement, the sense being materially interrupted. The indication of minor divisions by marginal letters was soon found inadequate and inconvenient, and Robert Stephens in his Greek Testament of 1551 introduced the system of verse divisions which is still in use. Already about 1437 Rabbi Nathan had employed a similar system, along with Hugo's division into chapters, for the OT, in connexion with a concordance of the Hebrew Bible. This Stephens used as his model, but the work was executed hurriedly, *inter equitandum* ('while resting at the inns on the road,' interprets Scrivener), on a journey between Paris and Lyons, according to the information supplied by his son, Henry Stephens, in 1576. Stephens' verse-divisions were adopted in the Geneva English Bible of 1560, and subsequently in the AV of 1611. As they are found in practice to break up the sense of the text, the RV has printed the text in paragraphs, indicating chapter and verse in the margin only. The first printed edition of the Heb. Bible with chapters is that of Bomberg, 1525; the first with the verses numbered is that of Athias, 1661.

IV. CANON.—The word 'Canon' means 'pattern, rule'; probably in the first instance it denoted a measuring line. It does not appear to have had any religious application in pre-Christian times. Its use by the Christian Church for the 'rule of faith and life' was possibly suggested by such passages in the NT as Gal 6[16], Ph 3[16]. Since the time of Origen it has been applied to the Holy Scriptures of OT and NT as being the recognised authority and court of appeal in regard to Christian faith and practice. It was the content, however, not the range of the Scriptures, which was thus designated. The application of the term involves Church recognition, that the Scriptures are separated from all other literature in virtue of the authority thus ascribed to them. Thus Rufinus translates the *κανονικός* of Origen by *regularis* or *publicus*, opposing the books of which the adjective is used to the Apocr. and *Libri Ecclesiastici*. Athanasius was among the first to apply it to the writings which contained the regulative content. Some have thought that the word Canon was used for the list of books appointed to be read in churches; but this appears inconsistent with the fact that the *Libri Ecclesiastici* were also used for this purpose. Nor does the suggestion that it was the practice of the Alexandrian grammarians to apply the term 'canonical,' in the sense of 'classical,' to certain Greek authors, appear to have an ascertained bearing upon the Christian usage.

i. *OT Canon.*—The formation of the Canon of OT is a subject involved in much obscurity. That the process was a long and gradual one lies in the nature of the case, but the trustworthy indications are few, and the way is thus opened for those efforts of criticism, working upon the contents of the sacred books, which have in recent years assumed such remarkable proportions. There can be no doubt that the large collection was formed by the aggregation of smaller ones, to which some have traced allusions in such OT passages as Dt 17[18] 31[9f. 26], 1 S 10[25], Pr 25[1], and perhaps Zec 7[12], though the last may refer to the oral rather than the written law. There are also references to the earlier prophets in the pages of the later. The grouping of the books in the Heb. Bible, which has been already adverted to, may further be taken as at least a rough indication of the growth of the Canon. In both the Heb. and LXX arrangement of the books the first place is occupied by the Pent., and this notwithstanding the great variations in the order of the later books. Here, therefore, we may fairly conclude that we have the starting-point of the process. This was

the literature recognised as sacred when Ezra read the Torah in the hearing of the whole people (Neh 8). To this would ere long be added such records of Israel's history and such portions of the writings of Israel's prophets as survived, forming the second of the great divisions. Then, finally, the miscellaneous collection known as the Hagiographa would be formed for the preservation of those works which were deemed worthy of being placed beside the Law and the Prophets. As to the occasions of these steps being taken, and in connexion with the whole subject, there are traditions, some of which were accepted in Christian times, but which are in general to be regarded with suspicion, even where they cannot be shown to be absolutely untrustworthy. Thus the second stage mentioned above is in 2 Mac 2^{13} ascribed to Nehemiah, who is said to have 'founded a library' and 'gathered together the acts of the Kings and the Prophets, and the writings of David and the epistles of the Kings concerning the holy gifts.' The succeeding verse, 2^{14}, mentions an effort of Judas Maccabæus to recover the documents which had 'fallen out' during the great war of independence, and it may have been on this occasion that the bulk of the Hagiographa was brought together. A more famous tradition is that of the Great Synagogue, which, beginning its work under the presidency of Ezra, still existed in the time of Simon the Just. To this body the formation of at least the first two divisions of the Canon was ascribed. These two had at any rate obtained general recognition, while the third was at least in course of construction when, probably in the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus speaks of 'the Law itself, the Prophets and the rest of the Books.' The reference in Josephus to the 22 Books is in terms which indicate that the Canon had already been for some time completed, and his Canon was evidently identical with ours. Though it is true that certain books, as Ec and Ca, were still disputed by the Jews themselves as late as A.D. 90, it may be held that, so far as historical indication goes, the OT Canon was practically completed a century before Christ. It was certainly the uniform tradition of the Jews that prophetic inspiration had ceased with Malachi, and it is worthy of remark that the very myths with which they ultimately surrounded the formation and close of the Canon could have arisen only in the course of a considerable period of time.

Before glancing at the way in which this problem has in modern times been attacked from another side, it may be well to refer to the so-called Alexandrian Canon and OT Apocrypha. The LXX (see below) was made up partly of translations from the Hebrew, partly of productions in the Greek language of later Jewish literature. The conclusion that there was a recognised Alex. Canon distinct from that of Pal. has found much favour with Rom. Cath. critics, as it seemed to give authority to the Apocrypha. These books were extensively used by the Church Fathers, and Jerome himself included Judith among the Hagiographa. But it is more probable that there was no intention to erect a separate standard of Canonicity, and that the additional books were admitted partly owing to the Canon of Palestine not having yet been definitely or authoritatively fixed, partly owing to a certain breadth of practical view. It is to be noted that the grandfather of Jesus Sirach indicates no knowledge of any other than the Heb. Canon, and that Philo, though he took a wide view of inspiration, is said, like NT itself, never to cite the apocryphal books. The books so named vary greatly both as to their contents and value. 1 and 2 Mac are histories—the former highly, the latter much less, trustworthy; others (1 Es, To, Jth, 3 and 4 Mac) are rather historical romances. Some (Wis, Sir) are collections of wise sayings or philosophical treatises; others are intended to supplement the canonical books, or to illustrate the acts and words of persons mentioned in the latter. It was by popular suffrage rather than formal acceptance that these books obtained their places in the Greek B., which, it must be remembered, was the B. of the apostolic age, and so formed part of the heritage of the Christian Church.

The problem of modern criticism has been, not so much the formation and completion of the Canon as an authoritative collection, regarding which it has been able to add little to the meagre historical indications already noticed, as the rise of OT as a literature and its relation to the religious life and thought of Israel. Certain features of the sacred narratives—such as, double accounts of the same event, differences of expression and phraseology, differences even of tone and modes of thinking, and, in the Pent., references to events long after the time of Moses—had been early noticed, and could scarcely fail to suggest that they had been compiled from still earlier documents, or had had notes and explanations inserted by later hands than those of the original authors or compilers. The serious analysis, esp. of the Pentateuchal writings, began when, in 1753, Astruc, a French physician, pointed out that the more remarkable of these lines of cleavage coincided with the respective use of Elohim or J″ as names of God. Astruc himself set the example, which was only too readily followed by succeeding critics, of excessive detail in his analysis, since he parcelled out the Book of Genesis among no fewer than twelve different writers. The phenomena, however, to which he called attention, being beyond dispute, obviously needed explanation, and, when they were found pervading other books, and esp. the Book of Joshua, seemed to prove, not only that these writings were of composite character, but that they belonged to a later date than had previously been assigned to them. His successors assumed at first that the Elohist, whose narrative begins with Gn 1^1, was the earlier; and his writing was known as the basis or *Grundschrift*, the sections marked by the use of the name J″ being held to have been inserted into this fundamental document as supplementary to it. A more careful investigation undertaken by Hupfeld, and published in 1853, showed not only that the Jahwistic portions belonged to a document which, originally independent, had been interwoven with the other, but that there were at least two Elohists whose respective work could be distinguished, while one of them stood in the closest relation with the Jahwist. Taking these two together, it may be stated as a fact now generally accepted, that there are three great divisions discernible in the Pentateuch, or elements rather of which it consists—(1) The work of the Deuteronomist belonging mainly to the fifth book; (2) that of an Elohistic writer,—to which the name of Priestly Code, *Priestercodex*, is commonly given, beginning, as already mentioned, with Gn 1^1; (3) the combined narrative of the Jahwist and a second Elohist. It is true that analysis, following the lines of Astruc, has often gone much further, and that OT criticism has been brought into disrepute in many quarters and laid itself open to counter-criticism, not only by this excess, but by the great divergence of view among the earlier critics, and the confidence, and even arrogance, with which they pronounced upon the smallest detail. But while the disagreements of critics show that their work is yet far from complete, and that there are probably many points as to which certainty is no longer attainable, the main results of their work cannot be ignored, and

are no more to be disposed of by a general appeal to inspiration than Hugh Miller's question as to how the fossil shells came to be in the rocks was answered by the quarryman's explanation—'When God made the rocks, He made the shells in them.' Thirty years ago the problem of the Pent., and with it that of the whole OT, took a new phase, when not only linguistic and literary considerations were brought to its solution, but also considerations derived from a closer examination of Israel's history and of the progress of its religious thought and practice. The whole question has been made to turn on the chronological relation of the Priestly Code (P) to the Jahwistic-Elohistic document (JE). Formerly the author of P was regarded as the oldest writer, even by such critics as Hupfeld, Ewald, and Knobel; now he is regarded as the latest, not only by Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Reuss, but even by Delitzsch and Driver. Critics, however, when maintaining the late date of a writing in its present form, often admit that earlier documentary or traditional elements may be embodied in it. It is indeed sixty years since the view which has recently commended itself to so many was broached by W. Vatke. Vatke was led to his conclusions, however, mainly by *à priori* considerations, and his book lay long neglected in consequence of the philosophical and technical form in which it was written. A similar theory was independently developed by Reuss of Strassburg, and made public by two of his pupils, H. Graf in a work issued in 1866, and Kayser in one published in 1874. Kuenen followed up the same views in his great work on the *Religion of Israel* (1869–70), while Wellhausen in his publications of 1876 and 1878 carried them to the furthest point which they have yet reached. It is claimed as a special merit in Wellhausen's work that it 'excited interest in these questions outside the narrow circle of specialists by its skilful handling of the materials, and its almost perfect combination of wide historical considerations with the careful investigation of details.' The Grafian, or Graf-Wellhausen, hypothesis was made known, or at least popularised, in Britain through the writings of Robertson Smith. The starting-point of the theory is found in a study of the legislation contained in the Pent., and a comparison of the religious history and practice of Israel with what might have been expected had the whole of this legislation been known and observed from the beginning. It seemed to Vatke impossible 'that a whole nation should suddenly sink from a high stage of religious development to a lower one, as is asserted to have been so often the case in the times of the Judges and Kings.' It is claimed that the only explanation of the religious life of Israel is that many of the laws were either unknown or non-existent. Again, when the three components of the Pent. were examined, each was found to contain a distinct legislation in a historical setting. Of these the simplest and probably the earliest was that known as the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20–23), while the most complex, and therefore presumably the latest, was that of the Priestly Code. Between these came Deuteronomy. Not without exception perhaps, but in a sufficiently striking manner, the course of the history was found to reflect, and to be best explained by this order of the laws. The spiritual tide which lifted the life of Israel from stage to stage, leaving at each its memorial deposit of legislation, was due to the prophets, who, by their impassioned appeals and denunciations of abuses, were the means of purifying the religion of their people, and raising it to a point of elevation, after reaching which it unhappily fell into that petrifaction which is not only decay, but death. The Law is the product, not the antecedent, of the prophetic activity; to reverse the order is, in the words of Wellhausen, to begin with the roof instead of the foundation; but if the legislations fall into the order above indicated, it almost necessarily follows that the narratives in which they are respectively embedded must be regarded as originating in the same order. To separate the law from the history was the defect of Graf, corrected by Kuenen and Wellhausen. But to accept law and narrative as emerging in the portions and order supposed, is to revolutionise the whole conception previously entertained of Israel's history, and of its literary development. We conclude this brief account with the verdict pronounced upon the theory by a master in this department, A. B. Davidson of Edinburgh—'The strength of the theory lies in its correspondence with the practice, as we observe it in the historical books, and in the general outline of the religious history which it draws. Its weakness lies in the incapacity which as yet it has shown to deal with many important details, and particularly in the assumption, absolutely necessary to its case, that the ancient historical books have been edited from a Deuteronomistic point of view.'

The following chronological scheme of OT literature, founded mainly upon Driver's *Introduction*, may be found useful:—*

13th–11th cent. B.C. (period of Judges). Song of Deborah, Blessing of Jacob, David's elegy (2 S 1).

10th–9th cent. B.C. Song of Solomon (?); sources incorporated in Judges and Samuel; J and E.

8th cent. B.C. Amos, 760–746; Hosea, 746–734; Zechariah (chaps. 9–11, which, however, include also post-exilic elements, if they are not, as some hold, wholly post-ex.); Isaiah (750–700), 721 marking the end of the kingdom of Israel; Micah.

7th cent. B.C. D; Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel (sources earlier); Ruth; Nahum (664–607); Zephaniah (earlier years of Josiah, *i.e.* 639–621); Jeremiah (called 626).

6th cent. Habakkuk (608–598); Jeremiah; 1 and 2 Kings (sources earlier); Lamentations; Obadiah (partly before and partly after 586, which marks the commencement of the Exile); Proverbs (partly before and partly after the Exile); Job; P; II Isaiah and fragments; Ezekiel (taken captive 597. The last three fall during the Exile, say, 586–536); Haggai (520 seqq.); Zechariah (chaps. 1–8, 520 seqq.).

5th cent. Joel (after Captivity); Jonah; Zec (12–14); Malachi (probably about 432). Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah (*c.* 450–430) incorporated in our Ezr-Neh.

4th cent. Ecclesiastes (not earlier than latter years of Persian rule, ending 332); Esther (early years of Greek period, beginning 332, or 3rd cent.); 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezr-Neh in present form (shortly after 332, long subsequent to Ezra).

2nd cent. Daniel. The Psalms prob. belong to most of these periods, including even the Maccab. (168–165), but chiefly to the later ones (ex. and post-ex.)

ii. *NT Canon.*—The Jewish Scriptures became the B. of the early Christian Church. Round them in course of time gathered collections of Christian writings to which canonical authority was ultimately ascribed. But as in the case of OT the process was gradual. There was clearly no deliberate intention on the part of NT writers to *make* Scripture. The Jewish reverence for OT which the apostles inherited would prevent any such thought arising. That NT should have been written at all by men who shared in such a traditional feeling has been characterised by Westcott as a 'moral miracle of overwhelming dignity.' The writings were evidently called forth by the circumstances of the Church, and only as a second thought gathered together and invested with authority. In order of composition the Epistles naturally took precedence of the Gospels. The facts of the Gospel history formed the staple of the apostolic preaching, and, though in the earliest years communicated orally only, must have tended to assume a fixed traditional form. So long as the apostles survived, and the Church had not extended beyond the reach of their personal instruction, the necessity of committing this tradition to writing would be scarcely recognised. The conviction widely held during that first age,

* Compare the table given by Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 435 ff.; and by Kautzsch, *AT*, of which a tr. is given in *Expos. Times*, vi. 517 ff.

that the end of the world was near, would also tend to discourage any effort of this kind. With the extension of the Church, the rising doubts as to the impending catastrophe, and the removal of the apostles, the need for a permanent record would be felt and supplied. That small collections of memorabilia, notes of apostolic preaching, were made and circulated we know on the testimony of St. Luke, whose object is expressly declared to be the displacement of these by a more trustworthy account (Lk $1^{1ff.}$). Meanwhile the apostles had supplemented their personal activity by epistolary communications, and thus the material for a new (Christian) Canon was accumulated. It is probable that all the books composing our NT were written by the end of the 1st cent. of our era. This, indeed, is generally acknowledged, except where, as in the case of Baur and the early Tübingen school, a speculative reconstruction of early Church History necessitates the ascription of later dates to certain of the books. The recognition, however, of NT books by the Church as of apostolic authorship and authority was a matter of much longer time. It is not until the 4th cent. that all the books of the present Canon are found included in any list. The *Didaché*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, an early treatise, the MS of which was discovered so recently as 1873, makes it clear that in the quarter whence it emanated in the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. only a few of them were known. It was only to be expected, however, that certain books, or small collections of books, should be known and received within comparatively limited areas, from which they gradually passed into the use of the Church at large. Though there was no formal attempt to create a Canon, and for long no formal decree authorising it, a certain Christian wisdom and discretion is seen at work in the acknowledgment of writings both individually and collectively. The criterion was from the first *apostolicity*, immediate, or all but immediate, connexion with the apostles. Only those books were admitted which could be regarded as the most faithful records of the work of Christ and His apostles, and as the suitable foundation of Christian preaching. The need which was so soon felt, of exhibiting the truths characteristic of Christianity in opposition to the paganising mysticisms of the gnostics and the fanatical developments of Montanism, hastened the process, by driving men to the study of the primitive records of the faith. For this purpose the oral teaching, which still continued, was insufficient, as gnosticism itself appealed to the written records. These accordingly ceased to be regarded as mere private and occasional writings; they became more than books which might be publicly read for edification; they were the recognised arbiters in a great doctrinal contest; to them both sides appealed, and the foundations of NT were laid.

The chief sources for the history of NT Canon in the period of its formation are the Christian writers, esp. those who took part in the great controversies with heretics during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the fragments of the heretical writings themselves, the ancient versions, and sundry lists of recognised books which have come down to us. Westcott (*Canon of the NT*) divides the history of this period as follows:—I. A.D. 70–170, during which time, though the evidence adducible is fragmentary, it is of wide range, direct, uniform, and comprehensive; a margin still remained of books whose authority was disputed or at least unrecognised, and the idea of a Canon was implied rather than expressed. Its 'formation' may have been gradual, but it was certainly undisturbed. It was a growth and not a series of contests. II. A.D. 170–303, during which the available evidence is largely augmented and the consciousness of a collection of sacred books becomes more distinct. Still its work is 'to construct and not to define,' the age 'was an age of research and thought, but at the same time it was an age of freedom.' 'Even controversy failed to create a spirit of historical inquiry,' and thus the evidence gathered from writers of the 3rd cent. 'differs from that of earlier date in fulness rather than in kind.' III. A.D. 303–397, during which the Canon formed the subject of deliberation and decree at great Councils of the Church, at one of which, the third Council of Carthage, held in the year 397, the books of NT recognised 'are exactly those which are generally received at present.'

Some of the chief points of this development can alone be indicated here; further information will be found in the special article (NEW TESTAMENT CANON). Justin Martyr, the apologist, about A.D. 150, records the fact that certain apostolic writings were read along with the prophets on the Lord's Day in the churches both in city and country. Among these writings he especially refers to what he calls 'The Memoirs of the Apostles,' which almost without doubt were the Canonical Gospels. He refers to the Apocalypse by name, and evinces an acquaintance with several of St. Paul's Epistles. The list known as the *Muratorian Fragment*, from Muratori, who published it at Milan in 1740, which probably represents the view of the Roman Church towards the end of the 2nd cent., refers to the Gospels, to the Acts as the work of St. Luke, enumerates 13 Epp. of St. Paul, acknowledges St. Jude, 2 Epp. of St. John (probably the 2nd and 3rd), and the Apoc. The fragment is somewhat mutilated, and in this way the incompleteness of its reference to the Gospels, and its omission of 1 P and 1 Jn are possibly to be accounted for. It adds the Apoc. of St. Peter, though with an indication of doubt, and expressly excludes two Epistles which had been circulated under St. Paul's name—one to the Laodicæans, and the other to the Alexandrians. The Peshiṭta or Syriac Version of NT was the B. of the Syrian Christians of a period not later than the end of the 2nd cent. It included all the books of our Canon except 2 and 3 Jn, 2 P, Jude, and Rev. The old Lat. Version, also of the 2nd cent., omitted only He, Ja, and 2 P. The heretic Marcion, about the middle of the same cent., composed a Canon of his own in accordance with his peculiar views. This embraced the greater part of the Pauline Epp. and a modification of St. Luke. Tatian's *Diatessaron*, or 'Harmony of the Four Gospels,' which, as has recently been conclusively proved, were the four Gospels of our Canon, not only testifies to the existence of these, but signalises by this treatment of them their peculiar position and authority, which was similarly emphasized a little later by the fanciful analogy by which Irenæus sought to show that there could be only *four* Gospels. By A.D. 250 we have the evidence of Irenæus as representing the churches in Gaul, Clement of Alexandria and Origen representing the Egyptian churches, and Tertullian representing the churches of North Africa, practically concurring in their testimony to the contents of that body of Scripture which, with increasing distinctness, was taking its place as the authoritative Canon. Doubt still affected only Ja, 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, and Rev, while Hebrews was in the churches of Rome and Africa not recognised as Pauline. Eusebius in his *Eccles. History*, composed about A.D. 325, gives valuable information and testimony as to the state of the question in his time. He distinguishes the books which claimed to be authoritative as *Homologoumena*, or universally acknowledged books; *Antilegomena*, or disputed books; and *Notha*, or spurious books. The Antilegomena included Ja, Jude, 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, also Hebrews and Rev. Eusebius hazards the opinion that Hebrews may be a Greek tr. of a Heb. Pauline original. St. Jerome, towards the close of the 4th cent., gives much the same account of the state of opinion in his time, while he himself accepts all the books of our present Canon. St. Augustine likewise accepts the Canon in its present form, and was present at that Council of Carthage (397) at which, as already stated, ecclesiastical sanction was given to it. It

must be admitted that this conclusion was reached rather on popular and consuetudinary than critical grounds, and it is no matter for surprise that the question of canonicity was reopened at the Reformation, and again within the last half century. Nothing, however, has been proved which affects the claim of the large majority of NT books, and those of chief interest and value, to be the record of the faith once delivered to the saints. The wisdom with which, on the whole, the line has been drawn is only made more apparent on a consideration of those books, such as the Epp. of Clement, the Ep. of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, which long maintained a position on the very borders of Scripture, and are given at the conclusion of NT in certain very ancient MSS. It only remains to mention the large number of apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses (the *Notha* of Eusebius), of which some, as the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Acts of Paul and Thekla, have long been known, while of others, as the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. Peter, fragments have only recently (1886) been discovered.

V. TEXT.—i. *Hebrew.*—Until the invention of printing, in the 15th cent., the only mode of transmitting ancient books was by the slow and laborious method of copying one MS from another. Hand-copying, like typography itself, is subject to special tendencies to error. Since any mistake may be confined to a single MS, though almost certain to be continued in any copies made from it, it is obvious that the work of tracing out the original text by a comparison of MSS is a difficult and delicate one. It forms the subject of a special study, called Textual Criticism, and demands no little ability, patience, and tact. For many centuries the rolls written for use in the synagogue have been prepared with scrupulous care, and the texts which they represent have been preserved, it may be said, free from variation. This applies to the books of the Law, the Haphtaroth or lessons from the Prophets, and the Megilloth, the five books (Ca, Ru, La, Ec, Est) read on the great festivals. It applies, however, only to the consonantal characters, since these rolls were written without points and accents, and does not apply to the period before the scribes of the Jewish tradition took the rolls under their special care, nor so strictly to the MSS intended for private use, which had the vowel points together with the Massoretic notes and commentary. It is said that the earliest Heb. MS of which the age is known dates from A.D. 916, but few are extant which have come down from an earlier period than the 12th cent., and these, as will readily be understood from what has been said, represent a single tradition, and are of no use for comparative purposes. The work, first of the Talmudists between the 1st and 5th centuries, and then of the Massoretes from the 6th to the 11th centuries, has fixed the Heb. text (hence called the Massoretic) to the utmost attainable degree of exactness. But that prior to the labours of the scribes the Heb. Scriptures had been subject to the ordinary conditions of MS copying, is evident from the numerous and important variations found in the Samaritan Pent. and the LXX. These agree together in many readings in regard to which both differ from the Heb. text, and they are comparatively independent witnesses—the one to the state of the text in possibly the 5th cent. B.C., the other to that in the 3rd.

ii. *Greek.*—Many ancient MSS contain the LXX version of OT along with the text of NT. It seems, therefore, more convenient to divide MSS into Hebrew and Greek than into OT and NT. Two facts in the early history of NT Scriptures are worthy of note. The one is the wholesale destruction of the sacred books during the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 302), and the other that in A.D. 330 fifty large and carefully prepared copies of the Scriptures were made by order of the Emperor Constantine for the use of the churches of Constantinople. The former event is doubtless accountable for the fact that no MS exists which is older than the 4th cent. For a thousand years subsequently the sacred text may be traced in a continuous and increasing stream of MSS. About 100 of these are *Uncials*, written, that is, in capital letters—a mark of early date; the remainder, numbering nearly 2000, being *Cursives*, that is, in the smaller running hand which was used from the 9th cent. onwards. An interesting class of MSS are the *Palimpsests*, in which the sacred text has been more or less obliterated and some later work written over it. Short articles on the five leading uncials will be found under their respective symbols: viz. (1) the *Codex Sinaiticus*, known by the symbol ℵ, (2) the *Codex Vaticanus* (B), (3) the *Codex Alexandrinus* (A), (4) the *Codex Ephraemi* (C), and (5) the *Codex Bezæ* (D).

VI. VERSIONS. — Renderings of the Scriptures from the original into other tongues are not only interesting in themselves as giving us the form in which the B. brought its message to the various peoples of the earth, but (esp. those of ancient times) are of very great value for determining what the original text itself was. They tap, as it were, the stream of MS evidence at various points from which we have parallel and independent streams available for comparison with the parent stream and with each other. It is evident that, to derive the full benefit from this circumstance, a critical text of the VSS must be prepared with the same care as of the original. Given this, and it is obvious how important the VSS become in deciding between rival MS readings, as also for purposes of interpretation. The weakness of this branch of textual criticism is the defective state of the text of even the most important versions. Along with the VSS proper are justly reckoned those references in the writings of the early Fathers, which are in effect fragmentary MSS or VSS, according as they are quotations or translations.

Of OT the most important version is the Alexandrian, known as the Septuagint (LXX), from the tradition that the portion of it embracing the Law was made by 72 scribes or scholars sent by the high priest from Jerus. to Alexandria at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247). This tradition, afterwards extended to the whole version, has not only been overlaid by many mythical elements, but originally rested upon a letter by one Aristeas, which is now admitted to be a forgery. It is, moreover, contradicted by the differences in merit and value which distinguish the several books, as well as by the divergence in the methods of paraphrasing and interpretation employed. There can be no doubt that a succession of translators of varying capacity and skill were engaged upon this version. The work was carried on probably during the 3rd and 2nd cents. B.C., the greater part being completed at the latest by B.C. 132, the date alluded to in the preface to the Greek rendering of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. There were other Greek VSS, such as those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus; but none of these was so widely influential or so extensively used as the LXX. It is of importance not only as an aid to the study of the Heb. OT, but as introductory to the Greek NT, the language of which is largely based upon it. From it sprang other VSS, such as the Itala or Old Latin Version, certain Syriac VSS, the Æthiopic, Coptic, Sahidic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, and Sclavonic VSS, together with the Arabic VSS, which were not taken directly from the original. The Targums or in-

terpretations were rather paraphrases than translations. The necessity for them arose from the substitution of Aramaic for Heb. as the ordinary language of the Jews after their return from the Exile. The most important is the Targ. of Onkelos on the Pent., which keeps more closely to the original than the others, and is remarkable for careful as well as skilful work.

Of VSS which embrace both OT and NT, one of the earliest and most valuable is the Syriac Peshitta, the name meaning 'simple' or 'faithful.' Its relation to one or two VSS of equal or greater antiquity is still *sub judice*. It dates from the 2nd cent. A.D. Its place in the history of the Canon has already been mentioned. The Philoxenian or Monophysite Version is not an independent rendering, but a peculiar modification of the Peshitta. The Old Lat. Version (the Itala) prob. arose in N. Africa, was made (as already mentioned) from the Greek of the LXX, and is only known from citations in patristic writers. It was in the course of revising the Old Latin that Jerome conceived the design of making a new translation of OT direct from the Hebrew. This work, begun in A.D. 390, occupied him fourteen years, and was for long most unfavourably received. It was accused of being heretical, and even Augustine underrated it. It received ecclesiastical sanction first in Gaul; later it was recognised by Gregory the Great, but 200 years more elapsed before it became in the West the generally received and authoritative version, thenceforward known as the Vulgate or 'popular' version. The text of the Vulgate is in a very unsatisfactory condition, having been almost from the first corrupted owing to the existence and use along with it of the Old Latin, and the not unnatural transference of readings from the one into the other.

Of the multitude of modern VSS of the B. it is impossible here to speak. Our own English B. has a long and interesting history (see under art. VERSIONS). Most modern VSS differ from the ancient in the extent of the critical apparatus on which they are based. They do not depend upon a single MS or a single version in another tongue. This is esp. the case with the most recent revisions, which, as for instance our own RV, attempt to present, both in regard to text and interpretation, the nearest possible approach to the language of the original writers of the Scriptures.

B. THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

Having now, so far as space permits, analysed the B., shown the parts of which it is made up, the forms in which it has appeared, their relations to each other, and their history up to the point at which this collection practically assumed its present form, we turn to its consideration as a whole, its character as a literature, and its relation to Christianity and the Christian Church. The B. is the sacred book of Christianity. Round it—its origin, history, and contents—circle many of the most important problems which affect the nature and claims of the Christian faith. As Christianity is admittedly the highest and purest form of religion known to man, it may be said that the religious destinies of the race depend upon the B. He, certainly, who would understand what Christianity is, must have a clear conception of what the B. is and teaches.

I. THE LITERATURE OF OTHER RELIGIONS.—As, however, there are other religions besides Christianity, there are other literatures which are regarded as sacred and authoritative by the adherents of these religions. Some of them, indeed, claim to be the vehicles of Divine Revelation. It may be well, therefore, to consider what a sacred book is, and how it acquires this character, and to give a brief account of the chief sacred books of the world. It is one great characteristic of them that they have in every case *grown*; they are collections, literatures, rather than books; not composed at once, or proceeding from one hand, but combining many diverse elements, and generally reflecting the history and developments of a religion through a considerable period of time. This is to a great extent true even of the Koran, which is more of the nature of a *book* than any of the others. With the exception again of the Koran, it is probable that large portions of their contents were handed down by tradition before being committed to writing. Religion began in custom rather than in thought, and was embodied in ceremonies before these were explained by means of doctrines. However simple the primitive worship might be, it naturally tended to assume fixed forms; the same words would be used in incantation and prayer, and these would be accompanied by the same acts and observances. When religious custom became more complicated and more highly organised, the tradition was preserved first by means of a sacred caste or priesthood, and then by writing down the tradition itself. Hence the most ancient portion of such literatures usually consists of liturgical formulas and ritual texts, where the former give the words to be used and the latter give the directions for the accompanying acts. The priestly class becoming naturally the learned class, and their writings remaining for a long time the only national literature, it was to be expected that many matters of interest would receive notice in that literature which could not be strictly and absolutely described as religious. Thus mythological and historical particulars which were already ancient, and because of their antiquity were held in reverence, would be carefully set down. Laws first of ceremonial purification and later of moral worthiness, the priestly wisdom in its exercise even about civil matters, histories, especially of the heroes of the nation and of the faith, genealogical and other registers,—all, in fact, which was regarded by those who were identified with the religion as having permanent value became a part of the sacred book. These features can be traced in OT itself, and are generally characteristic of what are known as the Bibles of mankind. The canonical position acquired by such writings is due to their acceptance by nations or religious communities as of decisive authority especially in matters affecting faith and worship, and is usually supported by ascribing to them a supernatural origin, or at least the authority due to them as the work of the founders of the respective religions, or as belonging to the period of development when the influence of the founder was still fresh and his initiative unimpaired.

For our present purpose it is only necessary to take account of the literary monuments of the chief ethnic religions. Fuller details may be found in such works as Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (of which the first volume has been translated); Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Religion*; Menzies, *History of Religion*; and in the literature as cited in these works. For a brief sketch of the religions themselves, see RELIGION.

The sacred books of *China* bring us face to face with the practical paradox, that, while none have ever been more influential in moulding the life of a people, no inspiration or supernatural authority is claimed for them. They are received with the reverence due to the sages from whom they proceeded, and their guardians are not so much priests as scholars. The five chief books of Confucianism are termed King,—*i.e.* classical, canonical,—and are partly the original work of the master, partly

compilations and selections by him from pre-existing literature, with possibly, to some small extent, later additions. In character they range from extremely dry chronicles to the interpretation of magical formulas, rules of conduct, and sacred songs. The Li-Ki contains laws for domestic and social life at once comprehensive and minute, and by them the life of the whole Chinese Empire has been moulded to the present day. Its fundamental lesson is the inculcation of reverence, and it is full of finely conceived and inspiring thoughts. The four Shoo, or records of the philosophers, contain much that is of interest, particularly the Memorabilia of Confucius himself and the writings of Mencius, one of the most powerful and practical of Chinese thinkers. The teaching of the latter as to human nature has been compared with that of Bishop Butler, since it regards human nature in its ideal as a system or constitution in which the rightful ruler of the entire nature is the moral will. The Tao-ti-King is the sacred book of Taoism, which divides with Confucianism and a form of Buddhism the religious homage of the Chinese people. The author of this 'Book of Doctrine and Virtue' was the philosophic mystic Lao-tsze, who was born about half a century before Confucius (B.C. 600). Lao-tsze traces the origin of things to an impersonal reason, and directs men to seek the supreme good by way of contemplation and asceticism; at the same time many of his utterances are marked by great beauty and genuine moral insight.

In *India* we meet with a twofold stream of literature,—that of Brahmanism and that of Buddhism,—the former being the main factor in the development of modern Hinduism. The Brahmanic literature includes the Vedas proper, consisting of four books or collections of hymns, the Brahmanas, or ritualistic commentary upon these, and the Upanishads or speculative treatises containing the philosophy of the universe which the Vedic hymns seemed to imply. All these form part of the Veda, or knowledge *par excellence*, and belong to revelation or 'S'ruti' (hearing), as having been communicated to inspired men from a higher source. A second order of books is similarly termed 'Smriti' (recollection or tradition), and includes the law books, the great Epic poems, and the Puranas or ancient legends. Of these various works the most important and interesting from our present point of view are the Rigveda, the Laws of Menu, and the Epics. The Rigveda is of the greatest antiquity, and reveals much of the life and manner of thinking and feeling of the earliest invaders of India from the north of whom anything is known. The hymns are spirited and intensely national in tone. They were designed for use at the sacrifices, of the ritual of which they formed an essential part. The gods addressed in them are pre-eminently Nature deities, whose power is extolled and whose aid and favour are invoked. The Laws of Menu form one of those codes for the regulation of conduct which have gradually grown into shape. Much of it is believed to belong to prehistoric times, and the main body of the code is undoubtedly very ancient, though in its present form it is probably not older than the 2nd cent. A.D. It has been described as 'a kind of Indian Pentateuch, resting on the fundamental assumption that every part of life is essentially religious.' It originated either in a particular locality or with a particular school, but gradually extended its authority over the entire Hindu people. It consecrates the system of Caste, but, while it exalts asceticism, its regulation of ordinary life is touched with a fine spirit and marked by a practical morality. The great Epic poems, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, chiefly influenced the transition from the ancient Brahmanism to modern Hinduism. With their countless legends and deep personal interest, they appealed to those whom neither speculation nor ritual could move. They are the Bibles of the people, and celebrate the achievements of the ancient heroes, Rama and Krishna. The latter is regarded in the Mahabharata as an incarnation of Vishnu, one of the supreme Hindu deities. The idea of incarnation of deity is indeed the chief addition made by these poems to the religious thought of India, and was probably developed under the necessity of competing with Buddhism for popular favour. Turning to the sacred literature of Buddhism, it is best represented in what is known as the Southern Canon, the form in which the books are used by the Buddhists of Ceylon. They are written in Pâli, while those of the Northern Canon are in Sanskrit. They are otherwise termed the Tripitaka, or three baskets, from the manner of preserving the leaves in each volume, and were accepted as canonical about B.C. 250. The three 'baskets' are the Vinaya Pitaka, which gives the rules of Buddhism as a religious community, and especially of its monastic order; the Abidharma Pitaka containing the philosophic or speculative doctrine of the faith; and the Sutta Pitaka consisting of reminiscences of the parables and sermons of Buddha, in which the religion is adapted to common life. To the last belong the Dhammapada, 'sentences of religion,' the most popular of all the Buddhist books. The Dhammapada and the Sutta-nipata are said to 'rank among the most impressive of the religious books of the world.'

The religion specially identified with *Persia* is Zoroastrianism, and the B. of Zoroastrianism is commonly known as Zend-Avesta. Properly, however, 'Avesta' is the text,—like the Indian 'Veda' it means 'knowledge,'—and 'Zend' is the commentary or annotation upon it. The commentary is in a different language from the text. The latter consisted originally of 21 books, but practically only one of these has survived. It consists of three parts—the Yasna, a collection of liturgies along with some hymns; the Visperad, consisting of sacrificial litanies; and the Vendidad, an ancient law book, with which are incorporated a number of legendary narratives. While the prevailing character of the Zend-Avesta is that rather of a book of devotion than of the records of a religion, a Bible in our sense, there is discernible within it a variety of religious conceptions which illustrate its essentially composite character. At the same time it contains many passages of an extremely noble and spiritual character, and the religion of which it is the monument has had no inconsiderable influence upon both Judaism and Christianity.

The only other sacred book of the first rank which it is necessary for us to notice is the Koran of the Mohammedans. The name signifies 'reading.' It has already been remarked that the Koran differs from other sacred literatures in being the production of one man. Mohammed is its author, the revelations being written down by the followers of the prophet, after whose death the fragments were gathered together and formed, unfortunately with a total lack of arrangement, into the unity of a single book. The attempts of modern scholars to set the *suras* or chapters in chronological order has largely increased the interest of the book, and thrown light upon the spiritual development of the prophet himself. In such an arrangement the earliest utterances are seen to be full of emotional fire, brief, poetic, pointed. The later are longer and more prosaic, dealing with all varieties of subjects, personal and domestic, civil as well as religious. They contain

also elements drawn from Jewish and Christian sources. Yet the Koran throughout claims to be inspired in the strictest sense, its words are the words of God Himself.

II. The Bible in relation to the Literature of other Religions.—What, then, is the relation of the literature thus briefly described to the Christian Scriptures? It is not necessary to depreciate the former in order to exalt the latter. We have already noted that there is wisdom, truth, and spirituality in these books of non-Christian faiths. They and the religions with which they are connected have been the light of generations of human beings. They are associated with the civilisations of the world and its great historical epochs. What we have now to ask is, whether, apart from the question of Divine Revelation, to which we shall presently advert, any of them possess the qualities fitting them to become the sacred books of the world, or whether the B., from this point of view, has any manifest superiority over them? If we turn to Confucianism and its authoritative literature, we find everywhere a consecration of the past, even where it is not understood, which is the deadly enemy of progress; the life of the people is bound in fetters of habit and ceremony which political changes and revolutions have not sufficed to break. The characteristics of the Chinese mind, with its want of comprehensiveness, and excessive attention to minute detail, are reflected in its 'classics.' Moral and spiritual life is crushed out under the burden of external precepts and directions, and there is a determined adherence to the level of the purely human, an avoidance of all reference to the divine, which ignores and tends to mutilate the higher side of man's being, and to deprive him of an ideal. It is no wonder that the mysticism of the Tao-ti-King had an attraction for those out of whom the spiritual life was not wholly crushed. But Taoism, notwithstanding its philosophical and ethical excellences, 'as a religion is a dismal failure, and shows how little philosophy and morals can do without a historical religious framework to support them' (Menzies). The sacred literature of India is characterised not only by its immense extent, but by the great variety of standpoints represented in it. What failed to meet the wants of a single people can scarcely be expected to satisfy the entire human race. The Vedic hymns exhibit the instability of polytheism. The Brahmanic system endeavoured to meet this defect by means of its philosophical developments; but in so doing unfitted itself to be a popular religion. Hence India, during the supremacy of Brahmanism, had in reality two religions, the speculative and the idolatrous and mythical. The separation between the two tended to intensify their several peculiarities, as well as to degrade the popular faith—a difficulty which was only partially met by the incarnation ideas which emerge in the great Epics. Even Buddhism, which presents a personal object of affection and imitation to the worshipper, is condemned by its one-sidedness. If in Confucianism we have a religious positivism which will not look at the Divine, in Buddhism we have an agnosticism which cannot find it. It is a religion of despair; it cannot become the spring of human effort, promote civilisation, or contribute to social progress. The sacred books which have sprung up on soil like this, reflecting the peculiarities of their origin, must be held as falling short of the required conditions on which alone they could supersede all others. Zoroastrianism as a religion may be said to be already dead, modern Parsism being a comparatively uninfluential modification of it. The Zend-Avesta is of interest, as we have seen, for the noble elements contained in it, and for the traces of its thought which are to be found in the teachings of other faiths; but even in the portions which have come down to us, it shows itself, like the literature of Brahmanism, a mixture of diverse views and standpoints. Its mainly liturgical character, and the view presented in it of the supreme Deity, so far as a dualistic system can be said to have a supreme Deity, prevented it from spreading much beyond the region of its origin. The Mohammedan Koran is equally unfitted to become the book of a universal religion. Like Confucianism, though in a different way, Islam is a foe to progress. 'Its ideas are bald and poor; it grew too fast; its doctrines and forms were stereotyped at the very outset of its career, and do not admit of change. Its morality is that of the stage at which men emerge from idolatry . . . its doctrine is after all no more than negative. Allah is but a negation of other gods. . . . He does not enter into humanity, and therefore he cannot render to humanity the highest services.'

Westcott, in an interesting article contributed to the *Cambridge Companion to the B.*, distinguishes the sacred books of the pre-Christian ethnic religions from the OT Scriptures under three heads. 1. They are unhistorical. 'In no case is the revelation or authoritative rule given in them represented as embodied and wrought out step by step in the life of a people. The doctrine is announced and explained, and fenced in by comment and ritual; but it finds no prophets who unfold and apply the divine words to the varying circumstances of national growth, which at once fix their application and illuminate their meaning.' 2. They are retrogressive. 'The oldest portions of the several collections of the Chinese, Indian, and Persian Scriptures are confessedly the noblest in thought and aspiration; and, secondly, ritual in each case has finally overpowered the strivings after a personal and spiritual fellowship with God.' 3. They are partial. In their most complete form they may be said to be 'a Psalter completed by a law of ritual.' 'On the other hand, the B. contains every element which the representatives of different races have found to be the vehicle of religious teaching, and every element in its fullest and most fruitful form.'

If these features, we may add, are conspicuous on a comparison with the *OT*, the argument is strengthened when the NT is brought into view. There the highest reaches of doctrine and devotion are embedded in history; there the culmination of all the divine progress is attained; there in amplest measure are to be found the sources of man's purest and highest life. And the B. thus completed suggests a point of distinction which perhaps does not belong to the OT alone. The ethnic Scriptures are essentially national, or at least racial; they are bound by limits of place and time, the natural products of the circumstances in which they arose; the B. may be admirably adapted to the needs of place and time, it alone appeals to man as man, and most marvellously combines a truly historical character with an adaptability to be the religious guide and instructor of mankind. It has proved its power to travel and to speak to the hearts of men of varying countries and climes.

i. Revelation.—A usual feature of the sacred books we have been considering is the claim made by them, or on behalf of them, that they are vehicles of a divine *Revelation*. The Chinese alone do not claim that their books are inspired, though they regard them with a reverence as deep as anything connected with their religion calls forth. The three parts of the Veda, as we have seen, are distinguished as S'ruti, 'revelation,' from the Smriti, or 'tradition.' The Vedic hymns themselves were held to possess supernatural powers, and were raised to the rank of a divinity. The Avesta had been, according to the Persians, communicated to Zarathustra (Zoroaster) by Ahura, the good god, himself. The Koran, according to the Mohammedans, is an earthly copy of a heavenly original, which the angel of revelation made known to the prophet during his ecstasies; it was the subject of one of their greatest controversies whether the Koran as it stands, down to the very word and letter, was not uncreated and eternal, and free therefore from every possible imperfection. The motive of such conceptions lies upon the surface. If, on the one hand, it is man's way of expressing his boundless reverence for that which is ancient or of proved value, it is, on the other hand, due to the desire of feeling himself on solid ground in regard to the highest and most mysterious concerns of life, those

which relate to the power above him and the future before him. Somewhat similar claims are made on behalf of the B. It also brings a revelation from God; it also is an inspired book. Are all such claims equally futile? Because they are made on behalf of many books, are they true of none? Such a conclusion would be obviously inept. If a revelation is necessary for man, and if it is in the highest degree unlikely that God would leave man without this necessary guidance,—points which we cannot fully discuss in this place,—it must be somewhere, and the fact that there are unfounded claims to its possession should stimulate the search for it, not lead to its abandonment. And these claims, if nothing more, are a pathetic confession of man's sense of helplessness in presence of the deeper problems of existence, of his felt need for higher guidance. Nor is it necessary to deny that the conviction so strongly held had a relative justification. A better and juster view of the religions of the world than that formerly entertained, leads us to see that in them also God was educating the world for Himself. In their higher phases, by means of their loftier spirits, a message was delivered to the nations, in which they were not wrong in recognising His voice. In comparison with Christianity they may be classed as 'natural' religions, but at least God was speaking in the worthier manifestations of the 'nature' which He had made. We are prepared, therefore, rather than unfitted by their study, to recognise in Christianity a divine revelation, and in the B. an inspired book, while the question of degree of Inspiration, and as to what Inspiration itself involves, is directly suggested by it.

ii. **Inspiration.**—The Christian doctrine of Inspiration was largely an inheritance from the Jews along with the OT, to which alone it at first applied. After the disappearance of Prophetism, and the reconstitution of the 'Church-people' of Israel on the basis of the written law, it is not surprising that rigid and even mechanical views of Inspiration prevailed. The Talmud, while admitting degrees of Inspiration, declared that the Pentateuch at least had been divinely dictated to Moses; while Alexandrian Judaism, doubtless under Platonic influences, and on the analogy of the heathen Mantic, held that it involved a total suspension of the human faculties. The first Christian writer to propound a theory of this kind is Justin Martyr, who could not conceive of the things above being made known to men otherwise than by the Divine Spirit using righteous men like a harp or lyre, from which the plectrum elicits what sound it will. This view was followed with more or less emphasis by such writers as Tertullian, Irenæus, Origen; while others, like Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, were disposed to recognise the individuality of the several writers as moulding their respective work. While Eusebius affirms that it would be rash to say that the sacred penmen could have substituted one word for another, and Augustine sometimes ascribes to them an absolute infallibility, the latter betrays some disposition to recognise the human element when he says that the evangelists wrote '*ut quisque meminerat et ut cuique cordi erat*.' Two circumstances probably prevented the early Church from definitely adopting an extreme doctrine on this subject. One was the struggle with Montanism, which led to a clearer distinction being drawn between inspiration and ecstasy. The other was the authority still ascribed to the tradition of the Churches, which was so much on a level with that attributed to Scripture that Irenæus could complain of the difficulty of dealing with heretics who could appeal from one to the other, as suited their purpose. The same duality of resource characterised the common practice of the Church of that age, whose bishops invoked now the B. and now tradition in favour of their judgments. In the succeeding period, the inspiration of the B. was in many quarters maintained in an uncompromising form, while practically the B. was more and more subordinated to tradition as embodied in the Church. On the one hand, it was held to be useless to inquire the name of the writer of a passage of Scripture since the Holy Spirit was the author of all Scripture, or it was asserted that the Holy Spirit formed the very words in the mouths of prophets and apostles; on the other, the Church placed itself between the individual Christian and the B., which gradually became comparatively unknown and inaccessible. Its authority was not so much disputed as ignored. This was practically the position maintained throughout the Middle Ages—a position definitely formulated by the Council of Trent and the later Roman Catholic theologians. It was the Reformers who revived the appeal to Scripture in opposition to the authority of the Roman Church and its traditions. This they did, however, without pronouncing upon the questions which the authority they ascribed to the B. seemed to a later age to involve. It was enough for them that the 'good news' was declared in it, that by its use a soul could draw near to God without priest or rite. Luther proposed to revise the Canon, or at least to estimate the value of the several books by the distinctness with which Christ was preached in them—a criterion which, it is evident, was at once too narrow and too wide, excluding some books which not only Christian antiquity, but devout usage, had consecrated, and including, if consistently carried out, masses of Christian literature. Zwingli and Calvin maintained as firmly as Luther the supremacy of the B., while also keeping an open mind as to its several parts. For them the substance and content was everything, the form of secondary importance. The Confessions of that epoch in general share this freedom of attitude, though those of the Reformed Churches are more explicit than the Lutheran. The 17th cent. was a period at once of violent controversy and of rigid definition. The Jesuits on the one hand, the Socinians and Arminians on the other, attacked the authority of Scripture in the interests of Ecclesiasticism or Rationalism. Protestant orthodoxy, whether in the Lutheran or Calvinistic form, intrenched itself on the foundation of the B., identifying inspiration with infallibility, and the record with the revelation it conveyed. The sacred writers were regarded as the passive instruments, the amanuenses, of the Divine Spirit. Inspiration was defined as including the *impulsus ad scribendum*, the *suggestio rerum*, and the *suggestio verborum*. The diversity of style apparent in Scripture was explained as the voluntary accommodation of Himself to the writers by the Holy Spirit. At the same time, with so exalted an authorship, the language could not be anything but pure and exact; no barbarisms or solecisms could enter into the Greek of the NT, and even the vowel points and accents of the Hebrew text were inspired—an opinion stamped as orthodox by the Swiss *Formula Consensus* of 1675. From the theory of inspiration thus formulated (and exaggerated) followed the attributes (*affectiones seu proprietates Scripturæ sacræ*) which the dogmatic writers ascribed to the B. These are primary and secondary. The primary are: 1. *Divina auctoritas*, resting upon its external evidences and internal qualities; but, above all, upon the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*, or the witness of God in the soul. This authority constitutes the Scriptures the sole tribunal in matters of faith and life. 2. *Perfectio* or *sufficientia*; the B. contains all that

is necessary to salvation. 3. *Perspicuitas.* The B. is self-explanatory. Passages may be more or less obscure, but these must be explained by means of the simpler and clearer declarations. Rightly used, it requires no other interpreter. 4. *Efficacia.* The B. is a means of grace, having the power of converting the sinful and consoling the sad. The secondary attributes are *necessitas, integritas et perennitas, puritas et sinceritas fontium, authentica dignitas.* These indicate generally that a revelation must be written, and that, in all respects, the B., as we have it, is the B. as it was intended to be.

It is unnecessary to pursue further the history of the idea of inspiration as applied to the B. Enough has been said to show the position which it held, and how it was liable to be modified according to the circumstances in which the Church of successive ages found itself placed. Before touching, however, upon the position accorded to the B. at the present day, attention must be directed for a moment to the relation in which the question of canonicity stands to that of inspiration, since these together have determined the manner in which the B. has been received in the Christian Church. The formation of a Canon at all implies that authority is attributed to the writings included in it. The history of the Canon has shown us that it was formed gradually, as the result of local usage, which fixed and extended itself, and not as the outcome of criticism or even formal determination on the part of the whole Church or its more important divisions. By the end of the 4th cent., as we have seen, the B. stood practically as we have it now. Yet its limits were not settled in such a way that the Reformers of the 16th cent. felt themselves precluded from rediscussing them. Their tendency was, in the first instance, to examine this and other accepted usages of the Church in the light of historical inquiry. But the opportunities and the material for a competent historical investigation were wanting. The questions at issue were largely decided upon the basis of feeling, either individual or general. The exigencies of controversy necessitated a rapid arrival at a decision which should be practical and readily intelligible. While, therefore, it was not upon the authority of the Church, but through an intuitive perception supposed to reside in the believing Christian, that the contents of the B. were received, the B. thus acknowledged was nevertheless the same B. as that of the 4th cent. And this once determined, the doctrine of Inspiration was frequently employed to lift it out of the region of historical criticism, and to make its limits and contents a matter of dogmatic definition. Thus we have the rather remarkable result that inspiration in the sense of a supernatural guarantee for their truth and authority is claimed for a series of writings, while no claim is, or can be, made for a supernatural determination of the precise writings which are to be included in the series. If the latter question is still open to historical criticism, and must be determined, as every book on Biblical Introduction proves to us anew, on grounds of historical investigation, it is impossible for a dogmatic definition of inspiration to be applied in more than a general way to such a series of books; and in that case the question, what inspiration is, and what are its limits or degrees, is again opened up. So long as inspiration cannot be claimed for the process by which canonicity is determined, canonicity cannot be held to fix the bounds of inspiration. It is true that, as Westcott remarks (*Bible in the Church*, pp. 293, 294), the usage which fixed the Canon 'is only another name for a divine instinct, a providential inspiration, a function of the Christian body'; that 'history teaches by the plainest examples that no one part of the B. could be set aside without great and permanent injury to the Church which refused a portion of the apostolic heritage. We are now in a position to estimate what would have been lost if the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Epistle of St. James or the Apocalypse had been excluded from the Canon. And, on the other hand, we can measure the evils which flow equally from canonising the Apocrypha of the OT, and denying to them all ecclesiastical use.'

In more recent times, and at the present day, cases may be pointed out of almost all the varieties of view on the subject which our brief historical sketch brought to light. Some carry inspiration to the extreme of literalism, some appear to deny it in any sense in which it is not applicable to poetry and other forms of art. Unreserved condemnation should not be poured upon either of these extremes. The first is held not only by the unthinking multitude,—'the indolence of human nature,' Mr. Gladstone remarks (*Butler*, iii. p. 17), 'would be greatly flattered by a scheme such as that of the verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture,'—but by thoughtful men who have seen in it the logical conclusion of their religious theories; the second, not only by those who are indifferent to religion, but by fine spirits who have not seen the possibility or perhaps the need of anything further. The large majority of inquirers, however, recognise frankly the true inspiration of the B., and also that the determination of its nature, degrees, and limits must be the result of an induction from all the available facts.

On the one hand, full weight must be given to that remarkable testimony of history which Westcott, in the passage quoted above, signalises. But a still more remarkable phenomenon of the same kind is apparent in the pages of the B. itself. From one point of view, nothing can be more unsystematic and fragmentary than its contents. It is full of contrasts and surface-discrepancies. It is made up of extracts from the lives of individuals and the experiences of a people. All forms of literature are represented in it (see *The Literary Study of the Bible*, by R. G. Moulton). It presents no systematised theology or ethics. Yet a closer observation reveals the unity underlying all this variety. A progress is discernible from the first page to the last. Revelation corresponds to revelation, like the outcropping of the same rock-stratum in different places. One thought, one plan, is seen to pervade the whole, and to make the B., if the product of many minds, the outcome of one Spirit,—not a 'library' only, as has been said, but a 'book.' Again, in so far as the B. is admitted to be inspired, its testimony to itself, the testimony of part to part, cannot be ignored. This is an argument which may easily be pushed too far and made to prove too much; its application in any absolute way would require, for example, the question of canonicity to be already settled. But the great argument for the real inspiration of the B. in a special sense is that it commends itself to the minds of those who devoutly receive it,—what the Reformers designated the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti.* The relation of this to other evidences for the unique authority of Scripture is expressed by the Westminster Confession (ch. i. 5) thus: 'We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverend esteem of the Holy Scripture, and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellences, and the entire perfection thereof,

are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts.' This is the religious test of the value of Scripture. But it obviously applies only to the knowledge of salvation, of which Scripture is the vehicle. It is religious, not speculative—still less historical or scientific. However real and important the fact to which it points, it bears upon it a stamp of individuality, subjectivity. As seen at work in Luther, for example, 'it is impossible to read his comments on Holy Scripture without feeling that he realises its actual historical work and consequent spiritual meaning in a way which was unknown before. For him the words of apostles and prophets are "living words," direct and immediate utterances of the Holy Spirit, penetrating to the inmost souls of men, and not mere premisses for arguments or proofs' (Westcott, *l.c.* pp. 245, 246). But a criterion which in Luther and other Reformers was compatible with a large degree of liberty, gave rise in its later and more formal application to the 'summary method,' as Westcott calls it, of cutting the knot of a difficulty, disposing of evidence by dogmatically pronouncing it superfluous, and assuming that history has been fully interrogated and has spoken its last word, and so converting a great truth into a fetter and a falsehood.

On the other hand, while the elements which thus make for the inspiration of the B. and its unique authority as a spiritual guide are widely and fully recognised, the human element in Scripture has in recent times forced itself upon the attention of the thoughtful. Here it is not merely that by evident signs the biblical writers show that they were not simply amanuenses writing to the dictation of a Spirit above them; it is not the occurrence of discrepancies and inconsistencies in the B. itself, or in connexion with external history and modern science: it is rather the recognition of a progressive revelation in the B., that it contains the history of the struggle between the Divine light and human ignorance and sin, that the revelation is conveyed to us in such measure and manner as each of the writers was able to apprehend it and give it forth. Thus the process traced in an earlier portion of this article, whereby the 'books' became the 'Book,' the change of the point of view from plurality to unity, is one which wisdom, thought, and investigation find it necessary, to some extent, to reverse. In order to understand even this unity aright, it is found essential to scrutinise the several parts of which it is made up, the manifold media through which the revelation has been given, the several stages through which the B. as we know it has been evolved. This side of it will fall to be more carefully considered in the article THEOLOGY; in the meantime it is needful to observe that, as Gladstone remarks, 'if any development of Divine Revelation be acknowledged, if any distinction of authority between different portions of the text be allowed, then, in order to deal with subjects so vast and difficult, we are at once compelled to assume so large a liberty as will enable us to meet all the consequences which follow from abandoning the theory of a purely verbal inspiration' (*Butler*, iii. 17).

The subject of Inspiration and the B. is in our time canvassed mainly in two connexions—the rights of criticism, and the question of authority in matters of faith. Christianity as a historical religion cannot be exempted from the application of the principles of historical inquiry, nor can the B. as literature be exempted from the canons of criticism which apply to the other religions of the world and their sacred books. So far all reasonable persons may be said to be agreed. The difficulties which have arisen in connexion with criticism have resulted from the division of the critics into two schools, one of which assumes that all the phenomena of the sacred history and its record must be explained by natural causes only, that the history of the Hebrew people is exactly parallel with that of Athens or of Rome, that the life of Christ is strictly of the same order as that of Socrates; while the other school recognises and allows for the element of the supernatural when it is seen at work. The one studies the Christian development without sympathy, therefore without understanding; the other avoids presuppositions, and seeks to apprehend the facts from within as well as from without. But the latter, no less than the former, feels that the respect due to the Christian documents themselves imposes the duty of a careful examination and appreciation of them in the light of their history. The object of criticism is not destruction only, it is a means of ascertaining truth, and it is not true reverence which would place the B. outside of its sphere of operation.

More pressing, perhaps, than even the distrust of criticism which prevails in many quarters, is the search for authority. If the B. is not to be like an Act of Parliament, operative 'to the last and farthest extremity of its letter,' how is it to retain that quality which the Westminster Confession ascribes to it of being the final court of appeal in all controversies of religion? How is the divine and authoritative element to be separated from the human and fallible? How, in fact, is revelation, in the sense of communicated knowledge, possible by means of the Scriptures? We may briefly notice two recent attempts to meet this difficulty.

Denney (*Studies in Theology*, Lect. ix.) quotes with approval the words of Robertson Smith, in which he gives a modern rendering of the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*: 'If I am asked why I receive Scripture as the word of God, and as the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer with all the fathers of the Protestant Church, *Because the B. is the only record of the redeeming love of God, because in the B. alone I find God drawing near to man in Christ Jesus, and declaring to us in Him His will for our salvation. And this record I know to be true by the witness of His Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God Himself is able to speak such words to my soul.*' Denney, however, clearly perceives what we have pointed out above, that this is 'a doctrine of the Divine message to man,' not 'a doctrine of the text of Scripture.' His view is that coming to Scripture 'without any presuppositions whatever,' without any 'antecedent conviction that it is inspired,' we become convinced that it is inspired because 'it asserts its authority over us as we read,' it has 'power to lodge in our minds Christianity and its doctrines as being not only generally but divinely true,'—its power to do this being 'precisely what we mean by inspiration.' A starting-point having been thus acquired, by 'working out from it the area of certitude may be gradually enlarged.' Having accepted the B. as in the main inspired and authoritative, the same conviction may be indirectly entertained regarding all which is not self-evidencing. The Canon is to be received on the general assumption that the Church as a whole is less likely to be mistaken than an individual inquirer. This is all that can be arrived at by the multitude of Christian believers, or can be urged upon those whose minds are perplexed upon the subject; for the rest 'the theologian will know how to distinguish between the letter of the record and God revealing Himself through it.'

Fairbairn (*Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 496 ff.) appears to rest the authority of the revelation given in the B. upon the inspiration of those through whom it came—inspiration being described as a possession of the spirit of man by the Spirit of God. This is the converse of the view last referred to, where the revelation and the response it awakens in the mind of the hearer or reader is the guarantee of the inspiration. Indeed, on Fairbairn's view the relations of inspiration and revelation seem to be reversed. 'God inspires, man reveals; inspiration is the process by which God gives; revelation is the mode or form—word, character, or institution—in which man embodies what he has received.' In this way a position is gained from which the adaptation of religious ideas to the circumstances of a people or age may be explained. But the attention and interests of men must ever be engaged with the revelation

rather than the inspiration. The reality of the latter is a small matter apart from the character of the former. 'The essential function of inspiration is the formation of the personalities—both the minds for the thought and the thought for the minds—through whom the religion is to be realised; and the essential function of revelation is to embody in historical form—literature, character, worship, institution—what inspiration has created.' But it is surely a false distinction thus to make the inarticulate divine and the articulate human. How can the former be a guarantee for the latter? And in so far as inarticulate, how is the inspiration of Hebrew prophets and Christian apostles to be distinguished from that of Hindu or Persian poet or sage? It is true that 'the inspiration of the men who read' is made 'as intrinsic and integral an element in the idea of revelation as the inspiration of the men who wrote.' But in both cases the theory proposes a test which has all the subjectivity of the appeal to the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* without the recognition of the divine quality of the revelation itself which enters into the latter. It seems open also to the same kind of criticism which Sir Wm. Hamilton, in a well-known essay, applied to Schelling's metaphysical theory: the intellectual intuition being only possible in the absence of consciousness, is no help to the conscious apprehension of what it alone can give assurance of; it is 'in the state of personality, and non-intuition of the Absolute, that the philosopher writes; in writing therefore about the Absolute, he writes of what is to him as zero.' What, in like manner, is to connect the revelation which man gives to man, with the inspiration, the state of possession, in which it is supposed to be received?

These instances serve to illustrate the difficulties surrounding the question. It is probable that no theory of inspiration will ever solve all these difficulties or be regarded as entirely satisfactory. It may be fully and freely recognised that the B. has a unique excellence of its own, qualities which set it apart from even the greatest literary achievements of the race, while yet it has been constructed in such a way that the human element, the peculiarities and even the limitations of its writers, have been consistently maintained. In two respects, we of this age are perhaps in a more favourable position for dealing with the question than those who have gone before us. On the one hand, it is possible to compare the Christian religion and its Scriptures with the non-Christian religions and their sacred books with both a knowledge and a sympathy which in earlier times were undreamt of. On the other, a closer and more intimate knowledge of the Bible itself as a living book and not as a mere repertory of proof texts, is one of the marks of our time. 'Criticism has, by bringing the sacred books into relation with sacred history, done something to restore them to their real and living significance . . . by binding the book and the people together, and then connecting both with the providential order of the world, it has given us back the idea of the God who lives in history through His people, and a people who live for Him through His word' (Fairbairn, *l.c.* p. 508). Whatever be the results of the literary analysis of the biblical books, or the bearing of archæological discovery upon the history they record, this is the aim of historical criticism, and it can scarcely be doubted that the service it has rendered to classical and Oriental literature may be, and must be, rendered to the B. also. As a part of it, that practice which we have noticed of studying the thought of the B. in its development, and tracing it through its successive representations, is of the highest significance and value. In any case it is to be remembered that the B. contains the most ancient and most authentic documents bearing upon the origin, the nature, and the characteristic features of the Christian religion, and especially upon the person and work of its Founder. This gives to it an interest, if not an authority, which cannot be disputed. Of the revelation which we believe to have come through Christ, it is the early and reliable record. To it, therefore, the Church of later ages has naturally turned to correct her aberrations, and to obtain a renewal of her life. What the B. has been to individuals cannot be told. If the history of the world has a meaning, and is not a succession of fortuitous circumstances, we cannot fail to recognise the centre of that history in Christ, and the animating force of its later stages in the spiritual movement He inaugurated. Without the B. this movement could not be understood, or its influence continued and extended. We cannot doubt, therefore, that the God whose providence has ruled and shaped the history, whose Spirit moved and spoke in Christ, has also inspired the B. and made it what it is—the vehicle of the highest spiritual thought, the purest moral guidance man has known. It itself invites inquiry, and takes its place in the historical development. Sacred scholarship must finish the work upon it which it has begun. But withal the B. remains, and will remain, the most precious heritage of mankind.

LITERATURE.—The Literature relating to the first part of this article will be found in connexion with the several special articles (CANON, TEXT, etc.) to which reference is made. On the subjects of Revelation and Inspiration, any of the great dogmatic works, or any History of Doctrines, may be consulted, as well as articles in such Encyclopædias as the *Encycl. Brit.*, *Herzog*, *Lichtenberger*. Among monographs may be mentioned: Lee, *Inspiration of Holy Scripture*; Bannerman, *Inspiration*; Gaussen, *Théopneustie*; Jamieson, *Baird Lectures*; Horton, *Revelation and the Bible*; and Sanday, *Bampton Lectures*, in which, after dealing with the early history and application of the doctrine, the writer compares in his concluding Lecture the traditional and inductive Theories of Inspiration.

A. STEWART.

BICHRI (בִּכְרִי).—In 2 S 20[1] Sheba is called 'the son of Bichri'; translate rather 'the Bichrite,' *i.e.* a member of the clan which traced its descent to Becher, the son of Benjamin (Gn 46[21]).

J. F. STENNING.

BID, bade, bid (2 K 5[13], Zeph 1[7]) or bidden (Mt and Lk *passim*), 'to invite' to a feast, etc. (now archaic or local); 1 S 9[13. 22] (קָרָא), Zeph 1[7] 'he hath bid his guests' (הִקְדִּישׁ, RV 'sanctified' with a ref. to 1 S 16[5]); Mt 22[3] 'sent for his servants to call (*καλέω*) them that were bidden (also *καλέω*, but in perf. ptcp.) to the wedding' (RV 'marriage feast'). In 1 Co 10[27] 'If any of them that believe not bid you to a feast' (*καλέω*, with no word for 'feast'); Lk 14[12] 'lest they also bid thee again' (*ἀντικαλέω*).

To bid=to command, is common; but notice Lk 9[61], Ac 18[21] 'bid farewell' (*ἀποτάσσομαι*, used in Mk 6[46] 'when he had sent them away,' RV 'taken leave of them'; Ac 18[18] 'took his leave of'; 2 Co 2[13] 'taking my leave of'; Lk 14[33] 'forsaketh,' RV 'renounceth').

J. HASTINGS.

BIDE, Wis 8[12] 'they shall bide my leisure' (*περιμένω*, translated 'wait for' Ac 1[4], so RV here). 'Bide' is mostly replaced in mod. Eng. by 'abide' (which see).

J. HASTINGS.

BIDKAR (בִּדְקַר, possibly for בֶּן־דֶּקֶר; but this and similar contractions are highly uncertain).—A chief officer of Ahab and subsequently of Jehu (2 K 9[25]).

C. F. BURNEY.

BIER.—See BURIAL.

BIGTHA (בִּגְתָא Est 1[10]).—One of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus. For the name compare Abagtha (*ib.*) and Bigthan (2[21]). In the LXX the names are different, Βαραζί, Βωραζή B, Ὀαρεβωά A, taking the place of Bigtha.

H. A. WHITE.

BIGTHAN (בִּגְתָן Est 2[21]), **BIGTHANA** (בִּגְתָנָא 6[2]).—One of two chamberlains or eunuchs of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) who conspired against the king's life. Their treachery was discovered and foiled by Mordecai.

R. M. BOYD.

BIGVAI (בִּגְוַי).—**1.** A companion of Zerub. (Ezr 2[2]=Neh 7[7], cf. Ezr 2[14]=Neh 7[19], Ezr 8[14], where the name appears as the head of a family of returning exiles). **2.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[16]). See GENEALOGY.

J. A. SELBIE.

BILDAD (בִּלְדַּד, LXX Βαλδάδ, 'Bel hath loved'?). —Described in Job 2^{11} as one of Job's three friends. He is called 'the Shuhite,' indicating his descent from Shuah (שׁוּחַ), son of Abraham and Keturah (Gn 25^2). Abraham is described as sending Shuah, with other sons of concubines, to 'the East country,' and his descendants probably lived in a district of Arabia not far from Idumæa. The region is not to be confounded with the trans-Hauran *Schakka*, or the Σακκαία of Ptolemy, to the east of Batanæa. The LXX describes B. as τῶν Σαυχαίων τύραννος. For a description of the part taken by B. in the colloquies, see JOB, BOOK OF. It may be here briefly said that his position is in every sense intermediary between Eliphaz and Zophar. He speaks after the one and before the other; his speeches are shorter than those of Eliphaz, longer than those of Zophar. He is also more violent than the older and graver Eliphaz, but less blunt and coarse than the third spokesman who follows him. He speaks three times, in chapters 8, 18, and 25, the last time very briefly. W. T. DAVISON.

BILEAM (בִּלְעָם), 1 Ch 6^{70}.—A Levitical city of Manasseh, the same as Ibleam of Jos 17^{11}, Jg 1^{27}, 2 K 9^{27}; prob. the mod. *Bel'ame* (see Moore on Jg 1^{27}). C. R. CONDER.

BILGAH (בִּלְגָּה 'cheerfulness').—**1.** Head of the 15th course of priests (1 Ch 24^{14}). **2.** A priest who returned with Zerub. (Neh $12^{5.18}$). The same as Bilgai (Neh 10^8). H. A. WHITE.

BILGAI.—See BILGAH.

BILHAH, PERSON (בִּלְהָה, Βάλλα; in B of 1 Ch 7^{13} Βαλάμ; *Bala, Bara*).—A slave-girl given to Rachel by Laban, Gn 29^{29} (P), and by her to Jacob as a concubine, Gn $30^{3.4}$ (JE); the mother of Dan and Naphtali, Gn $30^{4.7}$ (JE) 35^{25} (P) 46^{25} (R), 1 Ch 7^{13}. She was guilty of incest with Reuben, Gn 35^{22} (P). The etymology is uncertain. These narratives and genealogies are to be regarded as embodying early traditions as to the origin and mutual relations of the tribes, rather than personal history. Tribes are traced to a concubine ancestress, because they were a late accession to Israel. W. H. BENNETT.

BILHAH, PLACE (בִּלְהָה, A Βαλαά, B Ἀβελλά, *Bala*). —A Simeonite city, 1 Ch 4^{29} = Baalah (בַּעֲלָה), Jos 15^{29}; Balah (בָּלָה), Jos 19^3, and (?) Baalath (בַּעֲלַת), Jos 19^{44}, 1 K 9^{18}, 2 Ch 8^6. Site uncertain. Kittel (*Sacred Books of OT*, 1 Ch 4^{29}) proposes to point בִּלְהָה Balhah; cf. VSS and parallel passages. W. H. BENNETT.

BILHAN (בִּלְהָן).—**1.** A Horite chief, the son of Ezer (Gn 36^{27} = 1 Ch 1^{42}). **2.** A descendant of Benjamin, son of Jediael, and father of seven sons who were heads of houses in their tribe (1 Ch 7^{10}). See GENEALOGY. R. M. BOYD.

BILL.—**1.** A bill of divorce or divorcement, Dt $24^{1.3}$, Is 50^1, Jer 3^8 (סֵפֶר כְּרִיתֻת *sêpher kĕrîthûth*, lit. 'a writ of cutting off' (see Driver on Dt 24^1, who compares Sir 25^{26} ἀπότεμε αὐτήν, 'cut her off'); Mk 10^4 (βιβλίον ἀποστασίου, the LXX tr^n of *sêpher kĕrîthûth*; also used Mt 5^{31} AV, RV 'writing of divorcement'; and 19^7, AV as 5^{31}, RV as Mk 10^4). See MARRIAGE.

2. A debtor's written account, Lk $16^{6.7}$ (TR τὸ γράμμα, edd. τὰ γράμματα, RV 'bond'). Edersheim (*Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 272 f.) points out that the Gr. word here employed was sometimes used in rabbinical writings (Hebraised *gerammation*), and corresponded with the Syr. *shitre*, which denotes 'writings' that were either formal, when they were signed by witnesses and the Sanhedrin of three; or informal, when only the debtor himself signed. The latter were most frequently written on wax, and thus easily altered. See DEBT. J. HASTINGS.

BILSHAN (בִּלְשָׁן 'inquirer').—A companion of Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^2, Neh 7^7 = Beelsarus, 1 Es 5^8). See GENEALOGY.

BIMHAL (בִּמְהָל for בֶּן־מָהָל 'son of circumcision'?).—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7^{33}).

BINEA (בִּנְעָא).—A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{37} 9^{43}).

BINNUI (בִּנּוּי 'a building').—**1.** Head of a family that returned with Zerub. (Neh 7^{15} = **Bani** of Ezr 2^{10}). **2.** A Levite (Ezr 8^{33} (prob. = **Bani** of Neh 8^7 and **Bunni** of Neh 9^4), Neh 12^8). **3.** A son of Pahath-moab (Ezr 10^{30} = **Balnuus** of 1 Es 9^{31}). **4.** A son of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{38}). There appears to be a confusion in some instances between the similar names בִּנּוּי, בָּנִי, בָּנוּי. See BAVVAI, GENEALOGY. J. A. SELBIE.

BIRDS.—See FOWLS.

BIRSHA (בִּרְשַׁע, etym. and meaning unknown).—King of Gomorrah at the time of Chedorlaomer's invasion (Gn 14^2).

BIRTH.—Among the Hebrews, as among the Orientals generally (comp. Herod. i. 136, of the Persians), a high value was placed upon the possession of children (see, *e.g.*, Gn 16^2 $29^{31.34}$ 30^1, 1 S 1^6 2^5, 2 K 4^{14}, Ps $127^{3.5}$), and especially of sons (see 1 S 1^{11}, Jer 20^{15}, Job 3^3), while childlessness was regarded as a heavy reproach (Gn 30^{23}, Lk 1^{25}) and punishment (2 S 6^{23}, Hos $9^{11.14}$). Parturition seems generally to have been easy (Ex 1^{19}, yet see Gn 3^{16}), as it is with Syrian and Arabian women at the present day, and cases in which the mother died in childbirth (Gn 35^{18}, 1 S 4^{20}) were probably quite exceptional. From the phrase used in Gn 50^{23}, cf. 30^3, it has been supposed that in early times the child was actually born upon its father's knees (see Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* i. 165), according to customs of which traces are found in several primitive peoples (Ploss, *Das Weib*,[2] ii. 177 ff.); or at least that the newly-born infant was placed in its father's lap as a token of recognition and adoption. We find, however, no clear reference to such customs in historical times. Indeed, the father was not present at the birth of the child (Jer 20^{15}); the mother was attended by other women (1 S 4^{20}), and the assistance of a midwife was often called in (Gn 35^{17} 38^{28}, Ex $1^{15ff.}$ Compare article MIDWIFE). The newly-born infant, after its navel-cord had been cut, was bathed in water, rubbed with salt, and wrapped in swaddling-clothes (Ezk 16^4, Lk 2^7). The practice of rubbing infants with salt is still retained among the fellaheen of Pal., who believe that children are strengthened and hardened by this means (*ZDPV* iv. p. 63). The child received its name from the mother (Gn $29^{32ff.}$ 30, 1 S 1^{20}, 1 Ch 4^9) or from the father (Gn 16^{15} 17^{19}, Ex 2^{22}, Hos $1^{4ff.}$; see especially Gn 35^{18}), the choice of name being often determined by special circumstances attending the birth. In later times, at any rate, a boy received his name at his circumcision on the eighth day (Lk 1^{59} 2^{21}). The mother was regarded as unclean for the space of seven + thirty-three days after the birth of a son, or for fourteen + sixty-six days after the birth of a daughter (Lv 12). This difference may probably be explained from the belief, which existed also elsewhere, that the symptoms of a puerperal state continued longer in the latter case (Hippocr. ed. Kühn, i. 392; Dillmann on Lv 12^5). See PURIFICATION. The

firstborn, when a son, belonged to J", and must therefore be redeemed (Ex $13^{12ff.}$ 34^{20}) for the sum of five shekels (Nu $18^{15f.}$). The child was usually suckled by the mother (Gn 21^{7}, 1 S $1^{22f.}$, 1 K 3^{21}), but a nurse (מֵינֶקֶת) is sometimes mentioned (Gn 24^{59} 35^{8}, 2 K 11^{2}); it was not fully weaned for two or three years (2 Mac 7^{27}; cf. 1 S 1^{22-24}),—in Mohammedan law, indeed, mothers are bidden to suckle their children for at least two years,—and the completion of the weaning was sometimes celebrated by a feast (Gn 21^{8}). H. A. WHITE.

BIRTHDAY.—The custom of observing a birthday as a festival seems to have been widely spread in ancient times. Herodotus (i. 133) speaks of this practice among the Persians. In Gn 40^{20} we hear of the celebration of the birthday of the king of Egypt, and in the times of the Ptolemies the inscriptions of Rosetta and Canopus bear witness to the same custom. 'The birthdays of the kings were celebrated with great pomp. They were looked upon as holy, no business was done upon them, and all classes indulged in festivities suitable to the occasion' (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1847, v. 290). For Roman birthdays, cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben d. Römer*, i. 244 f. According to 2 Mac 6^{7} the birthdays of the Syrian kings were commemorated every month by means of sacrifices, of which, in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews were forced to partake. In the Gospels (Mt 14^{6}, Mk 6^{21}) we read of the feast made by Herod Antipas to his nobles on his birthday, on which occasion the daughter of Herodias danced before the guests. The proper Greek term for such festival is *τὰ γενέθλια* (cf. Jos. *Ant.* II. v. 3), *τὰ γενέσια* being used to denote a feast commemorating a person's *death* (Herod. iv. 26); but in later Greek we find *τὰ γενέσια* and similar phrases used in the sense of birthday (Dio Cassius, xlvii. 18, lvi. 46, lxvii. 2; Alciphro, iii. 18, 55; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 7: *τὴν γενέσιον ἡμέραν*). The meaning of *τὰ γενέσια* in the Gospels has indeed been disputed, many commentators referring the word to the anniversary of the king's accession—a day which we know to have been observed by some of the Herodian princes (Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 6: *τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἀρχῆς*). In support of this view appeal is made to the Mishna (*Ab. Sar.* i. 3), where by the side of the '*γενέσια* of the kings' (גִּינוּסְיָא שֶׁל מְלָכִים), mention is also made of יוֹם הַפִּיטְרָה וְיוֹם הַמִּיתָה, *i.e.* 'the day of birth and the day of death.' So Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 182; Hausrath, *New Testament Times* (E.T. 1880), ii. 122; Edersheim, *Life and Times* (1891), i. 672. But no certain instance can be quoted from Greek literature to support the supposed meaning of *τὰ γενέσια*; and the Pal. Gemara (*Jer. Ab. Sar.* i. 39*c*) explains גינוסיא as equivalent to birthday. In the Bab. Gemara indeed (*Ab. Sar.* 10*a*), where the meaning of the word is discussed, the final decision is in favour of the interpretation 'day of accession'; but from the context it appears highly probable that here, as elsewhere, the Talmudists were guessing at the meaning of an unknown word. Cf. Meyer on Mt 14^{6}; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 26 f. H. A. WHITE.

BIRTH, NEW.—See REGENERATION. **BIRTHRIGHT.**—See FAMILY.

BIRZAITH (בִּרְזָוִת *Kethibh*, בִּרְזָיִת *Kerê*, AV **Birzavith**), 1 Ch 7^{31}.—Apparently a town of Asher, probably *Bîr-ez-Zeit*, near Tyre. C. R. CONDER.

BISHLAM (בִּשְׁלָם=בֶּן־שִׁלְשָׁם 'peaceful'?).—An officer of Artaxerxes in Pal. at the time of the return from captivity under Zerub., Ezr 4^{7}. Called BELEMUS in 1 Es 2^{16}. The LXX renders the name by *ἐν εἰρήνῃ, in peace*, as if it were the greeting at the beginning of the letter which follows. H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

BISHOP (*ἐπίσκοπος*) and **ELDER** (*πρεσβύτερος*).—The words are too closely connected in NT and sub-apostolic writings to be separated here. First, to trace their use outside the churches.

1. *ἐπίσκοπος* is common in the general sense of an overseer; rarer as an official title. We have (*a*) in the flourishing age of Athens, *ἐπ.* sent to regulate new colonies or subject cities like Spartan harmosts. They were called *ἐπιμεληταί* in Rom. times. (*b*) After Alexander, two *ἐπ.* at Thera are directed to receive some money and put it at interest; and *ἐπ.* at Rhodes are municipal officers whose duties are unknown. (*c*) In LXX *ἐπ.* are taskmasters, as Is 60^{17} (נֹגֵשׂ), or minor officers, as Neh 11^{9} (פָּקִיד), or 1 Mac 1^{51} the commissioners of Antiochus who enforced idolatry. In LXX also, as Ps 108^{8}, we first find the office denoted by *ἐπισκοπή*. (*d*) In the 3rd cent. A.D. we have *ἐπ.* as municipal officers in about ten inscriptions from Batanæa, the Decapolis, and those parts, where they seem to have had some authority over sacred revenues (*τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*). Of its use (*e*) for the treasurers of private associations there are no very clear traces. The common word was *ἐπιμελητής*, as with the Essenes.

2. *πρεσβύτερος*. The city councils in Rom. times were commonly called *βουλαί*, not *γερουσίαι* or *πρεσβυτέρια*. The *γερουσίαι*, of which *πρεσβύτεροι* were members, were not private societies, but corporations for purposes like the games, or the worship of the city-god, or the burial of their members. Their officers were *προστάται, ἄρχοντες, προηγούμενοι*. (*b*) The *Jewish* cities of Pal. were governed by a *βουλή* of 7, or, in larger places, 23 *πρ.* (זְקֵנִים). These formed a court of justice, and may have managed the synagogue. The organisation of the Jews in Antioch, Alexandria, etc. was on the same lines, except that in Rome there were several such corporations.

Now, though the Lord commanded His disciples to form a society, there is no indication that either He or His apostles ever prescribed any definite form for it. We should therefore expect to find them following existing models till the new spirit of the society began to express itself in new forms.

In NT we have fairly frequent mention of bishops and elders (passages collected in art. CHURCH GOVERNMENT), and the two offices seem much the same. This is proved thus:—(1) Bishops and elders are never joined together, like bishops and deacons, as separate classes of officials. (2) Ph 1^{1} 'to bishops and deacons' (no article). If there had been a distinct order of elders, it could scarcely have been omitted. So 1 Ti 3 passes over the elders, though (5^{17}) there certainly were elders at Ephesus, and had been (Ac 20^{17}) for some time past. Conversely, Tit 1^{5-7} passes over bishops, describing elders in their place, and in nearly the same words. (3) The bishops described to Timothy, the elders of 1 Ti 5^{17}, and those of 1 P 5^{2}, have distinctly pastoral functions. So, too, have the elders of Ac 20 and those described to Titus. (4) The same persons seem to be called bishops and elders (Ac $20^{17.\ 28}$, Tit $1^{5.\ 7}$ *ἵνα καταστήσῃς πρεσβυτέρους . . . δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.*). The words are also synonyms in Clement *ad Cor.* xlii. 44, and (by implication) in *Teaching*, xv., and Polycarp, *Phil.* i. It is only in Ignatius that the bishop takes a distinct position. The *general* equivalence of the two offices in the apostolic age seems undeniable, though so far we must not assume that every bishop was an elder or *vice versâ*, or that there never were any minor differences between them. The difference of name may of itself point to some difference of origin: and this is our next question.

As regards elders, it seems likely that the name comes from Jewish sources. The office is already half

hinted at in Lk 22[26] (hardly in Ac 5[6] *νεώτεροι*: cf. [10] *νεανίσκοι*); and we have every reason to think that the churches (even those not of Jewish origin) largely followed the arrangements of the synagogue. Their meeting is actually called *συναγωγή* in Ja 2[2], and the Ebionites retained the name even in the 4th cent. It may, however, be noted at once, that if the office and the name were adopted from the Jews, it does not follow that the duties were even originally quite those of the זְקֵנִים of the synagogue.

The origin of bishops is more doubtful. The name may perfectly well be Jewish, though the early connexion of the word with Gentile churches is against this. The LXX use of *ἐπίσκοπος* and *ἐπισκοπή* may have suggested it; but Gentile Christians might have found a still readier hint in the general meaning of the word, combined with its freedom from special associations with idolatry. Yet on the other side is the connexion of bishops with deacons, and Clement's direct appeal to Is 60[17]. The question is best left undecided.

Appointment.—In the first age popular election and apostolic institution seem to have been coordinate. The Seven (Ac 6[5. 6]) are chosen by the people, and instituted by the apostles with prayer and laying on of hands. Something similar seems indicated for the Lycaonian elders, though *χειροτονήσαντες* (Ac 14[23]) grammatically refers to the apostles who by prayer with fastings commended them to the Lord. The elders in Crete are appointed (Tit 1[5] *ἵνα καταστήσῃς*) by Titus, and apparently the bishops at Ephesus by Timothy in like manner, though 1 Ti 5[22], He 6[2] seem not specially concerned with the matter; but it does not follow that there was no popular election. In any case Timothy or Titus would have to approve the candidate before instituting him: so that the particular description of his qualifications need not mean that they had to select him in the first instance. As soon as we get outside NT (*Teaching*, xv., Clement, xliv. liv.) popular election becomes very conspicuous, though neither does this exclude a formal institution. The elders are already attached to the apostle even in the conveyance of special gifts (1 Ti 4[14], where the contrast of *μετὰ* with the *διὰ* of 2 Ti 1[6] may indicate their secondary position); and when the unlocal ministry died out, they would act alone in the institution to local office. How soon an episcopate was developed is a further question; and very much a question of words, if the development was from below.

In conclusion, it would seem that the outline of the process was much the same in all church offices—first designation, then institution by prayer with (at least commonly) its symbolic accompaniments of laying on of hands and fasting. But there is one all-important distinction, that if the designation to local office was by popular election, that to unlocal office was by the will of the Holy Spirit (Ac 13[2], of Apostles; 1 Ti 4[14] 1[18], apparently of an Evangelist, 2 Ti 4[5]).

Duties.—(1) *General Superintendence.*—Elders in Ac 20[28], 1 Ti 5[17], Tit 1[7], 1 P 5[2. 3] (*κατακυρ.* is *κυριεύειν* done the wrong way), bishops in 1 Ti 3[5]. Indicated *possibly* in *κυβερνήσεις*, *ἀντιλήμψεις*, 1 Co 12[28]; more distinctly Eph 4[11] *τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους*, so pointedly contrasted with the unlocal officers. So *προϊστάμενοι* 1 Th 5[12], Ro 12[8] remind us of the bishops and elders, 1 Ti 3[4] *προϊστάμενον*, 5[17] *προεστῶτες*. The *ἡγούμενοι* or *προηγ.* also of He 13[7. 17. 24], and of Clement, *ad Cor.* i. 26, 37, may be set down as bishops or elders, for (*a*) men entitled to obedience must have other than the purely spiritual functions of the unlocal ministry; (*b*) the bishops at Corinth evidently own no higher authority, so that they must themselves be the *ἡγούμενοι*.

Under this head we may place the share taken by the elders (*a*) at Jerus., in the deliberations of the apostles (Ac 15[6]) and in the reception held by James (Ac 21[18]); (*b*) elsewhere, in the laying of hands on Timothy, 1 Ti 4[14].

(2) *Teaching.*—1 Th 5[12] *προϊστάμενοι* admonishing in the Lord, 1 Ti 3[2] the bishop apt to teach, 5[17] elders who toil in word and teaching, Tit 1[9] the elder or bishop must be able to teach, and to convince the gainsayers.

Preaching is rather connected with the unlocal ministry; but in its absence the whole function of public worship would necessarily devolve on the local. This may be hinted He 13[7. 17. 24] (no officers named but *ἡγούμενοι*), and in any case it is plain enough in *Teaching*, xv., and Clement speaks of bishops *προσφέροντες τὰ δῶρα*, which must not be limited to the Lord's Supper.

(3) *Pastoral Care.*—This is everywhere so conspicuous that references are hardly needed.

To it we may refer (*a*) visiting of the sick, with a view (Ja 5[14]) to anointing and cure; (*b*) care of strangers and *à fortiori* of the poor, 1 Ti 3[2], Tit 1[8], the bishop to be *φιλόξενος*.

So far we have not discriminated the duties of bishops and elders. But was there any difference at all? Harnack thinks that while bishops and deacons had the care of public worship and the poor, elders rather formed a court attached to the church, and as such were occupied with government and discipline. The apparent identity of the offices would then be no more than an identity of persons. The weightiest members of the church would naturally hold both offices, and give the tone to both. This theory explains points like the difference of names and the marked separation between the two classes. It may contain more than a germ of the truth; but it cannot be accepted without important reservations. (*a*) It is not likely that duties were quite so definitely separated. If the elders began with discipline and general oversight, they would be likely soon to take up more spiritual duties, as the Seven did. Those who had gifts to minister the word and teaching, would rather be honoured than hindered; so that many of them might easily be doing pastoral work (esp. if they were bishops also) before the end of the apostolic age. In any case (*b*) bishops and elders are identical in the Pastoral Epistles, so that the distinction must by that time have been nearly lost. This, however, depends on their date. Harnack (*Chronologie*, 1897, p. 484) still places the relevant passages in the middle of the 2nd cent.

Literature.—Loening, *Gemeindeverfassung d. Urchristenthums*; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 181–269; Gore, *Christian Ministry*, esp. note K; Hatch, *Bampton Lectures* (1880), tr. into Germ. with excursuses by Harnack (1883); artt. on *Origin of the Christian Ministry* by Sanday, Harnack, Gore, Rendel Harris, Macpherson, Simcox, and Milligan in *Expositor*, 3rd series, vols. v. and vi.; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*, pp. 599–612.

H. M. Gwatkin.

BISHOPRICK.—Ac 1[20] 'His b. let another take' (RV 'office' with marg. 'Gr. overseership.') The Gr. is *ἐπισκοπή*, which here and in 1 Ti 3[1] means the office or work of an *ἐπίσκοπος* (see Bishop); but primarily and chiefly in NT describes God's visitation, as Lk 19[44] 'the time of thy visitation,' 1 P 2[12] 'the day of v.' The same office is described in Ac 1[25] as 'ministry and apostleship' (*διακονία καὶ ἀποστολή*).

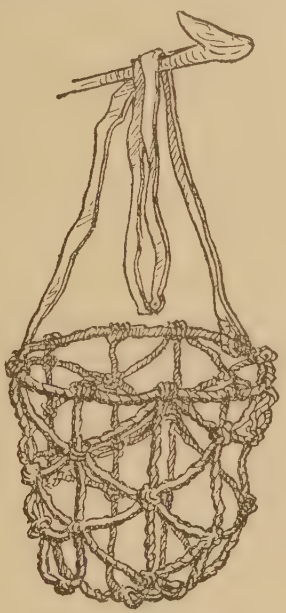
J. Hastings.

BIT, BRIDLE (רֶסֶן, מֶתֶג, מֶחֱסוֹם, χαλινός).—The distinction between these words is not maintained in AV and RV. **1.** רֶסֶן *reṣen* (Arab. *rasan*) is a halter. Thus in Job 30[11] RV, 'they have cast off the *bridle* before me,' the reference is to a horse or mule that has slipt off the halter with which he was tied, and is frisking about in the rough glee of discovered freedom. Such had become the behaviour of the

rabble before Job. So in Is 30[28], instead of 'a bridle in the jaws of the people,' read 'a halter on the jaws of the peoples' (רֶסֶן עַל לְחָיֵי עַמִּים).

2. מֶתֶג *metheg*; χαλινός (2 K 19[28], Pr 26[3], Is 37[29], Ja 3[3] RV, Rev 14[20]) is a bridle, which includes the bit, as the primitive bridle was simply a loop on the halter-cord passed round the lower jaw of the horse. Hence in Ps 32[9] RV, 'whose trappings must be *bit* and *bridle*,' the meaning is rather bridle and halter, as the two means of holding them in. The Psalmist had been speaking of willing service that only needed a directing eye, and the contrast is to the disinclination of the horse and mule that needed bridle and halter to bring them near.

3. מַחְסוֹם *maḥṣom*, is a muzzle. Hence, 'I will keep my mouth with a bridle' (Ps 39[1]) should



MODERN SYRIAN MUZZLE.

clearly be 'with a muzzle,' as in RVm. To lose the distinction is here to lose the meaning, which is enforced silence. A bridle is not used to keep a horse from biting. The muzzle is the basket of rope network that was not to be put on the oxen of the threshing-floor, but must be put over the mouth of the horse, mule, or donkey that bites its companions, the other baggage-animals, and causes disarrangement of their loads. G. M. MACKIE.

BITHIAH (בִּתְיָה 'daughter,' *i.e.* worshipper, 'of J"').—The daughter of a Pharaoh, who became the wife of Mered, a descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4[18]). Whether Pharaoh is to be taken here as the Egyp. royal title or as a Heb. proper name, it is difficult to determine. The name B. may indicate one who had become a convert to the worship of J", which would favour the first supposition (but LXX B reads Γελιά). If the other wife of Mered is distinguished as 'the Jewess,' RV (AV Jehudijah), this would still further strengthen the supposition. But the text of 1 Ch 4[17, 18] appears to be defective, and does not afford ground for more than conjecture. (See Kittel, *ad loc.* in Haupt.)

R. M. BOYD.

BITHRON (הַבִּתְרוֹן), 2 S 2[29], 'the gorge,' probably not a proper name,—a ravine leading to Mahanaim.

C. R. CONDER.

BITHYNIA (Βιθυνία), a country in the north of Asia Minor, bordering on the Propontis (Sea of Marmora), the Bosphorus, and the Euxine (Black Sea), was bequeathed to the Romans in B.C. 74 by the last king, Nicomedes III. The coast of Pontus was united with it in a single province by Pompey in B.C. 65, and the joint province was administered according to the principles embodied in a *lex Pompeia*. But the two parts of the province always retained a certain distinction from one another; the official name was regularly double (*Bithynia et Pontus*); there were two high priests, the Bithyniarch and the Pontarch (like Asiarch, Galatarch, Lykiarch, etc.); and hence Pontus and B. are mentioned separately in 1 P 1[1]. Bithynia adjoined Asia, and hence, when Paul and Silas were prevented from preaching in Asia (Ac 16[6]), they naturally proceeded towards B., but, coming near the frontier, were not permitted to enter it; and they kept on towards the W. through Mysia till they came out at Troas. B. was a senatorial province, governed like Achaia (which see); but Pliny governed it on a special mission from the emperor, 111–3, and wrote the reports to Trajan which give so much information about the province and the Christians in it. B. was a rich, fertile, peaceful, and highly civilised province. Jews in B. are mentioned by Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, § 36 (Mang. ii. 587); but they are not noticed in the list given in Ac 2[9-11]. It is remarkable that Byzantium (Constantinople), along with, doubtless, the peninsula at the end of which it was situated, was included in the province of *Bithynia et Pontus*, as we learn from Pliny, *ad Traj. Ep.* 43, 44. Two great roads traversed B., one connecting Nikomedia and Nicæa (the two chief cities) with Dorylaion and Phrygia in general, the other connecting them with Ancyra direct—a road which in later times became important as the route of European pilgrims by land to Jerusalem.

LITERATURE.—Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 349–357; Hardy in Pref. to his ed. of Pliny, *Epist. ad Trajan*; Ainsworth in *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vol. ix.; Hamilton, *Researches in As. Min.*; Ritter, *Kleinasien* (*Erdkunde von Asien*, vols. xx. xxi.), i. pp. 650–768; Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of As. Min.* pp. 179–211, 240 ff.; Th. Reinach, *Numism. des Rois de Bith.* Pliny's report on the Bithynian Christians is treated in all Early Church histories and in the works on the position of the Church in the empire by Neumann, Hardy, etc.

W. M. RAMSAY.

BITTER, BITTERNESS.—In the literal sense of b. to the taste, the word occurs in such passages as Pr 27[7] (of food, opposed to sweet), Ex 15[23], Ja 3[11] Rev 8[11] (of water), and Is 24[9] (of strong drink). See also article BITTER HERBS. In most of the passages, however, where the words above given are used in Scripture, it is in a figurative or tropical sense. The examples that follow do not claim to be exhaustive.

i. We may note, in the first place, the use of 'bitter' in an objective sense, of cruel, biting words (cf. πικροὶ λόγοι), Ps. 64[3]; of the keenness of the misery which results from forsaking God, Jer 2[19]; from a life of sin in general, Jer 4[18], and of impurity in particular, Pr 5[4]. It is applied to the misery of servitude, Ex 1[14]; and to the misfortunes due to bereavement, Ru 1[20], Am 8[10].

ii. In a more subjective sense, bitter and bitterness describe such emotions as sympathy in bereavement, Ru 1[13], and misfortune, Ezk 27[31]; the poignant sorrow of childlessness, 1 S 1[10], and penitence, Mt 26[75]; the keenness of disappointment, Gn 27[34]; and the general feeling of misery and wretchedness, Job 3[20]; emotions often relieved by a corresponding 'b. cry,' Gn 27[34], Est 4[1] etc., and by the shedding of 'bitter tears' (cf. Homer's πικρὸν δάκρυον), Mt 26[75] and often.

Under this head may be classed the cases where 'bitter' in the original refers rather to fierceness of disposition, as in 2 S 17[8] ('as a bear robbed of her whelps'), allied with a readiness to take offence.

Hab 1[6] ('the Chaldæans, that bitter and hasty nation'), Jg 18[25]. Cf. Eph 4[31], Ro 3[14].

iii. Another set of fig. applications belongs rather to the sphere of ethics than to that of psychology. Thus Isaiah characterizes those who would subvert the fundamental distinction of right and wrong as putting 'b. for sweet, and sweet for b.' (5[20]). So also Dt 32[32], where the reference is to the moral poison exhaled by the corrupt nations of Canaan. The same idea of moral depravity is somewhat differently expressed in Dt 29[18 (17)], from which (see LXX rendering) are derived the expressions 'gall of bitterness,' Ac 8[23], and 'root of bitterness,' He 12[15].

iv. Finally, there is to be noted the *term. techn.* 'the water of bitterness that causeth the curse' Nu 5[18ff.] RV (cf. Kautzsch's tr. : das fluchbringende Wasser des bitteren Wehs), which plays so important a part in the ordeal there described.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BITTER HERBS (מְרֹרִים *mĕrôrîm*, πικρίδες, *lactucæ agrestes*).—It is hardly possible for an Oriental to dine without a salad, and these salads are composed of many kinds of herbs, some mucilaginous, as the purslane, *Portulaca oleracea*, L. ; others crisp, as the cucumber ; others aromatic, as parsley ; others bitter, as the watercress, *Nasturtium officinale*, L. ; the pepper grass, *Lepidium sativum*, L. ; the endive, *Cichorium Intybus*, L. ; the lettuce, *Lactuca sativa*, L. Such as these and many others like them can be found everywhere, and suit the requirements of the Passover ordinance (Ex 12[8], Nu 9[11]). More bitter still are the numerous medicinal plants, as colocynth, wormwood, scammony, poppy, and many others which were in the prophet's eye when he said (La 3[15] m), 'He hath filled me with *bitternesses* (*mĕrôrîm*) ; he hath made me drunken with *wormwood*.'

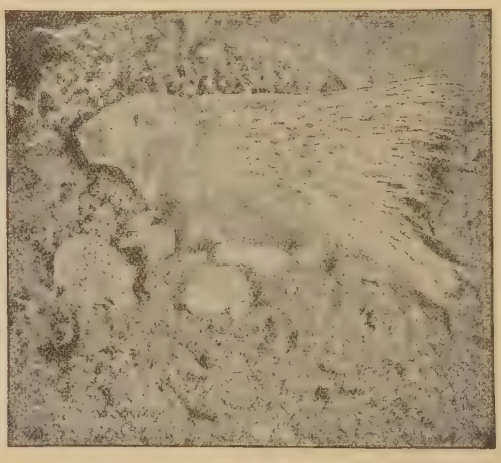
The use of bitter herbs at the Passover was not to remind the Israelites of the bitterness of their bondage (Ex 1[14]), but, as in the case of bread without leaven, to remind them of the haste with which they fled. A meal of unleavened bread, roast lamb, and a salad of bitter herbs, was the simplest and quickest that could be prepared.

G. E. Post.

BITTER WATER.—See Medicine.

BITTERN (קִפּוֹד, קִפֹּד *ḳippôd*, ἐχῖνος, *ericius*).—Gesenius regards *ḳippôd* as the same as the Arab. *ḳunfudh*, the *porcupine* ; and with him agree most of the VSS. Tristram, Houghton, and others favour the rendering *bittern* of the AV. They argue as follows :—(1) That the porcupine has not been noted as an inhabitant of ruins. But this is equally true of the bittern, and it is far less probable that it should be said of the bittern than of the porcupine. The bittern is a swamp bird, and would not choose ruins, but reeds and fens, for a residence. The porcupine, however, is a shy solitary animal, and might easily choose its home among the fallen columns of Babylon (Is 14[23]), Nineveh (Zeph 2[14]), or Idumæa (Is 34[11]). (2) That the porcupine could not climb to the capitals of columns. This is not essential, however, as the allusion is rather to the fallen stones of a ruin than to the capital of a standing column. (3) That 'their voice shall sing in the windows' (Zeph 2[14]). *Their*, however, is not in the original, and we may quite as well supply *a*, and understand by 'a voice' the sighing of the wind among the fallen stones and through the empty casements, rather than the grunt of a porcupine, or the booming of a bittern, neither of which can be called singing. (4) That porcupines do not frequent water pools (Is 14[23]). This, however, is inconclusive, since Babylon was to be a possession for the *ḳippôd, and* (not *in*) pools of water—*i.e.* desolate ruins, where *ḳippôd* could live, and marshes.

The passages in which the name *ḳippôd* occurs are intended to express desolation and the absence of human residence. They are parallel to a large number of similar ones in which the desolation is symbolised by the residence of various beasts and birds. These are usually chosen because of their shyness, and the certainty that where they are man is far away. It by no means follows that in every case all of them, or perhaps any of the particular ones, should dwell in the ruin. It is quite contrary to the habits of the bittern to dwell in ruins. The porcupine, as a man-fearing animal, like the *cormorant* (RV *pelican*), *owl*, *raven*, *dragon* (RV *jackal*), *owl* (RV *ostrich*), *wild beasts of the desert*, *wild beasts of the island* (RV *wolves*), *satyr* (probably *wild goat*), *screech owl* (RV *night monster*), *great owl* (RV *arrowsnake*), and *vulture*, represents the idea of desolation in its concrete form. In the spirit of poetic exaggeration it is said (Is 34[16]), 'no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate.' To bind down this exalted imagery to literalism would convert every ruin into a menagerie, tenanted by a motley array of fabulous as well as actual beasts and birds. With the philological evidence in favour of the *ḳunfudh* (porcupine), and with the unsoundness of the foregoing zoological objections, we may safely follow the RV, which makes it *porcupine*.



PORCUPINE.
In the foreground, under the larger animal, are a full-grown and a young hedgehog.

The porcupine, *Hystrix cristata*, L., is found along the sea-coast, and in the lower mountain districts of Pal. and Syria. It feeds on roots, bark, fruits, and vegetables. It inhabits holes and subterranean clefts, and might well find a retreat among ruins. The flesh is eaten by the natives, who know it by its classical name *ḳunfudh*. It is about 2 feet in length, independently of the tail, which measures 5 to 6 in. It is covered with the familiar quills. When the animal is tranquil they lie appressed to its body. When it is excited they are erected. It is nocturnal in its habits, and seldom seen by man.

G. E. Post.

BITUMEN (Gn 11[3] חֵמָר, ἄσφαλτος, EV 'slime,' RVm 'bitumen').—The mineral substance which has given to the Dead Sea the name *Lacus Asphaltites* (Jos. *Ant.* I. ix.), in which case it is mineral pitch of the group of the hydrocarbons. This mineral is abundant in several Eastern countries, and was used in very early times as a substitute

for mortar in the buildings of Chaldæa.* It is found in Persia, Assam, Upper Burma, particularly at Rangoon, at Baku, near the Caspian, and in the valleys leading down from the west to the Dead Sea, especially Wadies Derejeh and Mahawat, in company with sulphur.†

The bitumen in the Dead Sea basin is probably derived from the bituminous limestones of the Cretaceous series, and reaches the surface through fissures in the rock. In the case of marine limestones or shales containing large quantities of animal or vegetable matter, either of terrestrial or of aquatic origin, bitumenization may take place under suitable conditions of temperature and moisture, giving rise to springs of bitumen or petroleum, and from such a source the bitumen of the Dead Sea basin may be supposed to have its origin. E. HULL.

BIZIOTHIAH (בִּזְיוֹתְיָה), Jos 15[28].—A corruption for בְּנוֹתֶיהָ 'her villages,' referring to Beersheba, as the LXX *αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν* indicates (cf. also Neh 11[27]).

BIZTHA (בִּזְתָא, Est 1[10]).—One of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus. A suggested etymology is the Persian *besteh*, 'bound,' hence perhaps 'eunuch.' The LXX here reads Μαζάν B, Βαζάν א[c.a], Βαζεά A. H. A. WHITE.

BLACK.—See COLOURS. As a subst. b. is found in Sir 19[26] AVm, and Jer 14[2] 'they sit in b. upon the ground.' As a verb, Bar 6[21] 'their faces are b[eq] through the smoke that cometh out of the temple' (*μελαίνω*). **Blackish**, Job 6[16] 'b. by reason of the ice' (קָדַר, used here of a turbid torrent, RV 'black'). J. HASTINGS.

BLAINS.—See MEDICINE.

BLASPHEMY (*βλασφημία*, *vb.* *βλασφημεῖν*, *adj.* and *subst.* *βλάσφημος*) is derived as to its second element from *φήμη*, *speech*, but the etymology of the first element is still quite uncertain, opinions being divided among *βλάπτω I injure* (the form would then, properly, be *βλαψιφημία*), *βλάξ slack, doltish*, *βάλλω I hit in throwing* (Eustath. *ad. Hom. Il.* 2, p. 219, *ὁ ταῖς φήμαις βάλλων*, *λοίδορος*), and *φαῦλος worthless* (root, *bhles*). The usage, however, is distinct enough. In classical and NT Greek (as also in EV) the word is not restricted, as in ordinary Eng. phraseology and Eng. law, to the divine relation, but has the general sense of slanderous, contumelious speech against either God or man. As a matter of fact, in classical Greek the human relation is the rule, *βλασφημία* being only by transference applied to the gods (Plato, *Rep.* 381 E); and, as often as not, in this connexion, it signifies a word not so much of irreverence as of ill-omen (opp. to *εὐφημία*), a word amiss, an unlucky word, as when one unintentionally prays for evil instead of good (Eur. *Ion*, 1189; Plato, *Legg.* 800, 801). In the Heb. OT (mostly in the form *giddēph*, the word selected by Delitzsch in his Hebrew NT) and in the LXX there is always a notion of contemptuous sacrilege in word or act (1 Mac 2[6]) towards God (2 K 19[4], cf. 18[22]) directly or indirectly, through men or things connected with Him, *e.g.* His people (Is 52[5], Ps 74[18]), His champions (2 Mac 12[14]), His holy land (Ezk 35[12]), His temple (1 Mac 7[38]); once, by transference, towards a heathen god (Bel[9]). In NT the wider classical usage appears, and there is not always the same clear connotation of divine connexion, the word being sometimes equivalent to aggravated contumely, or slander (cf. Dem. *pro Cor.* iv. 12. 3, *εἰς τοῦτον πολλάκις ἀπέσκωψε καὶ μέχρι αἰσχρᾶς βλασφημίας*); Tit 3[2], Mt 15[19], 1 Co 10[30], Ro 3[8] 14[16], Eph 4[31] (‖ Col 3[8]), 1 Ti 6[4], 2 P 2[11]. It is not, however, to be ignored that the recognised relation of God to all created beings may have induced the choice of the word *βλασφημία* to express what is in the last resort an offence against Him. (Cf. the OT use; also the parallel in Sir 3[16], and the thought in such passages as 1 P 2[17] taken with Tit 3[2].)

A special use in NT touches the human assumption of what is God's, the degradation of the infinite glory of the unapproachable God to the finite nature of the creature. Thus the word is put into the mouths of the Jewish accusers of Christ (Mt 9[3] 26[65], Jn 10[36], Lk 5[21]), and is employed likewise conversely by the NT writers and speakers to depict the sacrilegious and insulting denial by the Jews to Christ of what was His due status (Mt 27[39], Lk 22[65] 23[39]), and their equally sacrilegious and insulting charges against Him (Ac 13[45] 18[6] 26[11]).

The punishment of those who blasphemed, *i.e.* sinned in word or act 'with a high hand,' *i.e.* in impious rebellion against J", not in thoughtlessness and weakness of the flesh (see Keil, *Bib. Arch.* ii. 377, Eng. tr., on Sins of Ignorance), but wilfully and presumptuously, was 'cutting off' (Nu 15[30]) or death by stoning (Lv 24[11-16]). Instances of blasphemy in act are the profanation of the Sabbath by work (Ex 31[14]), the neglect of circumcision (Gn 17[14]), and idolatry in all its relations (Ex 22[19], 1 Mac 2[6]). It was on the ground of blasphemy that Christ was handed over for execution to the Romans (Mt 26[64f.], Jn 19[7]), and that Stephen was stoned in an irregular outbreak of priests and people (Ac 6[11] 7[57]). To the ordinary sins of blasphemy the Jews added the more technical sin of the 'pronunciation' of the name J", through a misinterpretation of 'pronounce' in Lv 24[16] apart from its limitative context. For this reason the LXX rendered J" by *ὁ κύριος*, and the Hebrew Jews substituted Adonai or Elohim, as they do to the present day.

According to the teaching of Christ in the Synoptists (Mt 12[31f.], Mk 3[28f.], Lk 12[10]), the 'blasphemy against the Holy Ghost' was a sin of such surpassing heinousness that it was unpardonable. Not so, He says, the blasphemy against the Son of Man. Now, the Son of Man was God's Messiah, His pre-eminent representative; and blasphemy against Him would have been, in theocratic conception, put parallel with blasphemy against God Himself (Ex 22[28]). What, then, was this blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, this sin of unwonted aggravation, so heinous that, contrary to Jewish notions, even death brought the sinner no nearer to pardon (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Mt 12[32])? In the context Christ is referring to special acts of His in which the Holy Spirit, as a moral power, manifested Himself obviously and unmistakably. Any man who, with such demonstration before his eyes, declared this power to be immoral (Mk 3[30]), openly denouncing as evil that which was plainly good, exhibited a state of heart which was hopeless and beyond the scope of divine illumination or divine influence; he was the most high-handed, wilful, presumptuous despiser of the divine. In his position of blasphemer he could not be forgiven; for God to put such a sin behind His back was in the moral nature of things a contradiction and an impossibility. Not so culpable was the blasphemy even against the Son of Man; for in His state of humiliation, with the mists of the flesh about Him, His dignity was not so obvious, so unmistakable, so irresistibly convincing. In this case there might be 'defect'; in the other there was 'defiance.' So much for the strict context and the special occasion. When we reach out beyond these and seek to find a more general application, we have need of great diffidence. One point.

* Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. ch. 8.
† Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 281, 358.

however, seems clear: the context debars us from making the blasphemy simply the equivalent of continued impenitence in any sin, as if Christ had meant to say that any conscious sin, persisted in, becomes blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. It is hard to conceive that Christ in these words merely put into another form the maxim 'no repentance, no pardon.' At the same time we cannot wholly agree with those who assert that there is 'no connexion' whatever between the blasphemy against the manifest Holy Ghost and the sin against the light of spiritual experience in He 6^{4-6}, and that these sins are 'altogether dissimilar' (S. Davidson in Kitto, *Encyc.*, *s.v.* 'Blasphemy'). Nor do we know enough to be sure that the 'sin unto death' in 1 Jn 5^{16} 'stands apart' entirely from the sin with which Christ is dealing. Yet, on the whole, it seems reasonable and consistent with the OT sacrificial theory (cf. Keil, as above) to affirm that any sin which is explainable by the defect of the flesh, its mere willingness and its weakness, is not to be classed with the wilful, strong-armed, arrogant blaspheming of good as evil. And it is observable that the crucifixion of Christ, which in He 6^{6} is a metaphor for apostasy, is in Ac 3^{17}, in its literal sense, attributed by St. Peter to *ἄγνοια*, *ignorance*. Doubtless, there is a time and a place wherein willingness shades off into wilfulness, and weakness into presumption; neglect of the divine illumination is the inclined plane towards the detestation of it; and when the heart can deliberately say, 'Evil, be thou my good,' its utterance is not far from blasphemy of the Holy Ghost.

J. Massie.

BLAST (from *blœsan* 'to blow') is used in AV: **1.** Of the blowing of a wind instrument, Jos 6^{5} 'when they make a long b. with the ram's horn.' **2.** The blowing of the breath of J", Ex 15^{8} 'with the b. of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together' (Heb. רוּחַ *rûah*, 'breath'; cf. Is 30^{28} 'breath,' 33^{11} 'breath,' 37^{7} AV 'blast,' RV 'spirit,' 2 K 19^{7} AV 'blast,' RV 'spirit'). **3.** The breath, *i.e.* the tyranny of violent peoples, Is 25^{4} (רוּחַ). **4.** Blowing that withers or curses, 2 S 22^{16}, Job 4^{9}, Ps 18^{15} (נְשָׁמָה *nĕshâmah*). So **blasted**='blighted' Gn $41^{6.\ 23.\ 27}$, 2 K 19^{26}, Is 37^{27}; and **blasting**='blight' Dt 28^{22}, 1 K 8^{37}, 2 Ch 6^{28}, Am 4^{9}, Hag 2^{17}. The reference is to the effect of the sirocco east wind. See Hos 13^{15} for its effect on water, and Jon 4^{8} on man. Says Thomson, 'it rushes down every gorge, bending and breaking the trees, and tugging at each individual leaf. . . . The eyes inflame, the lips blister, and the moisture of the body evaporates, . . . you become languid, nervous, irritable, and despairing' (*Land and Book*, ii. 262). In Ps 18^{15}, Pr. Bk. 'blasting'=*blast*.

J. Hastings.

BLASTUS (Βλάστος).—A chamberlain of Herod Agrippa I. (wh. see), mentioned Ac 12^{20}. It was through his intervention, presumably secured by bribery, that the people of Tyre and Sidon prevailed upon the king to receive an embassy from them at Cæsarea. He is described as 'chamberlain,' *τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως*. Neither the name nor the incident of the embassy occurs in Josephus —a proof of the complete independence of the two accounts (but see on the other side, Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 203). A. C. Headlam.

BLAZE.—Mk 1^{45} 'to blaze abroad the matter' (RV 'spread abroad,' Gr. *διαφημίζω*, in Mt 28^{15} tr^{d} 'commonly reported,' RV 'was spread abroad'; in Mt 9^{31} *διεφήμισαν αὐτόν*, 'they spread abroad his fame'). This verb *blaze*=to 'blow,' then 'proclaim,' 'publish,' is to be distinguished from *blaze* =burn. See *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* J. Hastings.

BLEMISH.—See Medicine.

BLESSEDNESS.—The word 'blessedness' is not found in the OT, and it only appears three times in the NT (AV), and then as the translation of a word (*μακαρισμός*) which indicates the ascription of blessing, not the state of the blessed, so that the Revisers have rightly expunged it, substituting 'blessing' in the first two cases (Ro $4^{6.\ 9}$), and 'gratulation' in the third (Gal 4^{15}). Nevertheless, the idea which it conveys is the result of a legitimate generalisation from biblical statements. By the term 'blessedness' we understand the *Summum Bonum* regarded as a gift from God, or as enjoyed in some divine relationship—a divine *Summum Bonum*. Throughout the Bible this is centred in the idea of life, in its more elementary stages as the normal human existence on earth, in its more advanced condition as eternal life (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*). The Hebrew seems to have regarded length of days as a supreme object of desire (*e.g.* Ps 21^{4}). Hence, while it is a most terrible curse for a man to be cut off in the midst of his days (*e.g.* Ps 55^{23}), for his life to be spared is a blessing devoutly sought after (*e.g.* Ps 39^{13}), so that to live on to a ripe old age is the crowning mercy (*e.g.* 1 Ch 29^{28}). The OT idea of blessedness is largely temporal and external, though mingled with higher spiritual thoughts as in Ps $16^{10.\ 11}$. Next to the life of the individual is the extension of that life in his family and the perpetuation of it through his descendants, so that the natural human instinct for immortality is in a measure satisfied by contemplating the prospect of an endless posterity. For this reason, as also because of the present good which the possession of a family is to a man, that is an important item in the OT notion of blessedness. Earthly prosperity enters into the notion, not merely on its own account, but also as a sign of God's favour, although the latter point is disputed throughout the Book of Job. In the Proverbs, abundance of goods—one's barns filled with plenty (Pr 3^{10})—is treated as a great sign of prosperity, but wisdom is there regarded as the *Summum Bonum* (Pr 4^{7}). In Messianic prophecy the thought of blessedness is expanded to signify the national weal rather than purely individual prosperity. This is to come in a golden age of widespread plenty and general happiness, following a triumph over the enemies of Israel. In particular, justice will take the place of tyranny and robbery, good order will be maintained, and universal peace prevail (*e.g.* Is 11^{1-9}, 65^{17-25}). It is principally through the two ideas of righteousness and peace that the ideal is advanced to a more spiritual conception (*e.g.* Ps 119^{165}). In the NT the idea of blessedness is greatly elevated. According to the Synoptists, Jesus Christ speaks of eternal life as the supreme boon of the future (*e.g.* Lk 18^{30}). According to the Fourth Gospel, He dwells much more largely on this subject, and treats it as a present possession (*e.g.* Jn 6^{47}). St. Paul follows, accentuating the blessedness of eternal life as God's gift to man (Ro 6^{23}). In the beatitudes with which He opens the Sermon on the Mount, our Lord describes, not only the characters that will be blessed, but also the nature of the highest good. The blessed are, according to St. Luke, the poor, they that hunger and weep now, and they who are hated, separated, and reproached by men; and their blessedness is to possess the kingdom of God, and to be filled and laugh (Lk 6^{20-22}). According to St. Matthew, they are more spiritually regarded as the poor in spirit, they that mourn, the meek, they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, and they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; while their blessedness consists respectively in having the kingdom of heaven—elsewhere described as a pearl of great price (Mt 13^{46})—in being com-

forted, inheriting the earth, being filled, obtaining mercy, seeing God, being called the children of God (Mt 5[3-12]). In the Parable of the Talents, future blessedness takes the form of high honour together with enlarged service (Mt 25[21]). The Apoc. describes the blessedness of the Church in the victory and reign of Christ and the coming of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21. 22). See also BEATITUDE, HAPPINESS. W. F. ADENEY.

BLESSING (בְּרָכָה, εὐλογία).—Throughout the Bible we meet with two forms of blessing. (1) *Blessing by God.* This is either (*a*) a direct and immediate act of God in conferring some boon, as expressed by the phrase, 'The Lord blessed Obed-edom and all his household' (2 S 6[11]); or (*b*) a divine utterance expressing the will of God to confer future favour, and thus approaching the general usage of the word, which is indicative of benediction, or speaking with a wish for the good of the persons concerned, *e.g.* 'God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful,' etc. (Gn 1[22]). The blessing of God is primarily of persons, and secondarily of things, as implied in the phrase, 'Bless, Lord, his substance' (Dt 33[11]). The secondary blessing is attached to a day in the benediction of the Sabbath, *e.g.* 'God blessed the seventh day' (Gn 2[3]). (2) *Blessing by man.* This is really an appeal for the first form of blessing, a prayer that God will confer His own blessing on the object of the speaker's good wishes. But it comes to be regarded as in some way directly beneficial, just as the evil eye is supposed to blight directly, while the curse proper is an appeal to Heaven to smite its object, as the true blessing is an appeal to Heaven to confer some boon. This seems to be the case with the patriarchal blessings, Isaac directly determining the destiny of Jacob; and yet the language employed shows that the actual source of the boons spoken of is looked for in God (Gn 27[28. 29]). In such a case the peculiar privilege of conferring a blessing resolves itself into a peculiar right to seek certain favours of God. A similar condition may be discovered in Balaam's benediction of Israel. While the narrative implies a belief on the part of Balak that the seer has peculiar mystic powers of cursing and blessing, Balaam's utterances are simply prophetic, declaring the will of J" and predicting the destiny of Israel (Nu 23. 24). A man who is exceptionally blessed is taken as the model and type of blessing, and is then said to be 'a blessing' (Gn 12[2]); and others are said to bless themselves by him, in the sense that they appeal to the blessing he has received as a specimen of what they desire for themselves, *e.g.* 'The nations shall bless themselves in him'—*i.e.* by Him, by reference to His blessing (Jer 4[2]). When our Lord is described in the Gospels as blessing, no doubt the idea is analogous to the second form of blessing, the appeal to Heaven to confer favour, with the associated thought that Jesus Christ had especial power in making this appeal. Thus we must understand the action of the mothers who brought their children to Him for a blessing as they might have brought them to a holy Rabbi (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* p. 138). But with those who perceived His divine nature, the act of blessing by Jesus Christ must have passed over into the primary and immediate act of God in conferring grace, *e.g.* in the final benediction (Lk 24[51]). The blessing of bread, of which we read in the Gospels, is equivalent to giving thanks for it, the thought being that good received gratefully comes as a blessing (compare εὐλόγησεν in Mt 14[19] and εὐλογήσας αὐτά in Mk 8[7] with εὐχαριστήσας in Mt 15[36]). To bless God is to praise Him with acknowledgment of His goodness and expressed desires for His glory. The act of blessing was usually performed by the imposition of hands (*e.g.* Gn 48[17-19], Mt 19[13]); or, where a number of persons were concerned, with uplifted hands (*e.g.* Lv 9[22], Lk 24[50]). The priests pronounced a benediction after every morning and evening sacrifice, according to a triple formula (Nu 6[22-26]; Keil, *Biblical Archæol.* ii. p. 457). A more primitive form of blessing seems to have been used under the kings (*e.g.* 1 K 8[14. 55]; Ewald, *Antiq.* pp. 15, 132). A benediction was regularly pronounced at the close of the synagogue service (Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.*, note subjoined to index).

W. F. ADENEY.

BLINDING.—See CRIMES. **BLINDNESS.**—See MEDICINE.

BLOOD.—By the Hebrews, as by other peoples of antiquity, the blood, both of man and of beast, was regarded as the seat of the soul (נֶפֶשׁ), that is, of the vital principle common to all sentient organisms (Lv 17[11] 'the life [EV, Heb. *nephesh*, 'soul'] of the flesh is in the blood,' and parll. pass.). When we reflect how little we know even now, notwithstanding all our advance in physiology and allied sciences, of the mystery of life and death, we can in some measure realise the emotions of awe and dread—not without a large admixture of the superstitious element—with which the early Semites must have regarded the shedding of blood.

Inasmuch as all slaughter was originally sacrifice, the real significance of the provision, carried back by Heb. tradition to the days of Noah (Gn 9[4]), that the blood of animals slain for human food was forbidden or taboo, will demand careful investigation under the article SACRIFICE (see also FOOD). To the same art. belongs the study of the piacular or expiatory efficacy of blood, which finds expression in the familiar words: 'Without shedding of blood is no remission' (He 9[22]).

Akin hereto is the cathartic or purificatory use of blood in the Jewish ceremonial system for cases of uncleanness of the highest degree, such as leprosy (Lv 14[5ff. 50ff.]), the discussion of which belongs to the art. on PURIFICATION (which see also for the uncleanness caused by blood in the cases enumerated in Lv 12[1ff.] 15[19ff.]).

For another and very ancient blood-rite, the essential significance of which survives even in the most sacred rite of Christian worship (Mt 26[28]), see COVENANT.

Among all nations blood has played a conspicuous part in magical rites, but the only trace of its superstitious use in the OT seems to be the incident recorded in 1 K 22[38], and already explained in the art. BATHING (§ 3). (See Strack, *Der Blutaberglaube*; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant.*)

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BLOOD, AVENGER OF.—See GOEL.

BLOODGUILTINESS.—In AV only Ps 51[14] 'Deliver me from b., O God' (דָּמִים, plu. of דָּם 'blood'). RV adds Ex 22[2. 3] (Heb. v.[1. 2]), 1 S 25[26. 33], the Heb. being the same. W. R. Smith (*OTJC*[2] p. 441) points to Ezk 18[13] as proving that the Heb. phrase does not necessarily mean the guilt of murder, but any mortal sin, such sin as, if it remains unatoned, withdraws God's favour from His land and people (Dt 21[8b], Is 1[15]), a remark which has an obvious bearing on the occasion of the 51st psalm. J. HASTINGS.

BLOOD, ISSUE OF.—See MEDICINE.

BLOODSHEDDING.—Sir 27[15] only (ἔκχυσις αἵματος); but He 9[22] 'without shedding of blood is no remission' (αἱματεκχυσία).

BLOODTHIRSTY.—In AV Pr 29[10] only, 'the b. hate the upright' (אַנְשֵׁי דָמִים 'men of blood'). RV

adds Ps 5[6] 55[22] 139[19], the Heb. being the same, AV 'bloody'; RV more literally 'man of blood' 2 S 16[7. 8], 'men of blood' Ps 26[9]. Cf. Ex 4[25. 26] 'bridegroom of blood' (AV 'bloody husband').

J. HASTINGS.

BLOODY FLUX, BLOODY SWEAT.—See MEDICINE.

BLOOM, as a trans. verb, occurs Nu 17[8] 'the rod of Aaron . . . bloomed blossoms.' Cf.—

> 'And all amid them stood the tree of life,
> High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit
> Of vegetable gold.'
>
> Milton, *Par. Lost*, iv. 219.

J. HASTINGS.

BLUE.—See COLOURS. 'Blue' is tr[n] of תְּכֵלֶת *tĕkhêleth* in all its occurrences, and of שֵׁשׁ *shêsh*, Est 1[6] AV. Also Sir 45[10] 'b. silk' (*ὑάκινθος*, RV 'blue'); 6[30] (AVm, RV, Gr. *ὑακίνθινος*); and 23[10] 'a blue mark' (*μώλωψ*, RV 'a bruise'; cf. Sir 28[17] 'the stroke of a whip maketh *marks* in the flesh,' and 1 P 2[24] 'stripes,' same Greek, from Is 53[5] LXX).

Blueness, Pr 20[30] 'the b. of a wound cleanseth away evil' (חַבּוּרוֹת *ḥabbûrôth*, 'stripes,' RV 'stripes that wound'). See MEDICINE. J. HASTINGS.

BOANERGES (*βοανηργές*, deriv. uncertain, 'sons of thunder') is the surname given by our Lord to His disciples James and John. Considerable obscurity gathers round the question why it was given to the sons of Zebedee. It is mentioned only in Mk 3[17], and never seems to have prevailed as Simon Peter's new name did. It is not likely either that it was meant as a perpetual rebuke of their unregulated zeal (Mk 9[38] 10[37], Lk 9[54]), or that it refers specially to their thundering forth the gospel. The likelihood is that it is both descriptive and prophetic of the union of the passionate and vehement with the gentle and loving in their character, and of the fact that once and again tempests of long-restrained emotion would burst forth out of the deep stillness of their strong reserved natures. W. MUIR.

BOAR.—See SWINE. **BOAT.**—See SHIP.

BOAZ (בֹּעַז='swiftness,' from a root בעז not occurring in Heb., not as was supposed בּוֹ עֹז='in him is strength,' Βόος, Βόοζ).—The head of the Hezronites who lived at Beth-lehem-judah, after Elimelech's departure into the country of Moab (Ru 2[1]). He is described as a mighty man of wealth (RVm 'valour'). His fields lay apparently at some little distance from Beth-lehem (v.[4]). It was in them that he first caught sight of Ruth as she was gleaning. He had heard of her already as a faithful and loving daughter, and begged her to remain in his fields, assuring her of his protection, and inviting her to partake of some food in the field (vv.[5ff.]). One night, whilst B. was sleeping in his threshing-floor, Ruth, instructed by her mother-in-law, came, and by placing herself at his feet claimed to be taken under his protection. Thereupon he promised that if the kinsman who was nearer than he would not do his duty to her as next of kin, he would take that duty upon himself (ch. 3). B. therefore bought the right of redemption from the next of kin, including in it the right to take Ruth to be his wife to raise up seed to Mahlon (4[1ff.]). The marriage was celebrated, and in due course a son was born to B. and Ruth, called Obed, who, according to the genealogy at the end of the Bk of Ruth and in 1 Ch 2[12-15], was the grandfather of David. How far this is an instance of the use of what is called the law of the Levirate will be found discussed in another article (RUTH). B. has a further interest for us, as his name occurs in both the genealogies of our Lord (Mt 1[5], Lk 3[32]). According to the Jewish authorities he was the same as Ibzan of Jg 12[8-10] (see Moore, *Judges*, p. 310). The difficulties of the chronology of the genealogy from Perez to David have not yet been satisfactorily cleared up. The narrator of B.'s marriage does not hint at any irregularity in it such as we should expect if Ezr 9[1. 2] and Neh 13[2] or even Dt 23[3. 4] were known to him.

H. A. REDPATH.

BOAZ (בֹּעַז, LXX Βαλάζ in B, and Βοός in A of 1 K 7[21]; in 2 Ch 3[17] the LXX has Ἰσχύς 'strength').—The name of one of the two pillars erected in the porch of Solomon's temple, the other being Jachin, 1 K 7[21], 2 Ch 3[17], Jer 52[21. 22]. 'Boaz' stood on the left looking eastward, *i.e.* it was on the north side of the entrance of the temple. Its height was 18 cubits, its circumference 12, its diameter being consequently $3\frac{9}{17}$ cubits. Surmounting it was a chapiter 5 cubits high, ornamented with network and with pomegranates (Jer 52[22. 23]). There is, however, a good deal of confusion as to the ornamentation of the chapiters, though all agree that they were lily-shaped at the top. The apparent discrepancy as to its height is owing to the fact that the ornament uniting the shaft to the chapiter is sometimes included in the reckoning, and sometimes not. 'Jachin' and 'Boaz' were exactly of the same form and size; both were hollow and made of brass, the thickness of the brass being four fingers, *i.e.* 4 inches (Jer 52[21]).

Ewald, Thenius, Merx, and Nowack are of opinion that these pillars served for supports to the roof of the house. Nowack (*Bib. Arch.* ii. 33) refers to Ezk 40–49 as showing that the pillars of Ezekiel's temple were supports; but the passage does not prove that they were more than ornaments. On the other hand, Hirt, Stieglitz, Cugler, Schnaase (all architects), Bähr, Riehm, Keil, and Lumby argue that the pillars stood in the porch, unconnected at the top, and that the only function they served was that of ornamentation. (See Keil, *Bib. Arch.* i. 169 f.). In favour of this opinion are the following points: (1) The ornamentation on the top already mentioned. (2) Their height was 23 (18+5) cubits. Now the porch was, according to 2 Ch 3[4] and Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 2), 120 cubits; according to Bertheau 30; but in the opinion of most critics it was 20 cubits high, answering to the length (see PORCH). None of those measurements would suit if the pillars stood under and supported the roof of the porch. (3) The pillars were hollow. (4) Hiram's work was to *decorate*, and not to *build* any essential part of the temple.

But, though no more than ornaments to the Israelites, the origin of these pillars must be sought among the Syrians and Phœnicians, who commonly erected such pillars in front of their temples. In front of his temple at Tyre, the Syrian god, Melḳart, is represented by two pillars (Herod. 2. 44). Before the temples of Paphos and Hierapolis there were likewise two pillars. In these cases, the pillars stood for deity, and they formed a part of that Phallic worship of which we are finding more and more traces in the ancient world (see Dudley, *Naology*, p. 130 f.; W. R. Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ*, pp. 207–238; and Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 230 n.). Nowack (ii. 34) and W. R. Smith (*RS* p. 191, note 1) incline to believe that even to the Israelites these pillars were symbols of J", so that, if they are right, the true God was set forth by these Phallic emblems, as in the northern kingdom He was worshipped in the form of a young bull (עֵגֶל *'êgel*). But it is unlikely, to say the least, that if these pillars stood for J" we should have no intimation of it in the writings of the OT. Benzinger (*Bib. Arch.* p. 385) points out that pillars of this kind are found in the front of the temple of Amon in Egypt (cf. p. 250 of the same work).

But why *two* pillars, if but one deity is thus represented? Among the Semites and other primitive peoples, gods went in pairs, male and female, as Baal and Ashtoreth, Osiris and Isis, etc. Possibly the two pillars stood for male and female, the active and passive principle in nature. This is not necessarily opposed to the Phallic origin of the symbol, since at this stage their origin might have been wholly unknown, the mere fact of their representing deity being possibly the only thought in the mind of the people.

The words 'Jachin' and 'Boaz' are certainly proper names. The LXX so regards them in 1 K 7^{21}, but in 2 Ch 3^{17} the words are translated Κατόρθωσις (a setting right) and Ἰσχύς (strength).

Gesenius explains the words as names of the donors or builders. This is only a guess. No other part of the temple is designated in this way except Solomon's porch, which belongs to the time of Herod. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 4) holds that they are names of honoured men, perhaps sons of Solomon. This is not more likely than Gesenius's opinion. Keil follows Kimchi in making the names ('He will establish,' 'In Him is strength') symbols of the solidity and strength of the kingdom of God among Israel, as having its central point in the temple. Klostermann (*Komm.*) translates and explains by 'Stand-halter und der Trotzbieter,' the 'firm and defying one,' referring to God. Thenius (*Komm.*) joins both words to make the expression 'He will establish by strength'; but the text is against it, and so is the fact that there are two pillars, each with a name of its own.

T. W. Davies.

BOCCAS.—See Borith.

BOCHERU (בְּכֹרִי).—A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch $8^{38}=9^{44}$). For form of name cf. Gashmu, Neh $6^{1.\ 6}$.

BOCHIM (הַבֹּכִים), 'weepers,' Jg 2^{1}.—Unknown as a geographical site. Possibly the orig. reading was בֵּיתְאֵל. See Moore, *ad loc.*, and Bethel.

BODY.—1. Early biblical usage had no fixed term for the human body as an entire organism, and, consequently, none to use, as such, in precise antithesis to 'soul' or 'spirit.' An assortment of terms was employed, each of which strictly denotes only one part or element of the bodily nature, such as trunk, bones, belly, bowels, reins, flesh. The last is by far the most prominent, probably as supplying to the body its form, colour, and beauty. **Flesh** is used through both Testaments for the corporeal nature of man in connexion with and contrast to the inner or spiritual nature. (See Flesh.) Of the other terms, גְּוִיָּה (once in late Heb., 1 Ch 10^{12} גִּוְיָתָה) originally probably the cavity containing the vitals, most nearly denotes the whole, and is applied both to the living body (Gn 47^{18}) and to the corpse (1 S 31^{10}); **Bones** (עֶצֶם, עַצְמ) once, Ps 139^{15} prob. collectively, 'my bony frame.' The word is suggestively used to denote the reality or strength of a thing, *i.e.* the thing itself (Ex 24^{10}, Job 21^{23}). Some of these ancient terms for the bodily parts have passed over into the NT, and indeed into all popular speech with certain definite psychical connotations. Thus **Belly** (בֶּטֶן, κοιλία) stands throughout Scripture for the seat of appetite and of the carnal affections (*e.g.* Ro 16^{18}, Ph 3^{19}), yet also connotes the inward nature, the innermost of the soul (cf. Pr 18^{8} $20^{27.\ 30}$ 22^{18}, Jn 7^{38}). So **Bowels** (רַחֲמִים, מְעִים), besides its literal, or first meaning, is plentifully used, *metonymice*, for the sympathetic or compassionate affections (Gn 43^{30}, 1 K 3^{26}, 2 Co 6^{12} 7^{15}, Ph 2^{1}, Col 3^{12}). That the same kind of transference from the bodily to the mental region has taken place with the terms *Heart* and *Reins* goes without saying.

2. Later OT writers may have come under the influence of Greek thought in construing the whole body or outer man as the dwelling, clothing, or integument of the soul. If the expression (Job 4^{19}) בָּתֵּי־חֹמֶר 'houses of clay,' refers, as is commonly thought, to human bodies, it is an instance closely imitated by the Apocr. writer (Wis 9^{15}) in the phrase 'earthly tabernacle' or 'frame' (RV), and which reappears in 2 Co 5^{1}. In Daniel the Aramaic word גְּשְׁמָא is used for body (Dn 3^{27} 4^{30} [Heb.] 5^{21}), and another Aramaic word (of Persian origin) גְּרֵמָא is used along with רוּחַ (7^{15}) in exactly the figurative manner so familiar to later thought, 'My spirit was grieved in the midst of my body' (lit. 'of his sheath').

3. In the NT, body (σῶμα) signifies the complete organism with all its members (1 Co 12^{14} etc.), and stands in clear and constant antithesis to 'soul' and 'spirit.' Throughout the whole of Scripture the place of the body as an integral constituent of man's nature is insisted on. This must be made prominent in our Bible doctrine of man as contrasted with philosophic and other notions depreciatory of his bodily nature. But for this, as well as for the Bible Dualism or Dichotomy, see art. Psychology.

J. Laidlaw.

BODYGUARD.—1 Es 3^{4} RV only. See Guard.

BOHAN (בֹּהַן, perhaps 'covering').—A son of Reuben, acc. to Jos 15^{6} 18^{17} (both P). The stone of B. is mentioned in these two passages as forming a mark of division between Judah and Benjamin. It is impossible to identify the site where it stood.

J. A. Selbie.

BOHAIRIC VERSIONS.—See Egyptian Versions.

BOILS.—See Medicine.

BOLDNESS.—In OT 'bold' is given as tr^{n} of בָּטַח *bâṭaḥ* to trust, Pr 28^{1} 'the righteous are b. as a lion.' In Gn 34^{25} 'Simeon and Levi . . . came upon the city boldly,' the Heb. is the noun בֶּטַח *beṭaḥ* from *bâṭaḥ*, and is applied, not to Simeon and Levi, but to the inhabitants of the city, 'they came upon the city (dwelling) securely' (so RV, but RVm 'boldly'). In Ec 8^{1} 'boldness' is lit. 'strength' (עֹז *'ôz*), and is tr^{d} 'hardness' in RV.

In Apocr. 'bold' occurs in a bad sense, Sir 8^{10} 'Travel not by the way with a b. fellow' (τολμηρός RV 'rash man'), and 19^{3} 'a bold man shall be taken away' (ψυχὴ τολμηρά, RV 'a reckless soul').

The adj. τολμηρός occurs in NT only Ro 15^{15} 'I write the more boldly unto you' (TR τολμηρότερον, WH τολμηροτέρως); and τολμητής 'an audacious person,' only 2 P 2^{10} (AV 'presumptuous,' RV 'daring'); but τολμάω is frequent, the most interesting occurrence being 2 Co 10^{2} where the apostle uses first θαρρέω and then τολμάω, both tr^{d} 'be bold' in AV, but in RV 'that I may not when present *show courage* with the confidence wherewith I count to *be bold* against some.' Thayer says that θ. denotes confidence in one's own strength or capacity, τ. boldness or daring in undertaking; θ. has reference more to the character, τ. to its manifestation (*NT Lex.* p. 628^{a}; cf. Sanday and Headlam on Ro 15^{15}: 'the boldness of which St. Paul accuses himself is not in sentiment, but in manner'). The Ionic form of θ. (θαρσέω) occurs in LXX and NT only as imperat. 'take courage,' 'fear not,' etc. Thus, Sir 19^{10} 'If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold (θάρσει), it will not burst thee'; Mt 14^{27} 'Be of good cheer' (θαρσεῖτε). The only compound of these verbs in NT is ἀποτολμάω, Ro 10^{20} only, 'Isaiah is *very bold*,' lit. 'is bold by himself.'

But there is a nobler boldness in the NT than these. In the Gr. it is expressed by παρρησία (lit. 'fulness' or 'freedom of speech,' πᾶν ῥῆσις) and παρρησιάζομαι; and although these words are used by classical authors and the LXX, this b. reaches a higher manifestation under the Gospel, which is its very foundation. Thus Eph 3^{12} 'Christ

Jesus our Lord, in whom we have b. and access'; He 10[19] 'Having therefore, brethren, b. to enter into the holy place by the blood of Jesus'; 1 Jn 4[17] 'that we may have b. in the day of judgment'; He 4[16] 'Let us therefore come boldly (RV 'draw near with b.') unto the throne of grace.' For the most part it is boldness of *speech*, but its foundation is the same: Jn 7[26] 'He speaketh boldly' (RV 'openly'); Ac 4[31] 'they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with b.'; 13[46] 'Paul and Barnabas waxed bold (RV 'spake out boldly') and said'; 1 Th 2[2] 'we were bold (RV 'waxed bold') in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God.' See COURAGE.

J. HASTINGS.

BOLLED.—Ex 9[31] 'the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled' (RVm 'was in bloom'; Heb. גִּבְעֹל *gibh'ōl*, lit. 'was bud,' *i.e.* was in bud). The Eng. word *boll* (originally something *swollen*) is a seed vessel, a pod; hence 'was bolled' (='was in seed') expresses a further stage of growth than the Heb. warrants. J. HASTINGS.

BOLSTER (something 'swollen,' cf. 'bolled') is now used of the longer and firmer cushion under the pillows, but was formerly often syn. with pillow. It occurs in AV of 1 S 19[13. 16] 26[7. 11. 12. 16], where RV always 'head'; thus 1 S 19[13] 'Michal . . . put a pillow of goats' hair for his b.' (RV 'at the head thereof'). The same Heb. (כְּרָאשֹׁת) is tr[d] 'pillows' Gn 28[11. 18], and in 1 K 19[6] [all] 'head,' marg. 'bolster'; RV always 'head.' (For the peculiar reading מְרַאֲשֹׁתַי שָׁאוּל 1 S 26[12], Budde gives מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו in agreement with other passages and the LXX here.) J. HASTINGS.

BOND.—See BAND. **1.** In the foll. passages the Gr. word tr[d] 'bond' is δοῦλος, 'slave,' 1 Co 12[13], Gal 3[28], Eph 6[8], Col 3[11] (RV 'bondman'), Rev 13[16] 19[18]. **2.** There is a fig. use of b. in Ac 8[23], Eph 4[3], Col 3[14] where the Gr. is σύνδεσμος, a surgical word (though not confined to surgery) meaning 'a ligament'; hence Col 3[14] 'love, which is the b. of perfectness' means that love unites all the virtues and graces into one perfect man in Christ Jesus, just as the ligaments bind the body; in Eph 4[3] 'the b. of peace,' peace is itself the ligament or uniting power; Ac 8[23] 'thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the b. of iniquity' is not so clear, and it has sometimes been said that Simon is described as 'a *bundle* of iniquity,' but that meaning of σ. lacks support (see Thayer, *s.v.*); rather, 'thou art bound by the ligatures or fetters of iniquity.' The Gr. word σ. is also found Col 2[19] (where see Lightfoot), RV 'all the body, being supplied and knit together through the joints and *bands*.'

Bondmaid, a female slave, Lv 19[20] (שִׁפְחָה); 25[44. 44] (אָמָה, tr[d] 'maid' in v.[6]); Gal 4[22] (παιδίσκη, tr. 'bondwoman' 4[23. 30. 30. 31], all of Hagar, RV 'handmaid'; π. is used also of the maid who recognised Peter, Mt 26[69], Mk 14[66. 69], Lk 22[56], Jn 18[17] [see DAMSEL], of Rhoda, Ac 12[13], and of the Philippian fortune-teller, 16[16]). **Bondman** and **Bondwoman** = slave, are frequent. **Bondservant** occurs in AV only once, Lv 25[39]; but where the Gr. is δοῦλος, *slave*, RV often turns 'servant' of AV into 'bondservant' (in favour of 'slave' see Horwill, *Contemp. Rev.* May 1896, p. 707). **Bondservice,** 1 K 9[21] 'upon those did Solomon levy a tribute of b. (עֹבֵד, RV 'raise a levy of bondservants'). **Bondslave,** 1 Mac 2[11] (δούλη, not in NT, but freq. in LXX, RV 'bondwoman'). See SLAVERY. J. HASTINGS.

BONNET is the rendering in AV of two Heb. words, מִגְבָּעָה (Ex 28[40] 29[9], Lv 8[13]) and פְּאֵר (Is 3[20], Ezk 44[18]). In Ex 39[28] the two are conjoined, פַּאֲרֵי חַמִּגְבָּעוֹת. RV uniformly gives, instead of bonnets, **head-tires,** except Ezk 44[18] 'tires.'

Both terms apparently refer to the same part of the head-dress of the ordinary priests. Its distinctive importance, with regard to the priestly office and rank, is implied in Is 61[10] כֶּחָתָן יְכַהֵן פְּאֵר, 'as a bridegroom makes his head-ornament like a priest's,' which Dillm. and Del. understand of winding it up into a *conical* point (cf. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 117).

In determining what the bonnet was: (1) we find it distinguished from the *miẓnepheth* or turban of the high priest, on the compactly folded front of which the gold plate lay fastened with a cord (פְּתִיל Ex 28[36. 37]), a less ornate form being worn on the Great Day of Atonement (Lv 16[4]). (2) It was highly ornamental 'for glory and beauty' (Ex 28[40]). (3) It was of fine linen (Ex 39[28]). (4) It was one of the items of elaborate female attire (Is 3[20]).

These allusions seem to converge towards an article of outdoor wear, needed where service exposed to the sun, and yet having a distinctly decorative purpose. These conditions are best met by the loose kerchief for head and neck, which is still a striking feature in Oriental dress; and in its protective usefulness and dignified elegance is an accommodation at once to the climate and the character.

While this bonnet or head-tire among the Bedawin is simply a square of black or blue cotton, and the day-labourer improvises anything to cover the back of the head and neck, that worn by the men of the towns and villages is a fabric about a yard square of the finest white silk, usually edged with bright stripes, and called a *kûfîyeh*.

The corresponding art. of female dress is the graceful outdoor veil for the head and neck, called a *turḥah*.

This would connect מִגְבָּעָה with גֵּבַע, and the Arab. *ḳubba'ah* 'cowl.' According to this interpretation, a survival of the article in a modified form may be seen in the drapery that droops in light loose folds from the high turban of the Oriental priest; and,

TURBAN OF ORIENTAL (GREEK) PRIEST.

by its connexion with the monk's hood and the conventual veil, is still among the insignia of priestly dress. (See DRESS.) G. M. MACKIE.

BOOK.—See WRITING.

BOOTH.—At the season when the fruits of field and orchard are ripening, the Syrian peasant often finds it prudent to leave his home in the village and take up his abode for a time in 'the portion of the field' belonging to him, for the double purpose of guarding his produce against ill-disposed neighbours, and of more effectively carrying on the work

of the grain and fruit harvests. To shelter him and his from the noonday heat and from the dews of night (cf. Is 4[6]), a small hut is hastily constructed of leafy branches from the nearest trees. Such an erection is called in Heb. סֻכָּה, by AV variously rendered 'booth,' 'tabernacle,' 'pavilion,' etc. Jonah's b. was of this description (4[5]), and so were those in which Jacob sheltered his cattle (whence the name Succoth), Gn 33[17]. The army in the field was similarly protected by booths, 2 S 11[11], 1 K 20[12. 16] (EV 'pavilions').

In the East the custom still prevails, whereby the owners of small adjoining vineyards combine to secure the services of a watcher to protect the ripening grapes from robbers and wild beasts. For the more efficient discharge of his duty the watchman is provided with a more elaborate booth. Four stout poles are fixed in the soil a few feet apart; to these uprights four cross pieces are firmly secured, some six or more feet from the ground. Boards resting on the cross-pieces form the floor, while the roof is made in a similar way of boughs of trees or matting. In this elevated watch-tower the watchman spends his nights, gun in hand, the open sides allowing an uninterrupted view of the area to be observed. This is the 'b. that the keeper maketh' to which Job refers (27[18]), and the 'cottage (RV booth) in a vineyard' to which Isaiah compares the desolate daughter of Zion. See illust. under CUCUMBER. For booths as used at the FEAST OF TABERNACLES, see that article.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BOOTY.—See WAR.

BORDER OF THE GARMENT.—See DRESS, FRINGE. **Borderer**, 2 Mac 9[25] 'the princes that are borderers and neighbours' (*οἱ παρακείμενοι*). The word is now almost restricted in Eng. to those who dwell on the Border between England and Scotland. Here it is an accurate tr[n], in the sense of one whose country touches another's.

BORITH (2 Es 1[2]).—One of the ancestors of Ezra, called in 1 Es 8[2] **Boccas**, and in 1 Ch 6[5. 51], Ezr 7[4] BUKKI (which see).

BORN, BORNE.—**1.** The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* discovers 43 different senses in which the verb 'to bear' is used; the last being 'to give birth to,' spoken of female mammalia, and esp. women. The past ptcp. of this verb is either 'borne' or 'born' (rarely 'bore'), and these forms were at first used indiscriminately for all the senses of the verb. About 1660 'borne' was generally abandoned, and 'born' retained in all senses. But about 1775 'borne' was re-established and used for all the senses of the verb but one, 'born' being restricted to 'brought into the world.' And 'born' is even in that restricted sense confined to the passive voice and a kind of neuter signification; it is not used when the mother is spoken of.

'Borne' was the invariable spelling of 1611, but later edd. and printers introduced 'born' wherever the meaning is 'brought forth.' RV has carefully restored 'borne' wherever the signification is active; thus Gn 21[3] 'his son that was born unto him,' AV and RV; but 21[7] 'I have born him a son in his old age,' RV 'borne'. See also HOMEBORN.

2. 'Born again' in 1 P 1[23] (RV 'having been begotten again,' as 1[3]) is one word in the Gr. (*ἀναγεννάω*); in Jn 3[3. 7] 'born again' (RV 'born anew') two words (*γεννάω ἄνωθεν*); but that the compound word in 1 P 1[3. 23] is an exact equivalent of the two words in Jn 3[3. 7], and that therefore *ἄνωθεν*='anew' here, not 'from above,' has been proved, esp. by Ezra Abbot in *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (Boston, 1880, p. 34 f.; London, 1892, p. 30 ff.). See REGENERATION.

3. In 1 Co 15[8] 'one b. out of due time,' the Gr. is a single word, *ἔκτρωμα*, an untimely birth, an abortion.*

J. HASTINGS.

BORROWING.—See DEBT.

BOSOM.—See ABRAHAM'S BOSOM.

BOSOR (Βοσόρ), 1 Mac 5[26. 36].—A town in Gilead. The site is uncertain.

BOSORA (Βοσορᾶ), 1 Mac 5[26. 28].—Mentioned with Bosor. Apparently the great city of Bosrah—the Roman Bostra on the E. of Bashan, which is not mentioned in the Bible.

C. R. CONDER.

BOSS (Job 15[26]).—Bucklers and shields were made of successive skins stretched over a frame, a layer of metal being superimposed on the whole. To break the force of a blow, metal studs or bosses were affixed in addition. *ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι* were known to Homer (*Il.* iv. 448). The Heb. word גַּבִּים *gabbim*, 'bosses,' properly means things rounded, *e.g.* the back of an animal or the felloe of a wheel. Possibly in Job 15[26] the true meaning is simply the convex (back-like) side of a shield, or again it might be the metal *rim* ('felloe'), 'thick,' perhaps, because threefold, as in the shield of Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 479, *περὶ δ' ἄντυγα βάλλε φαεινὴν τρίπλακα*).

W. E. BARNES.

BOTANY.—See PLANTS.

BOTCH, a swelling (the same word orig. as 'boss'), but confined to disease, an eruption in the skin, Dt 28[27] 'the b. of Egypt,' and [35] 'a sore b.' (שְׁחִין, RV 'boil,' as elsewhere in AV Ex 9[9. 10. 11], Lv 13[18. 19. 20. 23] [1611 'bile'], 2 K 20[7], Job 2[7], Is 38[21] [all]). See MEDICINE.

J. HASTINGS.

BOTTLE (חֵמָת, נֹאד, בַּקְבֻּק, נֵבֶל, אοὖβ, *ἀσκός*; RV skin, wine-skin). — The multiplicity of names is suggestive of its manifold use, serving as a receptacle at once for a tear (Ps 56[8]) and a thunderstorm (Job 38[37]). The mention of bottle in connexion with the Gibeonites, Hagar, David, etc., refers to both pastoral and agricultural life (Jos 9[4], Gn 21[19], 1 S 25[18]). The bottle was a leathern bag made from the skins of the young kid, goat, cow, or buffalo. The largest ones were roughly squared and sewn up. The smaller were drawn off entire, thus retaining the shape of the animal with the legs removed. Those for holding water, milk, butter, and cheese usually had the hair left on, but for wine and oil the tanning had to be more thoroughly done. This was by means of oak-bark and seasoning in smoke, a process that gave a pitchy astringency of flavour to the wine contained in them. The distension that the leather underwent once, and once only, during fermentation, gave the parable that each age must interpret for itself with regard to the new treatment of new truths (Mt 9[17], Mk 2[22], Lk 5[37]).

The skin-bottle, being portable and unbreakable, was admirably suited for the deep stone-built well, the shepherd's troughs, and the encampment of the traveller in waterless districts. The carrying of water for sale for household purposes has often been an emblem of servitude, and is chiefly done by the aged and infirm. One of the characteristic figures in Oriental towns during summer is the man who sells from his dripping goat-skin the refreshing drink of iced-water flavoured with lemon, rose, or liquorice, temptingly clapping his brass cups, and crying 'Drink, drink, thirsty one' (cf. Is 55[1]). While the bottle is highly prized, and its water is a grateful necessity, the luxury of the

* On this word see esp. Huxtable in *Expositor*, Second series, vol. iii. p. 269 ff.

East belongs to the spring itself, to the draught from the fountain of living waters. Hence the comparison at Jacob's well (Jn 4^{14}), and the one blessed terminus of all the Shepherd's leading (Rev 7^{17}).

For Bottle of earthenware see PITCHER.

G. M. MACKIE.

BOTTOM.—1. Common enough for the deep of the sea, 'bottom' is used in Zec 1^{8} for a deep place in the land, a valley: 'the myrtle trees that were in the b.' (RVm 'shady place,' Heb. TR בְּמְצֻלָה, Baer בְּמִצֻלָה; the pl. is used of the depths of the sea Jon 2^{5}, of a river Zec 10^{11}, and of miry places Ps 69^{2}; see Wright on Zec 1^{8}). Compare—

'West of this place, down in the neighbour bottom.'
Shaks. *As You Like It*, iv. ii. 79.

The word is still used locally in this sense. **2.** The pl. 'bottoms' occurs Jon 2^{6} 'I went down to the b. of the mountains' (קָצָב, lit. 'a cutting off,' as AVm); Wis 17^{14} 'out of the bottoms of inevitable hell' (*ἐξ ἀδυνάτου ᾅδου μυχῶν*).

3. Bottomless Pit is the AV tr^{n} of *φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου*, Rev $9^{1.2}$ (RV 'pit of the abyss'), and of *ἄβυσσος* alone, 9^{11} 11^{7} 17^{8} $20^{1.3}$ (RV 'abyss'). See ABYSS.

J. HASTINGS.

BOUGH.—Dt 24^{20} AVm, 'when thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not bough it' (text 'thou shalt not go over the boughs again'). This is the only example of a verb 'b.' in this sense, and it has been missed by *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* It is formed directly from the noun in imitation of the Heb. (תְּפָאֵר from פְּאֵרָה a bough).

J. HASTINGS.

BOUGHT.—1 S 25^{29} AVm 'in the midst of the b. of a sling.' The b. is the loop or 'bowed' part of the sling on which the stone was laid. Bow, as most modern versions of AV have it, was never used in this sense. 'Bout' is another spelling, as Milton, *L'Allegro*, 140—

'In notes, with many a winding bout
Of linkèd sweetness long drawn out.'

J. HASTINGS.

BOW.—1. In archery, see next article. **2.** See RAINBOW. **3.** Bow as a verb is of frequent occurrence, rendering many Heb. and Gr. words. Most usages are clear, but notice: 'Bow,' or 'bow the knee,' now obsolete or archaic, as Jg 5^{27} 'At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay' (Moore, 'sank down, fell, lay still,' who explains that כָּרַע is properly 'bend the knees,' kneel, crouch, squat on the heels, said of a mortally wounded man whose knees fail under him, 2 K 9^{24}); the same Heb. in Est 3^{2} 'Mordecai b^{ed} not nor did him reverence,' *i.e.* neither b^{ed} the knee nor fell prostrate; and in Ps 22^{29} 'All they that go down to the dust shall b. before him,' which Del. explains: all that for want are ready to die (the 'dust,' עָפָר, being the grave), go down upon their knees, because they are esteemed worthy of a place at this table; and Is 45^{23} 'unto me every knee shall bow,' quoted in Ro 14^{11}, Ph 2^{10} (*κάμπτω*). In Mt 27^{29} 'they bowed the knee before him,' RV 'kneeled,' the Gr. is *γονυπετέω* from *γόνυ, knee*, and *πέτω, i.e. πίπτω, fall*. Of Gn 41^{43} 'they cried before him, Bow the knee,' the Heb. אַבְרֵךְ is separately discussed under ABRECH.

Besides 'bow the knee' we have *bow the head*, Is 58^{5} 'to bow down his head as a rush,' Jn 19^{30} 'he bowed his head and gave up the ghost'; *bow the face*, Lk 24^{5} 'they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth'; *bow the back*, Ro 11^{10}; *bow the shoulder*, Gn 49^{15} 'he bowed his shoulder to bear'; *bow the neck*, Sir 33^{26} 'A yoke and a collar do bow the neck'; *bow the loins*, Sir 47^{19} 'thou didst bow thy loins unto women'; *bow the ear*, 2 K 19^{16} 'LORD, bow down thine ear (RV 'incline thine ear'), and hear'; and *bow the heart*, 2 S 19^{14} 'he bowed the heart of all the men of Judah'; 'Bow the heavens,' a strongly transitive use, is found 2 S 22^{10}=Ps 18^{9}, and 144^{5} (the Heb. is the common verb נָטָה *nâṭâh*, to bend, and the figure is that J^{a} caused the clouds to descend with Him as He descended to judgment). See BOWING.

J. HASTINGS.

BOW.—'Battle-bows,' so named (Zec 9^{10} 10^{4}), were probably of bronze (נְחוּשָׁה *nĕḥosheth*), a metal harder than copper, being composed of copper and tin, different therefore from our *brass*, which is a mixture of copper and zinc. Such bows needed great strength to bend (Ps 18^{34} RV, which, however, reads 'bow of *brass*.' Cf. 2 K 9^{24}). Bows might also be made of two straight horns joined together (Homer, *Il.* iv. 105–111), or again of wood.

'A deceitful bow' is used (Ps 78^{57}, Hos 7^{16}) as a figure for a person who disappoints the hopes formed of him. A bow might be 'deceitful' through simply missing its mark, or through breaking, and so missing. Teucer's bow-string breaks (Homer, *Il.* xv. 463–465), and the arrow wanders from the mark. 'Deceitful' (רְמִיָּה *rĕmîyyah*) might also be rendered 'slack,' so that possibly a *badly-strung* bow may be meant.

W. E. BARNES.

BOWELS.—1. Literally, as 2 Ch 21^{18} 'the LORD smote him in his bowels (מֵעִים) with an incurable disease';* Ac 1^{18} 'he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels (*σπλάγχνα*) gushed out.' 2. Figuratively as the seat of deep-felt emotions: (*a*) with הָמָה=murmur or thrill, of affection or sympathy, Is 16^{11} 63^{15} (the cogn. subst. AV paraphrases 'yearning') Jer 31^{20}, Ca 5^{4}; (*b*) Ps 40^{8} 'Thy law is in the midst of my bowels,' *i.e.* the object of my innermost affections; (*c*) of distressing emotions, Job 30^{27} (see Davidson, *ad loc.*), La 1^{20} 2^{11} (lit. 'are in ferment'). See BODY and MEDICINE.

J. HASTINGS.

BOWING (נָמוּי), Ps 62^{3}, meaning bulged, burst, overthrown.—The ref. is to the effect of a sudden and heavy fall of rain, the 'overflowing shower' of Ezk 13^{11} 38^{22}, which in an hour sometimes converts a garden into a sheet of water. To obviate such pressure, garden walls in Syria are built with openings to let off the water.

G. M. MACKIE.

BOWL.—i. A vessel of this sort, a hollow dish in which to receive the milk of the flock and present the simple family meal, is indispensable for even the lowest stage of nomad life. For these purposes the primitive Hebrews, like the wandering tribes of to-day, doubtless used bowls of wood instead of fragile earthenware. It was in such a dish, 'a b. fit for lords' (AV 'a lordly dish'), that Jael offered Sisera a draught of sour milk (Jg 5^{25}). The same word (סֵפֶל, LXX λεκάνη, (A, λακάνη), see Moore, *Judges*, pp. 164 f.) denotes the b. into which Gideon wrung the water from his fleece (Jg 6^{38}). From both these passages it may be inferred that the סֵפֶל was a dish of at least medium size; in Gideon's case it may have been of the porous earthenware (see POTTERY) which has been in use among the settled population of Canaan from the earliest times. Many specimens of this ware were found by the officers of the Pal. Expl. Fund, and more recently by Flinders Petrie and Bliss in the mound of Tell el-Hesy (see Petrie, *Lachish*, and Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, *passim*).

ii. The large silver bowls presented by 'the princes of the congregation' (Nu $7^{13ff.}$) have been mentioned under BASON. The same word (מִזְרָק) is applied by Am (6^{6}) to the large and costly bowls

* Cf. 2 Mac 9^{5} of Antiochus Epiphanes: 'But the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, smote him with an incurable and invisible plague; for as soon as he had spoken these words, a pain of the bowels that was remediless came upon him, and sore torments of the inner parts; and that most justly, for he had tormented other men's bowels with many and strange torments.'

used by the nobles of Samaria for their debauches. Jer. mentions a still larger b. (גָּבִיעַ, AV 'pot'—Gn $44^{2ff.}$ of Joseph's 'cup'), corresponding to the *crater*, from which the drinking cups (כּוֹסוֹת) were replenished (Jer 35^{5}). The material was no doubt silver.

iii. In AV bowl is the rendering of גביע as applied to the cup (RV) or calyx of beaten work used as an ornament on the stem and branches of the golden candlestick (see under TABERNACLE).

iv. גֻּלָּה Zec 4^{3}, also in correct text of v.^{2}, is the bowl or receptacle for oil in the candlestick of Zechariah's vision, and is used in the same sense with ref. to the 'lamp of life' (Ec 12^{6}). It also denotes the bowl-shaped or spheroidal capitals of Jachin and Boaz (1 K $7^{41.\ 42}$, 2 Ch $4^{12.\ 13}$).

v. In Is $51^{17.\ 22}$, for 'dregs of the cup,' etc., RV renders 'b. of the cup' (קְבָעַת כּוֹס); the second word, however, is best regarded as a gloss to explain the preceding unusual word. In Rev *passim* RV adopts 'bowl' as the equivalent of *φιάλη* (AV 'vial'). For other changes of RV (including בַּפּוֹר, AV 'bason,' RV 'bowl'), see BASON. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BOX.—In 2 K $9^{1.\ 3}$ AV, a box (פַּךְ) of oil is mentioned, RV *vial*. In 1 S 10^{1} it is said that Samuel 'took the *vial* (פַּךְ) of oil,' in 16^{1} God's command to Samuel is 'fill thy *horn* (קֶרֶן) with oil.' It seems probable that horn is the true meaning, as, being closed at the tip, it could easily be sealed up at the other end and carried about. Perfume boxes (פַּכֵּי־הַנְּפָשׁ) are spoken of in Is 3^{20} RV. In Van Dyck's Arab. tr. they are called *ḥânâjir*, the common word for small pots of earthenware for carrying ointments. In Mt 26^{7}, Mk 14^{3}, Lk 7^{37} 'alabaster box (RV cruse) of ointment' (ἀλάβαστρον) is mentioned. The word used in Arabic is *ḳârûrah*, which may mean a small vase or jar of earthenware or other material. In Syria olive oil is often kept sealed up in small earthen jars. The word **alabaster**, though originally applied to vases made of that substance, seems to have been often used for a vessel containing an unguent without special regard to the material of which it was made. As the ointment referred to is said to have been very precious, it is probable that the vase may have been alabaster. The breaking refers, of course, to the seal, not to the vase. W. CARSLAW.

BOX TREE (תְּאַשּׁוּר *tĕashshûr*, λεύκη, *κέδρος*, Aq. Th. *θαασούρ*, *buxus*, *pinus*).—The only species of box found in Bible lands is *Buxus longifolia*, Boiss., which is a shrub from 2 to 3 ft. high. It does not grow south of Mt. Cassius, and it is unlikely that it did in historical times. It is improbable that it was at all familiar to the Hebrews.

The other trees alluded to in the three passages in which the *tĕashshûr* is mentioned (Is 41^{19} 60^{13}, Ezk 27^{6}) were familiar. They are the *cedar*, *shittah* (RV acacia), *myrtle*, *fir*, *oak*, *pine* (?). It is unlikely that an unfamiliar and insignificant bush would be associated with these, which, with the exception of the myrtle, the emblem of greenness and triumph, were all lordly trees, and familiar to those who heard the prophecy. Its name signifies *erectness* or *tallness*, which indicates that it also was a stately tree. Unfortunately, philology gives us no help in solving the question, as the word *tĕashshûr* has not been preserved in the Arabic. The old Arab. VS gives *sherbîn*, which is one name for the wild form of *Cupressus sempervirens*, L., the *cypress*. This is a stately tree, and everyway suitable. There are a number of other fine evergreens in Bible lands, as the Cilician spruce, *Abies Cilicica*, Boiss.; the alpine juniper, *Juniperus excelsa*, L. (Arab. *lizzâb*); the large-fruited juniper, *J. macrocarpa*, Sibth. et Sm.; the plum-fruited juniper, *J. drupacea*, Lab.; any one of which would do for *tĕashshûr*. It is useless to come to the LXX for light, as it translates the word in one passage λεύκη, *the white poplar*, and in another *κέδρος*, the *cedar*. The positive determination of the tree is hopeless. It would be better to transliterate it, as in the case of the *algum*, and call it the *tĕashshûr*.

G. E. POST.

BOY.—See CHILDREN.

BOZEZ (בּוֹצֵץ), 1 S 14^{4}.—A steep cliff on one side of the Michmash gorge opposite Seneh. It seems to be the northern cliff, a remarkable bastion of rock E. of Michmash. The valley is precipitous, and the S. cliff is in shade during most of the day, while the N. is exposed to the noonday sun.

C. R. CONDER.

BOZKATH (בָּצְקַת).—A town of Judah, Jos 15^{39}, 2 K 22^{1}, in the plain near Lachish and Eglon. Unknown.

BOZRAH (בָּצְרָה 'a fortification').—There were several places of this name, and the effort to identify them has resulted in some confusion. In Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. 1893, the letterpress rules out *Boṣrah* in *Ḥaurân*; yet a picture of this city is given as an illustration of Bozrah. Bozrah of Edom was a city of great antiquity (Gn 36^{33}=1 Ch 1^{44}). Its fate is identified with that of Edom (Is 34^{6}, Jer 49^{13}, Am 1^{12}). It is referred to again in Is 63^{1}, and probably in Mic 2^{12}. *El-Buseireh*, 7 miles S.W. of *Tufîleh*, the ancient Tophel (Dt 1^{1}), on the main road N. from Petra, suits the geographical conditions; but the ruins are insignificant. Another possible identification is *Kusûr Bashair*. These towers lie about 15 miles S.E. of Dibon (*Dhibân*), and more probably represent Bezer—בֶּצֶר—'in the wilderness,' the city of refuge (Dt 4^{43}), and the Bezer of the Moabite Stone. (See, however, BEZER.)

There remains the question of Bozrah in Moab (Jer 48^{24}). Some (*e.g.* Dillmann on Deut.) identify this with Bezer; but the great city *Boṣrah esh-Shâm* in *Ḥaurân* has also many advocates. This latter is certainly the Bosora of 1 Mac $5^{26.\ 28}$. The case for *Boṣrah* rests chiefly on the identification of *Umm el-Jemâl*, 15 miles S., with Beth-gamûl, and *El-Ḳuriyeh*, 7 miles E., with Kerioth, named with Bozrah in this passage. Beth-gamûl, however, may be identical with Jemâil, 8 miles E. of Dibon, while Beth-meon is almost certainly *Ma'în* S.W. of Medeba. It is also contended that Bozrah being in the *Mîshôr*, *Boṣrah* is too far north. But Aphek is in the *Mîshôr*; so probably was *Boṣrah*, lying to the S.E. The cities of Moab, 'far and near,' are included in this judgment. *Boṣrah* is just about the same distance from Nebo as *el-Buseireh*, viz. about 60 miles, and it may quite possibly have been in the hands of Moab at that time. W. EWING.

BRACELET (צְמִיד, אֶצְעָדָה, חָח, פָּתִיל, שֵׁרוֹת).—The bracelet has always been a favourite ornament in the East. It is found of many designs: plain ring, flat band, of twisted wires, interlinked rings, and connected squares, solid or perforated, with or without pendants. Bracelets are made of gold, silver, copper, brass, glass, and even enamelled earthenware. While highly ornamental, they had, when in the possession of women, the further recommendation of being inalienable: not to be taken by the husband, nor seized for his debts.

The bracelet of Gn 38^{18} is in RV 'cord,' referring probably to the cord of softly-twisted wool for the shepherd's head-dress. The bracelets of Ex 35^{22}, RV 'brooches' (unoriental), were most likely nose-rings.

The bracelet appears, together with the crown, as one of the royal insignia in 2 S 1^{10}. It is probable

that in 2 K 11[12] also we ought, with Wellhausen and W. R. Smith (*OTJC*[2], 311 n.), to read 'bracelets' (הצעדות) for 'testimony' (העדות). G. M. MACKIE.

BRAG.—Jth 16[5] 'He bragged (εἶπεν, RV 'he said') that he would burn up my borders'; Sir 11 (heading) 'Brag not of thy wealth'; 2 Mac 9[7] 'he nothing at all ceased from his bragging' (ἀγερωχία, RV 'rude insolence'); and 15[32] 'with proud brags' (ἐμεγαλαύχησε, so RV). This is probably one of the undignified words in the *Apocrypha* of 1611, of which Scrivener complains. 'Even when their predecessor (the Bishops' Bible) sets them a better example, they resort to undignified, mean, almost vulgar words and phrases; and, on the whole, they convey to the reader's mind the painful impression of having disparaged the importance of their own work, or of having imperfectly realised the truth that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well'—Introd. to *Camb. Paragraph Bible*, p. lxv[a]. The word is still in use, and still somewhat undignified. J. HASTINGS.

BRAMBLE.—See THORNS AND THISTLES.

BRAN.—In Bar 6[43] 'The women . . . burn bran for perfume' (τὰ πίτυρα). See PERFUME.

BRANCH is the tr. in OT of a variety of Heb. words, of which those that chiefly concern us are —**1.** זְמוֹרָה (from זָמַר 'trim' or 'prune'), used of the branch of a grape-vine, Nu 13[23], Ezk 15[2], and figuratively of Israel in Nah 2[3]. It is this term that is employed in Ezk 8[17], where the words, 'They put the branch to their nose,' apparently describe some ceremony connected with sun-worship. Little, however, is known with certainty regarding the custom referred to, even if the text is not corrupt. (See commentaries of Smend and of A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*) The same word also occurs in the phrase זְמוֹרַת זָר 'strange slips,' of Is 17[10]. See ADONIS. **2.** יוֹנֵקָה, lit. 'sucker' Job 14[7], used of Israel under the figure of a cedar Ezk 17[22], an olive Hos 14[6], a vine Ps 80[11] (RV 'shoot'), of the wicked under the figure of a tree Job 8[16] (RV 'shoot') 15[30]. Vigorous, widely-spreading branches are a symbol of prosperity (cf. Ps 37[35], where the wicked man is spoken of as 'spreading himself like a green tree in its native soil'). **3.** כָּפָּה Job 15[32], properly 'palm-branch' as in RV of Is 9[14] 19[15], where 'palm-branch' and 'rush' are parallel respectively to 'head' and 'tail,' the rulers and the rabble (cf. Del. *ad loc.*). **4.** נֵצֶר, lit. a little fresh green twig, as in Is 11[1] 60[21], Dn 11[7]. The word is used in the ode on the king of Babylon, Is 14[19], where the words 'an abominable branch' (נֵצֶר נִתְעָב) apparently designate a useless shoot cut off and left to rot (cf. Jn 15[6] ἐβλήθη ἔξω ὡς τὸ κλῆμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη, 'he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered'). **5.** צֶמַח. The chief interest of this term lies in its employment in Messianic prophecies. Instead of 'branch,' W. R. Smith and G. A. Smith prefer to render it 'spring.' RVm offers a choice amongst the renderings 'shoot,' 'sprout,' 'bud.' In the earliest passage where צֶמַח occurs with a Messianic reference, Is 4[2], it has manifestly no personal sense. 'The *spring* of J", the God-given fruits of the earth, are the true glory of the remnant of Israel, the best of blessings, because they come straight from heaven, and are the true basis of a peaceful and God-fearing life' (W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, 329). The language both of Is 4[2] and of 11[1] seems to underlie Jeremiah's reference to the Messianic king as the 'Righteous Branch' (צֶמַח צַדִּיק) or 'Branch of Righteousness' (צֶמַח צְדָקָה), Jer 23[5] 33[15]. צֶמַח reaches, finally, the rank of a personal name of the Messiah in Zec 3[8] 6[12] 'my Servant the Branch,' 'the man whose name is the Branch.' **6.** מְנוֹרָה is used repeatedly by P of the 'branches' of the golden candlestick in the tabernacle, Ex 25[32] 37[18] etc.

In NT four Gr. words are tr. 'branch.' **1.** βαΐον, Jn 12[13] (cf. 1 Mac 13[51]). Palm Sunday is called in the Greek Church ἡ κυριακὴ τῶν βαΐων. **2.** κλάδος, Mt 13[32] etc., used figuratively of descendants, *e.g.* of Israel as the 'natural branches,' Ro 11[16. 17. 18. 19. 21] (cf. Sir 23[25] 40[15]). **3.** κλῆμα, used especially of a vine-branch, Jn 15[2-6], where Christ is the vine and His disciples are the branches. **4.** στιβάς, Mk 11[8], a ἀπ' λεγ. It is remarkable that Matthew, Mark, and John, in describing Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerus., each use a different word for 'branch,' namely, κλάδος, στιβάς, and βαΐον respectively. J. A. SELBIE.

BRAND.—**1.** Zec 3[2] 'a b. plucked out of the fire' (אוּד *'ûd*, perhaps orig. a bent stick used to stir the fire, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; tr[d] 'firebrand,' Is 7[4] 'these two tails [*i.e.* stumps] of smoking firebrands'; and Am 4[11] 'a firebrand' [RV 'brand,' to keep up connexion with Zec] plucked out of the burning'). **2.** Jg 15[5] 'when he had set the brands on fire' (לַפִּיד, tr[d] 'firebrand' 15[4]). Samson's 'firebrand' was a stick of wood wrapped with some absorbent material and saturated with oil (Moore, *Judges*, p. 341). It is the same Heb. word that is used of the 'lamps' (RV 'torches'), which Gideon's men carried in their pitchers, Jg 7[16]. The name of Deborah's husband, Lappidoth (Jg 4[4]), is a plu. of the same word. See LAMP. For **Branding**, see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS. J. HASTINGS.

BRASS (נְחֹשֶׁת, χαλκός).—Brass is composed of copper and zinc in the proportion of 2 of the former to 1 of the latter. The word is of frequent use in the Bible, but it is uncertain whether in any instance it means the alloy just described, as brass is very rarely found amongst the remains of early cities; while, on the other hand, weapons and implements of copper and bronze are abundant, associated with those of stone and, less frequently, of iron. The expression in Dt 8[9] 'a land . . . out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass,' shows that the word was used for *copper*. That the latter was worked largely in Arabia Petræa is well known (see MINES, MINING). The abundance of bronze, which is an alloy of copper and tin, amongst the early nations both of Asia and Europe is the more remarkable as tin is of rare occurrence; but its value in giving hardness and other qualities to copper was discovered more than 2000 years B.C. Thus knives, hatchets, hammers, spears, and other articles, both of copper and of bronze, have been discovered amongst the ruins of Chaldæa dating back to about B.C. 2286.* The use of copper, bronze, and other metals was known to the ancient Egyptians before the Exodus, and they appear to have understood the art both of hardening bronze and of making it flexible to a degree unknown to us.† The art of making bronze is clearly referred to by Homer in his description of the fashioning of the shield of Achilles by Vulcan (*Il.* xviii. 474, where copper and tin [κασσίτερος] are both melted in the furnace); and amongst the ruins of Troy, brought to light by the memorable labours of Schliemann, battle-axes, lances, knives, arrow-heads, and various ornaments both of copper and of bronze, were discovered, together with the moulds of mica-schist and sandstone in which some of these weapons were cast.‡ Copper and bronze celts have been discovered by di Cesnola

* Rawlinson *Anc. Monar.* i. 96 (ed. 1879).

† Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* iii. 241, 253; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. Anc. Egyp. Art*, ii. 378 (1883). Evans considers that when the earliest books of OT were written, gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, brass, and bronze were known; *Anc. Bronze Implements*, p. 5.

‡ Schliemann, *Ilios*, vii. 433-435; *Troja*, p. 100. Troy was captured by the Greeks about B.C. 1184.

in Cyprus amongst the remains of Phœnician settlers,* and they are abundant in Europe and the British Isles associated with remains of pre-historic man.

BIBLE REFERENCES.—In the Bible 'brass' (*i.e.* copper or bronze) is referred to both actually and symbolically; and it may be desirable to consider the passages under these two heads—

(*A*) *Actual.*—**1.** In Gn 4^{22} Tubal-cain is described as the 'forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron,' RVm 'copper and iron.' This is the earliest record of the use of these metals. Some doubt has been thrown by Evans on the word *iron*, and he suggests that it has been introduced at a later period during transcription, and that it does not necessarily belong to the age in which Tubal-cain lived.† **2.** In Ex 38^{2-8} the altar of burnt-offering overlaid with brass; also the laver and vessels of brass. The brass of the offering was 70 talents and 2400 shekels (v.^{29}). **3.** In Nu 21^{9} Moses makes a serpent of brass, and sets it upon a standard. **4.** Dt 8^{9} 'A land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass'‡ (copper). **5.** In 1 S 17^{5} Goliath of Gath clad in armour of brass. **6.** In 2 S 8^{8} King David took 'exceeding much brass' from Betah and from Berothai, cities of Hadadezer. **7.** In 1 K 7^{14} Hiram of Tyre 'a worker in brass.' **8.** In 2 K $25^{13.\ 14}$, Jer 52^{17} the brazen vessels and pillars of the house of the Lord broken and carried away by the Chaldæans. **9.** In 1 Ch 15^{19} 'Cymbals of brass.' **10.** In Job $28^{1.\ 2}$ 'Brass (copper) is molten out of stone.' **11.** In Mt 10^{9} 'Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses.' **12.** In Rev 9^{20} 'Idols of brass.'

(*B*) *Symbolical.*—**1.** (*Dazzling heat and drought*) Dt 28^{23} 'Thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass.' **2.** (*Strength, resistance*) Job 6^{12} 'Is my flesh of brass'? 'his (behemoth's§) bones are as tubes of brass,' Job 40^{18} RV; he (leviathan‖) 'counteth brass as rotten wood,' Job 41^{27}. **3.** (*Power*) Ps 107^{16} 'He hath broken the gates of brass'; Is 45^{2} 'I will break in pieces the doors of brass.' **4.** (*Richness*) Is 60^{17} 'For wood (I will bring) brass.' **5.** (*Brilliancy*) Dn 2^{32} 'His belly and thighs of brass' (Nebuchadrezzar's image); Dn 10^{6} 'His feet like in colour to burnished brass' (Daniel's vision); also Rev 1^{15}. **6.** (*One destitute of love*) 1 Co 13^{1} 'Sounding brass or a clanging cymbal,' RV.

E. HULL.

BRAVERY.—Although b. is used in the modern sense of courage as early as in any other, it had two other meanings which have now been lost. **1.** Connected probably with 'brag' etymologically, it expressed boasting, as 'No Man is an Atheist, however he pretend it, and serve the Company with his Braveries'—Donne (1631); and esp. a military display, as 'The whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled amaine'—Raleigh (1614), *Hist. of World*, iii. 93. **2.** It expressed splendour, often passing into ostentation (so still locally), as 'The braverie of this world . . . likened is to flowre of grasse'—Tusser (1573). This is the meaning of b. in Is 3^{18} 'the b. of their tinkling ornaments' (תִּפְאֶרֶת Amer. RV 'beauty'). Cf. Shaks. *Taming of Shrew*, IV. iii. 57—

'With scarfs and fans and double change of bravery.'

Bravely occurs Jth 10^{4} '(Judith) decked herself bravely (ἐκαλλωπίσατο σφόδρα) to allure the eyes of all men that should see her.' It is the general sense of 'finely,' 'handsomely.' Cf. Celia's jesting words in *As You Like It*, III. iv. 43: 'O, that's a brave man! he writes b. verses, speaks b. words, swears b. oaths, and breaks them bravely'; and Scot. 'braw,' 'brawly.'

J. HASTINGS.

BRAWLER.—To brawl in its earliest use, and till the beg. of the 17th cent., was simply to quarrel or fight (without the 'noisily and indecently' of Johnson); and this seems to be the meaning in AV. **Brawl** as subst. occurs Sir 27^{14} 'their brawls make one stop his ears' (μάχη, RV 'strife'). **Brawling** as subst. Sir 31^{29}; as adj. Pr 21^{9} 25^{24} 'a b. (RV 'contentious') woman' (אֵשֶׁת מְדְיָנִים, tr^{d} 'contentious woman' 27^{15}; cf. 'contentious man' 26^{21}). **Brawler** occurs in AV 1 Ti 3^{3}, Tit 3^{2} (Gr. ἄμαχος, RV 'contentious'). RV gives 'brawler' for AV 'given to wine' 1 Ti 3^{3}, Tit 1^{7} (Gr. πάροινος, RVm 'quarrelsome over wine').

J. HASTINGS.

BRAY.—There are two distinct words, and both occur.

1. To make a harsh cry, once used of horses and other animals (cf. Job 30^{7} 'Among the bushes they bray,' spoken of Job's mockers who are 'dogs of the flock,' and Ps 42^{1} Geneva Bible, 'As the hart brayeth for the rivers of water,' retained in AVm), now used only of the ass: Job 6^{5} 'Doth the wild ass b. when he hath grass?'

2. To beat small, to pound, still in use but freq. (if not always) with ref. to its (only) occurrence in AV, Pr 27^{22}, which is Coverdale's tr^{n} (1535), 'Though thou shouldest bray a foole with a pestell in a morter like otemeell, yet wil not his foolishnesse go from him.' Cf. Stubbes (1583), 'The word of God is not preached vnto them, and as it were braied, punned, interpreted, and expounded.'

J. HASTINGS.

BRAZEN SEA.—See SEA (BRAZEN) and BRASS.

BREACH.—A b. may be either (1) the breaking itself, or (2) the result of the breaking. **1.** Nu 14^{34} 'Ye shall know my b. of promise' (תְּנוּאָה, RV 'alienation,' RVm 'revoking of my promise'); 2 S 6^{8} 'the LORD had made a b. upon Uzzah' (פֶּרֶץ *pereẓ*, RV 'had broken forth,' cf. Gn 38^{29}); Job 16^{14} 'He breaketh me with b. upon b.' (*pereẓ*). **2.** A place that is broken, as Is 30^{13}, 'a b. ready to fall' (*pereẓ*); Lv 24^{20} 'B. for b., eye for eye, tooth for tooth' (שֶׁבֶר *shebher*): or the gap that is thus made (the mod. use), as Am 4^{3} 'Ye shall go out at the b^{es}, every one straight before her' (*pereẓ*); Jg 5^{17} 'Asher continued on the seashore, and abode in his b^{es}' (מִפְרָץ *miphrâẓ*, RV 'creeks,' *i.e.* gaps in the shore, Vulg. *portus*, Wyclif 'havens'; the Heb. word occurs only here, see Moore *in loc.*); La 2^{13} 'thy b. (*shebher*) is great like the sea, who can heal thee?' For **B. of Covenant** see CRIMES.

J. HASTINGS.

BREAD (לֶחֶם *leḥem*, ἄρτος).—**1.** A word used in the Bible in several senses—

1. As food in general, of animals, as Job 24^{5} and Is 65^{25}; or of man, as Gn 3^{19}, where the word is first used. See also Gn 47^{12}, Job 33^{20} etc. In the sense of solid food as opposed to drink, Ps 104^{15}. In the sense of the bare necessary sustenance of life it is used in Is 33^{16}, Ex 23^{25}, and in the Lord's Prayer (?). See also 1 K 17^{11}.

2. The kind of food which comes forth from the earth, vegetable food, as in Job 28^{5}, Is 30^{23}, and 55^{10}, contrasted with *bâsar* or flesh in 1 K 17^{6}.

3. *Leḥem* is used as the name of the miraculous food wherewith the Israelites were fed in the wilderness, Ex $16^{4.\ 22}$, called interrogatively 'manna' or 'what'? 'bread of heaven,' in Ps 105^{40}. In Nu 21^{5} this bread is called *kilkel*, 'mean or insignificant.'

4. The staple food of a nation is called the 'staff of b.' (Lv 26^{26}, Ezk 4^{16}), or the stay (support) of b. (Is. 3^{1}). Hence famine is the breaking of the staff of b., and is typified by the selling of bread by weight, Lv 26^{26}, Ezk 4^{16}. Lands which are productive of b.-stuffs are called Lands of b., as Egypt (Gn 41^{54}) and Babylon (Is 36^{17}), whose fertility in producing corn is mentioned by Herodotus, i. 193. Abundance of food is called 'fulness of b.,' so often a snare to mankind, as it was to Sodom (Ezk 16^{49});

* Bronze was also used by the Phœnicians for works of art in very early times; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus*, ii. 2 (1885).

† *Anc. Bronze Imp.* pp. 5, 6; see also Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 241.

‡ Perrot and Chipiez, *supra cit.* ii. 378.

§ Hippopotamus. ‖ Crocodile.

such an abundance is promised to Asher as fatness of b. (Gn 49[20]). Personal poverty is described as want of b. (Is 5[14], La 1[11], 4[4]). Such poverty may be a punishment, as in the curse pronounced on the descendants of Joab (2 S 3[29]) and Eli (1 S 2[36]), or on the wicked in general (Job 27[14]), but may be due to misfortune, not crime (Ec 9[11]). The Psalmist, however, never found the children of the righteous in this plight (Ps 37[25]). The poor are described as 'wandering for b.' (Job 15[23]). Abstinence from b. may be the token of a vow, as in the case of David (2 S 3[35]); and the asceticism of John the Baptist is expressed by Christ by the phrase 'neither eating b. nor drinking wine' (Lk 7[33]).

5. The hastily prepared food offered to a stranger or wayfarer in token of welcome and hospitality is called b., as in Gn 14[18] 18[5]. So Joseph bade his servants 'set on b.' for his brethren (Gn 43[31]); and the witch of Endor thus entertained Saul (1 S 28[22]). For want of this hospitality, the Succothites were punished by Gideon (Jg 8[15]), and the Ammonites and Moabites were excluded from the congreg. of Isr. (Dt 23[4], Neh 13[2]). Such hospitality was customary among the Bedawin (Is 21[14]), as all travellers have testified from Sinuhat (*RP* vi. 131) to Doughty (*Arabia Deserta*, 1888). Our Lord bade His apostles not to take bread with them, but to partake of hospitality on their missionary journeys (Lk 9[3]). On such occasions the host breaks the b. for his guests; so Christ did for the multitude whom He fed by miracle (Mt 14[19] etc.), and for His disciples at the Last Supper (Lk 22[19] etc.). So St. Paul acted as host to his shipmates during the storm (Ac 27[35]). Breaking of b. became the early name of the communion feast of the primitive Church (Ac 2[42.46] 20[7], 1 Co 10[16] 11[23]). The breaking has special relevancy to the common form of the Jewish bread.

6. B. was the most convenient form in which to give food to the poor; hence giving (literally breaking) b. to the hungry is a common expression for the dispensing of charity (Pr 22[9], Is 58[7], Ezk 18[7.16]). To withhold this was a crime (Job 22[7]). In the judgment chapter of the Egyp. Bk. of the Dead (cxxv. l. 38) it is said of the righteous man that he has given b. to the hungry; and this claim is occasionally found in funeral inscriptions (*RP* ii. 14). In Ps 132[15] God promises to satisfy the poor of His people with bread.

7. B. made from corn, being dry and portable, was the best food for a journey. With it Hagar was victualled for her return to Egypt (Gn 21[14]), and Saul when in search of the lost asses (1 S 9[7]). The Gibeonites imposed on Joshua by showing that their bread had become dry and crumbled. *Nikkud* signifies a crumb, and the *nikkudim* were crumbs rather than mould-points. LXX, however, renders it *τυρωτῶν*, as also Theod. and Kimchi (Jos 9[5]).

8. B. was used to aid in eating soft food, so Jacob gave Esau b. with his pottage (Gn 25[34]), and Rebekah prepared b. for Isaac's savoury meat (Gn 27[17]). The *ψωμίον* given by our Lord to Judas was probably a sop of bread.

ii. The materials of which bread was made were barley, wheat, spelt, millet, and lentils. (See articles under these titles.)

The best bread was made of **wheat**, חִטָּה (Gn 30[14]), which when ground was called קֶמַח or meal (Jg 6[19], 1 S 1[24], 1 K 4[22] 17[12. 14]). In Egypt wheat was called *ḥi* or *ḥa*; when growing it was called *ketti*, and when cut and winnowed *khakha*. Several kinds were grown, the common (*Triticum vulgare*) and the many-eared (*T. compositum*), which sometimes has seven ears on a stalk (Gn 41[5]). Two kinds are distinguished by Jewish authors, the light-coloured and the dark (*Peah* 2[5-6]; see also Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 584). The word for an ear of corn, שִׁבֹּלֶת, in the Ephraimite dialect was pronounced *sibboleth* (Jg 12[6]); in rabbinical writings *shibboleth sho'al* is used for Ægilops or wild oats, and *shiphon* for another kind of oats, which are not mentioned in the Bible. When full but not quite ripe, these ears were often roasted or boiled, the 'parched corn' of the Bible (Lv 23[14], 1 S 17[17], 2 S 17[28]), and called by the Arabs *ferik* (see also 2 K 4[42]), the best ears for the purpose being grown in highly cultivated garden-land (Lv 2[14], Targ. Ibn G'anâch). The word *ḥiṭṭah* in the singular usually means the cereal as growing, and is used in the plural for the cut and winnowed grain. It was sown either broadcast (Mt 13[3]) or in rows, שׂוֹרָה (Is 28[25]), translated 'principal' in AV. The wheat harvest was usually in May, and the grain was reaped with a sickle, as in Egypt (Dt 16[9], Joel 3[13], Rev 14[14]), and bound in sheaves, or cut off short by the ears in the Picenian mode (Job 24[24]; see Varro, *de re rustica*, i. 50), or pulled up by the arm (Is 17[5], see also *Peah*, 4. 10, and Maundrell's *Journey*, p. 144). The sheaves, called אֲלֻמִּים from being bound (Gn 37[7], Ps 126[6]), or צְבָתִים (Ru 2[16]), or עֳמָרִים (Lv 23[10], Dt 24[19], Ru 2[7. 15], Job 24[10]) from being collected in bundles, were piled in heaps (גָּרִישׁ Ex 22[6], Jg 15[5]), and were carted to the threshing-floor (Am 2[13]; see AGRICULTURE), a flat, well-levelled surface in a high place, exposed to the wind, preferably the S. or S.E. wind from the wilderness, and therefore dry. Such threshing-floors were permanent landmarks (Gn 50[10. 11], 2 S 24[16. 18]), on which the grain was trampled by oxen, or run over by a *haruz* (Is 28[27]), *morag*, or sledge (Is 41[15], 2 S 24[22], 1 Ch 21[23]), called *mowrej* at the present day. Gideon, being afraid to go to a public threshing-floor, beat his grain with a flail in private (Jg 6[11]). The corn, winnowed with a fork and shovel or fan, was collected and stored in a cache, or underground chamber, or dry well with clay walls (2 S 17[19], Jer 41[8]), or in an inner room. Thomson (*Land and Book*, i. 90) speaks of these underground receptacles as specially useful in protecting the grain from ants. It is remarkable that there is no reference to these grain cisterns in the Mishna. Barns or granaries were also used (Job 39[12], Mt 13[30], Lk 3[17] 12[18]). The first sheaf cut was presented as a wave sheaf before the Lord (Lv 23[10]), and sometimes decorated with lilies and other flowers (Ca 7[2]. See for similar ceremonies Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 334). There were several qualities of wheat; that of Minnith being esteemed the best (Ezk 27[17]). Pannag, given as a place-name in AV, is rendered cassia in the LXX and millet in the Peshiṭta, but is left untranslated in RV. It was prob. some kind of aromatic or spice. Michmash and Zânû'ah were also famous for wheat, as was 'Ephrajin, where the straw grew so long that the proverb 'bringing straw to 'Ephrajin' = 'bringing coals to Newcastle' (*Menah.* 85. a. 5). The meal used in the offerings is called סֹלֶת, or finely ground (Ex 29[40], Lv 2[5], Nu 7[13] etc.), to distinguish it from the קֶמַח or ordinary meal. The best is called *ḥeleb kilioth ḥiṭṭah*, 'fat of kidneys of wheat' (Dt 32[14]). This fine flour was the food of the wealthy (1 K 4[22], 2 K 7[1], Ezk 16[13. 19], Rev 18[13]).

Another material used in making bread was דֹּחַן (Ezk 4[9]), which is the Arab. *dukhan*. This was a smaller grain, probably dhurah (*Sorghum vulgare*), which is extensively grown in Bible lands, and used as a food-stuff by the peasantry. It is the chief cereal of the poor in Arabia; but dhurah bread is not generally relished by Europeans.

כֻּסֶּמֶת or spelt (*Triticum spelta*) is another coarse grain, with coarse strong straw and prickly heads, often sown on the borders of barley fields to enclose them (Is 28[25]). See Surenhusius (*Mishnah, Kilaim Amst.* i. 121). The grains of spelt do not easily separate from the husk when rubbed in the hands, as do those of wheat (Lk 6[1]). It ripens later than barley, and so escaped the plague of hail (Ex 9[32]). The word is tr[d] 'rye' in AV in this place, and 'fitches' in Ezk 4[9]; but these are certainly incorrect. In LXX it is rendered *ὄλυρα*, which was in Greece used as food for horses (Homer, *Il.* v. 196). Aq. and Theod. tr. it *ζέα*, which is a different species of grain, *Triticum zea* (Dioscorides, II. cxi.; Theophrastus, *HP* viii. 1. 3; Sprengel, *Geschichte Botan.* p. 36). Ibn G'anâch tr[s] it 'vetch.' *ζέα* was also a cattle food, see *Odyss.* iv. 41. 604. LXX calls Elijah's cake (1 K 19[6]) *ολυρίτης*. Herodotus says that the Egyp. bread was made of *olyra* (ii. 36. 77); and in the Book of the Dead spelt (*bot*) is the grain represented as growing in the fields of the under-world (cix. 5); but the monuments show that wheat was also a common food-stuff (Ex 9[32]). The genuine rye (*Secale cereale*) was probably not cultivated in Bible lands; it is called in Gemara *neshman* by a paronomasia on Is 28[25].

Beans, פּוֹל, were used as an ingredient in bread (Ezk 4[9]), and were also eaten roasted or parched (קָלִי); see 2 S 17[28]. Lentils, עֲדָשִׁים, were also made

into bread (Ezk 4[9]); the small red lentile or *'adas* is still used for this purpose among the poorest classes in Egypt (Sonnini). Lentiles and beans were probably among the זְרעֹנִים or 'pulse' on which Daniel and his companions were fed (Dn 1[16]); but the word means vegetables in general. The flamen dialis among the Romans was forbidden to use beans as food (Aulus Gell. *Noct. Attic.* 10. xv. 12).

iii. Bread-corn of any sort is called דָּגָן, and this word is often associated with wine as descriptive of fertility (Gn 27[28. 37], Dt 7[13] 11[14] 12[17] 18[4] 28[51] 33[28], 2 K 18[32], 2 Ch 31[5] 32[28], Ps 4[7], Is 36[17], La 2[12], Hos 2[8. 22] 7[14], Hag 1[11], Zec 9[17], Jl 1[10. 17], Neh 5[2] 10[39]). Grain when winnowed and stored is called בָּר, as Gn 41[35] 42[25], Pr 11[26], Am 8[5]. This word is rarely used of grain on the stalk (as Ps 65[9] 72[16]), and in Jer 23[28] is used of grain as contrasted with the husk or straw. תבואה is also used in the Talmud to indicate the grain as distinguished from the straw (Sabb. 18[1], Brn 6[6] 9[1]). Standing corn was commonly distinguished as קָמָה.

Corn was prepared by bruising in a mortar or grinding in a mill; in the former case it is called רִיפוֹת, as in 2 S 17[19], Pr 27[22], where the point of the figure seems to be, that though the fool be associated with wise men he does not lose his characteristic folly. The mortar or *maktesh* and the pestle or *'èli* were usually of stone.

The mills in common use were called רֵחַיִם, the dual form referring to the two stones. They were in shape like the *bradh* or quern in use until comparatively recent times in the Hebrides and West of Ireland, and consisted of a nether millstone or *sekeb*, which was fixed, and convex on its upper surface, upon which the upper millstone or *rekeb* ('the chariot,' in Arabic the *rakib*, 'rider') rotated. In this was a central hole through which the grain was poured, while the stone was being rotated by means of a handle fixed in its upper surface, near its edge. The upper millstone is made of a porous unpolishing lava from the Hauran, while the nether (proverbially hard) is either of the same material, or else of compact sandstone, limestone, or basalt. The history and references to such mills are given at length in Goetz, *de molis et pistrinis veterum*; Hoheisel in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, xxix.; and Heringius, *de molis veterum*. The corn was daily ground by women (Mt 24[41]), usually by a pair of slaves (Ex 11[5], Is 47[2]. Cf. Plautus, *Mercat.* ii. 3. 62; *Odyss.* xx. 105), who sat on the ground, facing each other, and worked together. Among the poor it was done by the wife (*Shabbath* vii. 2); hence the expression in Job 31[10] means to become another's concubine (cf. Ausonius, *Epig.* lxxi. 7, and the Horatian 'non alienas permolere uxores,' *Sat.* i. 2. 34). Captives were thus employed in grinding (Jg 16[21]).

Cessation of the noise of the mills was a sign of desolation (Jer 25[10], Rev 18[22]). The sound of the grinding in Ec 12[4] may be the chant of the women (*Odyss.* xx. 105. 119; see also Aristoph. *Thesmophor.* 480). In later days mills became larger, and were moved by animal power, or wind or water, and grinding became a trade (*Demai* iii. 4). Asses are mentioned in rabbinical writings as used for this purpose, and an ass in a mill was a proverbial phrase (in *Mischar hapenninim*, quoted by Buxtorf, *Florileg. Hebr.* 309). The great millstone in Mt 18[6] is μύλος ὀνικός, either a millstone turned by an ass (RVm), or else a nether millstone (Ludolf, *in loco*; see Hoheisel, p. 57; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in Luc. xvii.) called 'the ass,' because it bore the burden of the top stone.

The meal or flour, when ground, was next mixed with water, and kneaded into dough. In Egypt this was done by the feet (Herod. ii. 36) as represented on the tomb of Ramses III., but among the Jews usually in kneading-troughs (*mishereth*). These were shallow wooden bowls (Ex 8[3]), which could easily be bound up in their clothes (Ex 12[34]). Harmer has conjectured that the word refers to a leathern bag or bread-wallet, often carried by the Arabs (iv. 366); but this is improbable. Bread-making was at first a family occupation, done by the wife (Gn 18[6]), the sister (2 S 13[8]), the female servants (1 S 8[13]) or other female member of the household (1 S 28[24], Jer 7[18] 44[19], Mt 13[33]). In later days baking became a trade (Hos 7[4. 6]); and in towns the breadsellers occupied a definite place in the bazaar, 'the bakers' street' (Jer 37[21]). This place may be referred to Neh 3[11] 12[38], where the 'tower of the ovens' is mentioned, as *tannur* is used for a baker's oven in Lv 2[4] 11[35] 26[26], Hos 7[4]. Josephus speaks of the bakers in Jewish towns (*Ant.* xv.ix. 2).

In the family, bread was baked daily as wanted, as it became tough and unpalatable when stale (Gn 18[6]). It has been conjectured that this daily preparation is referred to in the Lord's Prayer; but the petition rather refers to quantity than quality (for signification of ἐπιούσιον see Lightfoot, *Revision*, 195; and art. LORD'S PRAYER). The amount of a daily baking was an ephah (=3 seahs or measures of meal=4½ pecks), as in Gn 18[6], Mt 13[33], Jg 6[19], 1 S 1[24]. Probably this was proportional to the size of the oven, and the amount was smaller in time of famine (Lv 26[26]). Salt was mixed with the dough (Ezr 6[9] 7[22]), which was then ready for the rapid preparation of unleavened bread or for leavening. In the latter case a small portion of old fermented dough, שְׁאֹר, was mixed with the kneaded dough or בָּצֵק (as in Ex 12[34. 39]). This rapidly induced panary fermentation in the whole mass, and 'raised' the bread, then called חָמֵץ *hamêẓ* or soured bread (Ex 12[39], Hos 7[4]), as opposed to מַצּוֹת *maẓẓoth* or unleavened bread, so called because in flat cakes. The dough was usually left in the kneading-trough to ferment; and this took some time, during which the baker could sleep (Hos 7[6]), when he had left a low unstirred fire to keep it warm to encourage the process. Leaven was used as a symbol of that which is old (Schneider, *Zeitsch. f. Theol.* 1883, 333); and sometimes for that which is corrupt, the leaven of the Pharisees or of Herod (Mt 16[6], Mk 8[15], Lk 12[1], 1 Co 5[7]); or that which exercises a secretly dominating influence (Mt 13[33], 1 Co 5[6], Gal 5[9]; see Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* xciv.). Leaven was prohibited in those offerings made by fire to the Lord (Lv 2[11] 7[12] 8[2], Ex 29[2], Nu 6[15]), as the sacrifice should consist of what is fresh and pure; but in such offerings as the peace-offering (Lv 7[13]) and the pentecostal loaves (Lv 23[17]) leavened bread might be used, for these were to be eaten by the priests. The use of leavened bread was prohibited during the Passover week; and all leaven was to be burnt before the 14th Nisan, as during the Theocracy the eating of leavened b. at this time was a capital offence, as was the burning of leavened b. in the daily sacrifice. Hence Amos sarcastically bids the Isr. increase their sin by offering leaven in the thanksgiving (4[5]). This idea of leaven being an emblem of corruption was known to the classics. Persius uses *fermentum* in this sense (1[24]); and A. Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* x. 15. 19) tells us that the flamen dialis was not allowed to touch flour mixed with leaven. Bread was sometimes fermented with wine-lees in place of leaven; see *Pesachim* iii. 1.

The first dough of the new harvest was made into a cake, and offered as a heave-offering (Nu 15[20]). This עֲרִיסָה was leavened; some have supposed it to be coarse meal, but the rabbinical authorities understand it as leavened dough (see *Ḥalla*). This offering is referred to in Neh 10[37] and Ezk 44[30], where it is stated to be for the use of the priest; for superstitious uses of this

see Otho, *Lexicon Talm.* under the word *Challa*, p. 495.

The **cakes or loaves** were usually flat and circular, a span in diameter, and about an inch thick; these are called, from their shape, פְּתָרוֹת (Ex 29^{23}, Jg 8^{5}, 1 S 10^{3}, Pr 6^{26}). In Jg 7^{13} the word is צְלִיל (*Kĕthibh*, for which *Kĕrê* has עֲלִיל); such cakes were like flat stones (Mt 7^{9}, Lk 11^{11}). Three such loaves were a meal for one person (Lk 11^{5}), and one was prison fare (Jer 37^{21}), or a charity dole (1 S 2^{36}). At the average price of barley in NT times, as well as it can be estimated, 200 pennyworths of barley bread would have been about 5000 loaves —a mouthful to each of the multitude (Jn 6^{7}). Abigail's 200 loaves, the fill of the pannier baskets of an ass, would serve for a reasonable feast for David and his men (1 S 25^{18}, 2 S 16^{1}). Other kinds of bread were חַלּוֹת, Nu 15^{20}, Lv 8^{26}, probably also cylindrical or round cakes; possibly these may be, as has been suggested, punctured cakes, the punctures being depressions made by the smooth pebbles in the oven (cf. the *κόλλιξ* of the Greeks; LXX renders cake in 2 S 6^{19} 13^{6} by *κολλυρίς*); לְבִיבוֹת, folded or rolled-up cakes, something like pancakes, supposed by some to be heart-shaped (2 S 13^{6}), possibly a cake with aromatic seeds added as a carminative. For these finer cakes the dough was twice kneaded. עֻגוֹת were round cakes also (Gn 18^{6}, 1 K 17^{13}, Ezk 4^{12}). נְקֻדִּים, tr. **cracknels** (1 K 14^{3} AV), were probably cakes sprinkled on the surface with aromatic seeds, like the barm-brack of the Irish (literally *aran breac*, spotted bread). The widow of Zarephath calls cakes by what was probably a provincial name, עֻגָה.

The methods of baking were various. The earliest mentioned is baking upon the hearth (Gn 18^{6}), that is, on the heated stones of the hearth, the embers being drawn aside and around it. This was probably the Passover method (Ex 12^{39}). Elijah's cake was baked on the hot embers (1 K 19^{6}); so the bread in Jn 21^{9}. B. thus baked was the *ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος* of Hippocrates, as in LXX. The common method of baking in later times was in **ovens**, of which there were several kinds. Fixed ovens were commonly hollows in the floor, often of the principal room, about $4' \times 3'$, coated with clay, and heated by being filled with burning fuel. Such were possibly the כִּירִים of Lv 11^{35}. Portable ovens, תַּנּוּר, were earthen or stone jars, about 3 ft. high, heated inwardly with wood (1 K 17^{12}, Is 44^{15}, Jer 7^{18}) or dried grass and herbage, *χόρτος* (Mt 6^{30}); in the absence of other fuel, dried camel dung or cow dung was used (Ezk $4^{12.\ 15}$). When the oven was fully heated the cakes were put in. Then dough was sometimes spread on the outside of the oven; and such a cake, like one baked on a hot hearthstone, requires to be turned, or else it remains raw on one side, while burnt on the other (Hos 7^{8}). Ovens of both kinds are still in use in Bible lands. Sometimes cakes were baked in a **pan** or מַחֲבַת, which was a flat plate of metal or earthenware, like a 'girdle,' which could be made to stand on its edge (Ezk 4^{3}). This was placed over the fire, with the cake laid upon it (Lv 6^{21} 7^{9}, 1 Ch 23^{29}). Tamar's pan was מַשְׂרֵת, probably a deeper, concave one, out of which the cakes were poured in a heap (2 S 13^{9}), like the *τάγηνον* of Aristophanes (*Eq.* 929). The מַרְחֶשֶׁת of Lv 2^{7} 7^{9}, which is distinguished in the latter passage from the *mahabath* or flat pan, was probably some kind of shallow pot for boiling the meal for the offering, which is mingled with oil, and not a frying-pan, as in both RV and AV. A mess of food thus prepared is still known among some Bedawin tribes, and is called *ftita*. This may be the meal offering 'which is soaked' of 1 Ch 23^{29}.

Unleavened bread was, and still is, made into thin flat cakes, רְקִיקִים (Ex 29^{2}, Lv 2^{4}); hence they are called wafers. In Ex 29^{2} the cakes made with oil (*λάγανα*) are contrasted with the wafers anointed with oil. These were both made in or upon an oven (Lv 2^{4}); a third kind, the *frixa* of the Latin writers, were made in a *mahabath* (2^{7}). Unleavened bread is called מַצָּה, as in Ex 12^{15}, when contrasted with leavened bread irrespective of shape. All forms of bread were broken when being used,—not cut (Mt 14^{19} 26^{26}, Lk 24^{35}, Ac 2^{42}), the pieces being *κλάσματα*, broken pieces. It was smeared with olive oil (1 K 17^{12}), as we now use butter; occasionally with honey, which was sometimes mixed in the dough (Ex 16^{31}), as in the *μελιττώματα* of Dioscorides (4^{64}), or the ceremonial *πυραμοῦντες* (Ephippus, *Ἐφηβ.* 1^{3}). Butter as well as honey was used with bread (2 S 17^{29}, Is 7^{15}); but honey, being a fermentable substance, was prohibited in burnt-offerings (Lv 2^{11}). In Egypt the forms of bread were equally varied; and in the picture of the baker's workshop referred to there are conical loaves, flat cakes, rolled-up cakes, and cakes spotted with seeds. In the list of offerings in the great Harris papyrus and other lists there are enumerated *kelushta* (=*ḥalloth*), *mes*, *san* or *sannu*, funeral cakes; *kiki* or pyramids, like the *kikkaroth*; *hebnen*, or cakes for offering; *baat*, *kemhu*, *hefa*, and *tetet* cakes. The commonest form was the conical, of which clay models were commonly placed in tombs as symbols of funeral food. Egyp. bread is represented monumentally as carried in baskets on the head of the baker, as in the chief baker's dream (Gn 40^{17}). The words there used, סַלֵּי חֹרִי, rendered 'white baskets' in AV, and 'baskets of white b.' LXX, Aq. Syr. and RV, is possibly the Egyp. *kheru*, used of the food for a funeral offering. For mode of carrying see Herod. ii. 35.

iv. Breaking bread was part of the funeral feast among the Jews, as among other nations (Jer 16^{7} RV, Ezk 24^{17}, Hos 9^{4}). Thus the funeral feast for Abner was kept at Hebron (2 S 3^{35}). The funeral feast is also mentioned in the apocr. Ep. of Jer (Bar 6^{31}); and Tobit bids his son to 'pour out his b. on the burial of the just' (4^{17}). For the Egyp. funeral feasts see Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 172; for other references see Garmannus, *de Pane Lugentium*, Ugolini, xxxiii. Sometimes coarse barley bread was used in these feasts, 'non pro deliciis apponitur sed tantum ut servilis fames relevetur' (Petrus Cellensis, *Liber de Panibus*, Migne, ccii. 917).

v. Bread formed part of certain offerings, as the pentecostal loaves, and the peace- and trespass-offerings, in which form it is called the b. of their God (Lv 21^{6}). Most of this was eaten by the priests after being offered (Lv $21^{17.\ 21}$). The special b.-offering was the pile of **shewbread** (b. of the presence, לֶחֶם פָּנִים, *ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως*, Ex 25^{30} 35^{13}, 1 S 21^{6}, 1 K 7^{48}), which was placed on a pure table of acacia wood in the Holy Place of the tabernacle, with frankincense (cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 235 f.). Twelve of these cakes, each made of $\frac{2}{3}$ of a peck of flour, were placed in two piles, six in each pile, every Sabbath morning, 'on behalf of the children of Israel'; the old cakes being eaten by the priests in a sacred place, when the new cakes were brought in; and the frankincense was burned when the cakes were changed (Lv $24^{5.\ 6}$). The duty of making these was laid on the sons of Kohath (1 Ch 9^{32}). The table was covered with a blue cloth, and had on it certain dishes on which the cakes were set in order (Nu 4^{7}). In the temple this table was overlaid with gold (1 K 7^{48}). In 2 Ch 4^{19} tables in the plural are mentioned. It was this holy b. which Ahimelech gave to David, contrary to the law (1 S 21^{6}, Mt 12^{4}). Probably the allowances, afterwards so liberally provided for the priests in the Priestly

Code, were, during the troubled times of Saul, scanty, erratic, and often omitted; contrast the liberal temple allowance by Ramses III. in the Harris papyrus, *RP* vi. When the shewbread was reinstituted by Neh., a poll-tax of ⅓ shekel was laid on the Jews (Neh 10^{32}, Mt 17^{24}). In the corrupt days of the kingdom the table had become polluted, and it and its vessels were cleansed in the days of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{18}, Ezk 44^{7}); but in later days they were equally careless (Mal 1^{7}). For further particulars and pictures see Abraham ben David, *De Templo*, Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, ix. p. 298, and the references; Otho's *Lex. Talmud, sub voce*, p. 496.

vi. The word *Bread* is used metaphorically: (*a*) As expressing the perquisites of an office (Neh 9^{15}). (*b*) The legitimate spoil of conquest (Nu 14^{9}). (*c*) Those who do not earn their livelihood are said to eat the *bread of idleness* (Pr 31^{27}). (*d*) The profit of sinful courses is called the *b. of wickedness* (Pr 4^{17}); and the short-lived advantages gained by falsehood are called *b. of deceit* (Pr 20^{17}). Secret sin is compared to 'b. eaten in secret' (Pr 9^{17}). (*e*) Suffering and sorrow are called eating the b. of adversity (Is 30^{20}), or of affliction (Dt 16^{3}, 1 K 22^{27}, 2 Ch 18^{26}), or of tears (Ps 80^{5}). Sorrow is also expressed as eating ashes as bread (Ps 102^{9}).

LITERATURE.—Besides the several works referred to in the text, further information will be found in Kitto, *Cyclopædia*; Paulsen, *vom Ackerbau d. Morgenlands*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Vogelstein, *Die Landwirthschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Mishnâh*, Berlin, 1894; *Revue des Études Juives*, xxii. 58; Voigt, *Rheinisch. Mus.* 1876, 107. See also the Travels of Niebuhr, Wellsted, Burckhardt, and Doughty. The ancient literature will be found summarised in the articles of Ugolini, Schöttgen, and Goetz, in vol. xxix. of the *Thesaurus*. Varro and Cato, *de re rusticâ*, may also be consulted with advantage.

A. MACALISTER.

BREASTPLATE.—**1.** חֹשֶׁן *ḥoshen*, a plate worn as part of the high priest's dress (see next art.). **2.** שִׁרְיָן *shiryān*, *θώραξ*. Both the Heb. and Gr. words probably described a cuirass rather than a simple breastplate. Such a cuirass as worn by the Greeks protected the back as well as the breast and stomach. In addition, it often gave protection to the neck and to the hips. It was well suited to suggest the many-sidedness of 'righteousness' (Is 59^{17}=Eph 6^{14}). Another form of the word, *shiryōn*, is usually rendered 'coat of mail.' The phrase 'coat of mail of righteousness' is awkward, but it is more accurate than 'breastplate of righteousness' in both places cited above. In 1 Th 5^{8} *faith and love* form the *θώραξ*, perhaps with a hint at the two parts, front and back, of which it was usually made. The Rom. *lorica* (=*θώραξ*) was of various kinds. It was sometimes (*a*) a simple jacket of leather reaching to the middle of the thighs with double thickness at the shoulders, or (*b*) an arrangement of iron or brass rings which could be worn over a leathern jacket, or (*c*) a vest made of small metal plates overlapping one another, or, lastly, (*d*) when called *segmentata* it consisted of two broad pieces for the back and breast respectively, of five or six bands fastened on to the 'breast-plate' and 'back-plate' and running round the lower part of the body, and, lastly, of four such bands over each shoulder. The 'segments' are stated to have been of leather; and the fact that no broad plates of iron have been found among the many remains of Rom. armour which have been brought to light, is against the modern theory that the *lorica segmentata* was of iron. See also Polybius 'F' quoted under ARMOUR.

W. E. BARNES.

BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH PRIEST.—The most important part of the distinctive dress of the high priest, according to the Priests' Code, was the pectoral or breastplate (חֹשֶׁן, more fully חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט (ה)", Targ. חֵישָׁנָא (Arab. *ḥusn ed-dîn*, 'excellency of judgment') LXX λόγιον (var. λογεῖον) *τῆς κρίσεως* or *τ. κρίσεων* (but once *περιστήθιον*, Ex 28^{4}), Vulg. *rationale, r. judicii*). The orig. signification of the Heb. word has been lost. Of the various suggested etymologies only two deserve mention. The one is Ewald's (*Antiq. of Isr.* p. 294), that חֹשֶׁן is 'a dialectic form of חֹמֶן, *i.e.* pocket,' etc. (from a root חמן to store up), hence חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט" would probably mean 'the pouch of the oracle.'* The other possible root is חשן, Arab. *ḥasan*, to be beautiful, 'hence possibly חֹשֶׁן, either as chief ornament of ephod, or as the most excellent precious article of high priest's attire' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

The directions for the construction of the b. are given in Ex 28^{15-30}, with which the parallel section 39^{8-21} may be compared. The material was the same as that of the ephod (see EPHOD), the richest and most artistic of the textile fabrics of P ('of gold, of blue, of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine twined linen,' 28^{15} RV). A cubit's length of this material was required, the width being a span or half-cubit; when folded in two, it formed a square, measuring a span each way. Into one of the faces of this square—henceforth to be the outer side of the b.—were inserted by means of gold settings, probably of filigree work, four rows of jewels, three in a row. The identification of these twelve jewels must start from the renderings of the LXX, and is still in some cases little more than probable (see art. STONES, PRECIOUS, also the Comm. *in loco*, and the literature *infra*, esp. the learned work of Braun, pp. 627–745). On each jewel was engraved the name of one of the twelve tribes of Israel. All that has been written as to the order in which the names were arranged is mere speculation. The whole, however, had a fine significance: for thus the high priest wore 'upon his heart the names of the children of Israel, for a memorial before J" continually' (28^{29}).

The b. was kept in position by the foll. simple device. At the right and left top corners, respectively, of the outer jewelled square, was fixed a gold ring, through which was passed a gold chain, or rather cord (for it had no links) 'of wreathen work.' These chains were then passed over, or through, or otherwise attached to, a couple of gold ornaments (AV 'ouches')—probably rosettes (LXX *ἀσπιδίσκας*) of gold filigree—which had previously (v.[13]) been fixed to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod in front. Similarly, at the right and left bottom corners of the *inner* square were fixed two gold rings, through each of which was passed a ribbon or 'lace of blue' (RV). Corresponding to these two rings on the b. were two of the same material, attached, like the rosettes above mentioned, to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod. Their precise position, however, is difficult to determine, owing to the want of clearness in the existing description of the ephod (Ex 28^{6-12}). They may, perhaps, be best thought of as sewed to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod at points lower than the rosettes by the length of the chains and square, so that, in short, the rings of the ephod and those of the b. were in immediate contact, and fastened together by the blue lace.† The latter, in this way, would be entirely hidden by the b., which would account for the inferior material of the lower fastening compared with that of the upper. By this means the b. was securely held in its place, so that it should rest just 'above the cunningly woven band of the ephod' (v.[28]). The main purpose of the b., there can scarcely be any longer a doubt, was to provide a receptacle for the sacred lot, the mysterious URIM and THUMMIM (wh. see). It should be added

* So Kautzsch, 'Orakel-Tasche.' Cf. λόγιον (oracle) of LXX.

† The latest representation, in Nowack's *Archäologie*, ii. p. 119 (from Riehm's *HWB*[2] i. 402), cannot be correct. If the laces were attached so high as there represented, the b., so far from being kept from shifting, would fall forward every time the high priest had occasion to bend his body.

that the description of the b. by Jos. (*Ant.* III. vii. 5, and *Wars*, V. v. 7) must be used with caution.

LITERATURE.—Besides the comm. on Exod. consult the class. work of Braun, *Vest. Sacerd. Heb.* Amstel. 1680; Bähr, *Symbolik d. Mos. Kultus*[2] ii. p. 61 ff.; Neumann, *D. Stiftshütte*, 1861, pp. 150–159 (with fine illustrations in colours); Ewald's *Antiquities* (Eng. tr.), 294 ff.; Keil's *Arch.* (Eng. tr.) i.; Nowack's *Arch.* ii. 119; Ancessi, *L'Egypte et Moise*, 1e part. 'Les Vêtements du Grandprêtre,' 1875. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BREATH.—See SPIRIT.

BREECHES (מִכְנָסַיִם, περισκελῆ, *feminalia*: for illustr. of last, see Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.*).—This is the name given to the undergarment ordered by Ezk (44[18]), and the legislation of P (Ex 28[42] 39[28], Lv 6[10] 16[4]) to be worn on grounds of modesty (פָּשַׁר in above pass. is a euphemism, see under BATH) by the priests when engaged in the more solemn duties of their office. The b., more accurately drawers, were made of white linen, were very short, like our modern bathing drawers, reaching to below the loins and fastening round the waist. The Egyp. priests are said to have worn a similar garment (Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herod.*[2] ii. 113). Jos. gives a description of it as worn in his time (*Ant.* III. vii. 1. Cf. Kalisch on Ex 28[4]; Braun, *De Vest. Sacerd. Hebr.* 1680, lib. ii. cap. i. *De* מכנסים *Brachis Sacerdotum*, with illustr. p. 450). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BRETHREN OF THE LORD. — The phrase 'brother' or 'brethren' of the Lord is used several times in the NT of James and other persons. There has been much controversy as to the actual relationship implied, whether we are to understand 'brethren' literally as meaning sons of the mother and reputed father of Jesus (the Helvidian view), or sons of Joseph by a former marriage (the Epiphanian view), or sons of Clopas or Alphæus, the husband of a sister of the mother of Jesus (the Hieronymian view).

A. The passages bearing on the subject are Mt 1[25], Lk 2[7] (birth), Jn 2[12] (common household), Lk 4[16-30] (preaching at Nazareth), Mk 3[20ff. 31ff.] (attempts of Mary and His brethren to restrain Jesus; cf. Mt 12[47], Lk 8[19]), Jn 7[2-8] (going up to the Feast of Tabernacles), Mt 27[56], Mk 15[40. 47] 16[1], Lk 24[10], Jn 19[25ff.] (the crucifixion), Ac 1[14], Gal 1[18f.], 1 Co 9[5] (after the Resurrection).

I think that any one reading these passages, without any preconceived idea on the subject, would naturally draw the conclusion that Mary was the true wife of Joseph, and bore to him at least four sons (James, Joses, Judas, and Simon) and two daughters; that the sons were not included among the twelve apostles, but were, on the contrary, disbelievers in the Messiahship of Christ, and inclined at one time to entertain doubts as to His sanity, though after His death they threw in their lot with His disciples. Setting aside the apocryphal books of the NT, the earliest reference to this subject in the post-apostolic writers is found in Hegesippus (about A.D. 160). His testimony, preserved by Eusebius (*HE* iv. 22), is quite consistent with the conclusion to which we are led by the language of Scripture, while it is totally opposed to the Hieronymian view. It is to the effect that 'after the martyrdom of James the Just on the same charge as the Lord, his paternal uncle's child, Symeon the son of Clopas, was next made Bishop of Jerus., being put forward by all as the second in succession, seeing that he was a cousin of the Lord.' Cf. this with *HE* iii. 22, where Symeon is said to have succeeded the *brother of the Lord* as bishop, and c. 20, where Jude also is called brother of the Lord.

Tertullian (*d.* A.D. 220) is, however, the first who distinctly asserts that the 'brethren' were uterine brothers of Jesus. Arguing against Marcion, who had made use of the text, 'Who is my mother, and who my brother?' to prove that Christ was not really man, he says: *Nos contrario dicimus, primo, non potuisse illi annuntiari quod mater et fratres ejus foris starent . . . si nulla illi mater et fratres nulli fuissent. . . . At vere mater et fratres ejus foris stabant. . . . Tam proximas personas foris stare, extraneis intus defixis ad sermones ejus . . . merito indignatus est. Transtulit sanguinis nomina in alios, quos magis proximos pro fide judicaret . . . in semet ipso docens, qui patrem aut matrem aut fratres præponeret verbo Dei, non esse dignum discipulum* (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 19). Similarly arguing from the same text against the Marcionite Apelles, he says 'the words are not inconsistent with the truth of His humanity. No one would have told Him that His mother and His brethren stood without, *qui non certus esset habere illum matrem et fratres. . . . Omnes nascimur, et tamen non omnes aut fratres habemus aut matrem. Adhuc potest et patrem magis habere quam matrem, et avunculos magis quam fratres. . . . Fratres Domini non crediderunt in illum. . . . Mater æque non demonstratur adhæsisse ei. . . . Hoc denique in loco apparet incredulitas eorum*' (*De Carne Christi*, 7). As Tertullian in these passages gives no hint that the brothers of Jesus stood to Him in any other relation than other men's brothers do to them, or that His relationship to them was not as real as that to His mother, so in other treatises he takes it for granted that Mary ceased to be a virgin after the birth of Christ (*De Monogamia*, 8): *Duæ nobis antistites Christianæ sanctitatis occurrunt, monogamia et continentia. Et Christum quidem virgo enixa est, semel nuptura post partum* ('being about to defer her marriage union till after the birth of her son,' lit. 'being about to marry first after her delivery') *ut uterque titulus sanctitatis in Christi sensu dispungeretur per matrem et virginem et univiram*; and in even plainer words (*De Virg. Vel.* 6), where he discusses the meaning of the salutation *benedicta tu inter mulieres*. 'Was she called *mulier*, and not *virgo*, because she was espoused? We need not, at any rate, suppose a prophetic reference to her future state as a married woman': *non enim poterat posteriorem mulierem nominare, de qua Christus nasci non habebat, id est virum passam sed illa* (*illam?*) *quæ erat præsens, quæ erat virgo* ('for the angel could not be referring to the wife that was to be, for Christ was not to be born of a wife, *i.e.* of one who had known a husband; but he referred to her who was before him, who was a virgin').

These words of Tertullian, himself strongly ascetic, which were written about the end of the 2nd cent., do not betray any consciousness that he is controverting an established tradition in favour of the perpetual virginity. And Origen (*d.* 253 A.D.), though upholding the virginity, and objecting to the phrase used above by Tertullian (*quod asserunt eam nupsisse post partum, unde approbent non habent, Com. in Luc.* 7), does not claim any authority for his own view, but only argues that it is admissible.* For the statement that the 'brethren' were sons of Joseph by a predeceased wife, he refers to two apocryphal books, dating from about the middle of the 2nd cent., as the authority for his view that the 'brethren' were sons of Joseph by a predeceased wife. One of these books is the Gospel of Peter, which, as we learn from Eusebius (*HE* vi. 12), Serapion, bishop of Antioch at the end of the 2nd cent., forbade to be used in a Cilician church, on the ground that it favoured the heretical views of the Docetæ. The latter portion of this Gospel (of course not containing the passage referred to by Origen) was dis-

* *Comm. in Matt.* xii. 55 (vol. iii. p. 45, Lomm.).

covered in a fragmentary condition in Egypt a few years ago, the *Editio Princeps* being published in 1892. The other book to which Origen refers is still extant, the *Protevangelium Jacobi*. It contains the story of Anna and Joachim, the parents of Mary, of her miraculous birth and betrothal to Joseph to be her guardian, he having been designated for this honour, against his will, out of all the widowers of Israel, by the dove which issued from his rod. The names of Joseph's sons are variously given in the MSS as Simon, Samuel, James.

I think that these facts prove that the belief in the Perpetual Virginity, which was growing up during the 2nd cent. and established itself in the 3rd cent., was founded, not upon historic evidence, but simply on sentimental grounds, which may have gained additional strength from opposition to the Ebionites, who denied the miraculous birth of the Lord (Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 61). Even Basil the Great, who died in A.D. 379, in discussing the meaning of Mt 1^{20}, still holds the belief in the Virginity, not as a necessary article of faith, but merely as a pious opinion.* It is unnecessary to give the names of others who held that the 'brethren' were sons of Joseph by a former wife. The chief supporter of this view is Epiphanius, who wrote against the Antidicomarianitæ about the year A.D. 370. The view of Tertullian was reasserted by Helvidius, Bonosus, and Jovinianus, about the year A.D. 380.

B. Jerome's answer to Helvidius, which fastened on the Western Church the doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity and the interpretation of 'brethren' in the sense of 'cousins,' appeared about the year A.D. 383. He begins by identifying James the Lord's brother with James the son of Alphæus, one of the Twelve. Otherwise, he says, there would be three disciples called James, but the distinctive epithet *minor* attached to one of them in Mk 15^{40} implies that there could be only two. Moreover, St. Paul calls him an apostle in Gal 1^{19} 'other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.' Again, in Mk 6^3 we find a James and Joses amongst the brethren of Jesus, and in Mk 15^{40} we read that Mary, the mother of James and Joses, was present at the crucifixion; but in Jn 19^{25} this Mary (whom, as mother of James, we know to be wife of Alphæus) is called Mary of Clopas, sister of the Lord's mother. James is therefore the cousin of the Lord; the word brother being used for kinsman. Later writers carried the theory further by identifying Alphæus and Clopas as double forms of the Aramaic Chalphai, and by identifying 'Judas of James,' who occurs in St. Luke's list of the apostles (Lk 6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}), with the writer of the Epistle (who calls himself 'brother of James'), and also with the brother of Joses, James, and Simon, in Mk 6^3. Simon is further identified with Simon Zelotes, who is joined with James and Judas in the list of the apostles; and some hold that Matthew, being identical with Levi, son of Alphæus, must belong to the same family. Bp. Lightfoot calls attention to the fact that not only does Jerome make no pretence to any traditional support for this view, but that he is himself by no means consistent in holding it. Thus in his comment on the Galatians, written about A.D. 387, he says: 'James was called the Lord's brother on account of his high character, his incomparable faith, and his extraordinary wisdom; the other apostles are also called brothers (Jn 20^{17}), but he pre-eminently so, to whom the Lord at His departure had committed the sons of His mother (*i.e.* the members of the Church at Jerusalem).' In a later work still, the Epistle to Hedibia, written about 406, he speaks of Mary of Cleophas (Clopas) the aunt of our Lord, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, as distinct persons, 'although some contend that the mother of James and Joses was His aunt.'

(1) In the above argument of Jerome it is assumed that the word 'brother' (ἀδελφός) may be used in the sense of cousin (ἀνεψιός, found in Col 4^{10}). The supporters of this theory do not offer any parallel from the NT, but they appeal to classical use both in Greek and Latin, and to the OT. The examples cited from classical Greek are merely expressive of warm affection, or else metaphorical, as Plato, *Crito*, § 16, where the laws of Athens are made to speak of οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐν Ἅιδου νόμοι. There is no instance in classical Greek, as far as I know, of ἀδελφός being used to denote a cousin. In Latin *frater* may stand for *frater patruelis*, where there is no danger of being misunderstood (cf. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 5. 1). The Heb. word is used loosely to include cousin, as in Gn $14^{14\text{-}16}$ (of Abraham and Lot), where the LXX has ἀδελφιδοῦς; in Lv 10^4, where the first cousins of Aaron are called brethren (ἀδελφοί) of his sons, Nadab and Abihu; in 1 Ch $23^{21.22}$ ('The sons of Mahli, Eleazar and Kish. And Eleazar died, and had no sons, but daughters: and their brethren the sons of Kish took them') where also the LXX has ἀδελφοί. These passages seem to me to be hardly covered by the general rule laid down by Bishop Lightfoot (p. 261): 'In an affectionate and earnest appeal intended to move the sympathies of the hearer, a speaker might not unnaturally address a relation or a friend or even a fellow-countryman as his "brother": and even when speaking of such to a third person he might through warmth of feeling and under certain aspects so designate him.' I think, however, the Bishop is entirely right when he goes on to say: 'It is scarcely conceivable that the cousins of any one should be commonly and indeed exclusively styled his "brothers" by indifferent persons; still less, that one cousin in particular should be singled out and described in this loose way, "James, the Lord's brother."' If we remark, too, the care with which Hegesippus (quoted above) employs the term ἀδελφός of St. James and St. Jude, the brothers of the Lord, while he keeps the term ἀνεψιός for Symeon, the cousin of the Lord and second bishop of Jerusalem, we shall feel that there is a strong probability against the use of ἀδελφοί in NT to denote anything but brothers.

(2) Jerome's main argument is that James the Lord's brother was one of the Twelve, and therefore identical with James the son of Alphæus. He grounds this assertion on a single passage in St. Paul, which I shall presently examine. Bishop Lightfoot and others have shown that it is not a necessary consequence of St. Paul's language, and that it is opposed to the distinction everywhere made in the NT between the brethren of the Lord and the Twelve. Thus in Ac 1^{14}, after the list of the Eleven including James the son of Alphæus, we read, 'these all continued instant in prayer' σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ Μαριὰμ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ. Again, in Jn 2^{12} we read that Jesus went down to Capernaum αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας; and in Mt $12^{47\text{ft.}}$ 'One said to him' ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἑστήκασιν ζητοῦντές σοι λαλῆσαι . . . 'and stretching forth his hand to his disciples he saith' ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου· ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρός μου, τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μοι ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν. In the last passage there is the same strong antithesis between natural earthly ties and His duty to His Father in heaven, which we observe in the words spoken by Him when found as a boy in the temple. Notice also that there is in this passage not only a distinction made between the brethren of Jesus and His disciples,

* *Hom. in Sanct. Christ. Gen.* ii. p. 600, ed. Garn.

but a certain opposition is implied, which is brought out more clearly in St. Mark's narrative of the same event (3[21. 31-35]). From the latter it appears that the reason why they of His family (*οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*) desired to speak with Him was because the rumour which had reached them of His incessant labours led them to believe that His mind was overstrained. As St. Mark goes on to say (v.[22]) that the scribes accused Jesus of casting out devils through Beelzebub, and as we further read in St. John (10[20] 8[48]) that many said, 'He hath a devil, and is mad,' it would seem, though it is not expressly stated, that these calumnious reports of His enemies had not been without effect on some members of His own family. At all events, they went out prepared *κρατῆσαι αὐτόν*, *i.e.* to put Him under some restraint. This narrative gives additional point to the words in Mk 6[4], spoken with immediate reference to the unbelief of the people of Nazareth, *οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ*. If it were simply the disbelief of townspeople not immediately related to Him, there seems no need for the addition 'in his own kinsfolk and in his own house.' This inference, which we naturally draw from the words of St. Mark, is confirmed by the express statement of St. John (7[3-5]), *οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευον εἰς αὐτόν*, and by our Lord's words addressed to them (v.[7]), *οὐ δύναται ὁ κόσμος μισεῖν ὑμᾶς· ἐμὲ δὲ μισεῖ, ὅτι ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά ἐστιν*. Compare this with the words spoken shortly afterwards to the disciples (15[19]), *εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦτε, ὁ κόσμος ἂν τὸ ἴδιον ἐφίλει· ὅτι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ ἐστε, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐξελεξα ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ κόσμος*.

The words on which Jerome lays stress are Gal 1[18. 19] *ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκάπεντε· ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*. But even if we give its usual force to *εἰ μή*, it will not follow that St. James was included in the Twelve, for there can be no doubt that in Gal 1[19] *ἕτερον* looks backward to *Κηφᾶν*, not forward to *Ἰάκωβον*. The sentence would have been complete at *εἶδον*, 'I saw Peter and none other of the apostles.' Then it strikes St. Paul, as an afterthought, that the position of James, as president of the Church at Jerusalem, was not inferior to that of the apostles, and he adds 'unless you reckon James among them.' That the term 'apostle' was not strictly confined to the Twelve appears from another passage in which James is mentioned, 1 Co 15[4-7]. Here it is said that Jesus after His resurrection 'appeared to Cephas, then to the Twelve, then to above five hundred brethren at once, then to James, then to all the apostles,' where we should perhaps consider the term to include the Seventy, according to the view of Irenæus and other early writers. At any rate there can be no doubt as to St. Paul's apostleship. Barnabas also is called an apostle (Ac 14[4. 14]), probably also Andronicus and Junias (Ro 16[7]) and Silvanus (1 Th 2[6]).* The most natural interpretation of the two passages just dealt with is that which concedes the name 'apostle' in the wider sense to St. James, but makes a distinction between him and the Twelve.

(3) Scarcely less strong is the argument against the Hieronymian view drawn from what we read of the relation of the brethren of the Lord to His mother. Though, according to this view, their own mother Mary was living at the time of the crucifixion, and though there is nothing to show that their father was not also living, yet they are never found in the company of their parents or parent, but always with the Virgin. They move with her and her divine Son to Capernaum and form one household there (Jn 2[12]); they take upon themselves to control and check the actions of Jesus; they go with Mary 'to take him,' when it is feared that His mind is becoming unhinged. They are referred to by the neighbours as members of His family in exactly the same terms as His mother and His reputed father. It is suggested indeed that the Virgin and her sister were both widows at this time, and had agreed to form one household; but this is mere hypothesis, and is scarcely consistent with the remarks of the neighbours, who endeavour to satisfy themselves that Jesus was not entitled to speak as He had done, by calling to mind those nearest to Him in blood.

(4) That Mary of Clopas was the sister of Mary the mother of the Lord is not only most improbable in itself (for where do we find two sisters with the same name?), but is not the most natural interpretation of Jn 19[25] *εἱστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή* (translated in the Peshiṭta, 'His mother and his mother's sister, *and* Mary of Cleopha and Mary Magdalene'). If we compare this verse with Mk 15[40] and Mt 27[56], we find that, of the three women named as present in addition to the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene occurs in all three lists; 'Mary the mother of James and Joses' of the two synoptic Gospels is generally identified with 'Mary of Clopas'; and we then have left in Matthew 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee,' in Mark 'Salome,' and in John 'his mother's sister.' Salome is generally identified with 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee,' and there seems good reason also for identifying her with 'his mother's sister' in the Fourth Gospel. It does not seem likely that St. John would omit the name of his own mother; and the indirect way in which he describes her is very similar to the way in which he refers to himself as 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.' If we are right in this supposition, it is natural that the two sisters should be paired together, and then the two other Marys, just as we have the apostles arranged in pairs without a connecting particle in Mt 10[3. 4]. If the sons of Zebedee were so nearly related to our Lord, it helps us to understand Salome's request that they might sit on His right hand and on His left hand in His glory, as well as the commendation by our Lord of His mother to one, who was not only His best-loved disciple, but her own nephew. If, however, this interpretation is correct, if the sister of the Lord's mother is not the mother of James and Joses, but the mother of the sons of Zebedee, then the foundation-stone of the Hieronymian theory is removed, and the whole fabric topples to the ground.

(5) I take next two minor identifications, that of 'James the Less' with the 'brother of the Lord,' and that of *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*, of Lk 6[16] and Ac 1[13], with Jude the writer of the Epistle, who calls himself 'brother of James.' We have seen that Mary the mother of James *τοῦ μικροῦ* and of Joses, in Mk 15[40], is probably the same as Mary of Clopas, and that we have no reason for inferring from the Gospels that she was related to Jesus. If so, there is an end to the supposition that James the Less is James the brother of the Lord. But it is worth while to notice the mistranslation in which Jerome imagined that he found a further argument for the identification of our James with the son of Alphæus. The comparative *minor*, he says, suggests two persons, viz. the two apostles of this name. But the Greek has no comparative, simply *τοῦ μικροῦ*, 'the little,' which no more implies a comparison with only one person than any other descriptive epithet, such as *εὐεργέτης* or

* See Lightfoot, *l.c.* pp. 92–101, and the *Didaché*, xi. 1. 5, with Funk's notes.

φιλάδελφος. As to Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, no instance is cited for such an omission of the word ἀδελφός, and we must therefore translate 'Judas *son* of James' with the RV. Independently of this, if James, Judas, and Simon are all sons of Alphæus, what a strange way is this of introducing their names in the list of the apostles, 'James of Alphæus, Simon Zelotes, Judas of James'! Why not speak of all as 'sons of Alphæus,' or of the two latter as 'brothers of James'? Why not speak of all as 'brethren of the Lord'? It is especially strange that, if Judas were really known as such, he should have been distinguished in John (14[22]) merely by a negative, 'Judas not Iscariot,' and in the other Gospels by the appellation 'Lebbæus' or 'Thaddæus' (Mt 10[3], Mk 3[18]).

C. We have still to examine two crucial passages which have to be set aside before we can accept either the Epiphanian or the Hieronymian theory: Mt 1[24] Ἰωσὴφ . . . παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, and Lk 2[7] καὶ ἔτεκεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον. Reading these in connexion with those other passages which speak of the brothers and sisters of Jesus, it is hard to believe that the evangelists meant us to understand, or indeed that it ever entered their heads that the words could be understood to mean, anything else than that these brothers were sons of the mother and the reputed father of the Lord. It has been attempted, however, to prove that we need not take the passages referred to in their ordinary and natural sense. Thus Pearson, treating of the phrase ἕως οὗ, tells us that 'the manner of the Scripture language produceth no such inference' as that, from a limit assigned to a negative, we may imply a subsequent affirmative; and he cites the following instances in proof. 'When God said to Jacob, "I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of" (Gn 28[15]), it followeth not that, when that was done, the God of Jacob left him. When the conclusion of Deuteronomy was written it was said of Moses, "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day" (Dt 34[6]), but it were a weak argument to infer from thence that the sepulchre of Moses has been known ever since. When Samuel had delivered a severe prediction unto Saul, he "came no more to see him unto the day of his death" (1 S 15[35]); but it were a strange collection to infer, that he therefore gave him a visit after he was dead. "Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death" (2 S 6[23]); and yet it were a ridiculous stupidity to dream of any midwifery in the grave. Christ promised His presence to the apostles "until the end of the world" (Mt 28[20]); who ever made so unhappy a construction, as to infer from thence that for ever after He would be absent from them?' (*Creed*, Art. III. Chap. iii. p. 174).

It is difficult to believe that a man of Pearson's ability can have been blind to the difference between two kinds of limit, the mention of one of which suggests, while the mention of the other negatives, the future occurrence of the action spoken of. If we read 'the debate was adjourned till the papers should be in the hands of the members,' it as certainly implies the intention to resume the debate at a subsequent period, as the phrase 'the debate was adjourned till that day six months,' or 'till the Gr. Kalends,' implies the contrary. So when it is said 'to the day of his death,' 'to the end of the world,' this is only a more vivid way of saying *in sæcula sæculorum*. In like manner the phrase 'unto this day' implies that a certain state of things continued up to the very last moment known to the writer: the suggestion is, of course, that it will still continue. The remaining instance is that found in Gn 28[15]. This is a promise of continued help on the part of God until a certain end is secured. When that end is secured God is no further bound by His promise, however much the patriarch might be justified in looking for further help from his general knowledge of the character and goodness of God. To take now a case similar to that in hand: supposing we read 'Michal had no child till she left David and became the wife of Phaltiel,' we should naturally assume that after that she did have a child. So in Mt 1[24] the limit is not one beyond which the action becomes naturally and palpably impossible; on the contrary, it is just that point of time when under ordinary circumstances the action would become both possible and natural,* when, therefore, the reader, without warning to the contrary, might naturally be expected to assume that it did actually occur. Whether this assumption on the part of the reader, natural under ordinary circumstances, may become unnatural under the very extraordinary circumstances of the case, will be discussed further on. I confine myself here to the argument from language.†

The natural inference drawn from the use of the word πρωτότοκον in Lk 2[7] is that other brothers or sisters were born subsequently; otherwise why should not the word μονογενής have been used as in To 3[15] μονογενής εἰμι τῷ πατρί μου, Lk 7[12] 8[42] etc.? In Ro 8[29] the word is used metaphorically, but retains its natural connotation, πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, and so in every instance of its occurrence in the NT. It occurs many times in its literal use in the LXX, *e.g.* Gn 27[19. 32] 43[33], Dt 21[15], 1 K 16[34], 1 Ch 5[1] 26[10], but, so far as I have observed, never of an only son. There are also circumstances connected with one remarkable episode in our Lord's childhood which are more easily explicable if we suppose Him not to have been His mother's only son. Is it likely that Mary and Joseph would have been so little solicitous about an only son, and that son the promised Messiah, as to begin their homeward journey after the feast of the Passover at Jerusalem, and to travel for a whole day, without taking the pains to ascertain whether He was in their company or not? If they had several younger children to attend to, we can understand that their first thoughts would have been given to the latter; otherwise is it conceivable that Mary, however complete her confidence in her eldest son, should first have lost Him from her side, and then have allowed so long a time to elapse without an effort to find Him?

D. There are, however, some difficulties which must be grappled with before we can accept the Helvidian theory as satisfactory. (1) If the mother of Jesus had had other sons, would He have commended her to the care of a disciple rather than to that of a brother? (2) Is not the behaviour of the brethren towards Jesus that of elders towards a younger? (3) The theory is opposed to the Church tradition. (4) It is abhorrent to Christian sentiment.

(1) Bishop Lightfoot regards the first objection as fatal to the theory. 'Is it conceivable,' he says, 'that our Lord would thus have snapped

* Compare Plut. *Qu. Conv.* viii. 1; Diog. L. iii. 2 (on the vision which appeared to Ariston warning him μὴ συγγίνεσθαι τῇ γυναικί till the birth of her son Plato: Origen, *Against Celsus*, i. 37, refers to this as an *arg. ad hom.*); Hygin. *F.* 29, quoted in Wetstein's note, *in loco*; Athenag. *Apol.* 33: ὡς γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς καταβάλλων εἰς γῆν τὰ σπέρματα ἀμύητον περιμένει, οὐκ ἐπίστειρον, καὶ ἡμῖν μέτρον ἐπιθυμίας ἡ παιδοποιΐα; *Const. Apost.* vi. 28. 5: μήτε μὴν ἐγκυμονούσας ὁμιλείτωσαν (ταῖς γυναιξὶν οἱ ἄνδρες), οὐκ ἐπὶ παιδῶν γὰρ γενέσει τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς χάριν. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. p. 543) calls this a law of nature.

† Laurent remarks on the use of the imperfect ἐγίνωσκε implying abstinence from a habit ('refrained from conjugal intercourse') as opposed to the far more usual ἔγνω denoting a single act.

asunder the most sacred ties of natural affection?' (p. 272). The usual answer to this is that the disbelief of the Lord's brothers would naturally separate them from His mother. But as this disbelief was even then on the point of being changed into undoubting faith; and as the separation (if it ever existed, of which there is no evidence) was, at any rate, to be changed in a day or two into the closest union with all true followers of the Lord; and as the preparation for this change must have been long perceptible to the eye of Jesus, it seems necessary to find another way of meeting the objection, if it is to be met at all. I think, however, that Bp. Lightfoot goes a little too far when he speaks just below of this hypothesis requiring us to believe that the mother, though 'living in the same city' with her sons, 'and joining with them in a common worship (Ac 1^{14}), is consigned to the care of a stranger, of whose house she becomes henceforth the inmate.' We have seen that there is reason for believing Salome to have been the sister of Mary, and John therefore her nephew; but however this may be, in any case, as her Son's dearest friend, he must have been well known to her. And if we try to picture to ourselves the circumstances of the case, it is not difficult to imagine contingencies which would make it a very natural arrangement. It is generally supposed (from 1 Co 9^{5}) that the brothers of the Lord were married men: the usual age for marriage among the Jews was about eighteen: supposing them to have been born before the visit to the temple of the child Jesus, they would probably have married before His crucifixion. If, then, all her children were dispersed in their several homes, and if, as we naturally infer, her nephew John was unmarried, and living in a house of his own, is there anything unaccountable in the Lord's mother finding a home with the beloved disciple? Could this be regarded in any way as a slight by her other sons? Must they not have felt that the busy life of a family was not suited for the quiet pondering which now more than ever would characterise their mother? and, further, that this communion between the mother and the disciple was likely to be, not only a source of comfort to both, but also most profitable to the Church at large?

(2) It depends more upon the positive age than the relative age of brothers, whether the interference of a younger with an elder is probable or improbable. When all have reached manhood and have settled in their different spheres, a few years' difference in age does not count for much. It might, however, be thought that those who had grown up with one like Jesus must have felt such love and reverence for Him, that they could never dream of blaming or criticising what He thought best to do. Yet we know that His mother, to whom had been vouchsafed a much fuller revelation than was possible in their case as to the true nature of her Son, did nevertheless on more than one occasion draw upon herself His reproof for ventured interference. If we remember how little even those whom He chose out as His apostles were able to appreciate His aims and methods up to the very end of His life, how different was their idea of the kingdom of heaven and the office of the Messiah from His, we shall not wonder if His younger brothers, with all their admiration for His genius and goodness, were at times puzzled and bewildered at the words that fell from His lips; if they regarded Him as a self-forgetting idealist and enthusiast, wanting in knowledge of the world as it was, and needing the constant care of His more practical friends to provide Him with the ordinary comforts and necessaries of life. Thus much, I think, is certain from the known facts of the case; and we need nothing more than this to explain t heir fear that His mind might be overstrained, and their attempt to dictate the measures He should adopt in going up to the Feast, just as His mother had attempted to dictate to Him at them arriage at Cana.

(3) We have seen that, so far as we can speak of a tradition on this subject, it was in favour of the Epiphanian theory from about the end of the second century till it was unceremoniously driven out of the field by Jerome in the year 383: we have seen, too, that Jerome himself abandoned his own theory in his later writings. But it was so much in accordance with the ascetic views of the time, that it was adopted by Augustine and the Latin Fathers generally; while in the Eastern Church, Chrysostom, who, in his earlier writings, favours the Epiphanian view, comes round to Jerome in the later, and Theodoret may be mentioned on the same side. The later Greek Fathers are, however, almost all on the side of Epiphanius; and the Greek, Syrian, and Coptic Calendars mark the distinction between James the brother of the Lord and James the son of Alphæus by assigning a separate day to each. This distinction is also maintained, apart from any statement as to the exact relationship implied by the term 'brother,' in the *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions* of the second cent., and the *Apostolic Constitutions* of the third.

Historical tradition, therefore, on this subject there was properly none when Jerome wrote, any more than there is now, but there was a growing feeling in favour of the perpetual virginity, which took definite shape in the title ἀειπαρθένος used of Mary by Athanasius; and the apocryphal fictions were eagerly embraced as affording a support for this belief.

We cannot doubt that those who were agitating for a stricter rule would make use of the example of the Virgin, insisting on the name as implying a permanent state, and would endeavour to give an artificial strength to their cause by the addition of imaginary circumstances to the simple narrative of the gospel. Thus it was not enough to suppose the brethren of the Lord to be sons of Joseph by a former wife; Joseph's age must be increased so as to make it impossible for him to have had children by his second wife, though this supposition contradicts what the upholders of this view maintain to be the very purpose of Mary's marriage, viz. to screen her from all injurious imputations. How could the marriage effect this, if the husband were above eighty years of age, as Epiphanius says, following the apocryphal Gospels? Again, if this were the case, why should not the evangelist have stated it simply, instead of using the cautionary phrases πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν and οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν? But even this was not enough for the ascetic spirit. Further barriers must be raised between the contamination of matrimony and the virgin ideal. Joseph himself becomes a type of virginity: the 'brethren' are no longer his sons, but sons of Clopas, who was either his brother by one tradition, or his wife's sister's husband by another. Mary is made the child of promise and of miracle like Isaac, though not yet exalted to the honours of the Immaculate Conception; and we see Epiphanius already feeling his way to the doctrine of her Assumption, which was accepted by Gregory of Tours in the 6th cent. One other development may be noticed, as it is found in the *Protevangelium*, c. 20, though not mentioned by Epiphanius, viz. that not only the Conception but the Birth of our Lord was miraculous; in the words of Jeremy Taylor: 'He that came from His grave fast tied with a stone and signature, and into the college of the apostles, the doors being

shut . . . came also (as the Church piously believes) into the world so without doing violence to the virginal and pure body of His mother, that He did also leave her virginity entire.' * This miracle, superfluous as it is, and directly opposed to the words of St. Luke (2^{23}), is yet accepted by Jerome and his followers, and the allegorical method of interpretation is pressed to the utmost in order to gain some support from the OT for the doctrine of the *ἀειπαρθενία*. Thus we find Pearson (*Creed*, p. 326) citing, as a proof of it, Ezk 44^{2} 'This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.' It would surely have been more to the point to cite the words of the Messianic psalm (69^{8}): 'I have become a stranger to my brethren and an alien unto *my mother's children*'; this psalm being used to illustrate the earthly life of our Lord, both by St. John: 'The zeal of thy house has eaten me up; they gave me also gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink'; and by St. Luke: 'Let their habitation be desolate.'

(4) We go on, however, to consider that which has been all along the real obstacle in the way of a literal acceptation of the Scripture narrative, viz. the objection on the ground of Christian sentiment. It is 'the tendency,' says Dr. Mill (*l.c.* p. 301), 'of the Christian mystery, God manifest in the flesh, when heartily received, to generate an unwillingness to believe that the womb thus divinely honoured should have given birth to other merely human progeny.' 'The sentiment of veneration for this august vessel of grace which has ever animated Christians . . . could not have been wanting to the highly-favoured Joseph.' 'On the impossibility of refuting these sentiments . . . the truly Catholic Christian will have pleasure in reposing.' So Epiphanius, Jerome, and other ancient writers speak of this as a 'pious belief,' and the same is reiterated by Hammond and Jeremy Taylor cited by Mill (p. 309). In answer to this I would say that, unless we are prepared to admit all the beliefs of the mediæval Church, we must beware of allowing too much authority to pious opinions. Is there any extreme of superstition which cannot plead a 'pious opinion' in its favour? Of course it is right in studying history, whether sacred or profane, to put ourselves in the position of the actors, to imagine how they must have felt and acted; but this is not quite the same thing as imagining how we ourselves should have felt and acted under their circumstances, until at least we have done our best to strip off all that differentiates the mind of one century from the mind of another. If we could arrive at the real feeling of Joseph in respect to his wife, and of Mary in respect to her Son before and after His birth, this would undoubtedly be an element of the highest importance for the determination of the question before us; but to assume that they must have felt as a monk, or nun, or celibate priest of the Middle Ages; to assume even, with Dr. Mill, that they fully understood the mystery 'God manifest in the flesh,' is not merely to make an unauthorised assumption, it is to assume what is palpably contrary to fact. Mary and Joseph were religious Jews, espoused to one another, as it is natural to suppose, in the belief prevalent among the Jews that marriage was a duty, and that a special blessing attached to a prolific union. To both it is revealed from heaven that the Messiah should be born of Mary by a miraculous conception. Joseph is told that 'his name is to be called Jesus, because he shall save his people from their sins.' Mary is told, in addition, that 'he shall be called the Son of the Highest, and that the Lord God shall give him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever.' There is surely nothing in these words which would disclose the Christian mystery 'God manifest in the flesh.' They point to a greater Moses, or David, or Solomon, or Samuel. Mary's hymn of praise is founded on the recollection of Hannah's exultation at the fulfilment of prophecy in the birth of her son. Her mind would naturally turn to other miraculous births, to that of Isaac under the old dispensation, to that now impending in the case of her cousin Elisabeth. And as there was nothing in the announcement made to them which could enable them to realise the astounding truth that He who was to be born of Mary was Very God of Very God, so there is nothing in the subsequent life of Mary which would lead us to believe that she, any more than His apostles, had realised it before His resurrection. On the contrary, it is plain that such a belief fully realised would have made it impossible for her to fulfil, I do not say her duties towards her husband, but her duties towards the Lord Himself during His infancy and childhood. It is hard enough even now to hold together the ideas of the humanity and divinity of Christ without doing violence to either; but to those who knew Him in the flesh we may safely say it was impossible until the Comforter had come and revealed it unto them. As to what should be the relations between the husband and wife after the birth of the promised Child there is one thing we may be sure of, viz. that these would be determined, not by personal considerations, but either by immediate inspiration, as the journey to Egypt and other events had been, or, in the absence of this, by the one desire to do what they believed to be best for the bringing up of the Child entrusted to them. We can imagine their feeling it to be a duty to abstain from bringing other children into the world, in order that they might devote themselves more exclusively to the nurture and training of Jesus. On the other hand, the greatest prophets and saints had not been brought up in solitude. Moses, Samuel, and David had had brothers and sisters. It might be God's will that the Messiah should experience in this, as in other things, the common lot of man. Whichever way the Divine guidance might lead them, we may be sure that the response of Mary would be still as before: 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word.' Even if the language of the Gospels had been entirely neutral on this matter, it would surely have been a piece of high presumption on our part to assume that God's providence must always follow the lines suggested by our notions of what is seemly; but when every conceivable barrier has been placed in the way of this interpretation by the frequent mention of brothers of the Lord, living with His mother and in constant attendance upon her; when He is called her firstborn son, and when St. Matthew goes into what we might have been inclined to think almost unnecessary detail in fixing a limit to the separation between husband and wife, — can we characterise it otherwise than as a contumacious setting up of an artificial tradition above the written Word, if we insist upon it that 'brother' must mean, not brother, but either cousin or one who is no blood-relation at all; that 'firstborn' does not imply other children subsequently born; that the limit fixed to separation does not imply subsequent union?

* Chrys. *Hom.* cxlii. (ap. Suicer, ii. p. 306): *ὁ Χριστὸς προῆλθεν ἐκ μήτρας καὶ ἄλυτος ἔμεινεν ἡ μήτρα.* This was affirmed in the 79th Canon of the Council *in Trullo* towards the end of the 7th cent.

LITERATURE.—Fuller information may be found in Bishop Lightfoot's dissertation on the Brethren of the Lord, admirable alike for thoroughness, clearness, and fairness, which is contained in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, ed. 10, pp.

252–291. It is from him I have borrowed the terms Hieronymian, Epiphanian, Helvidian, to classify the main theories which have been put forward on the subject. He himself held the second theory. The first is advocated by Dr. Mill (*Pantheistic Principles*, pt. ii. pp. 220-316), and in a less extreme form by Dr. P. Schegg (*Jakobus, der Bruder des Herrn.* München, 1883). The argument for the third is given in Credner's *Einleitung*, Laurent's *Neutest. Studien*, Farrar's *Early Days of Christianity*, ch. xix., the articles 'Maria' and 'Jakobus' in Herzog's *Encycl. f. prot. Theol.*, and the introduction to my *Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*, from which the present article is chiefly taken. J. B. MAYOR.

BRIBERY.—See CRIMES.

BRICK (לְבֵנָה).—The usual material for building throughout all Eastern countries is mud brick. In rainless Egypt this is a perfect substance for walls, and the great defences of towns and sanctuaries were immensely massive walls of dried mud, up to 80 ft. in thickness. The same was used for arches and domes and for pillars, as in the great hall of 700 pillars of Akhenaten. In Babylonia as wide a use of mud brick is found, walls, ramparts, and *zikkurats* being entirely made of it, from the earliest Bab. age downward. In Persia, India, China, and Mexico, mud brick is a universal material; it has sheltered far the greater part of the human race, and the use of red or burnt brick is quite an exception in history. In Pal. mud brick was largely used in Amorite times, thick fortifications being made of it. The form was more like the Babylonian, being a square tile, whereas the Egyptians used a brick of our present shape. Throughout the Jewish period, mud brick was generally used, faced with stone jambs and lintels at the doorways, and plastered white all over. Such was the Egyptian method. In Philistia, down to the present time, the villages are of mud-brick houses domed, and the rainfall is absorbed by a thick crop of grass which grows on the roof, and is the pasture ground of the goats.

In the OT there is allusion to burning bricks for the tower of Babel (Gn 11^3); and such burnt bricks were largely used in Babylonia, owing to the wetness of the soil and climate. They were very rare in Egypt until Roman times, but became general in the age of Constantine.

The brick-making in Egypt was a common occupation for captives, and the celebrated picture at Thebes of the foreign brickmakers, guarded by an Egyp. overseer, is very well known. The black Nile soil of the country is first dug down into a hole already made at any convenient spot near the water; it is then mixed with sufficient sand, if a good quality is desired, and with chopped straw, which is cut up thus by the threshing rollers used at harvest. Water is poured over it, and it is trampled into a smooth paste. Baskets of this paste are then carried out to the moulding ground, a smooth clear space near at hand. The moulder places his wooden mould on the ground, lifts a double handful of the mud, and drops it in, presses it down, and wipes off the surplus; he then lifts the mould frame by its handle, and leaves the brick on the ground to dry; the frame is then placed close to it, and another is moulded, until the ground is covered with bricks in regular rows. These

BRICK STAMP OF WOOD, EGYPTIAN, XVIII. DYN.

remain for a week or more to dry in the sun, and are then ready for building. From the 18th to 21st dynasties the bricks for government buildings often bear a stamp of the king's name, and sometimes a special stamp naming the particular building for which they were intended. The wooden stamps for this purpose have been found, as well as the moulding frames.

In the celebrated question of the straw (Ex 5^{7-19}), which has passed into an English proverb, there is something to be said on the Egyp. side. Straw was not by any means universally used, often plain mud and sand, or mud and pebbles, were used; and it was far more important to get the tale of bricks done than to be too particular about the straw. Next, the chopped straw regularly kept in stock and supplied (the *tibn* of the present day) is a very valuable cattle food, and the main support of animals during the inundation, as it is more sweet and grassy than Eng. straw. Hence to restrict its use for brick-making, and to require waste material, such as stubble, to be found, was quite customary; and many more bricks are to be seen made with waste than those containing good food *tibn*. We may note that the taskmasters were the Egyp. overseers, while the officers were Hebrews, chiefs of the gangs, held responsible for the quantity delivered. Considering the well-known character of the Hebrews (Nu 11^4 21^5), we must not take their grievances too seriously. They had at least in Egypt a good and full diet, by their own confession (Nu 11^5), as good as, or better than, that of the Egyp. peasant of the present day.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

BRIDE.—In patriarchal times the bride is commonly chosen, not by the bridegroom, but by his parents or friends, and they do not necessarily consult him. Abraham sends a confidential servant to find a bride for Isaac (Gn 24). Judah takes Tamar as a bride for his son Er (38^6). Isaac instructs Jacob as to his choice (28^2). And, in the absence of the father, Hagar takes a wife for Ishmael (21^{21}). Where the bridegroom chooses, it is his father who makes the proposal, as in the cases of Shechem ($34^{4.8}$) and Samson (Jg $14^{2.10}$). Whether the consent of the bride was usually asked, is not clear; Gn 24^{58} is not evidence. Perhaps Rebekah was only asked whether she would go *at once*; it had been previously agreed that she was to go. And these patriarchal customs have not undergone much change in the East: a bride may know nothing of the bridegroom till the wedding.

The bride was commonly paid for; *i.e.* her father received money or service in return for his consent to part with her (Gn 31^{15} 34^{12}, 1 S $18^{25.27}$ etc.). The bride herself received no dowry; and To 7^{14} is the earliest mention of a marriage contract, which perhaps was of the nature of a settlement.

Betrothal was much more serious than 'engagement' is with us. Unfaithfulness on the part of the bride during the interval between betrothal and marriage was regarded as adultery, and might be punished with death (Dt $22^{23.24}$). She was to be stoned, not strangled; and this makes it probable that the 'woman taken in adultery' was betrothed and not yet married ([Jn] $8^{4.5}$). Nothing of the kind is found in Greek or Roman law, according to which betrothal was a mere promise on the part of the bride to marry the bridegroom, and did not create any legal obligation. There was no penalty for breach of promise (Smith, *Dict. of Ant.* 3rd ed. ii. p. 140*a*).

The main feature in the marriage ceremony, which was a legal formality rather than a religious rite, was the fetching of the bride from the house of her father to the house of the bridegroom or his father. Among the Greeks the bride prepared herself for the wedding by a bath; and at Athens

the water for λουτρὸν νυμφικόν was taken from the fountain Callirrhoë. There is reason for believing that Jewish brides did the like, and that there is allusion to this custom (Ru 3[3], Ezk 23[40], Eph 5[26.27]). If the last reference is correct, the allusion is very striking. At the wedding the bride wore a veil, which entirely covered her, a sash, and a crown. 'Attire' in Jer 2[32] prob. means the bridal sash (cf. Is 3[20] RVm, 49[18]), and *kallâh*, the Heb. word for bride, is by some connected with the crown.* The bride remained veiled throughout; and thus Jacob did not detect the substitution of Leah for Rachel (Gn 29[20-25]). Embroidery, perfumes, and jewels were usual with those who could afford them (Ps 45[8. 13. 14], Is 49[18] 61[10], Rev 21[2]).

In mystical language 'the bride' in the OT is Israel, and the bridegroom or husband is J". This image prevails throughout Ps 45, and is found in various passages in the Prophets (Is 54[5] 62[5], Jer 3[14], Hos 2[19]). Possibly the Song of Songs was mystically interpreted among the Jews even before it was admitted to the Canon. Hence idolatry on the part of Israel is 'playing the harlot' (Jer 3[1. 6. 8]), is 'whoredom' (Hos 4[12] 9[1]), and worthy of death (Ps 73[27]).

In the NT 'the bride' is the Church, and the bridegroom is Christ (2 Co 11[2], Rev 19[7] 21[2. 9], Mt 9[15], Jn 3[29]); and in the Apoc. the bride is usually the ideal Church, the heavenly Jerusalem. But in Rev 22[17] we have 'the bride' used of 'the Church militant here on earth,' praying to her Lord to return to her. Here again, also, an apostate Church is regarded as a harlot (17[1-6]). A. PLUMMER.

BRIDEGROOM.—Much that might be said under this head has been anticipated in the article BRIDE. To this day in the East the bridegroom has, as a rule, little to do with the choice of the bride. Love matches are rare, and in many cases are impossible. In the OT we see that where the son chose his own bride independently of his parents, his relations with the latter were not happy (Gn 26[34. 35] 27[46]). Jehoiada the priest chooses wives for the orphan king, Joash (2 Ch 24[3], comp. 25[18]). The interval between betrothal and marriage might be of any duration, for the espousal of children to one another has always been common in the East; but a year for maidens and a month for widows seems to have been customary.

On the wedding day the bridegroom wore a garland (Ca 3[11], comp. Is 61[10]) as well as the bride, and was often profusely perfumed (Ca 3[6]). Weddings commonly took place in the evening; and at the proper time the bridegroom sets out, along with his 'companions' (Jg 14[11]), the 'sons of the bride-chamber' (Mk 2[19], Lk 5[34]), with lights (2 Es 10[1. 2]) and music (1 Mac 9[39]), to fetch the bride. She also is accompanied by companions, maidens, some of whom start with her from her father's house (Ps 45[15]), while others join the bridal party afterwards, all of them provided with lamps (Mt 25[1-13]). Thus they go to meet the bridegroom, who conducts the whole party to the wedding feast, which might last many days (Jg 14[12], To 8[19]). The details of the ceremony would vary, esp. as regards magnificence; but there was not of necessity any religious rite. The essential act was the bridegroom's fetching the bride from her home to his. Of the custom of providing wedding garments for guests nothing is known with certainty (Mt 22[11. 12]), for Jg 14[13] is not in point; but rich clothing is in the East one of the commonest of presents. A bridegroom was exempt from military service between betrothal and marriage (Dt 20[7]), and for a year after marriage (Dt 24[5], comp. Lk 14[20]). This points to the conclusion that in the case of adults the time of betrothal did not usually exceed a year.

For the relation of bridegroom to bride as typical of the spiritual relationship between J" and Israel, and between Christ and the Church, see the article BRIDE. A. PLUMMER.

BRIDEGROOM'S FRIEND.—The Jewish custom of having a special 'friend of the bridegroom' (ὁ φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου) is alluded to only once in Scripture (Jn 3[29]), where John the Baptist is contrasting his own position with that of Christ. His disciples must not be jealous of the success of Christ, for Christ is the Bridegroom who is the possessor of the bride, while John is only the Bridegroom's friend, who prepares for the marriage, and has his reward in the joyous expression of the Bridegroom's satisfaction. The importance of the friend of the Bridegroom comes to an end when the marriage is over, but that of the Bridegroom continues to increase.

This 'friend of the bridegroom' must not be confounded with 'the sons of the bride-chamber' (οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος), who were very numerous (Mt 9[15], Mk 2[19], Lk 5[34]). Indeed any wedding guest might be included in the expression, or even any one who took part in the bridal procession. The 'friend' was somewhat analogous to our 'best man,' but he had far more onerous and delicate duties. Sometimes he took the place of a parent in negotiating the marriage at the outset. He was the chief agency of communication between the betrothed parties in the interval between espousals and marriage. He made the preparations for the wedding, and in some cases presided at the marriage feast. He conducted the married pair to the bridal chamber.

The custom of having groomsmen of this kind seems to have prevailed in Judæa, but not in Galilee. In this, as in other things, the customs of Galilee were more modest and simple. And it is worth noting that at the marriage in Cana of Galilee there is no mention of any *Shoshebheyna* or groomsman, a point which confirms the accuracy of the narrative. The 'ruler of the feast' is evidently not the 'friend of the bridegroom,' for he compliments the *bridegroom* upon the pleasing surprise of excellent wine towards the end of the feast. Had he been the 'friend of the bridegroom,' the arrangements would have been his own, and his remark would have been different. When the Baptist speaks of the 'friend of the Bridegroom,' he is not in Galilee, and being a Judæan his language is in accordance with Judæan customs (see Edersheim, *Life and Times of the Messiah*, i. pp. 354, 355, and notes 663, 664).

The Talmud frees the 'friends of the bridegroom' and all the 'sons of the bride-chamber' from the duty of dwelling in booths at the Feast of Tabernacles. Almost everything is to give way to the duty of making glad the bridal pair. They are not to be made to fast or mourn; and if in the wedding procession they meet a funeral, it is the funeral that must turn aside.

John the Baptist came to make overtures from the Bridegroom to His people (οἱ ἴδιοι), to prepare them for espousal with Him, to present them to Him when any were ready, to point Him out to them (Jn 1[29ff.]). St. Paul claims to hold a similar office in reference to his converts. 'I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy: for I espoused you to one Husband, that I might present you as a pure virgin to Christ' (2 Co 11[2]). The time until the Second Advent is the interval between betrothal and marriage; and, until the marriage of the Lamb takes place, the apostle feels that he is in a

* But this is very uncertain (cf. Frd. Delitzsch, *Proleg.* 130 f.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1886, p. 737). W. R. Smith (*Kinship*, 292) makes *kallâh* = 'one closed in.'

large measure responsible for the conduct of the bride. A. PLUMMER.

BRIDGE.—The word is not found in OT or NT (although LXX of Is 37[25] has *καὶ ἔθηκα γέφυραν*), occurring only in 2 Mac 12[13] AV, in connexion with the siege of Caspis by Judas. The rarity of the bridge was due to the foll. circumstances: (1) Rivers often served as tribal boundaries and military barriers. (2) Most of the streams were torrents in winter that were apt to sweep away bridges, and in summer were easily forded. (3) The roads on each side were not usually meant for vehicles, but were bridle-paths for such baggage-animals as camels, mules, and donkeys. Recent excavations have proved that at Nippur, in Babylonia, the arch of burnt brick was in use as early as 4000 B.C. (See BABYLONIA, p. 219[b].)

G. M. MACKIE.

BRIDLE.—See BIT. **BRIERS.**—See THORNS AND THISTLES.

BRIGANDINE (סִרְיֹן *ṣiryôn*, Jer 46[4] 51[3] AV).—A mail-shirt worn by a brigand, *i.e.* in its original sense, a light-armed soldier. RV has 'coat of mail.' See BREASTPLATE. W. E. BARNES.

BRIMSTONE (גָּפְרִית, *θεῖον*).—Sulphur is one of the most widely distributed of mineral substances. It occurs in combination with various metals, forming sulphurets and sulphates, and in combination with lime, producing gypsum; it is also found in all volcanic countries, often in a pure state and in large masses; as, for example, in Sicily, Italy, Volcano (one of the Lipari Islands), Teneriffe, Iceland, etc. The exhalations of volcanoes include, generally, sulphurous acid and sulphurated hydrogen, two gases which, if moist, readily decompose each other into water and sulphur. In Palestine sulphur is present in most, if not all, of the hot springs which break out along the valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea, while gypseous bands are abundant amongst the deposits which form the terraces of the valley, and were portions of the bed of the Jordan valley lake at a time when the waters of the Dead Sea stood at a level of several hundred feet above its present surface.* On the east side of the present lake there are several hot sulphur springs, the most important of which are the Zerka Ma'in (Callirrhoë) and Wady Ghuweir.† The former, described by Josephus,‡ has a maximum temperature of 143° F. according to Canon Tristram.§ On the western side of the Dead Sea there are several sulphur springs, sometimes rising at the margin of the waters, such as those of Shukif, near 'Ain Jidi, and S. of Wady Khuderah, and at Wady Maharat; all these have a high temperature.‖ The Ḥammâmât near Tiberias are well known, and are still largely used for the cure of rheumatism and other disorders. The temperature as determined by Anderson reaches 143° F.; the waters are highly sulphurous.¶ Next to the above the most important sulphur springs near the Jordan valley are those of the Yarmuk, N. of Umm Ḳeis (Gadara), described by Robinson;** the temperature reaches 109° F., and the remains of the Roman baths are still standing. There can be no doubt that the high temperature of the springs in the valleys of the Jordan and the Yarmuk is due to the passage of the waters through volcanic rocks belonging to late Tertiary periods which still retain some of their original heat at various depths below the surface; and, as Lartet observes, most of the springs on the east side of the Jordan rise from the great line of fault which ranges along the base of the Moabite table-land* (see ARABAH).

Brimstone is, besides in the narrative of Gn 19[24], repeatedly referred to in connexion with denunciations of the wrath of God on the wicked, whether nations (Dt 29[23], Is 34[9]) or individuals (Ps 11[6]). The extensive occurrence of sulphur in the depression of the Dead Sea indicates that this substance may have contributed towards the destruction of the Cities of the Plain. E. HULL.

BRING.—There are many obsolete or archaic uses of the verb 'to bring' in AV, of which the following deserve attention. **1. 'Bring on the way,'** *i.e.* to escort, Gn 18[16] 'Abraham went with them, to b. them on the way' (שָׁלַח); Ac 21[5] 'they all brought us on our way . . . till we were out of the city' (*προπέμπω*, so Ac 15[3], Ro 15[24], 2 Co 1[16]). Or 'to bring on one's journey,' Tit 3[13], 1 Co 16[6] 'that ye may bring me on my journey whithersoever I go' (*προπέμπω*, RV 'b. forward on my j.', as 3 Jn[6] AV, RV). Cf. Tourneur (1611) 'The skie is dark; we'll bring you o'er the fields.' Similar is the phrase 'to bring by a way,' Is 42[16] 'I will bring the blind by a way that they know not'; and cf. 2 S 7[18] 'thou hast brought me hitherto.' **2. Bring about** occurs only twice, and not in the mod. sense of 'cause to happen,' but 'cause to come round' (Heb. תָּמַם), 1 S 5[10] 'they have brought about the ark of the God of Israel to us'; 2 S 3[12] 'to b. about all Israel unto thee.' Cf. Shaks. 3 *Henry IV.* II. v. 27—

'How many hours bring about the day?'

3. Bring again, in the sense of 'bring back,' is frequent (Heb. mostly הֵשִׁיב). In Gn 14[16] 'b. back' and 'b. again' are used in turn, showing that the phrases were identical in meaning and indifferent in use, 'And he brought back (וַיָּשֶׁב) all the goods, and also brought again (הֵשִׁיב) his brother Lot.' A favourite expression is 'b. again the captivity,' always of J" ('again' is used with the first person, Jer 30[3] 48[47] 49[39], Ezk 16[53] 29[14] 39[25], Jl 3[1], Am 9[14]; 'back' with the 2nd and 3rd pers., Ps 14[7] 53[6] 85[1]).† 'Back' is omitted in AV, but introduced by RV, in Ec 3[22] 'who shall b. him to see (RV 'b. him back to see') what shall be after him?' See AGAIN. **4. Bring forth** is the tr[n] of a great variety of expressions whose shade of meaning ought not to be obliterated. Notice esp. Is 41[21] 'bring forth your strong reasons,' the only example of the obsol. meaning 'to adduce,' 'express'; cf. More (1532) 'The places of Scripture whiche Helvidius broughte furth for the contrarye.' **5. Bring up.** Besides the use of this phrase literally, as 'to bring up out of Egypt,' Gn 46[4] 'I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again'; or 'up to Jerus.' in ref. to its height, 2 S 6[15] 'David . . . brought up the ark of the LORD with shouting,' Ezr 1[11] 'All these did Sheshbazzar bring up, when they of the captivity were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem'; or to the temple in ref. to its elevated situation, Neh. 10[38] 'the Levites shall bring up the tithe of the tithes unto the house of our God'; or 'up out of the earth,' 1 S 28[8] 'and he (Saul) said, I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whomsoever I

* Dr. Blanckenkorn discusses the process of formation of gypseous deposits in the Jordan valley: 'Enst. und Gesch. des Todten Meers,' *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins* (1896).

† Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 353.

‡ *Ant.* XVII. vi.

§ *Land of Moab*, p. 242. The above is the temperature of the hottest of several springs at its source. Lartet gives the temperature of 88° F. (31° Cent.), but this was taken from the stream. *Voyage d'Exploration*, p. 290 (1880).

‖ Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 283, 305, and 358.

¶ Lieut. Lynch's Exped., *Off. Rep.* p. 202.

** *Phys. Geog. Holy Land*, 241.

* Lartet, *supra, cit.*; Hull, *Geology of Arabia-Petræa and Palestine, Mem. Pal. Explor. Soc.* (1886), p. 23.

† The Heb., strangely enough, is always שׁוּב. The meaning is disputed. See Driver on Dt 30[3].

shall name unto thee,' so 8. 11 bis. 15: besides these, there is the familiar phrase to bring up, *i.e.* train, children; see esp. Gn 50^{23}, 2 K 10^{6}, 2 S 21^{8}, Job 31^{18}, Pr 29^{21}, La 4^{5}, Lk 4^{16}, Ac 13^{1} 'Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod' (RV 'the foster-brother of'), 22^{3}, Eph 6^{4}. But the most important is the obsol. use of this phrase to signify the originating of slander, as Dt $22^{14.\ 19}$ 'he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel'; cf. Nu 13^{32} 'they brought up an evil report of the land.' J. HASTINGS.

BROID, BRODER.—1 Ti 2^{9} 'with broided hair' (ἐν πλέγμασιν, 'in plaits'). RV gives the mod. spelling 'braided,' as AV in Jth 10^{3} 'braided the hair of her head,' for Coverdale's 'broyded.' Cf.—

> 'Hir yelow heer was broyded in a tresse
> Behind hire back.'
>
> Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1051.

Broidered is given Ex 28^{4} as tr. of מְשֻׁבָּץ *tashbêẓ*, 'a b. coat' (RV 'coat of chequer work'); and seven times in Ezk ($16^{10.\ 13.\ 18}$ 26^{16} $27^{7.\ 16.\ 24}$) as tr. of רִקְמָה *riḳmâh*. 'Broid,' which means to weave or plait, and 'broider,' which means to adorn with needle-work (mod. 'embroider'), have no connexion in etymology or meaning (though they were often confounded in the 16th cent.), yet most mod. edd. of AV give 'broidered' for 'broided' in 1 Ti 2^{9}.

J. HASTINGS.

BROKENHEARTED.—Three words (mistakenly spelt with hyphen in mod. edd. AV) are (1) '**brokenfooted**,' Lv 21^{19}, (2) '**brokenhanded**,' 21^{19} (שֶׁבֶר רֶגֶל יָד, which *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* takes to mean fracture of the leg and of the arm), and (3) '**brokenhearted**,' Is 61^{1} (נִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵב), Lk 4^{18} (συντετριμμένος τὴν καρδίαν, exactly as LXX of Is 61^{1}). For the thought cf. Ps 34^{18} 51^{17} $109^{16.\ 22}$, Pr 15^{13}, Is 57^{15} 66^{2}, and see CONTRITE. J. HASTINGS.

BROOCH, Ex 35^{22} RV.—See BRACELET, BUCKLE.

BROOK (נַחַל).—There is no absolute distinction between a brook and a river, except as regards size, and this distinction will vary with each country. Perhaps the only stream in Palestine to which the term 'river' is applicable is the Jordan; but in the AV the term is applied to a few other streams such as the Kishon (Jg 4^{7} 5^{21}; in 1 K 18^{40} it is called a 'brook'), and the 'River of Egypt' AV (Wâdy el-'Arish), Nu 34^{5}, is translated 'Brook of Egypt,' RV. נַחַל has no proper Eng. equivalent, 'brook' suggesting something too small. It corresponds exactly to *Wady*.

Palestine, regarded in the widest sense of the term, is remarkable for its 'brook' courses. Many of them, however, are now dry, or only occasionally contain water; but they testify by their depth and extent to the existence of a former period when the rainfall was much greater than it is at the present day. This observation applies especially to the valleys of the Sinaitic peninsula and the great limestone plateau, known as the Badiet et-Tîh, extending from the southern limits of the territory of Judah along the Bahr es-Saba to the Sinaitic mountains. Most of the 'brooks' of Northern and Western Palestine are perennial (being fed in dry weather by the springs which issue forth from the limestone strata or other permeable formation, such as the basaltic sheets of the Haurân and Jaulân), and give rise to many fine streams, of which the Hieromax (Yarmûk) is the most important.

Western Palestine. The brooks of the region lying to the west of the Jordan valley take their rise near the centre of the plateau in springs, and thence descend to the shores of the Mediterranean on the one hand, or to the Jordan and Dead Sea on the other. The former commence with a rapid fall through deep and narrow channels, and then, on reaching the maritime plain, they follow a sluggish course to the sea-coast. It is otherwise, however, with the brooks entering the Jordanic valley; for, in consequence of their sources being less distant from their outlets than is the case with the Mediterranean tributaries, and the vertical fall being much greater, they have eroded their channels sometimes to extraordinary depths, and issue forth on the Jordanic plain through ravines bounded by lofty walls of rock which are continuous with the cliffs and escarpments forming the margin of the plain itself. As examples of these may be mentioned (*a*) the Wâdy el-'Aujeh, which has its source at a height of about 3000 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and descends to its outlet in the Jordan valley to a depth of 1200 feet below the same plane; the total fall being 4200 feet within a distance of about 15 miles, or at the rate of 280 feet per mile; (*b*) the Kelt, which, rising in springs at Bireh (Beeroth) at a level of about 2800 feet, reaches the Jordan at a level of 1170 feet below the same plane within a distance of 21 miles; the fall being at the rate of 190 feet per mile; and (*c*) the brook Kidron (Wady el-Nahr), which, rising at the Virgin's Fountain, E. of Jerusalem, at a level of about 2400 feet, enters the Dead Sea through the remarkable gorge of Mar Saba, at a level of 1300 feet below the same plane; the total fall being at the rate of 264 feet per mile. These examples will suffice to give some idea of the character of the brook channels to the east of the ridge, or plateau, of Western Palestine. Some of those that enter the Jordanic depression from the Moabite plateau pass through remarkably deep channels, of which the Callirrhoë (Zerka' Ma'in) and the Arnon (Mojib) are examples.

E. HULL.

BROOM, Job 30^{4} RV.—See JUNIPER.

BROTH, Jg $6^{19.\ 20}$, Is 65^{4}.—See FOOD.

BROTHER.—See FAMILY, and BRETHREN.

BROTHERLY LOVE.—Brotherly love (φιλαδελφία) is the love which Christians cherish for each other as 'brothers.' The word 'brother' has, according to Grimm, four senses in the NT. It is (1) brother by natural birth, as in Mt 4^{18}; (2) member of the same nation, as in Ro 9^{3}; (3) fellow-man, as in Mt $5^{22.\ 24}$, though it may be questioned whether the sense is not in this passage and in Mt 7^{3} fellow-citizen in the kingdom of God; and (4) fellow-Christian. The last sense is the prevailing and characteristic one in the NT. The people who call God 'Father,' and Jesus 'Lord,' call each other 'brother' and 'sister' (Ja 2^{15}, Ro 16^{1}). A collective name for the whole body from this point of view is ἀδελφότης, the brotherhood (1 P 5^{9}). In 1 P 2^{17} the commandment to honour all is followed by that to love the brotherhood. The verb used in this case, and in most similar cases, is ἀγαπᾶν; but the substantive for brotherly love is φιλαδελφία. It is the fundamental and all-inclusive duty of Christians as related to each other. It goes back to express words of Christ, as in Jn 13^{35} 'In this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' In St. John's Epistles (1 Jn $2^{9ff.}$ $3^{10.\ 14}$ $4^{7.\ 11.\ 20}$ 5^{1}) it is made the criterion, both to Christians themselves and to the world, of the reality of their faith, '*we* know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.' In St. Paul's earliest Epistle (1 Th 4^{9}) it is referred to as a thing which may be taken for granted among Christians: 'Concerning φιλαδελφία you have no need that any one should write to you; for you yourselves are taught of God to love one another.' In other words, it is an instinct of the new nature

In the Epistle to the Romans (12[10]) St Paul bids Christians in their brotherly love be *φιλόστοργοι, i.e.* love one another with the unforced natural affection of those who really are members of the same family. St. Peter in his first Epistle (1[22]) makes *φιλαδελφία ἀνυπόκριτος*, 'undissembled brotherly love,' the very end in view when believers sanctify their souls in obedience to the truth. To receive the divine message in the gospel is to consecrate the soul for a life ruled by love. The writer's own fervid spirit inspires his words when he adds, 'love one another from the heart ardently.' In the second Epistle (1[7]) *φιλαδελφία* and *ἀγάπη* are combined to complete the garland of Christian virtues. *φιλαδελφία*, the mutual love of Christians, is to be added to *εὐσέβεια*, since a religion which does not unite its devotees by bonds of reciprocal affection is fatally onesided; and *φιλαδ.* is to be supplemented by *ἀγάπη*, the love of the members in the household of faith for each other, by a larger love which excludes none. Wherever there is fellowship of life there must be fellowship of love as well. The tie is as real between man and man as between Christian and Christian, but in the nature of things it cannot be so close. Brotherly love will vary in its manifestations with the varying necessities of human life, but in He 13[1-3] ('Let *φιλαδελφία* continue,' or 'abide') two modes of its manifestation are urged which were specially important in NT times. The first is hospitality. This was the more to be enforced on the Hebrews, because they might be tempted even by surviving religious scruples to shut their doors on those who were really their brethren in Christ though aliens to their traditions. But its importance as an element in *φιλαδελφία* is shown also by such passages as 1 P 4[8f.], Ro 12[13]. The other is assistance to persons enduring persecution for the gospel. The Hebrews are praised (He 6[10f.] and 10[33f.]) for what they have already done in this way; and here the duty is finally commended to them by the consideration that they themselves are also 'in the (a) body,' and therefore liable to the same calamities, and possibly soon to need the same consideration. The actual devotion of Christians to both these forms of brotherly love—hospitality and care of prisoners—is curiously illustrated in Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini*, § 12. 16. See Bleek on He 13[1-3].

J. DENNEY.

BROWN is used only in Gn 30[32. 33. 35. 40] (J) to describe certain of Laban's sheep (חוּם, RV 'black'). See COLOURS.

BRUIT.—Jer 10[22] 'the noise of the bruit is come' (שְׁמוּעָה RV 'rumour,' Amer. RV 'tidings'); and Nah 3[19] 'all that hear the bruit of thee' (so RV, Amer. RV 'report,' Heb. שֵׁמַע. Both Heb. words from שָׁמַע to hear). B. occurs also 2 Mac 4[39] 'the b. thereof was spread abroad' (*φήμη*, RV as AV); 8[7] 'the b. of his manliness was spread everywhere' (λαλιά, RV 'his courage was loudly talked of everywhere'). In all these places b. (which is the Fr. *bruit* from *bruire* to make a noise, roar) means simply report. The word is pronounced as *brute*, as indeed it was very often spelt. J. HASTINGS.

BRUTE, BRUTISH.—'Brute beasts' (2 P 2[12], Jude v.[10]) is a more forcible tr. than the 'creatures without reason' of RV, and it is an exact rendering of the Gr. (ἄλογα ζῶα *); for 'brute' is from Lat. *brutus* heavy, dull, irrational. Cf. Lupton (1580), 'more senselesse than the senselest or brutest beast in the world.' In the Pref. to AV occurs 'Bruit†-beasts led with sensuality.' In 2 P 2[12] Wyclif and Rheims NT have 'unreasonable beasts,' Tindale, Cranmer, Geneva, and AV 'brute beasts'; but in Jude v.[10] while Wyclif and Rheims have 'dumb beasts,' Tindale, Cranmer, and Geneva give 'beasts which are without reason.'

Brutish is given in Ps 94[8], Is 19[11], Jer 10[8. 14. 21] 51[17], Ezk 21[31] as tr. of the verb בָּעַר *bâ'ar* 'to be stupid'; and in Ps 49[10] 92[6], Pr 12[1] 30[2], to which RV adds Ps 73[22] as tr. of the noun בַּעַר *ba'ar* 'brutishness.' The idea is *thoughtless ignorance* like that of beasts. J. HASTINGS.

* Lit. 'senseless animals.' In Ac 25[27] (EV 'unreasonable') ἄλογος is taken by Thayer and others in the sense of 'contrary to reason.'

† 'Bruit' was the spelling of AV ed. 1611 in 2 P 2[12], but 'brute' in Jude v [10].

BUCKET.—See under FOOD.

BUCKLE, or rather **brooch** (*πόρπη, fibula*), on the same principle as a modern safety-pin, by which the over-garment or wrap (χλαῖνα, *palla, sagum*) was pinned at the shoulder. In the Rom. world presents often took the form of brooches (Plaut. *Epid.* v. i. 33; *Mil. Glor.* IV. i. 13), as presents of jewellery are made amongst us. The rewards for valour, distinguished service, etc., in the Rom. army, took sometimes the shape of brooches (*Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* iii. p. 51), which came to resemble modern epaulettes and served as military decorations. In the Western Provinces of the Rom. Empire golden brooches were common, and have survived to our day in great numbers. In the Oriental Provinces, however, as appears from 1 Mac 10[89] 11[58] 14[44], only kings or king-priests were allowed the use of gold. This restriction of the use of gold (as of purple) is probably a survival of one of the 'royal and priestly' taboos, found all over the world. But, when taken up into the political system of the Empire, it produced a sort of Order of the Buckle, which may be compared with our Order of the Garter, though no myth was invented to account for the origin of the former.

F. B. JEVONS.

BUCKLER (מָגֵן *māgēn*).—The buckler was a round shield, small and easily carried, whereas the true shield, Heb. צִנָּה *ṣinnah* (= *θυρεός* in Eph 6[16]), was large and oblong, sometimes carried by a bearer (1 S 17[7]), sometimes used as a screen behind which an archer might shoot against the defenders of a wall (Ezk 26[8], where the tr. should be 'shall set up shields'). Polybius describes the shield as having a double framework of wood fastened together with glue and with a covering on the outer surface, first of linen and then of calf's skin. It had also round the edge, above and below, an iron rim, so that it could meet sword-cuts from above, or again be fixed firmly against the ground without injury (Polyb. vi. 23. Cf. the rest of the passage (*a*) quoted under ARMOUR).

It was this true shield, just described, which was carried by the legionaries, and to which St. Paul alludes: Eph 6[16] 'the shield of faith.' Cf. Ps 91[4] 'His truth is a shield and a buckler' RV, where, however, 'buckler' should be 'enclosing-shield,' סֹחֵרָה *soḥerah*, a synonym of *ṣinnah*. God's faithfulness meeting man's faith makes man's defence perfect.

W. E. BARNES.

BUFFET, a dim. from *buff* 'a blow' (still existent in *blind man's buff*), is (1) noun=a blow, as Jn 19[3] Wyc. 'thei gauen to hym buffattis,' and (2) verb=give blows, beat, as *Pilgr. Perf.* (1526) 259, 'When he was buffetted and beten for vs.' In AV the verb only is used, and always as tr. of κολαφίζω (Mt 26[67], Mk 14[65], 1 Co 4[11], 2 Co 12[7], 1 P 2[20]), which means to strike with the fist, a word found only in NT and later eccles. writers. RV gives 'buffet' as tr. also of ὑπωπιάζω in 1 Co 9[27] 'I b. my body' (AV 'keep under,' RVm 'bruise'). The same word is tr[d] 'wear out' in Lk 18[5] 'Lest she wear me out by her continual coming' (AV 'weary me,' RVm 'bruise me'). It is an extremely forcible word, literally 'to give a blow *beneath the eye*' (*ὑπό* and

ὄψ), then 'to beat black and blue.' (See *Expos. Times*, vol. i. p. 243; and Plummer, *Luke in loc.*).
J. HASTINGS.

BUGEAN. — A descriptive epithet applied to Haman in Ad. Est 12[6] RV (AV has 'Agagite'). Not only in this passage, but in Est 3[1] 8[3] 9[10], LXX reads *βουγαῖος* for Heb. אֲגָגִי, but everywhere except in the Apocr. book RV retains the AV rendering **Agagite**. *βουγαῖος* occurs in Homer (*Il.* xiii. 824, *Od.* xviii. 79) as a term of reproach='bully' or 'braggart.' Whether the Sept. intended it in this sense, or as a gentilic adjective, is wholly uncertain. See AGAGITE, HAMAN. J. A. SELBIE.

BUKKI (בֻּקִּי).—**1.** Son of Jogli, a prince of the tribe of Dan, and one of the ten men entrusted with the task of dividing the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel (Nu 34[22]). **2.** Son of Abishua and father of Uzzi, fifth in descent from Aaron in the line of the high priests through Phinehas (1 Ch 6[5, 51], Ezr 7[4]). In 1 Es 8[2] he is called **Boccas**, for which **Borith** is substituted in 2 Es 1[2]. It is doubtful whether he ever filled the office of high priest, as the statements of Josephus on the point are contradictory (*Ant.* v. xi. 5, VIII. i. 3).
R. M. BOYD.

BUKKIAH (בֻּקִּיָּהוּ, full form of Bukki).—A Levite of the sons of Heman, and leader of the sixth band or course in the temple service (1 Ch 25[4, 13]).

BUL (בּוּל, Βούλ A, *Bul*, 1 K 6[38]).—See TIME.
BULL, BULLOCK, WILD BULL.—See CALF and OX. **BULRUSH.**—See REED.

BULWARK.—**1.** (=bole-work, *i.e.* a defence made of the trunks of trees or of logs of wood) is the tr. of Heb. חֵל *ḥêl*, 'rampart' (Is 26[1], חוֹמוֹת וָחֵל *ḥômôth wā-ḥêl*, 'walls and rampart'; *τεῖχος καὶ περίτειχος*, LXX; *murus et antemurale*, Vulg.). Isaiah (*l.c.*) gives the paradoxical promise that God will appoint *salvation*, *i.e.* free space unconfined by walls (cf. for this meaning of 'salvation,' Ges. *Thes. s.v.* ישׁ=Arab. *wasi'a*) to be Zion's walls and bulwarks (cf. vv.[2-4], open gates and trust in God commended).

The *ḥêl* (1 K 21[23] 'rampart,' RV) with its ditch (בּוֹר *bôr*, Jer 41[9]) was, as the VSS show, an outer defence for the wall. Jerusalem had such a *ḥêl* (Ps 48[13]), but only, no doubt, on the side on which the walls, not being on the edge of a precipice, needed extra defence. At the present day there would be room for such a work only on the N. and W. The Psalmist (*l.c.*), calls on the spectators to observe that not even the outer defences of Zion had been touched during the invasion of which he speaks.

2. Bulwarks (Dt 20[20] קְצוֹר *māẓôr*, and Ec 9[14] מְצוֹדִים *mĕẓôdhîm*) are also the hasty defences raised by besiegers to protect themselves while attacking fortified places. Such defences were largely made of wood (Dt *l.c.*), and so were rightly called bulwarks. The 'bank' (Lk 19[43] *χάραξ*, 'palisade' RVm) served the double purpose of shutting in the besieged and of defending the besiegers.
W. E. BARNES.

BUNAH (בּוּנָה 'intelligence').—A man of Judah, a son of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2[25]).

BUNCH is used of (1) a bundle of hyssop, Ex 12[22] (אֲגֻדָּה=something *tied together*); (2) a cluster of raisins 2 S 16[1], 1 Ch 12[40] (צִמּוּק=something *dried*); and (3) a camel's hump Is 30[6] (דַּבָּשֶׁת, of uncertain origin). The last is the most original meaning of the Eng. word (which is also of uncertain origin): cf. Trevisa (1398), 'A camell of Arabia hath two bonches in the backe'; and—

'This pois'nous bunch-back'd toad.'
Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. iii. 246.
J. HASTINGS.

BUNNI (בּוּנִי, בָּנִי), Neh 9[4] 10[15] 11[15], but in each case perhaps the text is corrupt; cf. Bertheau-Ryssel. See GENEALOGY. H. A. WHITE.

BURDEN.—**1.** In OT 'burden' is the term used (in AV and RV) to represent the Heb. מַשָּׂא *massā'* (fr. נָשָׂא), both in the sense of a load, and in that of an utterance or oracle. In the latter case the rendering is supported by the ancient VSS (except the LXX, which has λῆμμα, ὅραμα, ὅρασις, etc.). It was partly determined by the fact that the prophecies of which it formed the title were mainly of a threatening character, the burden thus being the threats of punishment imposed upon the place or people concerned. But this translation is now generally abandoned. Some of the prophecies to which the word is applied are not comminatory. Thus, Zec 12 contains a promise of victory to Jerus. through the direct intervention of J" on behalf of His people. See also Zec 9[1], Pr 30[1] 31[1], the Eng. tr. in the two latter instances reversing their usual procedure, and rendering by *prophecy* (AV), *oracle* (RV, in text, and *burden* in m.). It is not surprising that the *massā'* should so seldom have been other than denunciatory, when we remember the chief occasions and objects of Heb. prophecy. Jer 23[33ff.] is intelligible only if we suppose that the prophets were accustomed to apply the word *massā'* to their prophecies in the sense of oracle or utterance. There the scoffers are reproved, simply because they pervert the word and give it the meaning of burden. *Massā'*, therefore, simply means something *taken up* solemnly upon the lips (cf. Ex 23[1], Ps 15[3] 16[4], Ezk 36[3], and the repeated 'took up his parable' used of Balaam in Nu 23), in particular, a divine utterance or oracle. Although used of false oracles (La 2[14]), it is not used of a merely *human* utterance except in Pr 30[1] 31[1] (both doubtful); and even here, if the text is correct, a semi-*divine* precept is referred to.

2. In NT 'burden' denotes the woes and troubles of this earthly life (*φορτίον*, Mt 11[30]), the legal ordinances of the Pharisees (*φορτία βαρέα*, Mt 23[4]), the difficulties in which the Christian may be involved in consequence of his having yielded to temptation (*βάρη*, Gal 6[2]), and the load of personal responsibility, or, at all events, the difficulties and trials that are inseparable from the Christian life (*φορτίον*, Gal 6[5]). The only other passage we need compare with these is He 12[1], where, instead of burden, we have in AV and RV weight (*ὄγκος*); the lit. meaning of the word is encumbrance, and connotes whatever prevents men from fully developing their spiritual nature. Various distinctions may be drawn between these words. Thus, *βάρος* and *φορτίον* in Gal 6[2, 5] mean respectively a burden that may and ought to be got rid of, and one that must be borne (see Lightfoot). Again, *ὄγκος* suggests not so much weight as cumbrousness. But these distinctions are of no great importance.
J. MILLAR.

BURGLARY.—See CRIMES.

BURIAL in Bible lands followed speedily upon death. Among the Jews of the E. at the present day burial takes place, if possible, within twenty-four hours of death. Mohammedans bury their dead the same day, if death takes place in the morning; but if in the afternoon or at night, not till the following day. Immediate burial was rendered necessary among the Jews of Canaan by the rapidity of decomposition in that climate, requiring survivors, as in the case of Abraham on the death of Sarah, to bury their dead out of their sight (Gn 23[1-4]). The defilement to which contact with a dead body gave occasion (Nu 19[11-14]) was a further reason among the Jews for speedy burial. Lazarus was buried on the day of his death (Jn 11[17, 39]). It

was expressly commanded (Dt 21[22. 23]) that the body of a man who had been hanged should not remain all night upon the tree, but should be buried that day; and it may have been a sense of the awfulness of the judgment which had overtaken Ananias and Sapphira that hurried on the undertakers in their case (Ac 5[1-11]). It was in accordance with this provision of the Jewish law (cf. Dt 21[23] with Gal 3[13]), as well as with the dictates of humanity, that Joseph of Arimathæa went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus for burial on the day of the crucifixion (Mt 27[57ff.]).

Immediately the last breath was drawn, it was the duty of the oldest son, or, failing him, of the nearest relative present, to close the eyes of the dead (Gn 46[4]). The mouth, too, was closed, and the cheekbones bound together (Jn 11[44]). The kiss imprinted upon the lifeless form of the patriarch Jacob by Joseph as he 'fell upon his father's face and wept upon him' (Gn 50[1]), may point to no uniform custom, but only to a natural impulse of affection. At the present day, when a Jew is drawing near his end, it is customary to bring in ten witnesses—an easy thing, as the house is usually full of friends waiting to raise the lamentations which tell that the sufferer has passed away. The death is announced, as it was of old, by a tumult of lamentation and the weeping and wailing of professional mourners (Mk 5[38ff.]). [See MOURNING.] When death occurs, those who are present rend their clothes, and all water and leaven must be cast out of the house itself as well as out of the houses of the three nearest neighbours, the belief being that the Angel of Death wipes his sword in these two things. Offerings for the dead seem to have been forbidden under the Mosaic law (Dt 26[14]).

The preparations for burial could scarcely be, in the circumstances, of a very elaborate character. In the case of Ananias (Ac 5[6]), we read that 'the young men wrapped him round, and carried him out and buried him.' What they did was likely this: they unfastened his girdle, and then taking the loose undergarment and the wide cloak which was worn above it, used them as a winding-sheet to cover the corpse from head to foot. But there was usually more ceremony. Combining various allusions which we find in the Gospels and the Acts, we learn that the corpse was washed (Ac 9[37]), anointed with aromatic ointments (Jn 12[7] 19[39], Mk 16[1], Lk 24[1]), wound in linen clothes with spices (Jn 19[40], Mt 27[59], Mk 15[46], Lk 23[53]; cf. also To 12[13], Sir 38[16]), hands and feet being bound with graveclothes and the face bound about with a napkin (Jn 11[44] 20[6. 7]). It would appear that in later times at least there was a confraternity of young men whose duty it was to attend to these proprieties on behalf of the dead (Ac 5[6] 8[2]). But it was, perhaps, only in cases like those mentioned in the references that they were called upon to act. It was on the loving hands of relatives and friends, and ordinarily of female friends, as in the passages referred to above, that these ministries devolved, among the Jews as among the Greeks. In fact, the practice among the Greeks, both by similarity and by contrast, affords an interesting illustration. One not unfamiliar instance may be cited: Electra believing Orestes to be dead, and his ashes placed in the sepulchral urn (Sophocles, *Electra*, 1136–1142), addresses him thus: 'Woe is me! These loving hands have not washed or decked thy corpse, nor taken up, as was meet, their sad burden from the flaming pyre. At the hands of strangers, hapless one, thou hast had those rites, and so art come to us, a little dust in a narrow urn.' These last words show the point of contrast. **Burning of the dead,** which was the custom among the Greeks, was no part of Jewish practice. The Rom. historian Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) expressly notices that it was matter of piety with the Jews 'to bury rather than to burn dead bodies.' The exceptions (if they be exceptions, for the Heb. text is in dispute) were cases of emergency, the burning of the bodies of Saul and his sons by the men of Jabesh-gilead (1 S 31[11-13]), although even then they buried their bones under the tamarisk at Jabesh, and David had them finally laid to rest in the sepulchre of Kish (2 S 21[12-14]); and the case supposed by the prophet (Am 6[10]) in the desolation which was to come upon Israel, when it may have been on account of pestilence and accompanying infection that burning was preferred. Burning was reserved for the living who had been found guilty of unnatural sins (Lv 20[4] 21[9]); and Achan and his family after having been stoned to death were burned with fire, and all their belongings (Jos 7[25]). When St. Paul speaks of giving his body to be burned (1 Co 13[3]), he accommodates his language to the Greeks of Corinth, to whom such a thing was familiar, and by whom such self-immolation would be understood. And as the burning practised by the Greeks was no part of ordinary Jewish custom, neither was embalming as practised by the Egyptians, the cases of Jacob and Joseph (Gn 50[2. 26]) being obviously special. Among the Assyrians the corpse was arrayed for burial in the dress and ornaments and weapons that had been worn during life; and although the allusions are not clear, this may be referred to in certain passages of Scripture (1 S 28[14], Is 14[11], Ezk 32[27]). Among the Jews and Mohammedans of the present day, the corpse is arrayed in the holiday apparel of former life.

It was a great indignity for a corpse to remain unburied and become food for the beasts of prey (2 S 21[10. 11], 1 K 13[22] 14[11] 16[4] 21[24], 2 K 9[10], Jer 7[33] 8[1] 9[22] 14[16] 16[4], Ezk 29[5], Ps 79[3], Rev 11[9]), and uncovered blood cried for vengeance (Ezk 24[6ff.]; cf. also Ezk 39[11-16]),—the idea being the same as among other peoples, that the unburied dead would not only inflict trouble upon his family, but bring defilement and a curse upon the whole land. Even malefactors, as we have seen, were allowed the privilege of burial (Dt 21[22. 23]); and the denial of it to the sons of Rizpah gave occasion for the touching story of her self-denying care of the dead (2 S 21[10. 11]). It was an obligation binding upon all to bury the dead found by the way (To 1[18] 2[8]).

The dead body was carried to the grave upon a **bier** or litter—Heb. *mittah*, a bed (2 S 3[31], cf. Lk 7[14] and 2 K 13[21]). The bier was a simple flat board borne on two or three staves by which the bearers carried it to the grave. **Coffins** were unknown among the Israelites, as they are among the E. Jews to this day; the coffin in which the embalmed remains of Joseph were preserved being the only one mentioned in Scripture (unless Asa's bed, 2 Ch 16[14], be another), and being in conformity, not with Jewish but Egyp. usage (Gn 50[26]; cf. Ex 13[19], Jos 24[32]). A procession of mourners, with professional mourning women leading the way, followed, who made the air resound with their lamentations (Ec 12[5], Jer 9[17], Am 5[16]. See MOURNING). A funeral procession among the Jews at the present day always moves swiftly along the road, because there are supposed to be innumerable *Shêdîm*, or evil spirits, hovering about, and desirous to attack the soul, which is considered to be in the body until interment takes place and the corpse is covered with earth. When the body is let down, the bier is withdrawn, and a heap of stones is piled over the shallow grave to preserve the dead from the depredations of hyænas and jackals. It was the belief of the Jews that the dead did not cease to be. There was a gathering place of the departed, commonly called Sheol among the Jews, and known also to the Greeks and Babylonians, where a kind of family life was preserved in the under-world. In accord-

ance with that belief, the dead were buried in the sepulchres of their fathers when it was at all possible. Machpelah was the family burying-place of Abraham and Sarah and their descendants and connexions (Gn 25^{10} 49^{31} 50^{13}), although there were notable exceptions — Rachel being buried where she died on the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem (Gn 35^{19} R); and Joseph in Shechem, the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor (Jos 24^{32}). Among the Israelites, all who possessed any land, or who could afford it, had their family tombs hewn out of the rock in the hillside, each sepulchre containing many niches for the reception of bodies. Many generations of a family could thus be placed in the ancestral tomb, and countless numbers of such tombs are to be found all over the country. Of this Machpelah is the first example (Gn 23). Joshua was buried in the border of his inheritance at Timnath-serah (Jos 24^{30}). Samuel was buried in his house at Ramah (1 S 25^{1}). Joab was buried in his own house in the wilderness (1 K 2^{34}). In the days of the kingdom special mention is made of the burial of kings. Manasseh, king of Judah, was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza (2 K 21^{18}); and of Amon, his son, it is said that he also was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza (2 K 21^{26}). Josiah seems to have been buried in the same tomb as his father and grandfather (2 K 23^{30}). At the burial of some of the kings (Asa is singled out by the Chronicler for special notice, 2 Ch 16^{14}) there was burning of aromatic wood and fragrant spices (Jer 34^{5}); but there were exceptions in the case of unpopular and wicked kings, of whom Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, is specially mentioned (2 Ch 21^{19}). Of Jehoiakim it was prophesied that there would be none to lament for him, and that he should be buried with the burial of an ass (Jer 22^{19}), his dead body simply drafted out of sight and left to decay where it lay.

The graves of the dead were variously made. They were sometimes simply dug in the earth, as in this country, and as, in fact, they are among the E. Jews at the present day. Sometimes natural caves or grottoes were used as graves. And often they were hewn out in the rock, and provided, as we have seen, with galleries and chambers. In times of oppression fugitives found shelter in these rocky tombs (Jg 6^{2}, 1 S 13^{6}, He 11^{38}); and in the time of our Lord poor creatures possessed with demons took up their abode in them (Mk $5^{2.3}$). The hills and valleys around Jerus. were honeycombed with these rock-hewn sepulchres of the dead. To the mouth of the sepulchral cave a stone was rolled to protect the remains deposited within from the ravages of wild beasts (Jn 11^{38}, Mt 28^{2}). Tombs were sometimes very spacious. In Joseph's tomb, where Jesus was laid, there was room for several persons (Mk 16^{1-8}). It is quite in accordance with this that we find in a famous passage of Ezk (ch. 32), Sheol represented as a vast burying-place, not of individuals, but of nations. The place of burial in NT times was outside the cities and villages (Lk 7^{12}, Jn 11^{30}), and the instinct that seeks a quiet grave and the shade of trees for the resting-place of our dead influenced the choice of a burying-place in the earliest times (Gn 23^{17} 35^{8}, 1 S 31^{13}, Jn 19^{41}). There was public provision made for the burial of strangers (Mt 27^{7}); and there was at Jerus. in the closing days of the monarchy a public burying-ground (Jer 26^{23}), probably where it is to this day, between the city wall and the Kidron Valley.

Besides the heaping of stones on ordinary graves for protection, stones and pillars were set up as memorials of the dead (Ezk 39^{15}, 2 K 23^{17}, where RV reads, 'What monument is that which I see?' and the reference is not to *a title* or *inscription*, but to a sepulchral pillar). Jacob set a pillar upon Rachel's grave (Gn 35^{20}), and Rachel's tomb is a monument of her pathetic story to this day. On the road from Engedi to Petra, on the crest where the first view of Mount Hor is obtained, is a conspicuous cairn, which we are told marks the burying-place of Aaron. There is no express mention of the Pyramids of Egypt in Scripture, but it is possible that 'the desolate places' said by Job to have been built by kings and counsellors of the earth (Job 3^{14}) refer to them. Absalom's grave in the wood of Ephraim had a heap of stones raised over it (2 S 18^{17}); but this, as in the case of Achan (Jos 7^{26}), was not for honour, but for contumely.

There is no religious service at funerals among the Jews of the E., and there is no indication that there was any in Bible times. There is little in their burial customs to indicate belief in a resurrection; but the belief of a resurrection, as well as of a future life, obtains widely among the Jews in every land. At this hour thousands of Jewish graves on the sides of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the Jews have come from all lands to be buried, bear witness to the belief that associates the coming of the Messiah with a blessed resurrection. They hold that Messiah will descend upon the Mt. of Olives, and will pass through these resting-places of the dead as He enters in glory the Holy City.

LITERATURE.—Keil, *Bib. Arch.* ii. 199 ff.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 187 ff.; Artt. *Begräbniss* in Herzog, *RE*, and Riehm's *Bib. Lex.*; 'Burial' and 'Tombs' in Kitto, *Cycl.*, and Smith, *DB*; Whitehouse, *Primer of Heb. Antiq.*; Thomson, *Land and Book* (S. Pal. and Jerus., see 'Funerals' in Index); Tristram, *E. Customs in Bible Lands*; Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*; Sayce, *Social Life among Assyr. and Bab.*; Series of art. in *JQR* on 'Death and Burial Customs among the Jews,' by A. P. Bender, 1894-1896.

T. NICOL.

BURIER, a very old word for grave-digger, is found in Ezk 39^{15} 'till the buriers have buried it in the Valley of Hamon-gog,' where it was introduced by the Wyclifite version of 1382. J. HASTINGS.

BURNING.—See BURIAL, CREMATION, CRIMES, SACRIFICE.

BURNING BUSH.—In the account of the call of Moses, given by the prophetic narrative of the Pent. (JE), the Angel of J″ is represented as appearing to Moses 'in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush,' Ex 3^{2-4}. The word for bush in the original (סְנֶה) is found only in this passage and in the reference thereto in Dt 33^{16}. Its derivation is unknown, and we have no means of ascertaining what species of shrub is referred to. See BUSH.

The expression used by our Lord in the parallel passages Mk 12^{26}, Lk 20^{37} ἐπὶ τοῦ (τῆς) βάτου, illustrates the then current method of referring to passages of the Scriptures, the reference in this case being to the section of the Torah or Pent. in which the incident of the burning bush is related (cf. Ro 11^{2} 'in Elias'). Hence the RV rendering: 'in *the place concerning* the bush.'

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BURNT-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE.

BURST, BURSTING.—**1.** Of the death of Judas it is said (Ac 1^{18}) that 'falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst.' The verb tr^{d} 'b. asunder' (λάσκω) is always in classical Gr. (this is its only occurrence in NT or LXX) used of making a loud noise, 'to crack'; here it is bursting accompanied with noise. **2.** In Pr 3^{10} 'thy presses shall b. out with new wine' (יָפָרֹץ, RV 'overflow'), 'b. out' is used 'hyperbolically, as a strong expression for to be exuberantly full,' acc. to *Oxf. Eng. Dict.*, which has found only another example (without 'out')—*Homilies* (1563) 'thy presses shall b. with

new wine.' But cf. the common phrase 'ready to b.,' and Sir 19[10] 'If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold, it will not b. thee.' **3. Bursting** in Is 30[14], 'there shall not be found in the b. of it a sherd to take fire from the hearth,' has the obsol. sense of 'breaking into fragments' (Heb. בְּמַכְתֵּתוֹ 'in the breaking up,' abstr. for concr.; Vulg. *de fragmentis ejus*; RV 'among the pieces thereof'). Cf.—

> 'You will not pay for the glasses you have burst?'
> Shaks. *Tam. of the Shrew.*, Induc. i. 8.

J. HASTINGS.

BUSH (סְנֶה *sĕneh*, *βάτος*, *rubus*).—The etymology of this word sheds no light on the kind of bush in which J" appeared to Moses (Ex 3[2. 3. 4], Dt 33[16]). It undoubtedly refers to a thorny shrub. Gesenius seems to imply that there is a connexion between it and *senna*. This is, however, not so, as the senna plant is not thorny, and is too insignificant a bush (not more than 2 to 3 ft. high) to have been chosen for the theophany. The translation *βάτος*, in the LXX, gives the opinion of the scholars of that time in favour of the *bramble* (*Rubus*, blackberry). *Rubus discolor*, W. et Nees, grows everywhere in Pal. and Syria. *R. tomentosus*, Borckh., grows in Syria and northward; its var. *collinus*, Boiss., grows along the coast of Pal. and Syria, and in the lower mountains. A bush of this has been planted by the monks of the convent of St. Catherine in Sinai, in the rear of the chapel of the Burning Bush, and testifies to their opinion that this was the bush in question. But *Rubus* has not been found wild in Sinai, which is south of its range, and climatically unsuited to it.

The following are among the thorny shrubs which grow in Sinai: — *Capparis spinosa*, L.; *C. galeata*, Fres.; *Ochradenus baccata*, D. C.; *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.; *Acacia Nilotica*, Del.; *A. tortilis*, Hayne; *A. Seyal*, Del. Any one of these shrubs or small specimens of the trees, which often assume a bushlike form, would answer the etymological and other requirements of *sĕneh*. The attempt to establish a connexion between *sĕneh* and *sant*, the classical Arab. name for *Acacia*, is not defensible on philological grounds. It is better to regard the term as indefinite, meaning a *thorn bush*, and not attempt to identify it. G. E. POST.

BUSHEL.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BUSYBODY.—To express an individual, 'body' was used early with a tinge of compassion, as Coverdale's tr. of Ps 14[1] 'The foolish bodyes saye in their hertes: Tush, there is no God.' This is the sense the word has in 'busybody,' of which the earliest example is Tindale's tr. (1526) of 1 P 4[15] 'a b. in other men's matters,' which Cranmer, Geneva, and AV retained, but RV has changed into 'meddler' (Gr. ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, an overseer (bishop) of other men's affairs: the word is found nowhere else). 'Busybody' is found also in 1 Ti 5[13] (Gr. περίεργος, taken up with trifles; the neut. τὰ περίεργα is used in Ac 19[19], AV and RV 'curious arts'; Page, 'things better left alone, not meddled with'); and in 2 Th 3[11] (περιεργάζομαι, the verb from περίεργος). J. HASTINGS.

BUT.—The archaic uses are few: **1.** Lk 9[13] 'We have no more but five loaves' (RV 'than'). Cf. T. Beard (1597), 'It was no sooner said but done.' The same Gr. (οὐ πλείων ἤ) is tr[d] by 'but' alone in Ac 24[11] 'there are yet but twelve days since I went up' (RV 'not more than'). **2.** Nu 22[35] 'Go with the men; but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak,' a stronger 'only' (אַפְסָם, tr simply 'but' in Nu 23[13] 'thou shalt see but the utmost part of them'). **3.** Gn 21[26] 'neither yet heard I of it, but to-day.' The mod. expression would be 'until,' but the Heb. (בִּלְתִּי) means 'except.' J. HASTINGS.

BUTLER.—While the modern sense of this word is that of a superior servant in the houses of the wealthy, whose work is to superintend general domestic affairs, its derivation from the French word *boutillier*, and its original meaning, indicate the special office of offering wines and drinks at the meals of the rich, and during entertainments. It is in this latter sense that it is used in Gn 40[1] and 41[9], and the Heb. word (מַשְׁקֶה *he who gives to drink*) is thus tr. elsewhere *cupbearer* (Neh 1[11], 1 K 10[5], and 2 Ch 9[4]). (See CUPBEARER.)

J. WORTABET.

BUTTER.—See FOOD.

BUZ (בּוּז).—**1.** The second son of Nahor and Milcah, and nephew of Abraham (Gn 22[21]). Elihu, one of the friends of Job (Job 32[2]), is called a Buzite, and may have belonged to a tribe of that name against which judgments are denounced by Jeremiah (Jer 25[23]). This tribe, being mentioned along with Dedan and Tema, seems to be located in Arabia Petræa, and it is possible that in early times it had migrated thither from Mesopotamia. **2.** A man of the tribe of Gad (1 Ch 5[14]).

R. M. BOYD.

BUZI (בּוּזִי).—The father of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. 1[3]), and consequently a member of the priestly house of Zadok. Of the man himself nothing is known. Jewish writers were led to identify him with Jeremiah, partly by a supposed connexion of the name with a verb meaning 'despise,' and partly by a theory that when the father of a prophet is named it is to be understood that he also was a prophet. This view is referred to with apparent approval by David Kimchi: 'In the Jerus. Targ. [he is called] Ezekiel the prophet, the son of Jeremiah the prophet; and Jeremiah is called Buzi, because [the people] despised him' (Comm. *ad loc.*). J. SKINNER.

BUZITE (בּוּזִי, LXX *βουζίτης*).—See BUZ.

BY was originally an adverb, meaning *near*, and became a prep. through a change in the order of words; thus, 'the folk him by stood' (by-stood), 'the folk stood him by,' 'the folk stood by him.'

1. In this orig. sense 'by' is of freq. occurrence; generally in OT as tr. of אֵצֶל, as Neh 4[3] 'Now Tobiah the Ammonite was by him'; Pr 8[30] 'When he appointed the foundations of the earth, then I was by him'; Ezk 1[19] 'When the living creatures went, the wheels went by them' (RV 'beside'); or of אֵת, as Ezk 43[8] 'their threshold by (אֵת) my thresholds, and their post by (אֵצֶל, RV 'beside') my posts'; or of עִם, as Gn 35[4] 'the oak which was by Shechem,' 1 K 1[9] 'Adonijah slew sheep . . . by (עִם) the stone of Zoheleth, which is by (אֵצֶל RV 'beside') En-rogel'; or of עִקֵּר (עִקְּרִי), as Dt 5[31] 'stand thou here by me.' In NT the Gr. is παρά, as Lk 9[47] 'Jesus . . . took a child, and set him by him' (παρ' ἑαυτῷ, RV 'by his side'); or πρός, as Mk 11[4] 'found the colt tied by the door' (RV 'at'). In this sense 'by' is the frequent accompaniment of certain verbs, as *go*, Ps 129[8] 'they which go by'; *stand*, 1 K 13[24] 'the ass stood by it, the lion also stood by the carcase' (both אֵצֶל); *sit*, Neh 2[6] 'the queen also sitting by him'; *dwell*, Neh 4[12] 'the Jews which dwelt by them'; *set*, Lk 9[47] as above (for 'set by'=esteem, see SET); *lay*, 1 Co 16[2] 'let every one of you lay by him' (παρ' ἑαυτῷ). Evidently of the same meaning also is 'by' in the phrases 'by the sea side' Mt 13[1]; 'by a river side' Ac 16[13]; 'by the highway side' Mk 10[46]; and 'by the way side' Mt 13[4] (all παρά). Then the word 'side' gets dropped, and we have the phrase 'by

the way,' very common in Eng. of the 17th cent. and earlier; as Dt 11[30] 'by the way where the sun goeth down' (אַחֲרֵי דֶּרֶךְ); Lk 10[4] 'salute no man by the way' (κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, RV 'on the way'); Sir 8[16] 'Travel not by the way with a bold fellow' (ἐν ὁδῷ, RV 'in the way'); cf. 2 P 3[1] 'by way of remembrance' (ἐν ὑπομνήσει, RV 'by putting you in remembrance'); and Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* II. i. 218—

'Now, good Metellus, go along by him,'

where Pope, mistaking the phrase, changed 'by' into 'to,' and was followed by other early editors. In the same drama (III. i. 161) Shaks. puts a play upon the word into the mouth of Antony, who says to Cæsar's murderers—

'No place will please me so, no mean of death,
As here by Cæsar and by you cut off.'

2. In such a phrase as 'go by the way' (*e.g.* Job 21[29] 'Have ye not asked them that go by the way?') the *way* is in a sense the means, and this is believed to have led to the extensive use of 'by' as the prep. introducing the means, instrument, or origin. For this purpose 'by' is the tr. of many Heb. and Gr. expressions, and there is no part of the Eng. Bible where we are so liable to be led astray, either by an archaism (of which one notable example will be referred to), or by a mistranslation (of which many examples might be given). The danger is greatest in NT, because of the number and variety of the Gr. preps., and also because these Gr. preps. are often affected by the Hebrew. The Revisers have rendered an incalculable service by their watchful care in translating the preps.; and even when they have not been bold enough to disturb familiar but misleading renderings, they have nearly always indicated the correct tr. in the margin. Thus in Jn 1[3, 10] 'All things were made by him,' 'The world was made by him' (AV, RV, but RVm *through*, Gr. δι' αὐτοῦ); while in He 6[7] 'herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed' (even AVm gives '*for* whom,' RV text 'for whose sake,' Gr. δι' οὕς). The most important and treacherous archaism is the use of 'by,' which now denotes the agent, to express the *instrument*, the agent being expressed by 'of.' Thus we read, Mt 4[1] 'Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit (ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος) into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil' (ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου); but in v.[4] 'Man shall not live by bread alone' (ἐπ' ἄρτῳ); again in 2[22] 'being warned of God in a dream'; but v.[23] 'which was spoken by the prophets' (διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, the prophets being the channel of communication, RVm 'through the prophets'). Lightfoot (*Fresh Revision of NT*, pp. 132 ff.) emphasizes the importance of this distinction, pointing out that it affects the doctrines of Inspiration and the Person of Christ. 'Wherever the sacred writers have occasion to quote or to refer to OT, they invariably apply the prep. διά, as denoting *instrumentality*, to the lawgiver, or the prophet, or the psalmist, while they reserve ὑπό, as signifying the primary motive *agency* to God himself'; thus Mt 1[22] 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet' (ὑπὸ [τοῦ] κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, RV 'by the Lord through the prophet'). Again, 'the prep. which is especially applied to the office of the Divine Word is διά.' But here we have to deal with not only an archaic meaning of the prep. 'by,' but also with a capricious use of it in the AV. Thus Jn 1[3, 10] 'All things were made *by* him,' 'The world was made *by* him' (both δι' αὐτοῦ); v.[7] 'that all men *through* him might believe' (δι' αὐτοῦ), and v.[17] 'grace and truth came *by* Jesus Christ' (διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). The fact is that about 1611 the word 'by' was losing its special sense of instrumentality, and there are a few clear examples of its employment to express the primary source or agent, as Mt 22[31] 'have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God?' (ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ) where all the previous versions have 'of God.' (See OF.)

3. 'Two by two,' 'three by three,' means two *beside* two, three *beside* three. But in older Eng. these phrases were frequently shortened; thus 1 Co 14[27] 'let it be by two (κατὰ δύο) or at most by three'; Lk 9[14] 'by fifties in a company' (RV 'in companies, about fifty each'); so 1 K 5[14] 'by courses,' 2 K 5[2] 'by companies.' And this idea of nearness is present in certain fig. expressions of time, as 1 S 25[22] 'if I leave of all that pertain to him by the morning light'; Ex 22[26] 'by that (=by the time that) the sun goeth down'; even in the phrase 'by the space of,' where the meaning is *during*, as Ac 13[21] 'by (RV 'for') the space of forty years.'

4. As nearness suggests comparison, such expressions as 'set by,' 'set light by' are easily understood. (See SET.) But from this, 'by' came to be used after verbs of thinking, knowing, etc. in the sense of 'about,' as Shaks. *All's Well*, v. iii. 237—

'By him, and by this woman here, what know you?'

Then this passed into the meaning of *against*, of which there is a probable* example in 1 Co 4[4] 'I know nothing by myself' (RV 'against myself'). Cf. Foxe, *Book of Martyrs*: 'Thou hast spoken evil words by the queen . . .' 'No man living upon earth can prove any such things by me'; Sanderson, *Works*, ii. 37, 'Far be it from us to judge men's hearts, or to condemn men for that we know not by them.' J. HASTINGS.

BY AND BY.—In earlier versions 'by and by' is the usual tr. of εὐθύς or εὐθέως, as it then consistently meant *immediately*. Thus Latimer in one of his sermons says, 'the clapper brake, and we could not get it mended by and by; we must tarry till we can have it done. It shall be mended as shortly as may be.' But about 1611 this meaning was passing away.† 'The inveterate procrastination of men,' says Trench, 'had caused it to designate a remoter term; even as "presently" does not any longer mean "at this present," but "in a little while."' So AV retains 'by and by' only in four places, Mt 13[21] (εὐθύς, RV 'straightway'), Lk 17[7] (εὐθέως, RV 'straightway'), 21[9] (εὐθέως, RV 'immediately'), Mk 6[25] (ἐξαυτῆς, RV 'forthwith'). J. HASTINGS.

BYWAY.—Only Jg 5[6] 'the travellers walked through byways' (אָרְחוֹת עֲקַלְקַלּוֹת; AVm and RVm 'crooked ways,' which is Coverdale's tr. Moore points out that both words are in Mishnic Heb. used tropically of tortuous conduct; but he believes that here the first word, אָרְחוֹת, is erroneously repeated from the preceding line to the detriment of both the poetical expression and the rhythm; he translates 'those who travelled the roads went by roundabout paths'). In Eng. as in Heb. the word signifies, not a side road merely, but a secret path, a path to take in seeking to escape observation. Thus Spenser, *F.Q.* I. i. 28—

'That path he kept which beaten was most plaine,
Ne ever would to any bye-way bend.'

Hence the transition was easy to tortuous conduct, as Coverdale's tr. of Is 57[17] 'he turneth him self, and foloweth ye bywaye of his owne hert.'

RV introduces 'bypaths' in Jer 18[15] (נְתִיבוֹת, AV, 'paths'). J. HASTINGS.

* *Probable*, for this meaning of 'by,' though never common, is clearly made out; but the Gr. being ἐμαυτῷ (Vulg. *mihi*) one is not certain that Tindale, whom the others follow, did not miss the meaning, and translate the word as an instrumental dative.

† Tindale and the Gen. Bible have 'by and by' in many places in which AV has 'immediately.' Thus Mk 1[31] 'the fever forsoke hir by and by' (Wyc. 'anoon,' Rhem. 'incontinent,' but Cov. and the rest as AV); so 2[12] 4[5], Lk 6[49], Jn 6[21], etc.

C

C.—This symbol is used in critical notes on the Text of OT and NT to indicate the readings of the Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus in the National Library at Paris. The MS is assigned to the 5th cent. Tischendorf, on somewhat slender grounds, suggests Egypt as its birthplace. In the 6th cent. the NT was carefully revised by the first corrector (C^2). In the same or in the succeeding century some changes were introduced in the OT (C^a). Tischendorf hazards a conjecture that during this period of its history the MS was in Palestine. By the 9th cent., at any rate, it had found its way to Constantinople, and there the NT came into the hands of a second corrector (C^3) who revised the MS for liturgical use.

In the 12th cent. the MS must have been taken to pieces, the separate sheets of vellum sponged over to obliterate the original writing, and then a certain number of the sheets used again to receive a Greek translation of some works of Ephraim the Syrian. Hence its description as a *codex rescriptus* or palimpsest. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the MS was taken into Italy, and finally passed into the hands of Catherine de Medici. At her death it became the property of the French Royal Library. Its real value was not recognised at first. It was not till the end of the 16th cent. that the older writing attracted attention. In 1716 Bentley set Wetstein to work at a systematic collation. In 1834 the MS was chemically treated to intensify the ancient writing—on the whole with good effect. Still the task of deciphering the faded letters calls for extraordinary patience and skill; and Tischendorf deserves unstinted praise for the edition that he published (Leipzig 1843 and 1845) as the result of ten months' hard work in the Library at Paris.

The MS contains at present 209 leaves, written in single columns: 64 contain fragments of Job, Proverbs, Eccles., Wis. of Sol., Sirach, and Canticles; 145 contain large portions (not quite two-thirds of the whole) of NT, including fragments from every book except 2 Jn and 2 Th. The Ammonian sections are marked in the margin of the Gospels, and the list of chapters at the beginning of St. Luke and St. John are preserved. There are no indications of chapters in the other books of the NT. Hort has shown that there is reason to believe that Rev was transcribed from a separate exemplar, consisting of about 120 small leaves (*Intr.* p. 268).

J. O. F. MURRAY.

C.—A symbol used in criticism of Hex. by Dillmann to signify the work of the Jahwist (J); by Schultz for that of the Elohist (E). See HEXATEUCH.

CAB.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CABBON (כַּבּוֹן), Jos 15^{40}.—A town of Judah near Eglon. The name has not been recovered.

CABIN is used once in AV in the obsol. sense of a prison cell, Jer 37^{16} 'When Jeremiah was entered into the dungeon, and into the cabins' (חֻגִּיּוֹת [all], *something vaulted*, from חָגָה *to bend*; AVm, RV 'cells'). The word is rare in this sense, but in frequent use for a hermit's cell, as Caxton, *Chron. Eng.* ccliv. 329, 'They put hym in a Cabon and his chapelyne for to shryue hym.' J. HASTINGS.

CABUL (כָּבוּל), Jos 19^{27}, 1 K 9^{13}.—A town of Asher on the border of Zebulun. The district was ceded by Solomon to Tyre. Prob. the large village *Kabûl* E. of Acco. See *SWP*, vol. i. sheet v.

C. R. CONDER.

CÆSAR (Καῖσαρ).—This name was adopted by Octavius, subsequently known as Augustus, after the death of his uncle Julius Cæsar, and passed on to his successors as the official designation of the Roman emperors, until the third century A.D., when it came to be used for the junior partners in the government, in distinction from the title Augustus, which was reserved for the supreme rulers. No name was ready at hand to describe the unique office of the real autocrat in a nominal republic. While the word 'king' was hated at Rome on account of its associations with the legendary history of the city, and despised by the victorious generals who were familiar with it as the title of defeated Oriental rulers, the fame of Julius Cæsar suggested the use of his name by his heir.

The following Cæsars fall within NT times:—

Augustus	B.C. 31–A.D. 14.
Tiberius	A.D. 14–37.
Gaius (Caligula)	,, 37–41.
Claudius	,, 41–54.
Nero	,, 54–68.
Galba	,, 68–69.
Otho	,, 69.
Vitellius	,, 69.
Vespasian	,, 69–79.
Titus	,, 79–81.
Domitian	,, 81–96.

Four of these are referred to in NT, viz. Augustus (Lk 2^1), Tiberius (Lk 3^1), Claudius (Ac 11^{28} 18^2), Nero (Ph 4^{22}, 2 Ti $4^{16.\ 17}$). Augustus was ruling when Jesus Christ was born, and continued to rule until He was about eighteen years of age; Tiberius was emperor during the remainder of His time of obscurity, His public ministry, His death and resurrection. Although our Lord accepted the title of king (Jn 18^{37}), and admitted that He was the Messiah (Mk $8^{29.\ 30}$, Jn $4^{25.\ 26}$), He never came into conflict with the political claims of the ruling Cæsar. The Gospel record mentions only one occasion on which He touched on those claims, and on that occasion it was because they had been forced on His notice (Mk 12^{14-17}). The coin for which He then called was a *denarius* with the image and legend of Tiberius upon it (see MONEY), and His judgment was to the effect that the acceptance of this coin by the Jews was a sign that they admitted the Roman rule over them, under which circumstances they were morally bound to render Cæsar his dues, not forgetting the dues of God. In the Fourth Gospel the Jews threaten Pilate with a charge of disloyalty to Cæsar (Tiberius), and describe the claims of Jesus to be a king as amounting to sedition against Cæsar; and the priests, who represent the ancient aristocratic rulers of Israël, expressly declare that they have no king but Cæsar (Jn $19^{12.\ 15}$). Caligula is not referred to in the NT. His time coincides with the early ministry of St. Paul. Aquila and Priscilla are stated to have come from Italy to Corinth in consequence of a decree of Claudius (the fourth Cæsar) banishing all Jews from Rome (Ac 18^2. See CLAUDIUS). Since Nero was in power when St. Paul was arrested at Jerusalem, it was to him that the apostle, as a Roman citizen (Ac $22^{27.\ 28}$), appealed from the local tribunal at Cæsarea (Ac 25^{9-12}). The right of appeal to Cæsar was allowed

to citizens, but not to provincials (Pliny, *Epis.* x. 96 (*al.* 97); Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. p. 59; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 3rd ed. pp. 255–257). The Apoc. appears to contain frequent obscure allusions to the Cæsars, and especially to Nero, one passage (Rev 17^{10}) seeming to point to the first seven emperors, and in such a way as to suggest that the book must have been written under the sixth (Galba).

LITERATURE.—Dion Cassius, Suetonius, Tacitus; Capes, *The Early Empire*; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*; Duruy, *History of Rome* (ed. by Mahaffy); H. Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*; Hertzberg, *Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreiches.* W. F. ADENEY.

CÆSAR'S HOUSEHOLD.—This phrase occurs with a mark of emphasis in the salutations sent from St. Paul's friends at Rome to the Church at Philippi, where we read, 'All the saints salute you, *especially they that are of Cæsar's household* (μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, Ph 4^{22}). The *domus* or *familia Cæsaris* included the whole imperial household, and extended to the attendants of the emperor in the provinces as well as at Rome. Lightfoot gives a list of some of these, from which it is evident that the phrase contains no indication of the rank of the persons to whom it refers. They may have been courtiers of high position; the execution of Titus Flavius Clemens, a man of consular rank and cousin to the emperor, and the banishment of his wife Flavia Domitilla, the emperor's niece, and her daughter Pontia, by Domitian, for the vague crimes, *contemtissimæ inertiæ* (Suet. c. 15), atheism (ἀθεότης), and inclination to Jewish customs (Dion. Cass. lxvii. 14), have suggested the probable opinion that these people were Christians. Still, most probably in the time of St. Paul the Christian members of the imperial household were slaves, or freedmen of humble position. The apostle's association with the soldiers who guarded him may have led to the introduction of the gospel to the palace attendants, although the statement that the prisoners were put under the **Prætorian guard** (Ac 28^{16} AV) is absent from the best MSS. The imperial household must have constituted so large a proportion of the population of Rome that there is nothing surprising in the fact that some of its members came into contact with Christian teachers. The interesting fact is that converts were won from so frightful a circle of dissoluteness as the court of Nero (Suetonius, *Nero*, 28, 29). The names of a number of the imperial attendants of this period having been recovered from sepulchral monuments among the columbaria in the neighbourhood of the Appian Way, Lightfoot pointed out the identity of some of these names with several that occur in the list of salutations in Ro 16, viz. Amplias, Urbanus, Stachys, Apelles, Narcissus, Tryphæna, Tryphosa, Patrobas (Patrobius), Philologus, Julia (Julius). The probability that the last chapter of Ro is really part of an Ep. to the Ephesians deprives these coincidences of their supposed value. Most of the names are not uncommon.

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Philippians*, n. on 'Cæsar's Household'; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ch. xxvi.; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 353; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age* (Eng. tr.), ii. 132. W. F. ADENEY.

CÆSAREA (Καισάρεια), Ac $10^{1.\,24}$ 21^{8} $23^{23.\,33}$.—The city N. of Jaffa, on the seashore, orig. called Strato's Tower, rebuilt by Herod the Great, the capital of Judæa under the Procurators, and where St. Paul was imprisoned. It was famous for its port, which Josephus compares with the Piræus, though the latter was very much larger (*Ant.* XV. ix. 6). The present ruins include the walls of the ancient city, and within them those of a much smaller town of the twelfth cent., with walls rebuilt in the thirteenth by St. Louis. The cathedral, of which only foundations remain, appears to stand on the site of the temple raised by Herod to Augustus (Jos. *Ant.* XV. ix. 6; *Wars*, I. xxi. 7). On the S., outside the mediæval town, are ruins apparently of a large theatre close to the shore. On the E. is a cursus, with a fine goal of granite, now overthrown. Two aqueducts from Carmel brought the waters of the Zerka, or Crocodile River, to the city. They are Rom. work, with round arches, running over the swamps, and a tunnel through the cliffs, with rock-cut staircases descending in wells. A few Bosnian colonists have houses in the ruins. Cæsarea was a bishopric from the fourth to the thirteenth cent. A.D., of which the most celebrated bishop was Eusebius. In NT times it had a mixed population, and conflicts between the Jews and their fellow-citizens were frequent. On the outbreak of the great war, the Jewish population was massacred (Jos. *Wars*, II. xviii. 1, VII. viii. 7; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 86 f.). It was also the scene of a Moslem massacre when taken by the Crusaders in A.D. 1101. For full account, and plans of the ruins, see *SWP*, vol. ii. sheet x. See also Neubauer, *Géog. Talm. s.v.*

C. R. CONDER.

CÆSAREA PHILIPPI (Καισάρεια ἡ Φιλίππου, 'Cæsarea of Philip').—It was so named to distinguish it from Cæsarea Palestîna on the sea-coast. It possibly appears in the OT as Baal-gad, but its history for us begins with Herod the Great. (For suggested identification with Dan, see Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 480.)

No spot in Palestine can compare with this in romantic beauty. It stands on a triangular terrace 1150 ft. above sea-level, cut off from Hermon by *Wady Khashabeh*, and bounded on the S. by *Wady Za'areh*. Abundant water produces luxuriant vegetation, fertile fields stretch away to westward, while groves of stately poplars, great oaks, and lowlier evergreens surround the place with perennial charm. The fortress *Ḳal'at eṣ-Ṣubeibeh*, or *Ḳal'at Banias*, crowns the hill behind the village. A position of great antiquity and of enormous strength, its possession has always been essential to the holding of the western meadows. The old city was surrounded by a strong wall, flanked by massive towers, and protected by a ditch on the east. North of the village, in the face of a steep rock, is *Magharet Ras en-Neba'*, 'Cave of the fountainhead.' 'Very deep and full of still water' in the days of Josephus, the crumbling rock has filled the cavern. The waters rise all along the base of the gravel bank in front, and, gathering together, rush away in arrowy streaks between banks of evergreen, under the arch of an old Roman bridge; then, as becomes 'the descender' (הַיַּרְדֵּן), plunge down a narrow ravine, and, taking the stream from *Wady Za'areh*, flow on 'to join the brimming river' from *Tell el-Ḳâḍi* in the plain. West of the spring, on a projecting crag, is a small shrine of *El-Khudr*, that strange object of Oriental reverence identified with St. George and also with the prophet Elijah. Away to the N.E. rises the mighty bulk of Hermon, culminating in the snowy crest full 8000 ft. above the spring.

Baal-gad—the god of good fortune—gave place to the Grecian Pan. The scene of his worship at the fountain was called the Paneion (τὸ Πανεῖον, Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 3), whence the whole district took the name of Paneas, Πανεάς (*Ant. ibid.*). Zenodorus dying at Antioch, Augustus gave this region to Herod (B.C. 20), who built here a temple of white marble in honour of his benefactor. Philip, to whom it passed as part of the tetrarchy of Trachonitis, enlarged and beautified the town, and in compliment to the emperor called it Cæsarea, adding 'of Philip,' to distinguish it from his father's town, and also, no doubt, to secure the memory of his own name. Its great and abiding interest, however, is

derived from the visit of our Lord, and the amazing event witnessed by these silent hills (Mt 16^{13}, Mk 8^{27}). Agrippa II. called the city Neronias (*Ant.* XX. ix. 4); and, as is proved from the city's coins, this name, with Cæsarea, survived some time. Paneas then again asserts itself with Cæsarea, and finally Cæsarea disappears, and Paneas takes permanent possession in the Arabic form of *Baniâs*, for the Arabs have no *p*. Vespasian and his army found refreshment here before their descent on the Sea of Galilee (*BJ* III. ix. 7). After the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus Cæsar here 'exhibited all sorts of shows,' many of the captives being destroyed by wild beasts, and others forced to slay each other in gladiatorial displays (*BJ* VII. ii. 1). Later it became the seat of a bishop, under Antioch. Its bishops were present at the councils of Nicæa, A.D. 325; Chalcedon, A.D. 451, etc. In the stormy history of the crusades the town and castle played an important part. Eusebius (bk. vii. 18) mentions a Christian tradition that the woman healed of an issue of blood (Lk 8^{43}) was a native of Baniâs, her house being shown, with statues representing the event.

The modern village consists of about fifty houses, occupied by Moslems. There are few antiquities. Fragments of broken columns and carved stones, a Roman aqueduct nearly buried in refuse, part of the old walls and castle, and several niches in the rock over the spring, are practically all that remain of the splendours of old Cæsarea Philippi.

W. EWING.

CAGE (כְּלוּב), Jer 5^{27}.—The houses of the rich, stuffed with craftily-obtained wealth and articles of luxury, are compared to a cage full of birds. The reference in the previous verse to bird-traps would at first suggest that 'cage' here continues the thought of fowling, but the stress laid on the fulness of the houses points perhaps to a wicker-case or crate full of pigeons and fowls. This is a common market sight in the East: the crate being literally stuffed, and the birds craning their necks out at every opening to get breath and escape oppression. The meaning of 'cage' is supported by the cage (κάρταλλος) of Sir 11^{30}, which is the Arab. *kartal* 'hamper' of the present day.

'Cage' in Rev 18^{2} (φυλακή) means 'hold,' *i.e.* 'prison' (RVm), or the word may have here an accent of mockery, representing the owls and bats as mounting guard over the traditions of the past. No one would think of putting 'unclean and hateful' birds in a cage or crate, as they were unfit for food and too ill-omened for ornament.

G. M. MACKIE.

CAIAPHAS (Καϊάφας), more correctly 'Joseph C.' (cf. 'Joseph called Barsabbas,' Ac 1^{23}), appointed high priest of the Jews by the Rom. procurator Valerius Gratus (predecessor of Pontius Pilate), and removed by Vitellius A.D. 37 (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, iv. 3). C. was son-in-law to Annas (Ananus), high priest A.D. 7–14. Some confusion has arisen from Lk 3^{2} 'in the high priesthood of Annas and C.,' and Ac 4^{6} 'Annas the high priest and C.' (cf. Mk 16^{7}), as well as Jn $18^{13.\ 22}$ where 'the high priest' almost certainly designates Annas. (For explanation of this usage of terms see ANNAS, SANHEDRIN.) The chief priests were at this period mostly Sadducees (Ac 4^{1} 5^{17}, cf. Jos. *Ant.* XV. ix. 3), and in the final conflict with Jesus they played a more prominent part than the Pharisees, as they did also in the subsequent persecution of the apostles. When the popularity of Jesus had received a powerful impulse from the raising of Lazarus, C. was the leading spirit at the council which was held to devise measures to stem the popular current (Jn $11^{49ff.}$). His counsel was to put Jesus to death before a tumult of the people should bring down upon the nation the vengeance of the Romans. His action upon this occasion illustrates his characteristic disregard of justice and religion, and shows with what adroitness he could hide self-interest under the cloak of patriotism. But there was a deeper meaning in his words than he was conscious of; and the evangelist finds in them a high-priestly prophecy of the atonement (vv.$^{51.\ 52}$; cf. Ex 28^{30}, Nu 27^{21})—with which may be compared similar unconscious testimonies in Mt $27^{25.\ 37}$ and Mk 15^{31}. The policy which C. advocated at this meeting, he was largely instrumental in carrying out. It was in 'the court of the high priest who was called C.' that 'the chief priests and elders' resolved to take Jesus 'by subtilty'—with the help of Judas (Mt $26^{3.\ 4.\ 14\text{-}16}$); and it was C. that took the leading part in the trial of Jesus at the nocturnal meeting held immediately after the private examination before Annas (Jn 18^{24}, Mt $26^{57\text{-}66}$). The procedure under C.'s presidency was a travesty of justice, and while they 'sought false witness against him,' Jesus kept silence; even when challenged by C. to speak,—till the latter, despairing of establishing any relevant charge by means of witnesses, solemnly adjured Jesus to say whether He was 'the Christ, the Son of God.' At once the unfaltering answer came (although the speaker knew that He would have to seal His testimony with His blood), whereupon C., with an affectation of pious horror, rent his garments, saying, 'He hath spoken blasphemy . . . What think ye?'—to which 'they answered, He is worthy of death,'—a sentence that was ratified next morning at a formal meeting of the Sanhedrin (Mt $27^{1.\ 2}$; Jn 18^{28}). After this C. is only once mentioned by name in the NT (Ac 4^{6}), associated with 'as many as were of the kindred of the high priest' in the trial of Peter and John; but in all probability he is 'the high priest' of Ac $5^{17.\ 21.\ 27}$ 7^{1} 9^{1}, who continues to persecute the Church.

J. A. M'CLYMONT.

CAIN (קַיִן), Firstborn of the first pair (Gn 4^{1}). As murderer C. marks a further stage in the downward course of the fallen race, while he also foreshadows its material progress. The name, which J derives from the mother's joyful exclamation at the 'acquisition' of a man-child (קָנָה *procure*), may also have suggested the secondary notion of the man of blood (קַיִן *a spear*). A tiller of the soil (4^{2}), C. offered a sacrifice of the produce of the earth (4^{3}), which, however, was not viewed by God with acceptance (4^{5}). The ground of the divine displeasure has commonly been sought in the tardiness of the offering, or in its comparative worthlessness,—in the latter case, either because he withheld his best, or because of the insufficiency of a sacrifice without blood; but, while the spirit of C. may well be supposed to have expressed itself in delay and niggardliness, the text does not carry us beyond the prophetic idea that the offering, owing to the character and inward disposition of C., could not please God (cf. He 11^{4}). As to the manner in which God intimated His rejection of the sacrifice, the narrative is also silent, though the analogy of the primitive history suggests various forms of the revelation—especially the audible voice of God, or the refusal of the consuming fire. Wrothful and dejected at the slighting of his gifts, C. is rebuked by God ($4^{6.\ 7}$), who teaches him that joy (forgiveness?) is the reward of well-doing, but the penalty of wrong-doing the temptation to further sin.* The guilt of the fratricide is aggravated by premeditation in LXX and

* So substantially the received text and rendering. Many modern scholars translate: 'Is it not so that, whether thou bring fair gifts, or bring them not, sin lies at the door?'—but do violence to the key-word (שְׂאֵת) without any clear gain to the sense. LXX reads: οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες; ἡσύχασον—a variation got by slightly changing a word in the Heb. ('at the door'), but this reading seems to miss the point by discovering the fault in ceremonial irregularity.

other versions, where C. is represented as inviting Abel to go with him into the field (4[8]). As the motive of the murder, jealousy is sufficient, without following Jewish scholastics in supposing disputes about religion or property. More hardened than Adam, C. would conceal his guilt, but is convicted by the voice of the shed blood which cries from the ground (4[10]); and, agreeably to his deeper guilt, the curse which is upon the earth, by which it had been made an instrument of punishment, is further heightened (4[12]). Adam is driven from Eden, Cain from tillage-land. Afraid for his life, which he feels to be forfeited, C. is vouchsafed the protection of the threat of a sevenfold vengeance and of a special sign (4[15]). By the sign has been understood a miracle wrought in confirmation of the promise of protection, or a reiterated miracle which in time of need might deter or terrify an assailant, *e.g.* a lightning flash, or intermittent signs of leprosy; but the idea rather appears to be that a permanent physical brand was imprinted, which would identify him to his kind, to whom by report his crime, and the will of God concerning him, were sufficiently known. It is further related that C. went forth into the land of Nod or Wanderland (4[16]), where, consistently enough with OT social ideals, if not with C.'s doom of vagabondism, the first city is built by the first murderer (4[17]).

The NT allusions to C. (besides He 11[4]; 1 Jn 3[12], Jude[11]) are very general, referring simply to the spirit of his life as the antithesis to Christian faith and brotherly love. The vindication of C. was undertaken by the Cainites (cf. Epiphanius *adv. Hæreses*, i. 3, 38), who represented him as possessed of a dignity, power, and enlightenment superior to Abel—a phenomenon which is not without its parallels in modern pleas for the emancipation of the modern man from the self-sacrificing ethics of Christianity. The many problems raised by the narrative were a fertile theme for the Jewish rabbis. The tradition that C. was slain by an arrow from the bow of Lamech, who mistook him for a wild beast, and thereafter killed his youthful son who had misled him, is a fanciful structure reared by the same hands on the foundation of Lamech's wild song.

The history of C. and Abel belongs in substance to the Jahwistic section of the Pentateuch (J, Dillmann's C), which may be concisely described as a body of tradition edited in the light of prophetic revelation. That the story was not found by the writer in its present setting, but was transferred by him from a later situation to the primeval period, is argued on various grounds—that its distinction of farmer and shepherd, and also of fruit-offerings and animal sacrifices, cannot have been primitive, much less the building of a city, and especially that it assumes the existence on the earth of a widely-distributed population. On the other hand, it must be said that none of the problems are absolutely insoluble, with the presuppositions of the history as it lies before us. Possibly, Assyriology may throw more light on the question by discovering fresh points of contact between the OT and the cuneiform inscriptions. According to Budde, it is constructed on the basis of hints in the genealogies and patriarchal narratives. What remains unaffected by criticism is the prophetic inspiration manifested in the representation of God's holiness and long-suffering, in the analysis of the guilty heart, and in the knowledge of the rapid diffusion of the principle of sin, and its tendency to steadily increasing heinousness as manifested in outward act.

LITERATURE.—See esp. Dillmann, *Genesis*; Delitzsch, *New Com. on Genesis*; Budde, *Biblische Urgeschichte*; Ryle, *Early Narratives of Genesis*. For Jewish speculation, Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*. W. P. PATERSON.

CAINAN (Καινάν, WH Καινάμ).—**1.** The son of Enos and father of Mahalaleel (Lk 3[37. 38]). See KENAN. **2.** The son of Arphaxad (Lk 3[36], which follows LXX of Gn 10[24] 11[12]). The name is wanting in the Heb. text of the last two passages. See GENEALOGY.

CAKE.—See BREAD.

CALAH (כָּלַח).—The name of a city mentioned in Gn 10[11] as having been founded by Nimrod, or by Asshur; for the rendering of the RVm 'Out of that land went forth Asshur,' is by many scholars preferred to that of the RV text, 'Out of that land he (*i.e.* Nimrod) went forth into Assyria.' C. is here spoken of, together with Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, and Resen, as having been built, according to Heb. tradition, in the earliest ages of Assyr. history.

This city of C. was one of the four cities which together formed the huge city of Nineveh. Its ruins were discovered by Layard beneath the mounds which had gone by the name of Nimrûd, lying some 20 miles S. of Nineveh-Kouyunjik, and occupying the S. portion of the V-shaped piece of country at the junction of the Tigris and the Greater Zab.

The impression produced by the passage in Genesis is that Nineveh and the adjacent towns were founded at an age long previous to the time of Abraham. But we gather from the cuneiform inscriptions that the real founder of Nineveh was Shalmaneser I. (B.C. 1300), and that he was the builder of C. (Kalḫu), the southern suburb of the great Assyr. capital. C., after the death of its founder, seems to have been allowed to fall into neglect until the days of Assur-naẓir-pal (*c.* B.C. 880), who practically rebuilt it. He surrounded it with a massive wall, on the N. side of which alone are the traces of 58 towers. He erected in it beautiful temples and palaces; by a canal he led the water of the Greater Zab into the midst of the city, and adorned its banks with lovely fruit-gardens and vineyards. But the principal building of all seems to have been his own palace (called the N.W. palace), the walls of which were covered with superb bas-reliefs, representing the king engaged in his duties as priest and warrior. The remains of these splendid works of art were carefully excavated under the superintendence of Layard, George Smith, and Rassam; and they present to the visitor of the British Museum the most striking extant memorial of the art and magnificence of the ancient Assyr. empire. To the E. of the N.W. palace, Shalmaneser II., son and successor of Assur-naẓir-pal, built another palace, known as the central, in which was found the famous 'black obelisk,' containing the memorials of Shalmaneser, and the inscription beginning with the words that have been deciphered as 'tribute of Jehu son of Omri.' This was also the palace and residence of the Tiglath-pileser of whom we read in Scripture. But it was pulled down by Esar-haddon (B.C. 681), who used the materials to erect his own, the S.W., palace; and a fourth smaller building, on the S.E., was begun by Assur-itil-ilani, the last but one of the Assyr. kings.

All these buildings were raised upon the huge palace-hill, a gigantic terrace made of bricks and faced with stone, 40 feet above the river bed, at the S.W. angle of the city wall. The old river bed must have flowed close by the W. side of this vast structure, access to which, on the city side, was obtained by steps. The size of the terrace may be appreciated from the fact of the mound measuring 600 yards (N. and S.) by 400 (E. and W), while the mound at its N.W. corner forms a hill 140 feet high.

After the fall of Nineveh, we hear nothing more

of C. in history. The work of exploring its wonderful mounds, and of excavating its treasures, will always be associated with the name of the famous discoverer of the site, Sir H. Layard.

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *COT*[2]; Riehm, *HWB*; Smith, *DB*[2]; Sayce, *HCM*, and *Patr. Pal.*; and the art. ASSYRIA.

H. E. RYLE.

CALAMOLALUS (A Καλαμωλάλος, B Καλαμωκάλος), 1 Es 5[22].—A corrupt place-name, probably due to a conglomeration of the two names Lod and Hadid in Ezr 2[33] (A Λυδδών, Λόδ, Ἀδίδ; cf. Neh 7[37]).

CALAMUS.—See REED.

CALCOL (כַּלְכֹּל).—A Judahite, a descendant of Zerah (1 Ch 2[6]), otherwise described in 1 K 4[31] (where AV has **Chalcol**) as a son of Mahol, famous for wisdom, but surpassed by Solomon.

CALDRON.—See FOOD.

CALEB (כָּלֵב, Χαλέβ) is one of the numerous words in OT which are used both as the name of an individual and the eponym of a family or clan. Acc. to the narrative of Nu 13. 14, C. was (alike in JE and P) one of the men sent by Moses to 'spy out' the land; in JE he is the only one of the spies who dissents from the opinion that the Canaanites were too strong to be conquered; and to him alone is exemption granted from the sentence of exclusion from the Promised Land (Nu 14[24]). In P, Joshua is also named as one of the spies; both are equally faithful, and both have praise and promises bestowed upon them (Nu 14[30]). JE's narrative, which is the older, is followed in Dt 1[22-36. 39f.] and Jos 14[6-14] (where the words 'and concerning thee' [v.[6]] seem to be an editorial addition). In the last-named passage, C. at the age of 85 claims from Joshua the fulfilment of the promise of Nu 14[24], and, in answer to his application, has Hebron and the neighbouring hill-country assigned to him, 'because that he wholly followed the Lord the God of Israel.'

The chief interest of the name C. centres, however, in its use as the eponym of the great family of the Kalibbites (Calebites). The latter name is most probably to be explained as an instance of totemism. The Kalibbites were a dog-tribe (כלב = dog). While the K. became eventually one of the most important constituents of the tribe of Judah, C. is truly represented in 1 S 25[3] (Nabal of the house of C.) 30[14] (the Negeb of C.) as distinct from Judah. On the other hand, the Chronicler traces C.'s descent to the patriarch Judah (1 Ch 2[4. 5. 9. 18ff. 42ff.]), and makes Jerahmeel his elder brother. The difference between the original and the ultimate relation of C. to Judah explains these divergent accounts of C.'s descent, which are found in different documents belonging to different periods and dominated by different motives. While, as we have seen, the Chronicler makes him a descendant of Judah, he is called by JE, the Kenizzite (Nu 32[12], Jos 14[6. 14]), or son of Kenaz, like Othniel his younger brother (Jos 15[17], Jg 1[13] 3[9. 11]). This Kenaz appears in Gn 36[40. 42] among the tribes of Edom, and in v.[11] is expressly designated the grandson of Esau. For probable explanation of **Caleb-ephratah** 1 Ch 2[24], see GENEALOGY.

Taking all the data together, the course of events was probably something like this. The Kalibbites, separating from the main stock of the Kenizzites, who had their settlements on Mt. Seir, penetrated into the hill-country of S. Canaan as far as Hebron. Their relations with Judah were more or less friendly at the time of the conquest, and ultimately they coalesced with that tribe, and came to be reckoned as one of its chief clans. The statements that C. alone spoke hopefully of the prospect of conquering Canaan (Nu 13[30]), and that he afterwards received Hebron as the reward of his faith (Jos 14[14]), may contain a reminiscence of the circumstance that the Kalibbites penetrated into Canaan directly from the S., and before the advent of the tribe of Judah. The name of C. may still survive in the *Wady el-Kulab*, 10 miles S. of Hebron.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT* 58, 77, 103, *Dt.* 25 f.; Moore, *Jud.* 30 f.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 279 n., 402, *Kinship and Mar. in Arab.* 200, 219; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 4 ff.; Wellhausen, *de Gent. et Fam. Jud.*, and *Comp. d. Hex.* 337 f.; Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* i. 135 ff., 176 ff.; Graf, *der Stamm Simeon*, 16-18; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 293 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

CALENDAR.—See TIME.

CALF, GOLDEN CALF.—i. The use of the word 'calf' in EV to designate the images of Aaron and Jeroboam is somewhat misleading. The Heb. writers invariably (for Hos 10[5] see below) employ for this purpose the word עֵגֶל *'ēgel*, which, however, like the corresponding fem. עֶגְלָה *'eglah*, has a wider application than our calf. Thus we read of an *'eglah* of three years old (Gn 15[9]), and of another giving milk (Is 7[21], cf. Hos 10[11], Jer 50[11] RV). A comparison of Jer 31[18] with Jg 14[18], where the reference is to a young bull and a young cow respectively, of an age to be broken to the plough, shows conclusively, apart from considerations drawn from the study of comparative religion, that *'ēgel* is the appropriate term for a *young bull* just arrived at maturity. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that the use of the word to denote the images in question is due either to contempt on the part of the sacred writers, or to the diminutive size of the images themselves (so most recently Bacon, *Triple Trad. of the Exodus*, p. 134, who would translate '*little* bull'). The feeling of contempt which Hosea undoubtedly entertained towards the bull-worship of his countrymen has usually been detected in the unique fem. עֶגְלוֹת בֵּית אָוֶן Hos 10[5] MT. But the MT is here certainly at fault; for not only do the LXX and Pesh. versions preserve the sing., but the repeated occurrence of the sing. *masc.* suffix in the rest of the verse unmistakably points to the usual עֵגֶל as the original reading. In the LXX the rendering is uniformly μόσχος, except in the books of Kings where the fem. δάμαλις, a heifer, is adopted. The reason for this procedure may perhaps be found in the desire of the translator or translators of this part of the OT to avoid the use of μόσχος, as suggesting to Egyptian readers the sacred bulls of Memphis and Heliopolis. Herodotus and other Greek writers, as well known, designate the latter as μόσχοι, and in the LXX itself the word is applied to Apis (ὁ Ἄπις . . . ὁ μόσχος σου Jer 26[15] [MT 46[15]]). The occurrence of the fem. in To 1[5] (τῇ Βάαλ τῇ δαμάλει, Cod. B—but Cod. ℵ τῷ μόσχῳ κτλ) is to be explained by the favourite substitution of בֹּשֶׁת for בַּעַל by Jewish doctors (see esp. Dillm. in *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, June 1881, on 'Baal with a fem. article'—cf. Ro 11[4] and LXX *passim*).

ii. AARON'S GOLDEN BULL.—One of the most important incidents which Heb. tradition has preserved of the wanderings is that which now occupies the 32nd chap. of Exodus. A very cursory examination is sufficient to show that the narrative in its present form cannot be the product of a single pen. Thus (*a*) the author of vv.[9-14] cannot be the author of vv.[30-34]; (*b*) v.[35] cannot have been written by the same hand as v.[34]; (*c*) if the chapter is a unity, the evident surprise of Moses in vv.[18. 19] is inexplicable after the explanation in vv.[7. 8]. Without going further into the details of the analysis—which in this part of Exodus is exceedingly difficult—we may simply

remark that the main strand of the narrative is almost certainly from the pen of the Ephraimite historian, E. Additions thereto have been drawn from the other prophetic source, J, not without some modifications from the pen of the redactor of the two narratives. The main point to note is that the historicity of the incident is attested by our oldest sources, and confirmed by the author of Deuteronomy who based his own narrative (Dt 9^{7}–10^{21}) on these sources, frequently, indeed, using their *ipsissima verba* (see parallel columns in Driver's *Deut.* pp. 113, 114). This conclusion does not exclude the possibility that the narrative in receiving its final literary form may have absorbed some reflection of the religious sympathies of the writers (see below).

The following is a *résumé* of the leading features of the narrative as now presented: — Becoming impatient under the continued absence of their leader, the people prevail on Aaron to make a god (אֱלֹהִים) which should go before them. With the material furnished by the golden earrings of the women and children 'a molten calf' is fashioned (the details of the process are obscure), before which an altar is built, and to which, *as a symbol of J"*—see esp. v.^{5} 'to-morrow is a feast to J"'—divine honours are paid. The rest of the chapter tells of J"'s anger, of Moses' energetic intervention, of Aaron's truly Oriental apology, and, finally, of the destruction of the calf (here again the process is difficult to explain), and of 3000 of its worshippers. The uncertainty which prevails with regard to the reading and rendering of v.^{4} (see the Comm. *in loc.*) renders it impossible to speak positively as to the construction of the image. A comparison of v.^{4} with v.^{20}, and of both with other passages where similar images and their manufacture are described, such as Dt 7^{25}, Is 30^{22} 40^{19} 44^{10} ff. etc., seems to point to a wooden core overlaid with gold (cf. what is said below of the bulls of Jeroboam). If this supposition is correct, the image was no doubt life-size or over, as is suggested both by the amount of gold provided and by the fact that Aaron built an altar before it (v.^{5}). Much ingenuity has been expended in the endeavour to explain the methods of destruction enumerated in v.^{20}. The most probable explanation seems to be that after the core had been charred and burned, the casing of gold (Dt 7^{25}, Is 30^{22}) was reduced to minute fragments ('dust' Dt 9^{21}) by a process of crushing similar to that employed at the present day by the poorer classes in the East in the preparation of cement from broken pottery * (cf. Dn $2^{34.\ 35}$). As a supreme mark of contempt, the 'dust' thus obtained was cast 'upon the brook that descended out of the mount' (acc. to an interesting detail supplied by Dt 9^{21}), and the children of Israel made to drink of it (cf. the analogous procedure, Nu 5^{23} ff.).

Deferring to a later stage the question as to the origin, Egyptian or other, of this so-called 'calf-worship,' we must, before passing from the incident of Ex 32, refer to the problem, raised by recent criticism, of the original connexion and historical purport of the narrative. The key to the simplest solution of the problem is that furnished by the account in Dt $10^{3.\ 9}$ of the separation of the tribe of Levi for the exclusive exercise of the priestly office. The introductory phrase 'at that time,' v.^{8}, refers, we can hardly doubt, to the incidents recorded in ch. 9. Now, if we keep in mind the fact that the great prophetic history-book, as it lay before the author of Dt, contained much which the final redactor excised to make way for the divergent and ampler details of P, the suggestion seems most reasonable, that *Ex* 32 *in its original connexion formed the introduction to JE's account of the consecration of the tribe of Levi to the priesthood.* The priestly prerogative, in short, was represented in JE as the reward bestowed by J" on the sons of Levi for their fidelity to his cause at an all-important crisis in the history of the wanderings. The use of the standing expression for the priestly consecration (מִלֵּא יַד פ") in Ex 32^{29} leaves no doubt as to the nature of the 'blessing' (v.^{29}) that was about to be bestowed upon the tribe (cf. also Dt $33^{3.\ 9}$ where we have probably another reference to the incidents of Ex 32).

While regarding the explanation just given of the main purport of the narrative in its original connexion as the most probable, we would not seek to deny that other motives may also have influenced the early narrators. No Ephraimite writer of the 8th cent. B.C., imbued with the spirit of the prophetic teaching, could have committed to writing the incident of the golden calf without penning, at the same time, an implicit condemnation of the recognised worship of Northern Israel. That the narratives of Ex 32 and 1 K 12^{26}ff. are not independent of each other is plain from the almost identical words with which the images are introduced (Ex 32^{8}, 1 K 12^{28b}, cf. Neh 9^{18}). Indeed it is more than probable that the author of Ex 32^{8} deliberately chose the unusual plural construction (אֵלֶּה . . . הֶעֱלוּהָ) in order to make his covered polemic more pointed.*

iii. THE BULLS OF JEROBOAM I.—The cardinal passage, 1 K 12^{26-33} (cf. 2 Ch $11^{14.\ 15}$), is by every token to be assigned to the Deuteronomic compiler of the book of Kings, who flourished *c.* B.C. 600 (see Driver, *LOT*[1] 183; Kittel, *op. cit.*, Eng. tr. ii. 211–212). Whether the compiler is here building on an older written foundation or not, the passage undoubtedly bears the stamp of genuine history. The situation is perfectly natural and intelligible. Jeroboam found that, despite the success of his revolution politically, the temple of Solomon, with its numerous priesthood and no doubt imposing ritual, still exercised an irresistible attraction for the worshippers from the Northern Kingdom. Justifiably dreading a reaction in favour of the Davidic dynasty if such religious pilgrimages were to continue, Jeroboam felt himself compelled to take measures to provide a counter-attraction—a sanctuary or sanctuaries that might retain the more devout of his subjects within his kingdom. While thus maintaining (against Stade, *Geschichte*, i. 352) the essential accuracy of the compiler's estimate of Jeroboam's principal motive, we would by no means exclude, as an important factor in the case, the desire—on which Stade lays exclusive stress—to pose as the protector of the ancient sanctuaries and the patron of their priests, to whom Jeroboam may have looked for political support. Indeed it is not improbable that many of the Northern priesthood had already begun to realise that the temple of Solomon must inevitably make for the centralisation of the cultus, and, like the priesthood of Babylonia in the case of Cyrus, they may have been among the first to welcome the new sovereign.

We can also understand the motives that led to the selection of Bethel and Dan as the chief seats of the rival worship. The former recommended itself as having been, from time immemorial (Gn

* The pottery is reduced to fine dust by rolling a large stone backwards and forwards over the fragments, as may be seen any summer in the Birket es-Sultan at Jerusalem.

* This suggestion holds good whether we translate אֱלֹהִים in the above passages by 'God' or by 'gods.' On the construction of "א with a plur. vb., see Driver, *Deut.* p. 65; Strack's excursus in his *Genesis*, pp. 67–68; Baudissin, *Stud. z. semit. Religionsgeschichte*, note pp. 55–57. If we must render 'gods,' then clearly the use of the phrase in 1 K is the older, for (as Kittel has pointed out, *Hist. of the Heb.*, Eng. tr. ii. 212) it is only in the case of Jeroboam, and not in the case of Aaron, that the plural 'gods' has any meaning.

28^{19} 35^{6}, Hos $12^{4.5}$), one of the chief sanctuaries of the land, and it was besides conveniently situated for intercepting the pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. During the whole period of the existence of the Northern Kingdom, the sanctuary of Bethel continued to be its religious centre (see esp. Am 7^{13}), and even survived its downfall for a century, until finally destroyed during the reformation of Josiah (2 K 23^{15-19}). The city of Dan had also from the generation succeeding the conquest been a noted sanctuary, and its situation commended it as the religious centre of the tribes to the east and west of the sea of Galilee. The new sanctuary, however, did not survive 'the captivity of the land' (Jg 18^{30}), at the hand of Tiglath-pileser, B.C. 734 (2 K 15^{29}), although Josephus speaks of 'the temple of the golden cow' (*τῆς χρυσῆς βοός*), as if its ruins, at least, were still standing in his day (*Wars*, IV. i. 1).

With regard to the size and construction of Jeroboam's bulls we have no precise information. As in the case of the image fashioned by Aaron, we may best think of them as consisting of a wooden core overlaid with gold. This view would be considerably strengthened could we be sure that the obscure word שְׁבָבִים (Hos 8^{6}) has the meaning here which it bears in the Talmud, viz., splinters or shavings of wood (see Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten, in loc.*).* They were probably of considerable size, and represented a young but full-grown bull. There is no authority for supposing that they were winged, like the bulls of Assyria, or were copies of any 'cherubic emblem,' whether in Solomon's temple (so Farrar, *Expositor*, viii. [1893]: 'Was there a Golden Calf in Dan?') or elsewhere. We are further expressly informed that Jeroboam 'set the one in Bethel, and the other put he in Dan' (1 K 12^{29}). The view recently put forward by Klostermann in his *Komm. in loc.* (1887), and repeated in his *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* (1896), and supported by Farrar (*ut sup.*), that both images were set up at Bethel, requires unwarrantable liberties with the text, and is contrary to all the available evidence (cf. Am 8^{14}, To 1^{5} *τῷ μόσχῳ . . . ἐν Δάν* (א)). On the other hand, it is thought by many recent scholars that the bull symbolism was not confined to the two great sanctuaries already mentioned. Stade, indeed, goes so far as to say that there is evidence in Hosea for the presence of bull-images at all the more important sanctuaries (*ZATW*, 1883, p. 10). The strongest claim is perhaps for the capital, Samaria (Am 8^{14} 'they that swear by the *sin of S.*'), although it is doubtful whether the city or the country is here intended. If the latter, the reference would be to the image at the chief sanctuary at Bethel. The same form of worship was also, in the opinion of many, practised at Beersheba and Gilgal † (Am 4^{4} 5^{5} 8^{14}, Hos 4^{15} 9^{15} 12^{11} [Heb.^{12}]).‡

The ritual of these northern sanctuaries does not seem to have differed much from that of the great sanctuary of the South (see an exhaustive presentation of the evidence of Amos and Hosea on this point by Oettli in *Greifswalder Studien*, 'Der Kultus bei Amos u. Hosea,' 1895). The priests, however—derisively named כְּמָרִים ('black-coats'?) by Hosea (10^{5})—were recruited from all the tribes, not, as in the South, from the tribe of Levi exclusively, which thing was an offence to the historian, writing from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic law (1 K 12^{31}, 2 K 23^{5}, and cf. 2 Ch 11^{14} 13^{9}). Mention is made of various kinds of sacrifice, although not of human sacrifice (as some would interpret Hos 13^{2} זֹבְחֵי אָדָם, see the Commentaries). This passage further refers to the practice of kissing the bulls as an act of worship, either by throwing kisses to them (as in Job 31^{27}) or by actually kissing the images, as the Moslems do the 'black stone' at Mecca (cf. 1 K 19^{18}).

iv. The Origin of the Bull Symbols.—We have deferred to this stage the inquiry as to the origin of this form of religious symbolism. It is needless to occupy space with proof of the absurdity of the opinion so long current in the Church, both Jewish and Christian, that we have here a species of avowed idolatry. Whatever abuses may have crept in at a later period, however gross may have become the conceptions of the people regarding the golden bulls, it is now universally acknowledged that they were originally a sincere attempt to symbolise the true covenant God of Israel. Whence, then, did the Hebrews derive this symbol? How came they to represent the Deity under the form of a young bull? The answer, almost uniformly given from the days of Philo and the early fathers to our own, has been: The Hebrews borrowed this symbolism from the Egyptians. Now, it is indeed a striking coincidence that both Aaron and Jeroboam had intimate relations with Egypt just before they fashioned their respective images. But it is a mistake to speak of Jeroboam as a protégé of Shishak or Sheshonk of Egypt, for this monarch claims to have captured cities from Central as well as from Southern Palestine in the course of the raid referred to in 1 K $14^{25ff.}$. Some of the difficulties in the way of accepting the Egyp. origin of the so-called calf or bull worship are these: (*a*) The Egyptians worshipped only the *living* bulls Apis and Mnevis, as incarnations of Osiris and of the Sun-god respectively; (*b*) it would have been the height of absurdity to speak, as Aaron did, of the golden calf as representing the God that brought the Hebrews up out of Egypt, had the image been a reflection of any Egyp. deity; (*c*) the historical situation of 1 K $12^{25ff.}$ requires that the new symbolism by which Jeroboam hoped to consolidate his kingdom should not be an importation from without, but something genuinely national. For these and other reasons the majority of the more recent writers on this subject prefer to seek the origin of the bull-symbolism in the native religious tendencies of the Hebrews themselves—tendencies which they shared with the other Semitic peoples about them. Among an agricultural people there could be no more natural symbol of strength and vital energy than the young bull. The leaning to this particular symbolism was, so to say, in the blood, from the far-off days when the ancestors of the Hebrews were still beyond the flood (Jos 24^{2}). This view of the native origin of the so-called bull-worship has been adopted not only by such men as Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* p. 398), Kuenen (*Relig. of Israel*, i. *passim*), and Duhm (*Theol. d. Propheten*, p. 47), but by more conservative scholars, such as Dillmann (*Exodus*, 1880, p. 337; *Handb. d. AT Theol.* 1895, pp. 98-9), and Baudissin, in Germany, and hesitatingly, in our own country, by Robertson (*Early Relig.* pp. 215–220, where a full discussion of the problem will be found).

v. Attitude of the Prophets Amos and Hosea to the Bull-Symbols.—We cannot bring this article to a close without a brief reference to this topic. However excellent Jeroboam's intentions may have been in the institution of the new form of the national cultus, and however little the contemporary representatives of Jahwism may have found amiss therein, we cannot escape the conclusion that he, unwittingly it may be, sanctioned a declension from the pure teaching of the great prophet and founder of Israel's religion,

* The Targ. Jonathan renders שְׁבָבִים by נסרי לותין 'shavings of (wooden) boards.' Cf. *Shabbath* (ed. Strack) 4^{1} נסורת חרשים carpenters' shavings.

† For reff. to the opinion of certain Fathers that there was a calf at Gilgal, see G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, i. 37.

‡ Jerome, however, is too explicit with his *bobus immolantes*, in the last passage cited.

with its imageless worship of J". The silence of the earlier prophets is a fact, explain it as we may. It has even been questioned if Amos condemns the bulls of the northern sanctuaries (but see above for Am 4^4 5^5). Hosea, on the other hand, is unable to express the intensity of his scorn for them. He saw what his predecessors in the prophetic office had not seen, how dangerous an approach to the worship of the heathen deities of Canaan the institutions of Jeroboam had provided. This worship of J" by images had helped on a gradual assimilation of the religion of J" to that of Baal, which now threatened to prove fatal to the former. Bull-symbolism was rapidly becoming mere bull-worship. So that while, in justice to Jeroboam, we may fairly modify the sweeping condemnation passed upon him by the later biblical writers, imbued with the loftier spiritual teaching of Deut., we must also charge him with having hindered, not helped forward, the divine purpose in the election of Israel. 'In reality, man cannot with impunity bring down the invisible God to the sphere of the visible; he thereby empties the idea of God of its ethical content; it loses for him its sanctifying, elevating, disciplining, and purifying power; God, for him, sinks to the level of a heathen idol, which makes no higher demands on men. This is amply proved by the history of the Northern kingdom; its image-worship became for it a bridge by which to pass over into genuine heathenism; the heathenish, secular atmosphere (Sinn) and heathen immorality overpowered it, and brought about the premature dissolution of the State' (Dillmann, *Handbuch*, p. 167).

LITERATURE.—Besides the Comm. on Exodus and Kings, and the works on OT Theology by Kuenen (*Religion of Israel* esp., vol. i. 73–75, 235–36, 260–62, 345–347), Schultz, Smend, and Dillmann (*Handbuch d. AT Theologie*, 1895, pp. 98-9, 166-7), the foll. special works may be consulted: Of the older writers Moncæus, *Aaron Purgatus* (in *Critici Sacri*, ix., a brief summary is given by Matt. Poole in his *Synopsis* under Ex 32); Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, lib. ii. c. 34; *De Aureis . . . Vitulis*, pp. 329–360; Selden, *De Dis Syris*, pp. 45–64. Of modern works, E. König, *Hauptprobleme*, etc., pp. 53–58, and *Die Bildlosigkeit d. legitimen Jahwehcultus*, 1886; also on the same lines, Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, ch. ix.; Baudissin, *Studien*, etc. vol. i., and his art. 'Kalb (goldenes)' in *PRE*^{2}, vii. 395–400 (esp. informing as to prevalence of bull-worship among the Sem. tribes); S. Oettli, 'Der Kultus bei Amos u. Hosea' in *Greifswalder Studien*, 1895, pp. 1–34; also art. 'Calf' in Smith, *DB*^{2} (by Farrar). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CALITAS (A Καλίτας, B Καλεῖταις).—One of the Levites who undertook to repudiate his 'strange wife,' 1 Es 9^{23}. He bore a second name, **Colius** (A Κώλιος, B Κῶνος). The reading of B is Κῶνος, οὗτος Καλεῖταις, κε Παθαῖος, which should perhaps be read, as Dr. Swete conjectures, οὗτος καλεῖται Σκεπαθαῖος; but this is an emendation of the Gr. on the part of B, and does not represent the original Heb. of Ezra, as a comparison with Ezr 10^{23} 'Kelaiah (the same is Kelita), Pethahiah' shows. A Levite of the same name, and probably the same person, is mentioned as one of those who expounded the Law, 1 Es 9^{48} (Καλείτας=Kelita, Neh 8^7, where LXX omits). H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CALKER.—To calk (or *caulk* as the spelling has been for the last century), from *calcare* 'to tread,' is to stop up a seam, esp. of a ship, by treading or pressing in oakum or the like. Cf. Dampier, *Voy.* (1697), 'In the South Seas the Spaniards do make Oakam to chalk their Ships, with the husk of the Coco-nut.' 'Calker' occurs in this sense, Ezk $27^{9.\ 27}$ (Heb. קַהָוִיקֵי כָּרָק, AVm 'stoppers of chinks'). J. HASTINGS.

CALL.—To call is originally to 'shout,' and esp. to shout so as to summon. **1.** Hence one of its earliest applications is to *invite*, now archaic or obsolete, but found in AV, as 2 S 15^{11} 'with Absalom went two hundred men out of Jerus. that were called' (RV 'invited'); Jn 2^2 'And both Jesus was called (RV 'bidden'), and his disciples, to the marriage'; Rev 19^9 'Blessed are they which are called unto (RV 'bidden to') the marriage supper of the Lamb.' **2.** Closely connected with this is the call to some duty, as 1 S 28^{15} 'I have called thee, that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do'; esp. by God, as He 11^8 'Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place'; Ac 13^2 'Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.' Then the word is used particularly and technically of the Divine call to partake of the blessings of redemption; 1 Co 1^9 'God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord'; whereupon they who are thus called (having obeyed *) are described as 'the called,' 1 Co 1^{24} 'But unto them which are called' (Gr. αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, RVm 'unto the called themselves,' Lightfoot 'to the believers themselves'). See CALLING. **3.** When one is called it is often by name, from which comes the idiom to call a person or thing so and so, to give a name: Gn 1^5 'God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night'; 2 S 6^2 'the ark of God which is called by the Name, even the name of the Lord of hosts that sitteth upon the cherubims' (RV; see NAME). And according to a usage which is now archaic if not obsolete, the calling is transferred from the person or thing to the name, as Mt 1^{21} 'thou shalt call his name Jesus'; Gn 32^{28} 'Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel.' See also He 5^{10} 'Called (RV 'named') of God an high priest after the order of Melchisedec' (Gr. προσαγορεύειν [all] 'expresses the formal and solemn ascription of the title to Him to whom it belongs, "addressed as," "styled"'—Westcott *in loc.* It is a *public* designation—ἀγορεύειν, from ἀγορά the market-place); 7^{11} 'and not be called after the order of Aaron' (λέγεσθαι, 'be spoken of as,' RV 'be reckoned'); and cf. Ac 11^{26}, Ro 7^3, where χρηματίζειν is tr. 'call' (see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 7^3).

4. Some phrases demand attention. **Call again**, *i.e.* call back (see AGAIN), as Bar 3^{33} 'He that sendeth forth light and it goeth, calleth it again.' **Call back**=invite to return, 1 Es 1^{50} (Gr. μεταπαλέω, used in middle voice in NT='send for,' Ac 7^{14} 20^{17} $24^{25.\ 26}$); and fig.=take back a promise, Is 31^2 'will not c. back his words' (תָּסִיר). **Call for**: (1) *Send for, cause to come*, Est 5^{10} 'he sent and called for his friends' (וַיְבֵא, RV 'fetched'); Ac 24^{25} 'when I have a convenient season, I will c. for thee' (μεταπαλέω, RV 'c. thee unto me'); 28^{20} 'For this cause therefore have I called for you, to see you' (παρακαλέω, only here in this meaning, elsewhere 'beseech,' Mt $8^{5.\ 31.\ 34}$ and often; 'entreat,' Lk 15^{28}, 1 Co 4^{13}, 1 Ti 5^1, so here RV; 'exhort,' He 3^{13} 'exhort one another daily,' and often; 'comfort,' 2 Co 1^4, etc.); Ac 13^7 'Sergius Paulus . . . called for Barnabas and Saul' (προσκαλέω, RV 'called unto him'; but Ja 5^{14} 'let him c. for the elders of the church,' RV retains, though Gr. the same); Ac 10^5 11^{13} (μεταπέμπω, RV 'fetch'). (2) *Ask, request*, 1 K 8^{52} 'to hearken unto them in all that they call for unto thee' (קָרָא, RV 'cry'); Ac 16^{29} 'he called for a light' (αἰτέω); Mt 27^{47} 'This man calleth for Elias' (RV 'calleth Elijah'), and Jn 11^{28} 'The Master is come, and calleth for thee' (RV 'calleth thee,' both φωνέω). **Call forth**: Is 31^4 (קָרָא); Ac 24^2 'when he was called forth, Tertullus began to

* In the Gospels there is a distinction between the 'Called,' κλητοί, *i.e.* those who have received the invitation to enter the Messiah's kingdom, and the 'Chosen' (ἐκλεκτοί), *i.e.* those who have obeyed it: Mt 22^{14} 'Many are called, but few chosen.' But in the Epistles this distinction vanishes, the writer having in mind the divine greatness and force of the call, not the human acceptance or rejection of it. See Lightfoot on Col 3^{12}, Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1^1.

accuse him'—the tr. of Tindale, RV 'called,' as in mod. law-court phraseology, 'Call the next witness' (Gr. καλέω). **Call on or call upon**, used frequently, but always of God or the Name of God (קָרָא or ἐπικαλέω), as Ps 50[15] 'c. upon me in the day of trouble.' In Ac 15[17] 'all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord' (from Am 9[12] 'the heathen which are called by my name') we see the reverse side. See this phrase in Dt 28[10] (שֵׁם יהוה נִקְרָא עָלֶיךָ, 'J"'s name is called over thee') and Driver's note there.

'The sense of the phrase,' says Driver, 'appears clearly from 2 S 12[28], where Joab, while besieging Rabbah, sends to urge David to come in person and take it, "lest *I* (emph.) take the city, and *my name be called over it*," *i.e.* lest I gain the credit of having captured it, and it be counted as my conquest. The phrase expresses thus the fact of *ownership*—whether acquired by actual conquest or otherwise (cf. Ps 49[12(11)])—coupled at the same time with the idea of *protection*; and occurs frequently, esp. with reference to the people of Israel, Jerus., or the Temple. The passages are: Am 9[12], Jer 7[10. 11. 14. 30] 14[9] 15[16] (of Jer. himself), 25[29] 32[34] 34[15], 1 K 8[43] (Deut.)=2 Ch 6[33], Is 63[19], 2 Ch 7[14], Dn 9[18. 19]. [In NT Ac 15[17], Ja 2[7], both quotations by James from Am 9[12].] It is to be regretted,' adds Driver, 'that in EV the phrase is generally paraphrased obscurely, "called by my name" (which really corresponds to a different expression, נִקְרָא בִּשְׁמִי, Is 43[7]; cf. 48[1], Nu 32[42]); but the literal rendering, which in this case happens to be both clearer and more forcible than the paraphrase, is sometimes given in RVm (*e.g.* in 1 K 8[43]).'

Call in question: Ac 19[40] (ἐγκαλέω, RV 'accuse'), 23[6] 24[21] (κρίνω). In these places, as elsewhere in older English, the phrase means to put one on his trial before a court of justice. Cf.—

> 'He that was in question for the robbery.'
> Shaks. *Henry IV.* (Pt. 2) I. ii. 68.

J. HASTINGS.

CALLING (κλῆσις, *vocatio*), God's invitation to man to accept the benefits of His salvation. It is God's first act in the application of redemption, in accordance with His eternal purpose (Ro 8[28]). A distinction is made between God's calling and men's acceptance of it (Mt 20[16]), the unrestricted offer and the appropriation which results from a hearty appreciation of what it implies. On God's part it is sure, and without repentance (Ro 11[29]). God in Christ calls to Himself all who are in need of Him, and those who feel their need, come. God's calling of man is in Christ and unto fellowship with Himself in Christ (Ph 3[14]), and is conveyed to all peoples by the preaching of the gospel and the administration of ordinances (Mt 28[19. 20]). In respect of its ethical significance and the spiritual condition which it aims at working in all who respond, it is described as a 'holy calling' (Ro 1[7], 1 Co 1[2], 2 Ti 1[9]), and a 'heavenly calling' (He 3[1]). See ELECTION. J. MACPHERSON.

CALLISTHENES (Καλλισθένης, 2 Mac 8[33]).—A Syrian, who was captured by the Jews in a small house, where he had taken refuge, in the course of certain successes which followed the great victory over Nicanor and Gorgias, in B.C. 165 (comp. 1 Mac 4[1-34]). At a festival in celebration of the victory, the Jews burnt Callisthenes to death, because he had set fire to the portals of the temple (comp. 1 Mac 4[38]). H. A. WHITE.

CALNEH, CALNO (כַּלְנֵה, כַּלְנוֹ, Χαλάννη, Χαλάνη, *Chalanne*).—Calneh is mentioned as one of the four towns of the kingdom of Babylon (Gn 10[10] 'And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar'), but cannot be identified with certainty. Some have thought it to be the Nipuru of the Bab. and Assyr. inscriptions, the same as Niffer, a town situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris; but this is an impossible identification. Most of the historians, like the Targum of Jerusalem, Eusebius, Jerome, and Ephraim the Syrian, identify it with Ctesiphon in Seleucia beyond the Tigris towards Elam; but this is also worthless. No written record, in fact, has yet been found of the Calneh of Gn 10[10], the suggested identification of Calneh with Kul-unu (Kullaba or Zirlaba) being rendered still more doubtful by the fact that Kul-unu is closely connected with Erech, and was perhaps a part of that city. The Calno of Is 10[9] ('is not Calno as Carchemish?' etc.), where, according to the LXX, the tower was built, and the Calneh of Am 6[2] ('Pass ye to Calneh and see, and from thence go ye to Hamath the great, then go down to Gath of the Philistines'), which seem to be mentioned as Syrian cities, are probably to be identified with the Kulnia * mentioned along with Arpad and Hadrach, both cities of Syria, in the Assyr. tribute lists (*WAI* ii. 53, No. 3), and cannot be the same as the Kullani mentioned with the cities and districts lying to the north of Assyria in the geographical list (*WAI* ii. 53, No. 1, l. 6[b]), and therefore cannot be the same as the Kullani captured by Tiglath-pileser III. Notwithstanding that Kullani can hardly be identified with the Calno or Calneh of Isaiah and Amos, it is not improbable that Fried. Delitzsch's identification of these biblical names with Kullanhu, situated about 6 miles from Arpad, may be correct. It seems certainly to be the best that has yet been suggested. I. A. PINCHES.

CALVARY.—See GOLGOTHA.

CALVES OF THE LIPS (Hos 14[2]).—See LIP.

CAMEL.—While the Arabic has scores of words for the camel and its varieties and states, the Heb. words are but two—

(1) גָּמָל *gâmâl*, κάμηλος, *camelus*; the generic name for the camel, preserved exactly in the Arab. *jamal*, and in all W. languages. It is one of the earliest mentioned beasts in the Bible. Abraham had large numbers of camels (Gn 24[10] etc.); also Jacob (Gn 30[43] 31[34] 32[7. 15]); they were carriers between Arabia and Egypt (Gn 37[25]); the Ethiopians (Cushites) had camels in abundance (2 Ch 14[15]); also the queen of Sheba (1 K 10[2]); Job had 3000 (Job 1[3]), then 6000 (42[12]); the Midianites and Amalekites had them 'as the sand by the seaside for multitude' (Jg 7[12]). No one who has not travelled in the deserts where camels are reared can realise the force of the latter passage. In a waterless waste of sand and flint chips, with nothing but the salty shrubs of the desert for pasture, immense droves of camels find a subsistence, and, when not worked, become fat on their diet of thorns and salsolas, with an occasional mouthful of tamarisk. They have been steadily employed, not only to traverse the deserts, but in the internal traffic of Pal. and Syria and Asia Minor. David captured a large number of them from the Geshurites, Girzites, and Amalekites (1 S 27[9]). Benhadad used them in Damascus (2 K 8[9]).

The camel was used for riding (Gn 24[61] 31[34]; **camel's furniture** means the sort of palanquin in which Rachel rode, called in Arab. *haudaj*, and still used for women and children). The Amalekites and the Midianites used them, as the Arabs now do, in war (Jg 7[12], 1 S 30[17]). They were even used to draw chariots (Is 21[7]). The trappings of riding camels were sometimes ornamented with gold (Jg 8[21]).

The Hebrews were expressly forbidden to eat camel's flesh (Lv 11[4], Dt 14[7]). It is, however, eaten by the Arabs of the desert, and in the towns bordering on it. It is coarse, but not unpalatable nor unwholesome. The Arabs also use camel's milk, fresh and in the form of clabber. Its use is not mentioned in the Bible. 'Thirty milch camels, with their colts' (Gn 32[15]), were given by

* Written thus, according to Mr. Pinches' correction of the tablet.

Jacob to Esau, who was a Bedawi. Both probably drank camel's milk, although this is not necessarily implied in the passage. Even if Jacob's descendants applied the prohibition to use camel's flesh to the milk also, Jacob was not under this law.

The skins of camels are used for sandals, and were probably always so used. **Camel's hair** was spun and woven into cloth (Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6). Elijah, the forerunner of John, may well have had a similar mantle (1 K $19^{13.19}$). The 'rough garment,' AVm 'garment of hair,' RV 'hairy mantle' (Zec 13^4), may have been of camel's hair or of goat's hair.

The camel is always loaded, and usually mounted, in the kneeling posture (Gn 24^{11}). The pack-saddle is usually of the cross-tree form. The load, on level ground, may be as heavy as 600 lbs. or more. In hilly districts, and over stony roads, the load is lessened. In going up from 'Ain-Jidi to Jerus. there is a steep part of the road where the cameleers take off their loads and carry them up the rocks on their backs, and lead the camels up and reload them at the top. There are callosities under the camel's breast, his fore and hind knees, and on the sole of his foot. The 'stable for camels' (Ezk 25^5) is a *kneeling place*. The signal to kneel is a tap with a stick on the camel's neck; and to rise, a jerk of his halter, with a monosyllabic *khikh*. The foot is padded with a thick elastic mass of fibrous tissue, which makes the step noiseless, and protects from the angular flint chips and thorns, over which so much of his way lies. The breadth of the camel's foot prevents him from sinking into the sand. On the other hand, the broad and comparatively smooth surface of the sole makes it very slippery on rocks, or in clayey and muddy places. Camels often have disastrous falls on such roads.

The camel has a provision for storing water in a supplementary cavity in his stomach. This water can be absorbed, or passed into the alimentary canal as needed. Besides this, he has a supply of nourishment in his hump, which is a storehouse of fat, reserved for the long fasts or insufficient provender which are so often his lot. The Arabian camel has one hump, and the Bactrian two. Bactrian camels sometimes appear in N. Syria. Nothing in the way of pasture, however dry or succulent, comes amiss to the camel. He is also fed on cut straw, and *kirsenneh*, a sort of lentils, horse beans, and sometimes barley. If water is convenient, and he has no access to succulent forage, he will drink every day, or once in two days. The Arabs have a peculiar whoop, 'oowha,' by which they call camels to water. The latter often go a week or more without water. To keep the camel's body from vermin, the Arabs anoint it with tar, the smell of which, with the emanations from the skin, is certainly most unsavoury. They are ill-natured, quarrelsome animals, and in the rutting season often dangerous. The bite of a camel is often quite poisonous, producing death from septicæmia. An enraged camel has been known to bite off the top of a man's skull.

(2) בִּכְרֵי *bikrê*, pl. const. of בֶּכֶר *bĕker* (Is 60^6), is rendered in both AV and RV *dromedaries*. בִּכְרָה *bikrâh* (Jer 2^{23}) is also rendered *dromedary*, with the pronoun *her* following, to indicate that a female is intended. The etymological signification of both, however, is *young camel*, (so RVm) the first *male*, and the second *female*. They correspond both in form and meaning with the Arab. *bekr* and *bekrah*. In both, the allusion is to the vigour and swiftness of youth. In the passage in Isaiah there is a climax, 'the multitudes of camels shall cover thee, the young camels (*bikrê*) of Midian.' It is similar to the climax in the case of Lamech, 'I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt.' Lane says, 'the term *bekr*=*young camel*, applied to a camel, corresponds to *fata*=*young man*, applied to a human being; and *bekrah*, a *young female camel*, to *fatât*, a *young woman*. *Bekr* and *fata* are more specialised than the general terms *jamal*=*camel*, and *rajul*=*man*; and *bekrah* and *fatât* are more specialised than *naḳah* =*female camel*, and *mar at*=*woman*. And in both pairs of cases the specialised words refer to excellence.' There is nothing in the Heb. original in the above passages, nor in its Arab. equivalent, to indicate that it was the intention of the respective writers to refer to a blooded camel (dromedary), an animal for which the Heb. contains no word. The Arab. has such a word, *hajîn*, but *beker* is not its equivalent, as above shown. Some have supposed that בִּרְכָרוֹת *kirkarôth*, which is rendered in AV and RV 'swift beasts' (Is 66^{20}), means dromedaries (so RVm), deriving it from כָּרַר to *leap* or *gallop*, alluding to the long trot of the dromedary. If so, this would be an additional reason for not identifying *beker* and *bekrâh* with the dromedary. It is more probable, however, that we should regard בִּרְכָרוֹת as a reduplicated form of כַּר *kar*= *palanquin* (Gn 31^{34} the Arab. *ḥaudaj*). With this corresponds the LXX rendering σκιάξια, and the Vulg. *carrucæ*.

Twice the camel, on account of its being the largest animal familiar to all in Bible lands, is used to point a moral. Once, to rebuke the hypocrisy of the Pharisees and scribes, it is said (Mt 23^{24} RV), 'Ye blind guides, which strain out the gnat, and swallow the camel.' Again it is said (Mt 19^{24}), 'It is easier for a camel to go through a **needle's eye**, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.' The hyperbole here is no more striking than that of the preceding passage. Some, claiming a knowledge of the E. from birth or long residence, have said that this latter comparison had its origin in the custom of stripping a camel—belated until the great gate of a city was closed for the night, so that it could no longer enter in the usual way—of its load, and pulling or pushing it through the small gate which is made in the panel of the larger one. They have alleged that the force of the comparison is to be sought in the fact that a rich man must be stripped of his wealth to enable him to squeeze through the narrow gate of heaven, as the camel is stripped of his load that he may be forced through the panel gate of the city. Some have even gone so far as to say that this small gate is known in the E. by the name of the 'needle's eye.' In reply, we would say—(1) That this small gate is known by the name *khaukhah*, but no one of the many whom we have asked ever heard the name *needle's eye* applied to it. We believe this to be a fabrication. (2) No camel could be forced through the *khaukhah*. It is a gate from 3 to 4 feet in height, and from 18 inches to 2 feet in breadth, and its bottom is from 1 to 2 feet above the ground, and by no possibility could a camel be got through it. (3) Could we suppose a *khaukhah* so exceptionally large that a camel could be forced through it, the hyperbole would be quite lost.

G. E. Post.

CAMEL'S HAIR (Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6).—The cloth made of camel's hair is of blanket-like texture, softer than the black sack-cloth of goat's hair. In colour it varies from cream to cinnamon and darker brown, so that by means of this variety a pattern is sometimes introduced to relieve slightly the general dinginess of tone. The large enveloping garment, with its plain belt of leather, which John the Baptist wore, was the common and inconspicuous dress of the desert: it was a sufficient covering by day and night, and doubtless he had

come to prefer it. It was the harmonious vesture of the prophet when he delivered his message of protest and preparation, and such simplicity of personal life is still the consistent accompaniment of any voice crying against social luxury and ecclesiastical pride. See CAMEL. G. M. MACKIE.

CAMP is the usual rendering of the Heb. מַחֲנֶה *maḥăneh*, tr^d in LXX *παρεμβολή*. In 2 K 6^8 it represents תַּחֲנָה *taḥănah*, on which see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*

A camp was a collection of tents (Jg 7^13), or of huts or booths (1 K 20^12 RVm, Neh 8^14). Camps, when large, were pitched in the plain for convenience (Jg 6^33); when small, on hills for safety (Jg 4^12). In either case it was necessary to choose a spot within reach of water; thus the army of the Northern Confederacy pitched 'at the waters of Merom' (Jos 11^5), Gideon encamped 'beside the spring of Harod' (Jg 7^1), Jonathan the Maccabee 'by the water of the pool Asphar' (1 Mac 9^33).

For defence a position of natural strength was generally chosen, *e.g.* the side of a ravine or valley (cp. 1 S 14^13 17^3). A further defence was perhaps provided by the מַעְגָּל *ma'gâl* (1 S 17^20 26^7 'barricade' RVm). The meaning of the word is, however, not certain (see CARRIAGE). Most authorities take it to mean a laager, *i.e.* a line of wagons arranged as a barricade, עֲגָלָה *'ăgâlâh* being 'a wagon.' In 1 S 17^20 the LXX (A) and Aquila give *στρογγύλωσις*, which probably means either a circular line of defence or a circular camp;* Syr. has simply 'camp,' while Targ. gives as equivalent a transliteration of the Gr. word *χαράκωμα*, 'palisade.' In 1 S 26^7 LXX (AB) gives *λαμπήνη*, a 'covered chariot' or 'litter.'

As a precaution against surprise, a watch was set when danger was feared (Jg 7^19; cp. Jg 8^11); but camps were usually too strongly entrenched to be openly attacked (cf. 1 S 17^1. 2. 16 *forty days delay on both sides*, and 1 K 20^29 *seven days delay*).

In Nu 2 (P) a detailed account is given of the arrangement of the camp of Israel in the wilderness, the principle being that each tribe was grouped round a standard which had a fixed position with regard to the Tabernacle at all halts.

In the NT the stationary Roman camp (*ἡ παρεμβολή*) at Jerusalem is mentioned several times as 'the castle' (Ac 21^34, etc.). In He 13^11. 13 the name 'camp' is applied to the Jewish Church of the writer's own day by an easy adaptation of the language of the Hexateuch. In Rev 20^9, by a further adaptation, the term 'camp of the saints' is fitly applied to the Christian Church, in that it suggests the three thoughts of *organisation*, *warfare*, and *pilgrimage*. W. E. BARNES.

CAMP as a verb (mod. 'encamp') is found Ex 19^2, Is 29^3, Jer 50^29, Nah 3^17 (Heb. חָנָה, Amer. RV 'encamp'), and 1 Mac 10^86 11^73 13^43, 2 Mac 13^14 'he camped by Modin' (RV 'pitched his camp').

CAMPHIRE, כֹּפֶר *kōpher*, *κύπρος*, *cyprus* (Ca 1^14), and plur. כְּפָרִים *kĕphârîm* (Ca 4^13). — The *henna* plant, *Lawsonia alba*, L., is a shrub from 6 to 10 feet high, with opposite branches, often becoming spinescent, opposite, oblanceolate to obovate leaves, and panicles of cream-coloured flowers. The Orientals are extremely fond of the odour of the henna, which to most Occidentals is heavy, mawkish, and rather stifling. They frequently put a sprig of it into their nosegays, and the women often put it in their hair, to make themselves attractive. Sonnini says that they put it in their bosoms for a similar reason, which illustrates the comparison of Ca 1^13. 14. For its fragrance it was cultivated with spikenard and frankincense and myrrh (Ca 4^13. 14).

Henna is also extensively used in the east to stain the hands, feet, and hair. The hands and feet are stained in lines or diamonds or other figures, by passing strips of cotton cloth around them in such a way as to leave the lines or figures desired uncovered. A paste made of the powdered leaves of the henna and a little water is applied to the skin in the interstices of the bandage, and the hands tied up in a rag over night. When the paste is washed off, an ochreous red stain is left on the parts, while the white skin occupies the spaces which were covered by the bandages. If desired, this colour can be made a deep blackish-brown by applying a mixture of lime and hartshorn over the stain left by the henna paste. Often the nails are thus blackened, while the figures on the hands and feet are left red. Brides, especially among the Moslems, are elaborately adorned in this way, as also infants and young girls. Old women often dye the hair with henna. It is sometimes applied in cases of inflammation, with an idea that it disperses the congestion. G. E. POST.

CANA (*Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, 'Cana of Galilee').— This was the native place of the disciple Nathanael (Jn 21^2), the scene of Christ's first miracle (Jn 2^1-11), where also the nobleman from Capernaum secured the healing of his son (Jn 4^46). From these passages, where alone the place is mentioned in the Scriptures, we learn, regarding the site, only that it was in Galilee, on higher ground than Capernaum. Jesus went down (*κατέβη*) to Capernaum (Jn 2^12). The nobleman besought Him to come down (*καταβῇ*). In attempting to identify the site, therefore, we have practically nothing to guide us but etymology and tradition. Josephus gives but little help, his references being evidently to other places, with perhaps one exception. He fixes his residence at Cana, a village of Galilee (*Vita*, 16), and afterwards (*ib.* 40) adds that it was in the plain of Asochis. The ancient name was probably Ḳanah (קָנָה), of which the Gr. (*Κανᾶ*) is as nearly as possible a transliteration, and the name would be correctly represented in the Arab. (*Ḳānā'* or *Ḳanat*, for it is spelt both ways). Again, in *Ḳānā el-Jelîl* the latter word is simply a transliteration of the Heb. *Gālîl* (גָּלִיל) = Galilee, and has nothing whatever to do with the Arab. *jalîl*, 'great' or 'magnificent.' It is the Arab. name for the province of Galilee to-day. *Ḳānā el-Jelîl* is therefore the exact Arab. equivalent of *Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*. This name is found attached to a considerable ruin on a slope of the hills north of *el-Battauf*, the ancient Asochis. There are many rock-hewn tombs. Several water cisterns have been found, but no spring. The Heb. name (קָנָה, 'the place of reeds') would be most appropriate, as overlooking the marshy plain, where reeds still are plentiful. It is commonly called *Khirbet Ḳānā*; but one hears also, occasionally, *Ḳānā el-Jelîl* on the lips of the natives. It fulfils the NT conditions, being in Galilee, higher than Capernaum, which could be reached by road N. of the *Ṭor'ān* range, towards the Jordan Valley, without any circuit to the south.

The only serious rival to *Khirbet Ḳānā* is *Kefr Kennah*, on the Tiberias road, 3½ miles from Nazareth. It occupies rising ground on the southern edge of *Sahl Ṭor'ān*, the branch cut from *el-Battauf*, by the *Ṭor'ān* hills. The doubling of the medial *nun* is against the identification with the Gr. *Κανᾶ*. Were other difficulties overcome so as to make *Kennah* represent the Heb. קָנָה, the name would have no appropriateness here, with neither marsh nor reeds for miles around. This line of

* Doughty (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii. 309) notes that he once saw 'sixteen booths pitched ring-wise,' and explains the arrangement as a precaution against camel-thieves, the camels being placed within the ring.

inquiry leads very decidedly towards *Khirbet Ḳānā*.

Tradition yields no clear result. It is often difficult to get any satisfaction out of the witnesses: they are far from exact, and frequently contradictory. A very early tradition must have located Christ's first miracle at *Khirbet Ḳānā*. Eusebius (*c.* 270–340) and Jerome evidently identify Cana with Kānā in Asher, some 8 miles S.E. of Tyre. They could not mean *Kefr Kennah*, which was not in Asher. In favour of *Khirbet Ḳānā* may also be mentioned Saewulf, 1102; Brocardius, 1183; Marinus Sanutus, 1321; Breydenbach, 1483; and Anselm, 1507. As against these, St. Paula, 383; St. Willibald, 720; Isaac Chelo, 1324; and Quaresimus, 1616. The last named mentions the tradition regarding *Ḳānā* only to dismiss it. His position has since been stoutly maintained by the monks of both Greek and Latin Churches. Both have considerable ecclesiastical property in *Kefr Kennah*, and in the Gr. church a jar is shown, said to have been used in the miracle. West of the village is a spring, whence, it is said, the water made wine was drawn. An old sarcophagus serves as drinking-trough. The balance of evidence is in favour of the northern site. Conder (*Tent Work in Pal.*) has suggested another possible site at *'Ain Ḳana*, on the highway from *er-Reineh* to Tabor.

W. EWING.

CANAAN, CANAANITES (כְּנַעַן, Χανάαν, Χανάανος, *Chanaan*).—Canaan is the son of Ham, according to Gn 9^{22} 10^{6}, and the brother of Cush (Ethiopia), Mizraim (Egypt), and Put. In consequence of Ham's conduct towards Noah when drunken, Canaan was cursed, and it was prophesied that he should be the servant of his brethren, Shem and Japheth (Gn $9^{22\text{-}27}$). The passage, however, does not agree very well with the context, as the wrong to Noah had been committed by Ham, and not by Canaan, and it has therefore been supposed that it is taken from an ancient poem. The prophecy was fulfilled when the Canaanites were conquered first by the Israelites, the descendants of Shem, and afterwards by the Persians, Greeks, and Romans.

The tenth chapter of Genesis is geographical rather than ethnological, and the relationship between the nations and states mentioned in it denotes their geographical position, not their racial affinities. When it is said that Canaan was the brother of Cush and Mizraim, we are transported to the age of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Egyp. Dynasties, when Palestine was a province of Egypt. The statement is not applicable to a later period, and so indicates the age to which it belongs.

The name of Canaan is derived from a root signifying 'to bow down,' and (as St. Augustine noticed) means 'the lowlands' of Palestine. Primarily it was applied to the coast, secondarily to the valley of the Jordan (Nu 13^{29}). But in time it came to be extended to the whole country, including the mountainous districts occupied by the Amorites. The name appears under two forms. The shorter form is found in the Gr. Χνᾶ (Euseb. *Præp. Evan.* i. 10; Hekat. *Frag.* 254, ed. Klausen; Steph. Byz. p. 721), which was Hellenized into Agênôr, 'the manly one.' Khna or Agênôr was the older name of Phœnicia, and also the eponymous ancestor of the Can. and the father of Phœnix, or Phœnix himself (Euseb. *l.c.*). In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, as well as the lexical tablets of Nineveh, the name is sometimes written Kinakhkhi (with *kh* for the Can. 'Ayin), and represents the greater part of southern Pal. as far north as the frontiers of the Amorites. The longer form of the name, Canaan, is met with in the hieroglyphic texts; Seti I. destroyed the Shasu or Bedawin from the eastern rampart of Egypt 'to the land of Canaan,' and captured their fortress of 'Kana'an,' which Conder has identified with Khurbet Kan'an near Hebron. Among the geographical names enumerated by Ptolemy Auletes at Kom Ombo is that of 'Kan'an.' The name was preserved among the Phœnicians, the original inhabitants of the sea-coast. Coins of Laodiceia on the Orontes bear the inscription, 'Laodiceia, mother (or metropolis) in Canaan'; and St. Augustine states that in his time the Carthaginian peasantry in northern Africa, if questioned in Phœnician as to their race, answered that they were 'Chanani' (*Exp. Epist. ad Rom.* 13). In some of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, moreover, we find Kinakhna.

The Gr. Φοῖνιξ, 'Phœnician,' is the equivalent of 'Canaanite'; and Φοινίκη, Phœnicia, is the original Canaan on the sea-coast. In Latin the name appears as *Pœnus, Punicus*. Φοῖνιξ in the sense of 'purple-dye' and 'date-palm' seems to be derived from its use as a gentilic, the one being 'the Phœnician dye,' the other 'the Phœnician tree'; the date-palm having been brought from Egypt to the Phœnician coast and there become naturalised. But *phœnix*, 'a palm,' may be the Egyptian *benr, beni*, just as the name of the fabulous bird *phœnix* is the Egyp. *bennu*. It is probable that we must seek the origin of the name 'Phœnician' in the Fenkhu of the Egyptian monuments, a name applied in a text of Tahutmes III. at Karnak to the people of Canaan (Brugsch, *Ægyptologie*, ii. p. 466). It thus corresponds exactly with the Kinakhkhi of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. We must suppose that the termination was imagined to be the same as that of Kilix 'Cilician' and similar words, and that the name was accordingly identified with φοινός and φοίνιος, and explained to signify 'red,' the Latin *Pœnus* being borrowed from φοινός.

In the bilingual Decree of Kanôpos the Gr. Phœnicia is replaced in the hieroglyphic text by Keft. W. Max Müller has tried to show that Keft was rather Cilicia, but unsuccessfully. The name appears in Greek as Kêpheus and Kêphênê. Kêpheus, father of Andromeda, was said to have been a king of Joppa (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), and the Chaldæans of Babylon were first called Kêphênes, according to Hellanicus. Keft, in fact, seems to have denoted the whole sea-coast of Phœnicia, from the Gulf of Antioch to Jaffa.

Another name applied to Canaan and Syria by the Egyptians was Khal, which embraced the whole country from the frontiers of Egypt to Aup in northern Syria. It denoted more especially the northern part of the region, from which wine was imported into Egypt; while the southern part of Pal., particularly towards the sea-coast, was termed Zahi. The most general name was Rutennu or Lutennu, which corresponded to our 'Syria.'

The mercantile pursuits of the Phœnicians caused the word 'Canaanite' to become synonymous with 'merchant' (Is 23^{8}, Ezk 17^{4}, Hos 12^{7}, Zeph 1^{11}, Job 41^{6}, Pr 31^{24}). In an Egyp. papyrus, on the other hand, mention is made of 'Canaanite slaves from Khal' (Anastasi, iv. 16. 2).

Isaiah (19^{18}) calls Heb. the language of Canaan, and the decipherment of the Phœnician inscriptions, as well as the names of Can. persons and places mentioned in the OT, show that the description was correct. Hebrew and Phœnician (or Can.) differed only in a few unimportant particulars, such as the absence in Phœnician of a definite article. The Tel el-Amarna tablets prove that there was little or no difference between the language of Canaan in the cent. before the Exodus and that of the Phœnicians and of the OT in later times. In some of the letters written from Canaan the writer adds the Can. equivalent of the Bab. word he is using. Thus the king of Jerusalem uses *anuki*, 'I,' the Heb. *anokhi*, instead

of the Bab. *anaku*, and *zuru'u* the Heb. *zĕroa'*, 'arm,' instead of *ḳatu*; while other correspondents from southern Pal. explain the Bab. *ṣiṣe* 'horses,' *ḳaẓira* 'cattle,' *risu* 'head,' *same* 'heaven,' *elippi* 'a ship,' *ina ḳati-su* 'in his hand,' and *arki-su* 'after him,' by the Can. *ṣûṣi* (Heb. *ṣûṣ*), *maḳani* (Heb. *miḳneh*), *rusu* (Heb. *rôsh*), *samĕma* (Heb. *shamayim*), *anay* (Heb. *'ŏni*), *badiu* (Heb. *bĕyado*), and *akhrun-u* (Heb. *akhrôn-o*). The Phœnician governors give *baṭnu* (Heb. *beṭen*) for the Bab. *pantê* 'stomach,' *mima* (Heb. *mayim*) for *mami* 'water,' *khaparu* and *aparu* (Heb. *'âphâr*) for *ipru* 'dust,' and *kilubi* (Heb. *kĕlûb*) for *khukharu* 'a cage.' Similar evidence is borne by the Can. words borrowed by the Egyptians under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties; *e.g.* *markabute* 'chariots,' *'agolte* 'wagons,' *ḥurpu* (*ḥereb*) 'sword,' *espat* 'quiver,' *shabud* (*shebeṭ*) 'staff,' *supăr* 'scribe,' *baith* 'house,' *bărkat* 'pool,' *yum* 'sea,' *naḥal* 'brook,' *'ebete* (*'ebed*) 'slave,' *gămal* 'camel,' *ẓaba'* 'army,' *na'aruna* 'young men,' *parzal* 'iron' (cf. Lauth, 'Semitische Lehnwörter im Ægyptischen,' in *ZDMG.* xxv. 4, 1871). The Can. script at the time was the cuneiform syllabary of Babylon; the so-called Phœnician alphabet was not introduced till afterwards. The earliest known inscriptions in this alphabet are the Moabite Stone (B.C. 850), a dedication by Hiram of Tyre to Baal-Lebanon, which may be of the same date, and a single word on a piece of pottery found by Bliss on the site of Lachish at a depth of 300 feet.

One of the Tel el-Amarna letters was sent by Burna-burias, king of Babylon, to Amenhotep IV. of Egypt to complain of outrages committed upon his ambassadors in Canaan (Kinakhkhi). At Khinnatuni ('Ain-Athun; cf. the modern 'Ain-Ethan, near Solomon's Pools, between Bethlehem and Hebron) they were attacked by Sum-Adda (Shem-Hadad), the son of Balumme (perhaps Balaam), and Sutatna (also called Zatatna), the son of Saratum of Acco (Acre), the feet of one being cut off, and the face of another trampled upon. As Canaan belonged to Egypt, and its 'king' was an Egyp. vassal, Burna-burias calls upon the Pharaoh to punish the assailants and restore the silver they had stolen, otherwise amicable relations between Babylon and Egypt will be broken off. In another letter it is stated that Kuri-galzu, the predecessor of Burna-burias, refused the proposal of the Kunakhians, by whom the Can. seem to be meant, that they should revolt to him from Egypt. Another letter is from a king of northern Syria 'to the kings of Kinakhna, the servants' of the Pharaoh, asking them not to hinder his ambassador on his way to Egypt; while in a fourth Abi-melech of Tyre says he has heard from Canaan (Kinakhna) that 'the king of the land of Danuna is dead and his brother has succeeded him as king, and that his country is tranquil'; that 'one half of the city of Ugarit has been burnt and its troops have perished'; that 'the Hittite army has departed,' but that 'Etagama, the prince of Kadesh, and Aziru (the Amorite) are hostile, and are fighting against Namya-yizi.' Here Canaan seems to be used in a wide sense.

LITERATURE.—Movers, *Die Phönizier* (1841–1856); Pietschmann, 'Geschichte der Phönizier,' in Oncken's *Allgemeine Geschichte* (1889); Rawlinson, *History of Phœnicia* (1889); Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (1864); *CIS*, vol. i. (1881–1890); *RP*, New Series, iii., v., vi. (1890–1894).

A. H. SAYCE.

CANANÆAN or **CANAANITE** occurs in Mt 10^4 and Mk 3^{18} as a designation of Simon, one of the disciples of Jesus. The first is the correct reading, the Gr. Καναναῖος being the transliteration of קַנָּאנָיָא (a late Heb. derivative from קִנְאָה=*jealous*). It is rendered in Lk 6^{15} and Ac 1^{13} by ζηλωτής (zealot). The **Cananæans** or **Zealots** were a sect founded by Judas of Gamala, who headed the opposition to the census of Quirinius (A.D. 6 or 7). They bitterly resented the domination of Rome, and would fain have hastened by the sword the fulfilment of the Messianic hope. During the great rebellion and the siege of Jerusalem, which ended in its destruction (A.D. 70), their fanaticism made them terrible opponents, not only to the Romans, but to other factions amongst their own countrymen.

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, IV. iii. 9, v. 1, VII. viii. 1, etc.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 80 f., 177, 229; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. 256 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

CANDACE (Κανδάκη), queen of the Æthiopians, is mentioned Ac 8^{27}. Her treasurer was baptized by Philip (which see), near Gaza, on his return from Jerus., where he had gone to worship. C. seems to have been a dynastic title of the queens of Æthiopia. Pliny says (vi. 29) . . . 'regnare feminam Candacen, quod nomen multis iam annis ad reginas transiit.' From the time of Alexander the Great the dowager queens used to reign. C. mentioned Ac 8^{27} was probably rich, since the eunuch baptized by Philip was said to be 'over all her treasure.' (See Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, ii. 30 n.; Strabo, *Geogr.* xvii. 1. 54; Pliny, *HN* vi. 35.)

C. H. PRICHARD.

CANDLE, CANDLESTICK.—**1.** In AV 'candle' appears in nine passages of OT as the rendering of נֵר *nêr*, and in eight passages of NT as the rendering of λύχνος. In the whole of these passages, with two exceptions (Jer 25^{10}, Zeph 1^{12}, but see marg.), RV adopts the more accurate rendering 'lamp' (which see).

As indispensable to the furnishing of a simple 'prophet's chamber' we find mention of a bed, a table, a stool, and a candlestick (מְנוֹרָה, 2 K 4^{10}). The article in question, however, is rather a lamp-stand (cf. Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy*, p. 104), and corresponds to the NT λυχνία, now rendered more correctly in the Gospels by 'stand' (Mt 5^{15}, Mk 4^{21}, Lk 8^{16} 11^{33} in RV). In Dn 9^5 is mentioned the candlestick or candelabrum of Belshazzar's banqueting hall. For the golden candlestick of the tabernacle and the temple, see TABERNACLE.

2. The custom, practised from time immemorial in the East, of allowing a house lamp to burn night and day, is the source of the frequent figure by which the continually burning lamp pictures the continued prosperity both of the individual and of his family (see Ps 18^{28} (29), 'thou wilt light my candle,' 1 K 11^{36}). Conversely, 'to put out the candle of the wicked' (Pr 24^{20}, Job 18^6) is to make his home desolate and bring destruction on himself. This familiar metaphor is employed in the Apoc. to describe the fate with which the Church of Ephesus was threatened: 'I will remove thy candlestick out of his place' (Rev 2^5).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CANE.—See REED.

CANKER.—As subst. 2 Ti 2^{17} 'their word will eat as doth a c.' (γάγγραινα, RV 'gangrene'). As verb, Ja 5^3 'Your gold and silver is c^{ed}' (κατιόω, RV 'rusted'). The mod. spelling of the subst. is 'cancer,' which is found as early as the beg. of the 17th cent. For the verb, cf. Shaks. *Temp.* IV. i. 192—

> 'As with age his body uglier grows,
> So his mind cankers.'

J. HASTINGS.

CANKERWORM.—See LOCUST.

CANON.—In this article an attempt will be made to give a general view of the history of the idea involved in the application of the word *Canon* to Holy Scripture; and in so doing the use both of

this and other terms to express the idea in question will be noticed. The history of the process whereby the actual Canons of the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures were arrived at will be more fully traced under the heads OLD TESTAMENT CANON and NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

The conception of a C. virtually existed long before this precise term was employed. We have it wherever there is the notion of a collection of writings marked off as peculiarly sacred and as having a special Divine authority. Writings of the past would be likely for the first time fully to acquire this position when an age had come in which the living voice of prophecy was no longer heard. This view of them would not preclude the possibility of an addition to the number of inspired books at a future epoch of revelation. It is also to be observed, though to some this may at first sight seem strange, that a belief in a distinct class of writings of this kind was not incompatible with some diversity of opinion as to its extent, and with doubts on this subject in the minds even of those who were fully persuaded of the main facts. And this is true even of the time after the word C. was introduced. The idea of a C. no doubt gained to some degree in definiteness through controversies as to the writings which were to be held to form part of it. But in essence it was presupposed in those controversies; and their chief result was simply to fix more clearly and firmly the limits of the Canon.

There was no exact equivalent for the word among the Jews in respect to OT, but we have the idea clearly implied in the expression 'the Scriptures' as employed by Jews addressing Jews in NT (*e.g.* Mt 21^{42}, Jn 5^{39}, Ac 18^{24}); and the word 'Scripture,' as used in the singular for a particular passage, also involves it, since each passage so named derived the binding force which is attributed to it from being contained in the body of sacred writings. So again, where Jos. (*c. Ap.* i. 8) makes a formal statement concerning these books and their number, the recognition of a C. is implied. And we have it also in the collective words used in the Talm. for the Divine Scriptures, such as מִקְרָא ('reading,' from their being read publicly in the synagogue) and כְּתְבֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ ('the holy writings').

The Christian Church adopted the Scriptures of the Jews as her own. She also in process of time extended the idea of 'Scripture' to another body of writings, which in one or more groups were named along with those of OT. Pseudo-Clement of Rome's 2nd Ep. (*c.* A.D. 150) speaks of *τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι* (*i.e.* the OT and the apostolic writings). Fresh names, also, were introduced expressive of the fact that she possessed two such collections, or such a collection in two parts. Melito, bp. of Sardis, *circ.* A.D. 170, speaks of *τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία* (ap. Euseb. *HE* iv. 26), 'the books of the Old Covenant' (or Testament). And we have evidence about the end of the same cent., in the writings of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, that the names *παλαιὰ διαθήκη* (vetus testamentum) and *νέα διαθήκη* (novum testamentum), the names that have become the most prevalent of all, had been transferred to the actual writings of the two dispensations. Tertullian himself preferred (see *c. Marc.* iv. 1) the term *Instrumentum* (of legal associations='documentary record or proof'). He frequently employs it, applying it sometimes to particular books, and sometimes separately to OT or to NT, but also to the Scriptures as a whole. From *διαθήκη* the adj. *ἐνδιάθηκος* was formed; it occurs repeatedly in the writings of Origen and Eusebius, in a sense closely corresponding to 'canonical' (*e.g. Philocal.*, iii. and Euseb. *HE* iii. cc. 3, 9, 25, vi. c. 14).

Another description, *δεδημοσιευμέναι γραφαί*, 'writings which have been made public,' used by Origen and others, needs somewhat fuller consideration. A certain vagueness attaches to it owing to the fact that these writings are contrasted with such as are 'apocryphal'; and while this word is common in the Fathers of the 2nd and 3rd cent., it does not seem ever to occur at this time with the precise connotation which it has since acquired. The original and fundamental signification of 'apocryphal' was that of something withheld from general knowledge. But there might be various reasons for so treating different writings. There were some among the Jews, as there were also some Christians, esp. in the Church of Alexandria, who were inclined to value highly lore which they considered to be unfit to be communicated even to all the faithful, and suited only for the study of the wise. But this tendency was never strong enough either among Jews or Christians to lead to the establishment of a class of writings regarded as authoritative and yet not imparted to all; and the spirit of Christianity in particular was wholly opposed to such reservation. All writings regarded as inspired were naturally included among the *δεδημοσιευμέναι*—those 'made the public property of the whole Church.' We have still, however, to ask what was meant by and implied in this 'publication,' and, as a further point, whether it could really serve to mark off the writings regarded as, in the full sense, authoritative from all others. The chief means of the publishing in question was the regular reading in the congregation. And no doubt this solemn reading served to impress upon the people generally the idea of the special authority of the books which they heard in this way; while the need of a rule for directing it may have been one influence which promoted the formation of the C. of OT, as it was certainly of NT. But it seems too narrow a view of the words *δημοσιεύεσθαι*, or *publicari*, to regard them (as Zahn does, *Gesch. d. Kanons*, i. p. 134) as meaning little or nothing more than 'to be read in church.' If the publication connoted by these terms was closely associated with the public reading, it was so because that act was the chief symbol of the general reception and acknowledgment of the books by the Church, which had been informally arrived at, and which found expression in various habits of speech and practice. It must, however, further be observed that the fact of particular books being publicly read would seem to be often too inconsiderately taken as evidence that they were regarded as Scripture in the full sense of the term. It is not to be supposed that the public reading would necessarily be regarded as having the same significance, or that the rules for it would be conceived in the same spirit, everywhere and always. There might be, and in point of fact there were, varieties of custom acc. to differences of circumstances and of theological temper. At some times and places there would be comparative laxity, at others special strictness. The Muratorian C. (*circ.* A.D. 200, written at Rome or in the neighbourhood) reveals a disposition to exclude from public reading all works of secondary or doubtful authority. This might be due to the special genius of the Rom. Church, or to a sense of the need of watchfulness which the recent spread of Gnosticism and Montanism and the circulation of the writings of these sects had created. On the other hand, at the very same epoch, we find Serapion, bp. of Antioch, first allowing the public reading of the *Gospel of Peter* at a place within his diocese, though he knew very little of the work and held it in no particular esteem, and then afterwards forbidding it, when he became more fully acquainted with its contents, and found that it was doing harm (Euseb. *HE* vi. 12). Again, to

pass to a later age. With Cyril of Jerus. in his catechetical lectures, delivered *circ.* A.D. 340, the class of books 'openly read in the church' is coterminous with that of those 'acknowledged among all,' and is the opposite of 'apocryphal'; and he knows no third division (*Catech.* iv. cc. 33, 35). Athanasius, on the other hand, writing not long afterwards, but representing the usages of another Church, distinguishes between 'canonical books,' 'books that are read,' and 'apocryphal books' (*Ep. Fest.* 39, i. 768, ed. Bened.). And Rufinus at the end of the cent. distinguishes in the same way, and gives the name of 'Church books,' *Ecclesiastici libri*, to the second class (*De Symb.* cc. 37, 38).

We shall now be in a position to estimate rightly the amount of significance to be attached to the introduction of the words *Canon, canonical*, and *canonised* with reference to the books of Scripture; but we must first determine which of them was so used earliest, and when? Some have supposed that the employment of the adjective in this connexion preceded that of the substantive, and that it is to be traced back to Origen, on the ground that the epithets *canonici* and *regulares* are applied to the books of Scripture in portions of his works which we possess only in Rufinus' tr. No reliance can, however, be placed upon this argument, since these would be the most convenient renderings for such a word as *ἐνδιάθηκοι*, which, as we have seen, certainly belonged to Origen's terminology. Moreover, Rufinus so renders this very word in passages of Eusebius, where we have both the original and his translation. The earliest instance which can be adduced of the occurrence of either *κανών* or a derivative in the sense now under consideration is in the Festal Epistle of Athanasius above referred to, written in A.D. 367. The participle *κανονιζόμενα* is there used of the books of Holy Scripture. It seems, however, improbable that the verb *κανονίζειν*, or its parts, should have been so applied before the term *κανών* had been used of the books collectively. And a little later Amphilochius, the eminent bishop of Iconium, concludes a catalogue of them, which he gives in his *Iambi ad Seleucum* with the words *οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος Κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν*. The word, which originally meant a rod, and thence a measure, had been already applied in the sense of a rule or norm, and that variously, both in classical and ecclesiastical usage. It will suffice here to notice the phrase *ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*, for the Church's creed, which had long been familiar. It has been questioned whether, when the word *κανών* was first used in connexion with the Scriptures, the primary intention was to express the thought that they form the rule of faith and life for the Christian, or to denote the list whereby the contents of the Scriptures is correctly defined. The latter seems to be the true view. It is the simplest; and, moreover, it would be hard otherwise to explain the use of the verb *κανονίζειν*, which is applied both to particular books and to the books collectively. The other idea would, however, also be readily suggested to the mind by the associations of the word *κανών*. And accordingly we find Isidore of Pelusium, in the earlier half of the 5th cent., expressing himself thus: 'the Canon of the truth, I mean the Divine Scriptures' (Ep. 114).

It will be perceived, then, that no essentially new point of view was implied in the use of the term Canon and its derivatives in connexion with Holy Scripture. At the same time it is noteworthy that they began to be employed at a time when special efforts were being made in different quarters to remove ambiguities with respect to, and to codify, the contents of the Scriptures.

For further illustrations of some of the points here touched upon, and for the considerations which determined the inclusion or exclusion of particular books, or groups of books, the reader must consult the arts. APOCRYPHA, OLD TESTAMENT CANON, and NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

V. H. STANTON.

CANOPY (*κωνωπεῖον*, from *κώνωψ* (Mt 23^{24}), gnat, mosquito). — Originally a mosquito-net. The canopy of the bed of Holofernes, 'which was of purple, and gold, and emerald, and precious stones inwoven,' was taken by Judith 'from the pillars' as a trophy, and given by her 'for a gift (*ἀνάθημα*) unto the Lord' (Jth 10^{21} $13^{9.15}$ 16^{19}). 'Canopy' occurs also in RV at Is 4^5 'Over all the glory shall be spread a canopy' (AV 'defence'). The Heb. is חֻפָּה, which here only has the sense of a canopy for protection; elsewhere it means a bridegroom's (Ps 19^5) or a bride's (Jl 2^{16}) chamber. F. C. PORTER.

CANTICLES.—See SONG OF SONGS.

CAPER-BERRY (אֶבְיוֹנָה *'ăbîyyônah*, *κάππαρις*, Ec 12^5). The authority of the LXX and of some of the Rabbis is in favour of the tr. 'caper-berry' RV, instead of 'desire' AV.—This is the fruit of *Capparis spinosa*, L., a perennial shrub, rooted in the clefts of rocks and walls, with straggling, more or less pendulous, branches, and orbicular to ovate leaves, 1 to 2 inches in length, and white flowers 2 to 3 inches broad. It grows in all the Mediterranean basin. The ripe berry is oblong to obovate-oblong, and 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The young berries have a pungent flavour, and are pickled as a condiment. The Arabs of the Sin. desert call it *el-âsâf*, while the people of Pal. and Syria know it by the name *kabar*, which is manifestly a modification of *κάππαρις*. Like all pungent plants, it is stimulating to the erotic instinct. The idea of those who tr. *'ăbîyyônah* 'caper-berry' is that even this stimulant shall fail to excite desire. The principal Rabbi of Beirût assures me that the tr. of AV 'desire' is that of the majority of the Jewish commentators. In either case the object is the same, that is, to express the decadence of the bodily powers with the advance of years.

G. E. POST.

CAPERNAUM (TR Καπερναούμ, from which our English word is taken; but Καφαρναούμ, supported by BאDZ, etc., is undoubtedly correct, representing the original כפר־נחום).—This city is mentioned only in the Gospels, and derives all its interest from association with the life of Christ. To it Matthew applies Is 9^1 (Mt 4^{13-16}). After His rejection at Nazareth, Christ made His headquarters in C., and it is called 'his own city' (Mt 9^1). Here only was it said of Him *ὅτι ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν*—that He was *at home* (Mk 2^1). Peter and Andrew of Bethsaida (Jn 1^{44}) had settled in C. (Mk 1^{29}), and on the neighbouring beach they first heard and followed the Master (Mk 1^{16}). Matthew (Mt 9^9), or Levi (Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}), was here called from 'the place of toll.' Many miracles were wrought here (Mk 1^{34}). The following are specially mentioned, viz. healing centurion's servant (Mt 8^5, Lk 7^1); nobleman's son cured by a word from Cana (Jn 4^{46}); Simon Peter's mother-in-law cured of fever (Mk 1^{31}); paralytic healed (Mt 9^1, Mk 2^1, Lk 5^{18}); unclean spirit cast out (Mk 1^{23}, Lk 4^{33}). Here the lesson of humility was taught from a little child set in the midst (Mt 18^2, Mk $9^{33.36}$). A famous discourse in the synagogue is reported in Jn 6. Over C., highly favoured but unrepentant, the heavy woe was pronounced, 'And thou Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven?—thou shalt go down to Hades' (Mt 11^{23}, Lk 10^{15} RV).

C., invariably called *πόλις*, 'a city,' was an important position, held by a body of Roman

troops (Mt 8^5 etc.). It was also a customs-station (Mt 9^9 etc.). The commander of the soldiers thought it worth while to ingratiate himself with the people by building them a synagogue (Lk 7^5). It was the residence of a distinguished officer of the king (Jn 4^{46}). But beyond the facts that it was on the seashore (Mt 4^{13}), and was in or near the plain of Gennesaret (Jn 6^{17-21}; see also Mk 6^{53}, Mt 14^{34}), there is nothing in the NT to indicate the site. Twice mentioned by Josephus (*Vita*, 72, *BJ* II. x. 8), neither passage is decisive. Tradition wavers between two sites, and a warm controversy has long raged over the question.

The claims of *'Ain em-Madowwerah*, 'the round fountain,' a large spring on the N. edge of Gennesaret, may be dismissed. There is nothing near it to indicate the site of a great city; and it waters only a small portion of the plain.

The two serious rivals are *Khân Minyeh*, at the N.E. corner of the plain, and *Tell Ḥûm*, on the shore, fully 2 miles nearer Jordan. The case for *Tell Ḥûm* rests chiefly upon the name, the size of the ruins, their position on the eastward road, and the testimony of certain travellers. It is suggested that the Arab. *Tell* took the place of Caphar when the city became ruinous, *na* falling from Nahum. This is an almost impossible derivation. A Jewish Rabbi, *Tankhum*, is said to be buried here. The derivation from his name is both easy and natural. An alternative derivation is suggested from the Heb. חום='brown' or 'fire-blackened,' of which Arab. *Ḥûm* is an exact transliteration. Then *Tell Ḥûm*='the black mound,' truly descriptive of the ruins, could only date from a time subsequent to the destruction of the city. Along this road only the eastern traffic would pass. The northern caravans never came this way. Jerome, Theodorus (532 A.D.), Antoninus Martyr (?), A.D. 600, and John of Würtzburg (1100), may be taken as favouring *Tell Ḥûm*. Josephus, hurt on the Jordan, was carried to C.; but this was not necessarily the nearest town. He was evidently anxious to reach his headquarters at Tarichea (*Vita*, 72). It is much against *Tell Ḥûm* that there is no fountain there; and nothing like that described by Josephus within about a couple of miles.

On the other hand, there are many considerations in favour of *Khân Minyeh*. Gennesaret was a well-defined district, generally allowed to correspond with *el Ghuweir*, 'the little Ghôr,' lying along the N.W. shore of the sea (see Jos. *BJ* III. x. 8). The disciples started from the other side to go to C. (Jn 6^{17}). The waters being stilled, they were straightway 'at the land whither they were going' (*ib.* v.^{21}). Matthew (14^{34}) says 'they came to the land, unto Gennesaret.' (So also Mk 6^{53}.) Those who sought Jesus in the morning found Him at C. (Jn 6^{24}), and He addressed them in the synagogue. C. was thus either in or close to Gennesaret. This condition is met by *Khan Minyeh*; not at all by *Tell Ḥûm*. Remains of an ancient city are found in the plain between *Khân Minyeh* and the sea; also on the adjoining *Tell 'Areimeh*, where probably a large church once stood. Standing at the junction of the two great roads which must always have united behind *Tell 'Areimeh*, that to eastward along the shore, and that to the north by *Khân Jubb Yusif*, it occupied a position of first importance in the district. All the traffic from north, south, east, and west passed through the hands of its customs officers. The spring of which Josephus speaks (*BJ* II. x. 8) may not have been actually in the plain. Certainly it was not *'Ain et-Tîneh*. At *eṭ-Ṭabigha* (Heptapegon?), on the edge of the valley beyond *Tell 'Areimeh*, rise several springs, one of great volume, the largest fountain in Galilee. An old aqueduct led the water across the vale, along the face of the cliff in a rock-cut channel, and into the plain at *Minyeh* sufficiently high to water a large area. Historical evidence is on the whole favourable to *Khân Minyeh*. Antoninus Martyr (600) is claimed on both sides; but the latter site is supported by Arculfus, end of 7th cent.; St. Willibald, middle of 8th cent.; Eugesippus, middle of 12th cent.; Brocardius, end of 13th cent.; Quaresimus, 1620, who says that a ruin, called in Arab. *Minieh*, is the site of Capernaum.

The absence of any reminiscence of the ancient name is a difficulty with some. But from the Talm. we learn that C. was, for the Jews, associated with the *Minîm*, the name by which they designated the Christians, who were numerous in the city. The *Ḥûṭâ* of the Talm., 'the sinners,' are the sons of Caphar Nahum, and again these are identified with the *Minîm*. Among the Jews, C. was the city of Menai down to the 14th cent. The name given to the inhabitants is probably preserved in *Khân Minyeh*. The balance of evidence is at present greatly in favour of this site.

W. EWING.

CAPH or KAPH (כ).—Eleventh letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 11th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

CAPHARSALAMA (Χαφαρσαλαμά), 1 Mac 7^{31}.—Apparently near Jerus. *Kefr Silwân*, the village of Siloam, is possibly intended. *SWP*, vol. iii. sh. xvii.

CAPHIRA (A Καφιρά, B Πειρά), 1 Es 5^{19}.—A town of Benj., inhabitants of which returned with Zerub. In Ezr 2^{25} CHEPHIRAH (כְּפִירָה, B Καφειρά, A -ι-); cf. Neh 7^{29}. See CHEPHIRAH.

CAPHTOR (כַּפְתּוֹר, כַּפְתֹּרִים, Χαφθοριείμ, *Caphtorim*).—The Caphtorim were geographically connected with Egypt according to Gn 10^{14}; and in Dt 2^{23} we read: 'The Avvim, which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.' Here the Caphtorim are identified with the Philistines, who are stated to have come from Caphtor in Am 9^7 and Jer 47^4 (where Caphtor is called an 'isle' or 'coastland'). Consequently in Gn 10^{14} the words, 'whence went forth the Philistines,' must be out of place, and should follow Caphtorim instead of Casluhim. Caphtor has been identified with both Cyprus and Crete, but the names do not agree. Ebers (*Ægypten und die Bücher Moses*, 1868) proposed to see in Caphtor an Egyp. compound Kaft-ur, 'Greater Kaft' or 'Phœnicia,' and made it the coast of the Delta, which was thickly covered with Phœnician colonies. But this theory has been overthrown by the excavation of the temple of Kom Ombo in Upper Egypt in 1892. On the wall of the south external corridor is a series of cartouches containing the names of the countries supposed to have been conquered by Ptolemy Auletes and collected from older monuments of various ages. Among the names are those of Kaptar (Caphtor) and Kasluhet (Casluhim), each with the determinative of 'country' attached to it. Kaptar ends the first line, and is immediately preceded by the names of Persia, Susa, Babylon, and Pontus, while Kasluhet (followed by Zoar) is the fifth name of the second line, which begins with the inhabitants of the Sinaitic peninsula and northern Syria. The names, however, have probably been registered at haphazard, so that no conclusion can be drawn from their order.

The Philistines seem to have entered Palestine in the course of the great invasion of Egypt by the northern nations in the eighth year of Ramses III.

Prof. Prášek combines this fact with the statement of Justin, that in B.C. 1209 a king of Ashkelon stormed Sidon, and that the fugitive Sidonians founded Tyre. The dates would agree very well. At any rate, the Pulista or Philistines are closely associated with the Zakkal (Teukrians?) in the attack on Egypt in the time of Ramses III., whereas the latter appear alone in an earlier attack in the time of Merenptah.

From 1 S 30^{14}, Ezk 25^{16}, Zeph 2^{5}, we may gather that the Philistines were also known as the Cherethites or Cretans, as the Sept. transcribes the name. In this case Caphtor must be identified with Crete, or at all events with some district in that island. Recent discoveries have shown that Crete was a centre of culture in the prehistoric age of the eastern Mediterranean, and Mr. A. Evans has pointed out that it possessed a peculiar system of pictorial writing (see his article on 'Primitive Pictographs' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiv. 1894). A. H. SAYCE.

CAPPADOCIA (Καππαδοκία), a large country in the E. of Asia Minor, was formed into a Rom. province by Tiberius in A.D. 17, on the death of king Archelaus. It was administered by a *procurator*, sent out by the reigning emperor; and it was treated as an unimportant outlying district. In A.D. 70, however, Vespasian united it with Armenia Minor as one of the great frontier provinces of the empire, placing it under the rule of a *legatus Augusti pro prætore*, who was selected by the emperor from among the ex-consuls; and he stationed a legion (*XII. Fulminata*) at Melitene as garrison to maintain the defence of the Euphrates line. At this period a great territory, ruled by Antiochus Epiphanes of Commagene, lying between the provinces Cilicia and Cappadocia, and including part of Lycaonia, was incorporated in C.; and under succeeding emperors, especially Trajan, the size and importance of the province were greatly increased, and more troops were stationed in it. The commercial capital of the province was Cæsareia-Eusebeia-Mazaka; the military centres were Melitene and (after Trajan) Satala. Between about A.D. 76 and 106, both Galatia and C. were placed under one governor. Jews in C. are mentioned in Ac 2^{9}, and implied in Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 36 (Mang. ii. 587): a letter in their favour from the Rom. Senate to Ariarathes, king of C., about B.C. 139, is mentioned 1 Mac 15^{22}: in the 3rd cent. after Christ and later, a great Jewish population in Cæsareia is alluded to in the Talmud. The easy road from Tarsus through the Cilician Gates tempted them onwards towards the N., to take advantage of the lucrative trade between Central Asia and the Black Sea harbours, esp. Amisus: the road passed through C. and Pontus (Ac 18^{2}). This trading connexion led to the early extension of Christianity over both countries (1 P 1^{1}).

LITERATURE.—Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 365–374; Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. pp. 236–339, ii. 236–272; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 267–319, 346–356, 449 f., and the map in *St. Paul the Trav.* for provincial divisions; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*; Th. Reinach, *Numism. des Rois de Capp.*

W. M. RAMSAY.

CAPTAIN.—I. IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The AV translates no fewer than 13 different Heb. words by 'captain,' and many of these words have other renderings as well. The RV has scarcely introduced much greater consistency. (1) שַׂר, often translated '*prince*,' used especially of 'captains of thousands' (χιλίαρχος), etc., and of the 'captain of the host' (ἀρχιστράτηγος). For the 'captain of the host of the LORD' (Jos $5^{14.\,15}$), and for 'Michael your prince' (also שַׂר Dn 10^{21} etc.), see under GOD and ANGEL. (2) נָגִיד, the *foremost* officer, used of the king (1 S 9^{16}—RV prince or leader, LXX ἄρχων); the same Heb. word is used also of the 'leader of the house of Aaron' (1 Ch 12^{27}), and of the 'rulers of the house of God' (2 Ch 35^{8} etc.). See below. (3) רֹאשׁ, literally *head*, Nu 14^{4} etc., LXX ἀρχηγός. (4) נָשִׂיא, literally *lifted up*, Nu 2^{3} etc., RV prince, LXX ἄρχων. (5) קָצִין, literally *one who decides*, Jg 11^{6} etc., RV chief (except Dn 11^{18}), LXX ἀρχηγός or ἡγούμενος. (6) מְמֻנֶּה, RV marshal, Jer 51^{27}, Nah 3^{17}. (7) פֶּחָה, usually of the governor of a territory, 2 K 18^{24}, Hag 1^{1} etc. (8) רַב=(1), only in later Heb., *e.g.* 2 K 25^{8}. (9) בַּעַל, baal, 'master,' Jer 37^{13}, captain of the ward. (10) שָׁלִישׁ Ex 14^{7}, 2 K 9^{25} etc., probably knight or equerry, LXX τριστάτης. The other three words are (in AV) mistranslated captain, 2 K $11^{4.\,19}$, Jer 13^{21}, Ezk 21^{22} (פְּרִי, אַלּוּף, פַּר, respectively).

II. Captain represents three words in the NT (1) χιλίαρχος—used vaguely of a military officer, and technically as the equivalent of the Roman 'præfectus' or 'tribunus militum.' One such officer was regularly in charge of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem, which probably consisted of a cohort of auxiliaries, about 1000 men in all. The commander would be a Roman citizen (Ac 22^{28}), the soldiers provincials (not Jews, but many of them Samaritans), who would receive the franchise on discharge. Whether the word has the technical or the vaguer sense in Jn 18^{12} is not clear. (2) στρατηγός—used in Lk $22^{4.\,52}$ and Ac 4^{1} $5^{24.\,26}$ of the captain of the Temple, together with his chief subordinates, who are perhaps the same as the three 'keepers of the threshold' (2 K 25^{18}, Jer 35^{4}, and see Josephus, *Ant.* x. viii. 5). This captain (נָגִיד, see (2) above) is mentioned Jer 20^{1} (LXX ἡγούμενος) and Neh 11^{11}, and is called in 2 Mac 3^{4} προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, and in Josephus (*Ant.* xx. vi. 2, etc.) στρατηγός. Probably he and his chief subordinates are indicated by the term 'rulers' in Ezr 9^{2} and often in Neh (סְגָנִים, LXX στρατηγοί or ἄρχοντες): see Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 258. The captain was at least a Levite, and commanded a small body of police, probably themselves priests; and he had the duty of keeping order in the Temple, and watching there by night. (3) ἀρχηγός—He 2^{10}—probably to be understood rather as author and beginner than as commander in a fight (cf. Ac 3^{15} 5^{31}, He 12^{2}).

The **captain of the guard** (στρατοπεδάρχης, Ac 28^{16} TR and AV) would, perhaps, be the 'princeps castrorum peregrinorum'; it would hardly mean the 'præfectus prætorio,' whose title is never so rendered in Greek. But the sentence is omitted by RV following the best authorities: it is, however, an ancient 'Western reading,' and possibly records a real tradition. (See Mommsen in *Sitzungsb. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Classe, 1895, p. 495, and art. PRÆTORIUM.)

W. O. BURROWS.

CAPTIVITY.—See ISRAEL.

CARABASION (B Καραβασειών, A -σιών), 1 Es 9^{34}. —A corrupt name of one of those who put away their 'strange' wives. It seems to correspond to MEREMOTH in Ezr 10^{36}. The conjecture that it should be read καὶ Ῥαβασιών is not supported (as is stated in *Speaker's Comm.*) by the Vat. text.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CARAVAN, not used in AV, is given by RV in Job $6^{18.\,19}$ (אֳרְחוֹת cst.) for AV 'paths,' 'troops'; in Is 21^{13} (ptcp. of אָרַח) for AV 'travelling companies'; and in Ezk 27^{25} 'The ships of Tarshish were thy caravans for thy merchandise,' for AV 'The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market,' taking שָׁרוֹת from שׁוּר *to travel* (after Gesen.) not שִׁיר *to sing*. But Davidson doubts: 'The camel has been called the ship of the desert, but conversely to call an east-indiaman a caravan is too brilliant for the prophet.' See his note. In older Eng., however,

the word might have been applicable without crediting Ezekiel with the brilliant metaphor, since 'caravan' was used from the beg. of the 17th to the middle of the 18th cent. for a fleet of ships, as Fuller, *Com. on Ruth* (1654): 'A caravan . . . sailing in the vast ocean.' J. HASTINGS.

CARBUNCLE.—See STONES, PRECIOUS.

CARCAS (כַּרְכַּס, Est 1^{10}), one of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus. An etymology suggested is the Persian *kargas*, 'vulture.' The LXX gives a different name.

CARCASE (the spelling has been indifferently *carcase* or *carcass* throughout, though dictionaries have given *carcass* alone, or by preference since Johnson) is used now only of the dead body of a beast, or contemptuously of a human being, but was formerly used freely of either. The Heb. words are various: (1) גְּוִיָּה *gĕvîyyah* (used of living body also) is so tr. only Jg $14^{8.9}$ of the c. of Samson's lion (RV 'body'), which is also (14^{8}) called (2) מַפֶּלֶת *mappeleth* (fr. נָפַל to fall, as πτῶμα fr. πίπτειν, *cadaver* fr. *cadere*), which has this meaning only here; elsewhere 'fall' Pr 29^{16}, Ezk $26^{15.18}$ 31^{16} 32^{10}, or 'ruin' Ezk 27^{27} 31^{13} [all]. (3) פֶּגֶר *peger*; and (4) נְבֵלָה *nĕbhêlah* are often tr. 'carcase.' Both are also applied to the trunk of an idol, *peger* Lv 26^{30} 'I will cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols'; *nĕbhêlah* Jer 16^{18} 'they have filled mine inheritance with the carcases of their detestable things.' Both words are used in Heb. of dead bodies only, so that the tr. 'dead carcase' of Dt 14^{8}, Ezk 6^{5}, is as needless for the Heb. as in the Eng.; RV omits 'dead.'

In Bel [32] 'in the den there were seven lions, and they had given them every day two carcases and two sheep' (so RV, AVm 'slaves,' Gr. *σώματα*, lit. 'bodies,' 'servants,' *i.e.* slaves, To 10^{10}).

In NT 'carcase' occurs Mt 24^{28} 'wheresoever the c. is, there will the eagles be gathered together' (πτῶμα, as in Wis 4^{18}); and He 3^{17} 'whose carcases fell in the wilderness' (κῶλον, lit. 'limbs,' the LXX tr. of פֶּגֶר in Nu $14^{29.32}$ where the language is nearly identical). J. HASTINGS.

CARCHEMISH (כַּרְכְּמִישׁ; omitted in the LXX at 2 Ch 35^{20}, but at Jer 26 [Heb 46]^{2} Χαρμεὶς [Q, Καρχαρμεὶς]; Vulg. *Charcamis*). There have been various conjectures as to the site of this city, which was finally correctly located by Messrs. Skene and Geo. Smith, by means of the Assyrian inscriptions. Carchemish is at present represented by the mounds of Jerablûs (Smith, Yaraboloos) or Hierapolis, on the western bank of the Euphrates, described by Smith as a grand site, with vast walls and palace-mounds 8000 ft. round, and containing numerous sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions, many of which are now in the British Museum. Pococke says that the ruins are rectangular, and measure ½ mile long by ¼ mile wide. The mounds lie between Birejik and the junction of the Sajur and the Euphrates. Carchemish, the chief city of the Hittites, was called Karkamis by the Babylonians, Gargamis and Kargamis by the Assyrians, and Ḳarîḳamaï(?)ša or Karakamiša by the Egyptians, and the city was known—perhaps renowned—as a trading centre as early as the 3rd millennium B.C.* Amen-em-hebe, one of the captains of Tahutmes III. (*c.* B.C. 1600), refers to his campaign against the people of Ḳarîḳamaï(?)ša, where he took prisoners;† and about B.C. 1200 Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria plundered 'the land of the neighbourhood of Suḫi as far as Carchemish (Kargamis) of the land of Ḫatte (Kheta or Hit) in a single day.' There is no record, however, that the fortress was taken on this occasion. The ruler of Carchemish about B.C. 880 was Sangara, who paid a large amount of tribute, chiefly in manufactured things, such as furniture and woven stuffs, also metal, to Aššur-naẓir-pal, king of Assyria. Sangara afterwards came into conflict with Shalmaneser II., son of Aššur-naẓir-pal, about B.C. 858, and the Assyrian king says that he captured Sangara's cities, receiving from the latter, when he submitted, 2 talents of gold, 70 talents of silver, 30 talents of copper, 100 talents of iron, 20 talents of purple cloth, 500 weapons, his daughter with a dowry, 100 daughters of the great men of the place, 500 oxen, and 5000 sheep, and fixed as his (yearly) tribute 1 maneh of gold, 1 talent of silver, and 2 talents of purple cloth, one payment of which is duly recorded as having taken place. The large amount of the war indemnity and the tribute testify to the prosperity and commercial importance of the city. On the bronze gates found by H. Rassam at Balawat the reception of tribute by Shalmaneser II. is twice represented, and in each case a picture in relief of the fortress is given. The city was finally taken by Sargon of Assyria in B.C. 717, when Pisiri or Pisiris, its last king, was made prisoner. From this time it formed part of the Assyrian empire, and was administered by an Assyrian governor.* Its importance as a trading centre continued under its new rulers, the 'maneh of Carchemish' being one of the standard weights in use at Nineveh. Later notices of the city occur in the Bible itself, when Pharaoh-Necho defeated Josiah in the battle in which the Jewish king lost his life (2 Ch 35^{20}), and was himself defeated by Nebuchadrezzar, four years later (B.C. 605), under the walls of the city (Jer 46^{2}), in the battle which decided the fate of Western Asia. The patron deity of the city was the Asiatic goddess worshipped under the name of Atargatis, whose worship, when the city fell into decay, was transferred to the city now represented by Membij, which became the new Hierapolis, and continued in existence after the old city of Carchemish was deserted. The meaning of the name is unknown.

T. G. PINCHES.

CARE.—The proper meaning of this word, and of all its compounds (of which there occur in AV 'careful,' 'carefully,' 'carefulness,' 'careless,' 'carelessly') is *trouble* or *sorrow*. But from a very early period it was confounded with Lat. *cura* (with which it has no connexion, being a purely Teutonic word), and the meaning of *cura*, viz. *attention to* something or somebody, became attached to it. This affected even the original word, so that care in the sense of sorrow became *anxiety*, as if due to over-attention; while the compounds have now actually dropped their original meaning, and adopted that of *cura* wholly. But throughout the history of the word, and esp. in AV, we can trace the two senses side by side.

1. **Care** is both subst. and verb. As subst. (1) *Anxiety* (Gr. *μέριμνα*): Mt 13^{22}, 'the care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word'; so Mk 4^{19}, Lk 8^{14} 21^{34} 'cares of this life,' 2 Co 11^{28} 'the care of all the churches' (RV 'anxiety for'), 1 P 5^{7} 'Casting all your care upon him' (RV 'anxiety'), 1 Mac 6^{10} 'my heart faileth for very care.' In OT, 1 S 10^{2} 'thy father hath left the care of the asses (*i.e.* concern about, דִּבְרֵי, lit. "the *matters* of the asses"), and sorroweth for you,' Ezk 4^{16} 'they shall eat bread by weight, and with care' (דְּאָגָה, RV 'carefulness'). (2) *Attention* (esp. *earnest* attention, the original meaning of the word in turn affecting this

* Before the reign of the Bab. king Ammi-zaduga, *c.* 2100 B.C.
† W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893.
* The name of the governor in B.C. 691 or 692 was Bêl-emurâni.

borrowed meaning; Gr. σπουδή): 2 Co 7[12] 'our care for you in the sight of God' (RV 'earnest care,' as 8[16] AV, RV); Ph 4[10] 'your care for me' (τὸ φρονεῖν, RV 'thought for me') Wis 6[17] 7[4] (φροντίς). As verb (1) *Anxiety* or *concern* (Gr. μεριμνάω); 1 Co 7[32. 33. 34] 'But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife' (RV 'is careful for'); 12[25], Ph 2[20]. In OT, 2 S 18[3] 'if we flee away, they will not care for us, neither if half of us die, will they care for us' (Heb. שִׂים לֵב). (2) *Attention*: Dt 11[12] 'a land which the Lord thy God careth for (דָּרַשׁ, RVm 'seeketh after'), the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it'; Ps 142[4] 'no man cared for my soul.' When the expression is *care for*, the distinction is not always obvious, since it is the person that is *anxious about* who will give *attention to*; but in the foll. passages (where the Gr. is μέλει) the meaning is always anxiety or concern: Mt 22[16], Mk 12[14], Jn 10[13] 'he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep,' 12[6] 'not that he cared for the poor,' Ac 18[17] 'Gallio cared for none of these things,' 1 Co 7[21], 1 P 5[7] 'He careth for you.' On the other hand, *to take care of* (ἐπιμελέομαι) must be 'to give attention to,' Lk 10[34] 'he brought him to an inn and took care of him,' 10[35], 1 Ti 3[5] 'if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?' Hence 1 Co 9[9] AV, 'Doth God take care for oxen?' (μέλει) is a serious mistranslation. God does take care for oxen, as for all living creatures, but it is only for man that He may be said to have *concern* (RV 'Is it for the oxen that God careth?').

Careful.—1. *Anxious*, Lk 10[41] 'Martha, Martha, thou art c. and troubled about many things' (μεριμνᾷς RV 'thou art anxious'), Ph 4[6] 'Be careful for nothing' (μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε, RV 'In nothing be anxious'). In OT, Jer 17[8] 'he shall be as a tree planted by the waters . . . and shall not be c. in the year of drought' (דָּאַג); Dn 3[16] 'O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not c. to answer thee in this matter' (חָשַׁח, RV 'we have no need,' RVm as AV). Cf. Shaks. *Tit. And.* IV. iv. 84—

> 'The eagle suffers little birds to sing,
> And is not careful what they mean thereby.

In Apocr., Bar 3[18] 'They . . . were so c.' (μεριμνῶντες); to which RV adds 2 Es 2[27] 'Be not c. overmuch,' an expression which brings out the difference between careful=anxious, and careful=attentive or painstaking; in the latter sense, as we put it, 'you cannot be too careful.' 2. *Attentive to one's interests, painstaking*: Ph 4[10] 'Now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also c., but ye lacked opportunity' (ἐφρονεῖτε, RV 'ye did take thought'); Tit 3[8] 'that they which have believed in God might be c. to maintain good works' (φροντίζω); 2 K 4[13] 'thou hast been c. for us with all this care' (חָרַד, usually 'to tremble,' and so here 'to be *anxiously* careful,' its only occurrence in this sense).

Carefully.—In the sense of *anxiously*, c. occurs only Mic 1[12] 'the inhabitant of Maroth waited c. for good' (חָלָה, lit. 'has been in pain,' RV 'waiteth anxiously'). In the sense of *attentively*, there are in AV Dt 15[5] 'if thou c. hearken' (אִם־שָׁמֹעַ תִּשְׁמַע, 'if hearkening thou shalt hearken,' RV 'if thou shalt diligently hearken,' as AV in 11[13] 28[1], same Heb.); Wis 12[22] 'we should c. think of thy goodness' μεριμνῶμεν, RV 'ponder'); Ph 2[28] 'I sent him the more c.' (σπουδαιοτέρως, RV 'the more diligently'); He 12[17] 'he sought it c. with tears' (ἐκζητέω, RV 'sought it diligently'). To these RV adds Mt 2[7. 16] (ἀκριβόω, AV 'diligently'), 2[8] (ἀκριβῶς AV 'diligently'), Ac 18[25] (ἀκριβῶς, AV 'diligently') 18[26] (ἀκριβῶς AV 'perfectly') and He 12[15] 'Looking c.' (ἐπισκοποῦντες, AV 'looking diligently').

Carefulness, in the sense of *anxiety*, is given in AV (as tr. of רְאָנָה) Ezk 12[18. 19]; to which RV adds 4[16] (AV 'care'), Jos 22[24] (AV 'fear'). In the same sense is Sir 30[24] 'c. bringeth age before the time' (μέριμνα, RV 'care'); and 1 Co 7[32] 'I would have you without c.' (ἀμέριμνος, RV 'free from cares'). Cf. Latimer, *Ser.* i. 413, 'Consider the remedy against carefulness, which is to trust in God.' But the sense of *watchful* and *helpful interest* is clear in 2 Co 7[11] 'what c. it wrought in you' (σπουδή, RV 'earnest care'); for the same apostle commends c. in this passage, who had condemned it in the previous.

Careless and **Carelessly** have always the meaning of *without trouble or anxiety, in security* (the Heb. being always בָּטַח 'to trust,' or בֶּטַח 'confidence'); 'careless' Jg 18[7], Is 32[9. 10. 11], Ezk 30[9] (but RV adds Pr 19[16] Heb. בָּזָה 'a despiser'); 'carelessly' Is 47[8], Ezk 39[6], Zeph 2[15]. Cf.—

> 'Raise up the organs of her fantasy;
> Sleep she as sound as careless infancy.'
> Shaks. *Merry Wives*, v. v. 56.

J. HASTINGS.

CARIA (Καρία) is actually mentioned only in 1 Mac 15[23] as one of the places to which the Rom. Senate sent a circular letter in B.C. 139–138 in favour of the Jews. The political entity which is here meant was probably the Chrysaorian confederacy, in which most of the cities (esp. the inland cities) of C. were united, meeting at the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus at Stratonicea. C., most of which belonged to the Rhodians from 190 to 168, was then declared free by the Romans; and this confederacy was the responsible government until 129, when the country was incorporated in the province of Asia. The coast cities of C. were chiefly Greek, and did not belong to the confederacy: of these Miletus was Ionian; Cnidus, Cos, and Halicarnassus were Dorian: hence the Rom. Senate sent their letter about the Jews (see DELUS) to the Dorian cities, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Cos, and also to Rhodes and Myndus (which seem to be nearly the complete list of Carian governments).

W. M. RAMSAY.

CARITES (הַכָּרִי) occurs in the *Kethîbh* of the Heb. text and margin of RV in 2 S 20[23], where the *Kerê* has *Cherethites* (הַכְּרֵתִי), and in RV of 2 K 11[4], where the AV has *captains* (RVm *executioners*). The Carites were possibly Phil. mercenaries from Caria, as the Cherethites were from Crete. See CHERETHITES, and cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 262 n.

J. A. SELBIE.

CARMEL (כַּרְמֶל 'garden'), Jos 15[55], 1 S 15[12] 25[2. 7. 40], 2 S 23[35], 1 Ch 11[37].—A city of Judah in the Hebron mountains, where Saul set up a 'hand' or memorial stone, and where Nabal lived in possession of flocks. One of David's heroes was a Carmelite. Now the ruined town *Kurmul*, on the hills about 10 miles S.E. of Hebron, chiefly remarkable for the remains of a large square tower, built in the 12th cent. A.D., and for a very fine large reservoir. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv.

C. R. CONDER.

CARMEL (usually with the def. art. הַכַּרְמֶל 'the garden' or 'garden-land'; without it only in Jos 19[26], Jer 46[18], Nah 1[4]; ὁ Κάρμηλος; but generally הַר הַכַּרְמֶל 'Mount of the Carmel'; ὄρος τὸ Καρμήλιον; Jos. Κάρμηλος, Καρμήλιον ὄρος. In later Heb. כַּרְמֶל. In the list of places conquered by Tahutmes III. in Pal., No. 49 reads Kalimna, which Tomkins takes as Kalamon or Carmel; and No. 48, Rshḳadsh, by which Maspero understands Rosh-Ḳodshu, 'the sacred headland' of Carmel. Mod. Arab. Kŭrmŭl, but more usually Jebel Mâr Elyas).—This long headland, which forms one of the great features of Pal., is of the same hard limestone as the cen-

tral range of the country, but is separated from the latter by hills of softer formation, which are therefore more worn than itself, and now lie lower and are opened up by passes. The promontory of Carmel rises above a narrow sea-beach to a height of some 500 ft. at the monastery; thence the ridge, running S.E., ascends (*PEF* Large Map, sheets v. and viii.) 9½ miles to Esfia (1742 ft.), and then sinks for 3¼ miles more to its end at El-Mahraka (1687 ft.); beyond which there is a sudden dip into the Wady el-Milh, a valley that separates Carmel from the lower hills aforesaid, the Belád er-Ruhah. The ridge is well-defined, and in shape a wedge, with the thin end seaward, in breadth from plain to plain 1¼ miles, but at the thick or inland end as much as 8½ miles broad. The sides are very differently disposed. The S.W. sinks slowly by long ridges and glens upon the plain of Sharon; the N.E. is abrupt and steep above the plains of Haifa and Esdraelon. At the foot of the latter runs Kishon, for the most part parallel to the axis of the mountain. The limestone of C. abounds in flints, 'geodes' (known as 'Elijah's melons'), and fossils; and on the N.E. igneous rocks crop out from a basalt formation that extends to the Sea of Galilee (Ritter, *Pal.* 712, 713). There are very many caves.

C. is very conspicuous from most parts of central Pal.; its high sky-line, with the line of Bashan and the great mass of Hermon, form the three grandest features of all views from Esdraelon, Galilee, and the mountains of Ephraim. Accordingly C., Gilead or Bashan, and Lebanon are frequently named together in OT (Is 33^9 35^2, Mic 7^{14} etc.). Once C. is coupled with Tabor: '"Pharaoh is but a rumour?" As I live, saith J", surely like Tabor among mountains, and like C. by the sea, shall he come!' (Jer 46^{18}). At opposite ends of Esdraelon (the very scene of Pharaoh's coming) the two hills stand out, symbols of that which shall certainly be established as fact, and make its presence felt. Sweeping seaward, in the face of the rains, C., as its name declares, is richly clothed with verdure. At present this is mostly wild—a thick growth of underwood, grass and flowers, coppices of oak, carob, and many evergreens, with here and there a grove of great trees. Van de Velde asserts that there was not a flower found by him in Galilee or in the maritime plain which he did not also meet on C., 'still the fragrant lovely mountain that it was of old' (i. 317, 318). But there are, too, frequent olive-groves, and other gardens, with prosperous villages; while the more numerous grooved floors and troughs that have been traced in the rock below the brushwood, prove that, in ancient times, there was an even greater cultivation, and chiefly of olive and vine. Accordingly, in OT Carmel is the very type of a luxuriant fertility (Is 35^2 etc.); her decay the prophets' most desperate figure of desolation (Am 1^2, Is 33^9 etc.). The German colonists at Haifa have resumed the culture of the vine on the N. slopes of the promontory.

C. plays no part in the political or military history of Palestine. The great campaigns swept past her on either side: in military tactics the hill was only an obstacle to be avoided. By far the most armies, whether going north or south, crossed between Esdraelon and Sharon by the passes to the east of C. Some of the Syrian advances south, Rom. legions when passing from Ptolemais to Cæsarea, Richard Lionheart and the Third Crusade, Napoleon on his retreat from Acre,—these followed the sea road under the promontory. May not this quality of being neither a goal in itself, nor on the road anywhere, be the origin of the curious Talmudic word פַּרְקְלִיט?

The aloofness of C. from the central range made its ridge but an uncertain appendage to the territory of Israel. According to Jos 19^{26} it was assigned to the tribe of Asher; but their tenure must have been intermittent. The kings of N. Israel seem to have held it as they held Gilead; but even in the time of Amos (9^3) 'the top of C.' is regarded as a hiding-place of fugitives from J"; and in later history it lay outside Samaria, and was sometimes allotted to Galilee, but frequently subject to Tyre (Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 1).

The causes, however, which disabled C. from political rank, contributed to enhance its fame as a sanctuary. 'In its separation from other hills, its position on the sea, its visibleness from all quarters of the country, its uselessness for war and traffic, in its profusion of flowers, its high platforms and groves, with their glorious prospects of land and sea, C. must have been a place of retreat and of worship from the earliest times.' Maspero thinks to identify it in the lists of Tahutmes III. under the name of 'headland of holiness' (see above); and even before Elijah's day there seem to have been upon it altars both to Baal and J". For here, as on ground which both of them held to be sacred, the representatives of the two religions met to appeal to their respective deities, and decided the argument between them (1 K $18^{17ff.}$). Tradition and the agreement of many modern explorers (see esp. Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 353 f.) place the scene at the E. end of the ridge, at a place called El-Mahraka, or 'the burning,' where Druses have a sanctuary and are said still to perform a yearly sacrifice; there is a good spring just below (cf. Jos. *Ant.* VIII. xiii. 5). It is interesting that immediately below, on the banks of Kishon, a great mound is known as the Tell el-Ḳasis or Mound of the Priests. But the derivation of the modern name of Kishon, the Nahr el-Muḳatta, as if it meant river of slaughter, is both improbable in itself and impossible to connect with the slaughter of the priests. When it is said that Elijah afterwards went up to the 'head of C.' it is possible that 'headland' is meant, in which case the tradition is correct that places the site of his waiting for rain near the monastery; but the word may also mean 'top,' any spot on the long summit of the ridge, which almost everywhere is in sight of the sea. A point near the E. end and the altar of J" would better suit the context, and esp. the story of Elijah's subsequent race to Jezreel in front of Ahab's chariot. It is possible that the great prophet from Gilead chose as his subsequent residence the scene of the triumph of J", and evidently C. is meant by 'the mountain' on which, according to the extraordinary story (2 K $1^{9\text{-}15}$), he called down fire on the king of Israel's soldiers sent to arrest him for his interference with the ambassadors to Ekron. Elisha visited C. after the departure of Elijah (*ib.* 2^{25}); and when the Shunammite was in need of him, she went to seek and found him there (4^{25}).

Probably for reasons already stated, C. does not again appear in OT as the scene of any sacred function; but in heathen hands the sanctity of the hill was preserved. Tacitus describes it as the site of an oracle, without an image 'tantum ara et reverentia' (*Hist.* ii. 78); and Vespasian, having sacrificed here, is said to have received from the priests the prediction that he would be emperor (Suetonius, *Vespas.* 5). Jamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* iii. (15)) describes C. as 'sacred above all mountains, and forbidden of access to the vulgar' (see W. R. Smith, *ES* 146). As we have seen, the probable site of Elijah's altar is still held sacred by the Druses. But it is Christianity which has chiefly perpetuated the ancient sanctity of C., and the mountain has given its name to the great order of Carmelite Friars, whose convent stands upon the promontory above the sea. Louis the Saint,

of France, founded the convent; but its legends trace the order of its monks in unbroken succession from Elijah himself, by Elisha, the sons of the prophets, John the Baptist, and the Essenes! The church of the convent is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whom the interpretation of the Rom. Church sees prefigured in the cloud for which Elijah sent his servant to look; and who, according to many legends, frequented the neighbourhood of the convent with the child Jesus.

LITERATURE.—Besides works quoted above, see Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 96 f.; Robinson, *BR* iii. 189; Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 169 ff.; Laurence Oliphant, various papers in the *PEF Quarterly*, 1882–1886, and his *Life* by Mrs. Oliphant. G. A. SMITH.

CARMELITE, CARMELITESS (הַכַּרְמְלִי, הַכַּרְמְלִית).—An inhabitant of Carmel in Judah, which is to be distinguished from the well-known Carmel in the north; it lies in the small but fertile plateau between Hebron and the south desert. Nabal lived with his wife Abigail at Maon, a mile to the S., but his farms were at Carmel (1 S 25^{2}). Maon, Carmel, and Ziph are mentioned together, Jos 15^{55}; cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 306. Hezrai (or Hezro), one of David's 'thirty,' came from this district (2 S 23^{35}). J. F. STENNING.

CARMI (כַּרְמִי).—**1.** A Judahite, the father of Achan (Jos $7^{1.\ 18}$, 1 Ch 2^{7}). **2.** The Carmi of 1 Ch 4^{1} should probably be corrected, with Well. and Kittel, to Chelubai (כְּלֻבַי), *i.e.* Caleb (cf. 1 Ch $2^{9.\ 18}$). **3.** The eponym of a Reubenite family (Gn 46^{9}, Ex 6^{14}, 1 Ch 5^{3}), the **Carmites** of Nu 26^{6}. See GENEALOGY.

CARMONIANS (*Carmonii*, 2 Es 15^{30}, AV **Carmanians**).—A people occupying an extensive district north of the entrance to the Persian Gulf, between Persis on the west and Gedrosia on the east. Accounts of the country and of the people, who are said to have resembled the Medes and Persians in customs and language, are to be found in Strabo (xv. p. 726), Ptolemy (vi. 8), Am. Marcellinus (xxiii. 6), and other ancient writers. The name survives in the present town and district of *Kirman*. In the above verse, which is one of the late additions to the Second Book of Esdras, it is said that the Carmanians shall come forth like wild boars, shall join battle with the 'dragons of Arabia,' and lay waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians. The reference is probably to Sapor I. (A.D. 240–273), the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, who, after defeating Valerian, overran Syria, and destroyed Antioch. He was subsequently driven back across the Euphrates by Odænathus and Zenobia (cf. Lupton in *Speaker's Com. ad loc.*). The erroneous form Carmonians, which is supported by the best Latin MSS, is possibly due to confusion with Carmona, an important city in Spain (so James in *Texts and Studies*, III. ii. p. lxx). H. A. WHITE.

CARNAIM, Καρνέιν, 1 Mac $5^{26.}$ (Καρνάιν) $^{43.\ 44}$, and **Carnion** (τὸ Κάρνιον), 2 Mac $12^{21.\ 26}$ (RVm **Carnain**).—The ancient Ashteroth-Karnaim (which see).

CARNAL, CARNALLY.—In OT of sexual intercourse, Lv 18^{20} 19^{20}, Nu 5^{13}. But in NT='of the flesh' (σαρκικός). In Ro 8^{7} 'the carnal mind,' Gr. is *φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός*, RV 'mind of the flesh'; so He 9^{10} 'carnal ordinances'; *δικαιώματα σαρκός*, 'ordinances of flesh.' See FLESH.

CARNION.—See CARNAIM.

CARPENTER (חָרָשׁ 'artificer,' *e.g.* 2 K 22^{6}; חָרָשׁ עֵץ 'artificer in wood,' *e.g.* 2 K 12^{11}; *τέκτων*, Mt 13^{55}, Mk 6^{3}).—The early use of timber structures and agricultural tools must have necessitated some form of carpentry among the Isr. in primitive times, and the close intercourse of the Hebrews with the Egyptians who have left mural representations of carpenters at work with a variety of tools, afforded an opportunity for the development of the art. Nevertheless, the Jews were backward in technical skill. In the first mention of carpenters in the Bible they are foreigners imported into Pal. for builders' work, which would seem to have been beyond the capacity of the Isr. themselves. Phœn. workmen were engaged on the building of David's house, Hiram of Tyre sending carpenters to work the timber which he also furnished (2 S 5^{11}). Similarly, the timber work as well as the masonry in Solomon's temple was executed by Phœn. artisans owing to the confessed inability of the Jews (1 K 5^{6}), the Jewish workmen only assisting as labourers (1 K 5^{15}). When, however, carpenters appear at the restoration of the temple by Jehoash, there is no mention of these men being foreigners (2 K 12^{11}). Those who repaired the temple under Josiah also seem to have been Jews (2 K 22^{6}). Nebuchadrezzar carried the carpenters and smiths together with Jeconiah and the princes into captivity (Jer 24^{1} 29^{2}, where, indeed, we only read חָרָשׁ, not חָרָשׁ עֵץ; but then the mention of 'smiths' suggests that the 'artificers' were workers in wood). In Is 44^{13} there is a picture of a carpenter with his tools carving a wooden idol; but this refers to a Bab. artist. At the rebuilding of the temple under Zerub. the carpenters appear to have been Phœnicians (Ezr 3^{7}). Zechariah's 'carpenters' may have been any kind of artisans. According to the first Gospel, Joseph was a carpenter (Mt 13^{55}); according to the second, Jesus Himself (Mk 6^{3}). Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150) states that 'He was in the habit of working as a carpenter when among men, making ploughs and yokes' (*Trypho*, 88). This more definite statement is not attributed to the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and seems to have been derived from tradition. See Delitzsch, *Jewish Artisan Life*. W. F. ADENEY.

CARPUS.—An inhabitant of Troas, with whom St. Paul stayed, probably on his last journey to Rome (2 Ti 4^{13}). The name is Greek, but we have no means of proving his nationality. His memory is honoured, as one of the seventy disciples, by the Greek Church on May 26, and by the Roman and Syrian Churches on October 13. A late tradition found in the list of the seventy disciples, attributed to Hippolytus, and in that by Dorotheus, describes him as having become bishop of Berytus or Berœa, in Thrace. (*Acta Sanctorum*, May 26, Oct. 13; *Monologion*, May 26; Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, i. pp. 165, 461.) W. LOCK.

CARRIAGE.—In the AV this word occurs five times in the OT, once in the NT, and four times in the Apocrypha, but never in the sense which the word bears in modern English. It denotes regularly 'something carried,' or, as we should say, 'baggage.' The passages are arranged below according to the various Heb. or Gr. words rendered by *carriage*.

(1) 1 S $17^{22\ bis}$, Is 10^{28} כֶּלִי, LXX *σκευή*—a word of very wide signification, and corresponding roughly to the English 'things.' In the first place in Samuel the ref. is to the present brought by David to his brothers in Saul's army, in the second and in Isaiah to the baggage of an army. RV 'And David left his baggage in the hand of the keeper of the baggage.' 'At Michmash he layeth up his baggage.'

(2) Is 46^{1} נְשָׂאוֹתֵיכֶם=*your carried things*, of the Babylonian idols, which the priests were accustomed to carry about in solemn procession. RV 'The things that ye carried about.'

(3) Jg 18[21] הַכְּבוּדָה, LXX τὸ βάρος, but A (τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτοῦ) τὴν ἔνδοξον=*the heavy*, or perhaps *the precious goods*, referring to the baggage of the Danites, or more probably to the images which had been stolen out of Micah's house. RV 'the goods.'

(4) Ac 21[15] '*We took up our carriages*' is the translation of ἐπισκευασάμενοι. The Greek word expresses the completion of the preparations necessary for the journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem; but others understand the term of the loading of the baggage animals. RV 'We took up our baggage,' RVm 'made ready.'

In the Apocrypha, carriage, *i.e.* baggage, represents ἀπαρτία (Jth 2[17] 3[10]) and ἀποσκευή (1 Mac 9[36. 39]).

In the *margin* of the AV the phrases, 'the place of the carriage,' and 'in the midst of his carriages,' occur as alternative renderings to the word 'trench' found in the text of 1 S 17[20] 26[5]. The Heb. expression is מַעְגָּל (LXX 17[20] στρογγύλωσις; 26[5] λαμπήνη), and denotes the circular 'laager' or barricade formed by the baggage and baggage-wagons round the place of encampment. RV 'the place of the wagons.' RVm 'barricade.' Even here 'carriage' is probably not to be understood in the modern sense of 'a vehicle.' See CAMP.

H. A. WHITE.

CARSHENA (כַּרְשְׁנָא).—One of the wise men or counsellors of king Ahasuerus, Est 1[14]. See ADMATHA.

CART (עֲגָלָה, ἅμαξα, *plaustrum*—in the AV the same word is also rendered WAGON in Gn 45[19. 21. 27] 46[5], Nu 7[3ff.]).—Such vehicles, drawn usually by two oxen (Nu 7[3. 7. 8], 1 S 6[7. 10], cf. 2 S 6[3]), were used for the conveyance of persons (Gn *l.c.*), goods (Nu *l.c.*, 1 and 2 S *ll.c.*, and Jth 15[11]), or produce (Am 2[13]). Artificial roads seem to have existed in Palestine from a very early period (Nu 20[19], Jg 20[31], 1 S 6[12]); and the Canaanites conquered by Joshua at the Waters of Merom possessed war chariots (Jos 11[6], cf. 17[16. 18]). Nevertheless, the rough mountainous country of Judah and of central Pal. was not suitable for vehicles, and it is to be noticed that we first hear of wagons in connexion with the flat country of Egypt, or the level plain of Philistia. Carts for agricultural produce may well have been used from the earliest times (Am 2[13], cf. Is 5[18]), and for these roads would not be required (see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 667 ff.). The wagons mentioned in Nu 7[3] were probably covered vehicles (LXX λαμπηνικαί, Aq. σκεπασταί); but the word עֶבֶ is obscure, occurring again only in Is 66[20] in the sense of 'litters.' The ordinary carts probably resembled those still in use in the East, which have two wheels of solid wood; but on monuments from Nineveh and Egypt we find representations of vehicles with two and four wheels, the wheels being constructed with six or eight spokes (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 396; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 211, iii. 179).

In Is 28[27f.] (perhaps also in Am 2[13]) the 'cart' of EV is really a threshing wagon. Similar instruments are still to be seen in the East. They consist of three or four parallel rollers, ridged with iron, and fitted into a square wooden frame (see AGRICULTURE). Horses are employed to draw these threshing wagons in Syria at the present day (comp. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 613), and they were used for this purpose even in Isaiah's time, if the ordinary text of Is 28[28] is correct (see Duhm, *ad loc.*).

H. A. WHITE.

CARVING.—**1.** Carved (RV graven) image (פֶּסֶל), the figure of deities and such-like sculptures used in idolatrous worship (Jg 18[18], 2 Ch 33[7. 22], 34[3. 4]). *Ṭeref peṣel*, idolatrous food, is a Jewish name for NT. **2.** Carving in relief-work (פְּתוּחֵי מִקְלָעוֹת), as in the ornamental panelling in the holy place of the temple (1 K 6[29], Ps 74[6]), the two words in the former passage indicating the raised effect (פְּתָחָה) and the hollowing of the gouge (קַלַּע). **3.** 'Carved works,' RV 'striped' (חֻמְבוֹת), spoken of a bed-cover (Pr 7[16]).*

Decorative art among the Hebrews was meagre and unoriginal, and generally debased what it imitated (see ART, ARCHITECTURE). It had little to encourage it, as its chief employment was in the service of religion, and the true religion was the worship of the Invisible. The Heb. mind differed from the Greek in obeying an ordinance because it was an ordinance, rather than because of the compulsion of its inward beauty. In the building of Solomon's temple the best art available was employed upon the richest materials, but the details are more about outlay than effect, and the point of view in the description is sacrifice rather than symmetry. The result of the finished glory is left to be imagined. Finally, the second commandment was interpreted as a specific prohibition. In the same way the Moslems abstain from the representation of life in ornament, and have developed the decorative treatment of geometrical form.

G. M. MACKIE.

CASE (*casus*, anything that *befalls* one, hence any condition of one's affairs): Ps 144[15] 'Happy is the people that is in such a case' (כָּכָה; cf. Ac 25[14] RV); Jn 5[6] 'he had been now a long time in that case'; 2 Es 16[21] 'they shall think themselves to be in good case' (cf. Geneva Bible, Gn 40[14] 'When thou art in good case, show mercie unto me,' AV 'When it shall be well with thee'); Ex 5[19] 'they were in evil case,' cf. Jon 4[6] RV; Dt 19[4] 'this is the case of the slayer' (דָּבָר); and Mt 19[10] 'if the case of the man be so with his wife' (*altia*). The phrase 'in any case' occurs in the obs. sense 'by any means' in Dt 22[1] 'thou shalt in any case bring them again' ('bringing thou shalt bring,' RV 'thou shalt surely bring'); and 24[18]. In Mt 5[20] 'Ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven,' the Gr. is the two negatives (οὐ μή), which, in the declining lang. of NT, are not always more emphatic than the single negative, but they seem to be so here (RV 'in no wise'). In Ro 3[9] RV gives 'are we in worse case than they?' for AV 'are we better than they?' (Gr. προεχόμεθα. See Field, *Otium Norv.* iii. *ad loc.*, and an excellent note in Sanday-Headlam's *Romans*).

J. HASTINGS.

CASEMENT.—See HOUSE.

CASIPHIA (כַּסְפְּיָא, or, in full, כַּסְפְּיָא הַמָּקוֹם 'the place Casiphia').—Judging from the two references to this city in Ezr 8[17], it was situated on or near the river Ahava, on the way from Babylon to Jerusalem; but neither of these names is to be located with certainty. If C. be connected with the word *keseph*, 'silver,' as is implied by the LXX tr. (ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου), 'with the money of the place,' it may have been situated in the 'land of silver' (Ṣaršu or Ziršu) mentioned in the well-known Assyr. Geogr. tablet *WAI* ii. 51; but as the position of this place also is unknown, it does not help us to identify the site of Casiphia. The city seems to have been the home of the Nethinim or 'temple-servants' during the reign of Artaxerxes.

I. A. PINCHES.

CASLUHIM (כַּסְלֻחִים, Χασμωνιείμ).—A name occurring in Gn 10[14], 1 Ch 1[12], in connexion with the names of other peoples there spoken of as descended

* The cogn. Arab. *ḥatba* means 'to be of a dark, dusky colour'; hence the reference may be to some dark-hued, or perhaps darkly-striped, stuff. (Cf. Aram. ptcp. *mĕḥaṭbĕthâ*, 'variegated,' in Syr. VS of 2 S 13[19], and see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* חטב.)

from Mizraim, esp. the Caphtorim and Philistines (which see).

CASPHOR (Κασφώρ, 1 Mac 5[26]; Χασφών, Χασφώθ, 1 Mac 5[36], AV **Casphon**; Κασπείν, 2 Mac 12[13], **Caspin**).—Near a large lake in Gilead. The site is unknown.

CASSIA.—This word occurs in three places in OT, and is AV and RV rendering for two Heb. words. **1.** קִדָּה, *ḳiddah*, LXX Ex 30[24] ἴρις, but Ezk 27[19] omits. **2.** קְצִיעוֹת *ḳĕẓî'ôth*, κασία, *casia*, Ps 45[8]. It is highly probable that the reference in both these Heb. words is to the *cassia lignea*, the product of *Cinnamomum Cassia*, Blume. Two substances are believed to be obtained from this species. (*a*) Cassia bark, *cortex cassiæ*, a kind of aromatic bark, with the smell and flavour of cinnamon, and resembling it in general appearance and properties. The root *ḳiddah*, in both Heb. and Arab., signifies *a strip*, and seems to refer to the strips of the bark of *cassia lignea*. The Arab. VS has *salîkhah* for cassia, from a root also meaning to *strip off* or *decorticate*. The exact substance meant by *salîkhah* is as uncertain as that intended by *cassia*. It is also called *'arfaj* and *ramth*, and is probably the same as *darṣînî*. (*b*) Cassia buds, *clavelli cinnamomi*, the immature flowers of the above. Both are produced in China. Coarser varieties are produced in Malabar, Manilla, and Mauritius. It is probable that they were known to the Greeks and Romans, although the accounts of cassia given in the classical authors are indefinite and conflicting. The cassia of Scripture must not be confounded with the species of the genus *cassia* which yield the *senna* of commerce and medicine. Nor is it at all probable, notwithstanding the LXX ἴρις, that it is *orris*.

G. E. Post.

CAST as a subst. occurs Lk 22[41] 'a stone's c.' (βολή); as an adj. Jer 38[11. 12] 'old c. clouts' (מְטֻבוֹת [all]). The verb is freq., and is used in some obsol. meanings. **1.** In its simplest sense='throw,' it is now archaic, having been displaced by 'throw' itself, but is often found in AV, as Jn 8[7] 'let him first c. a stone at her'; 1 Mac 6[51] 'engines and instruments to c. fire and stones, and pieces to c. darts, and slings'—in such a case the verb has gone out of use with the instrument. **2.** The expression **cast lots** translates several Heb. words (see Lot); the practice is seen in Pr 16[33] 'The lot is c. into the lap.' **3.** To 'c. (=sow) seed' is now mainly fig. Cf. Ec 11[1] 'c. thy bread upon the waters.' **4.** C. was formerly used of animals, meaning to give birth to, as Walton, *Angler* (1653), i. 26, 'There be divers fishes that cast their spawne on flags and stones.' But it was specially used of an untimely birth, as Job 21[10] 'their cow calveth, and casteth not her calf,' and extended to fruit-trees, as Dt 28[40] 'thine olive shall c. his fruit'; Rev 6[13] 'as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken by a mighty wind.' **5.** C. was extended to actions that involved some continuous effort, as Zec 5[8] 'he c. it (RV 'her') down into the midst of the ephah; and he c. the weight of lead upon the mouth thereof'; the erection of a pillar, Gn 31[51] 'Behold this heap and this pillar which I have c. betwixt me and thee' (RV 'set'); and esp. an earthwork, as 2 S 20[15] 'they c. up a bank against the city'; Jer 6[6] 'Hew ye down trees, and c. a mount against Jerusalem.'

The foll. phrases deserve attention: **Cast about** is used in two senses, Mk 14[51] 'having a linen cloth c. about his naked body' (περιβάλλω); Jer 41[14] 'So all the people . . . cast about and returned' (יָסֹבּוּ 'turned round'). Cf. Raleigh (1591), *Last Fight Rev.* 19 'Persuaded . . . to cut his maine saile, and cast about.' **Cast away** is both lit. and fig., as Mk 10[50] 'And he, casting away his garment, rose' (ἀποβάλλω); Ro 11[1] 'Hath God c. away his people?' (ἀπωθέω, RV 'cast off'); 11[15] 'if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world' (ἀποβολή); Lk 9[25] 'if he . . . lose himself, or be c. away' (ζημόω, RV 'forfeit his own self'). Different is 1 Co 9[27] 'lest . . . I myself should be a castaway' (ἀδόκιμος, RV 'rejected.' The Gr. word occurs also Ro 1[28], 2 Co 13[5. 6. 7], 2 Ti 3[8], Tit 1[16], where EV gives always 'reprobate,' and He 6[8] AV, RV 'rejected.' See Sanday-Headlam on Ro 1[28]: δοκιμάζω=1. 'to test,' as 1 Co 3[13]; 2. 'to approve after testing,' as Ro 1[28] 2[18]; hence ἀδόκιμος='rejected after testing,' 'reprobate'). **Cast down**—(1) lit. Mt 27[5] 'he c. down the pieces of silver'; Sir 19[27] 'Casting down his countenance, and making as if he heard them not' (RV 'bowing down his face'); (2) fig. 'to defeat,' 'to humble,' 2 Co 10[5] 'Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself'; Rev 12[10] 'the accuser of our brethren is c. down'; 2 Co 4[9] 'c. down, but not destroyed' (καταβάλλω, as Rev 12[10] RV 'smitten down'); Job 6[21] 'ye see my casting down, and are afraid' (חַתָּה RV 'a terror'); Neh 6[16] 'they were much c. down in their own eyes'; (3) 'c. down'='dejected,' is rare, only Ps 42[5. 6. 11] 43[5] 'Why art thou c. down, O my soul?' (תִּשְׁתּוֹחֲחִי 'bowed down'). **Cast forth** is used in the obsol. and very rare sense of spreading roots, Hos 14[5] 'he shall grow as the lily, and c. forth his roots as Lebanon' (הִכָּה 'strike'). **Cast in**—(1)='sow,' Is 28[25] 'c. in the principal wheat' (RV 'put in the wheat in rows'); (2) in phrase 'c. in one's lot,' Pr 1[14] 'C. in thy lot among us' (Heb. lit. 'cause thy lot to fall among us'); (3) 'cast in one's teeth,' Mt 27[44] 'The thieves also, which were crucified with him, c. the same in his teeth' (Gr. ὠνείδιζον αὐτῷ [edd. αὐτόν]='reviled him,' RV 'c. upon him the same reproach.' It was Tindale that introduced 'cast in His tethe,' to which Cranmer added 'the same'; Wyclif has 'upbraiden Hym of the same thing'); (4) 'c. in one's mind'='ponder,' Lk 1[29] 'she . . . cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be' (διαλογίζομαι): cf. 2 Mac 11[13] 'casting with himself what loss he had had'; and Addison (1719), 'I have lately been casting in my thoughts the several unhappinesses of life.' **Cast out**, in many obvious senses, also (1)=vomit, Is 26[19] 'the earth shall c. out the dead' (RV 'c. forth'); cf. Hollybush (1561), 'He that hath a drye cough and doth not caste out'; and Wyclif's tr. of 2 P 2[22] 'The hound turnede agen to his castyng'; (2) 'to excommunicate' or make an outcast, Jn 9[35] 'Jesus heard that they had c. him out'; (3) 'to expose' children, Ac 7[19] 'they c. out their young children' (ποιεῖν ἔκθετον). **Cast upon**: 'to make dependent on,' Ps 22[10] 'I was c. upon thee from the womb.'

J. Hastings.

CASTANET.—See Music.

CASTLE.—1. The word, טִירָה, rendered *castle* in the AV of Gn 25[16], Nu 31[10], 1 Ch 6[54], denotes properly a circular group of tents, the encampment of a nomad tribe—RV 'encampment'; LXX ἔπαυλις; 1 Ch κώμη; Vulg. *oppidum*, *castellum*, *caula*, etc. In English translations of the Bible till the 16th cent., 'castle,' like the Latin *castellum*, is often used in the sense of 'village'; but the rendering of the AV seems to be due to the influence of Jewish tradition. Thus in the Targs. טִירָה is rendered by קִרְקָא, *i.e.* a large town, *Onk.* in Gn 25[16]; קַסְטְרָא= *castra*, *T. Jer. ib.*; בִּירְנְתָא, *i.e.* a fortress, *T. Jer.* in Ezk 25[4]. Similarly, the word is rendered incorrectly 'palace,' Ps 69[25] AVm; Ca 8[9] AV.

2. It seems to have been the custom, from an early date, among the inhabitants of Pal., to erect in their towns a fortified tower or citadel, *e.g.* the

'tower' (מִגְדָּל) of Penuel (Jg $8^{9.17}$), or of Thebez (*ib.* $9^{51ff.}$); the 'hold' (צְרִיחַ) and tower of Shechem (*ib.* $9^{46ff.}$); the 'stronghold' of Zion at Jerusalem (2 S $5^{7.9}$ = 1 Ch $11^{5.7}$, AV 'castle'). Citadels of a similar character were built in connexion with the royal palaces at Tirzah (1 K 16^{18}) and at Samaria (2 K 15^{25}); but the word here used, אַרְמוֹן, which does not appear before the royal period, is applied not only to a castle or fortress (Pr 18^{19}, cf. Ps 48^{13}, La 2^5), but generally to palaces or prominent buildings (cf. Hos 8^{14}, Am $3^{9ff.}$, Jer 9^{21} 30^{18} etc.). Many of the kings of Judah devoted their attention to strengthening their dominions by fortifying cities in strong positions, and building towers and castles to protect outlying districts (2 Ch 17^{12} 27^4, cf. 1 Ch 27^{25}; on the word בִּירָנִיּוֹת, see below). Such measures are ascribed especially to Jehoshaphat and Jotham.

In the time of Nehemiah we hear of a castle or citadel in Jerusalem, which is apparently connected with the temple (Neh 2^8 7^2). The term בִּירָה, which is found only in late Hebrew, is applied to the Temple of Solomon (1 Ch $29^{1.19}$), and to the Persian royal castle or palace at Susa (Neh 1^1, Dn 8^2, Est *passim*): it is probably of Persian origin (*baru* = fortress, castle), and a derivative from it, בִּירָנִיּוֹת, also occurs (2 Ch 17^{12} 27^4). The citadel of Nehemiah stood probably on the site afterwards occupied by the castle of the Hasmonæan high priests and kings, to which Josephus gives the name of βᾶρις (*Ant.* XV. xi. 4, XVIII. iv. 3; *Wars*, I. xxi. 1). When the temple was rebuilt, Herod also rebuilt and strengthened this fortress, calling it Antonia after his patron M. Antonius. It stood on the north side of the temple, with which it was connected by means of cloisters and stairs (κατᾰβάσεις, Jos. *Wars*, V. v. 8; ἀναβαθμοί, Ac 21^{35}). Under Roman rule, the one cohort, which formed the permanent garrison at Jerusalem, was stationed in this fortress, for its position enabled the officer in command to keep watch over the temple and its courts. From the fort of Antonia the commandant (χιλίαρχος) with his soldiers appeared on the occasion of the riot raised against St. Paul (Ac 21^{31-36}), while in the barracks attached to the fort (παρεμβολή, *lit.* camp, AV castle) the apostle was confined till he was sent under escort to Cæsarea (Ac 21^{37} 22^{24} 23^{10}). The destruction of the communications between Antonia and the temple was one of the first acts of the Jews on the outbreak of the rebellion in A.D. 66 (Jos. *Wars*, II. xv. 6).

In Maccabæan times we hear of another citadel in Jerusalem, in the city of David, which, both in 1 and 2 Mac and in Josephus, bears the name of Ἄκρα, also Ἀκρόπολις (2 Mac $4^{12.27}$ 5^5). Though not originally built by Antiochus Epiphanes (see 2 Mac *ll.c.*), it was newly fortified by him, and occupied by a Syrian garrison (1 Mac 1^{33-36}, Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 4). The Jews, under the leadership of the Maccabees, made several ineffectual attempts to expel the Syrians (1 Mac 6^{19-32} 10^{6-9} $11^{20ff.}$); but it was not till B.C. 142 that Simon forced the garrison to capitulate, and entered the citadel in triumph (1 Mac 13^{49-52}). According to 1 Mac $14^{36f.}$, Simon strengthened and garrisoned the fort; but Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. vi. 7; *Wars*, V. iv. 1) relates that the fort was destroyed, and the hill on which it stood levelled after three years' continuous labour, in order that it might no longer overlook the temple. The site of Acra is much disputed; but the question whether it stood north (so most writers) or south of the temple (Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 207 f.; Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* p. 47), cannot be discussed here. H. A. WHITE.

CASTOR AND POLLUX.—See DIOSCURI.

CAT.—It seems strange that an animal so well known, and so long associated with man in Egypt, should not have been domesticated among the Greeks and Romans, or mentioned in the canonical books of Scripture. The word αἴλουροι is used once in the Apocr. (Ep. Jer v.[22] [Gr.[21]]). Herodotus (ii. 66) uses the word for the domestic cat. This animal is now more common by far in Bible lands than in the West, yet Tristram and Houghton declare that no trace of its name is found in classical authors, except in connexion with Egypt. There are two species of wild cat in the Holy Land. *Felis maniculata*, Rüpp., the *Abyssinian wild cat*, which is supposed to be the wild original of the domestic cat, and is called by the Arabs *ḳuṭṭ el-khalâ*, is rare west of the Jordan, but common to the eastward. The body is 2 ft. long, and the tail 11 in. *Felis chaus*, Güld., the *jungle cat*, is known in Arab. as *el-ḳuṭṭ el-barri*. It is about as large as the domestic cat, and resembles a lynx.

G. E. POST.

CATERPILLAR.—See LOCUST.

CATHOLIC EPISTLES (ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαί).—The title given to a group of seven Epistles of the NT, which bear the names of James, Peter, John, and Jude. From an early period in the history of the Church these Epistles were dealt with as a class by themselves. There were reasons for this, lying in their contents and in their generally accepted authorship. They form a distinct and interesting section of the NT literature. They have some obvious points of affinity with each other. There are resemblances, *e.g.*, between 1 P and Ja; while Jude and 2 P have much matter in common. These seven Epistles have some remarkable coincidences both with other books of the NT and with non-canonical writings of ancient date. There are unmistakable similarities in thought and style, with certain marked differences, between the Johannine Epistles and the other writings ascribed to St. John. There are resemblances between 1 P and the Pauline Epistles, especially those to the Romans and the Ephesians. Jude quotes the pseudepigraphic *Book of Enoch*, and refers, as it seems, to the *Assumption of Moses*; while in James we have reminiscences of *Ben Sirach*.

These seven Epistles are not all of one piece. There are notable differences in style and contents between the several members of the group. While they are all letters, they differ considerably in epistolary form. Some of them (2 and 3 Jn) are simple, personal letters. One of them (James) is rather of the nature of a sententious *Wisdom* writing, like parts of the *Ḥokhma* literature of the OT and Judaism. Others, especially 1 Jn, have the appearance of Pastorals or Epistolary Manifestoes (Westcott's *The Epistles of St. John*, pp. xxix, xxx; Moulton's *The Literary Study of the Bible*, pp. 292, 442). As a class, however, they have a character which readily distinguishes them from the Epistles which bear Paul's name, and from the Epistle to the Hebrews. They make a contribution of essential value to the body of NT teaching. They have their own ideas, their own forms of expression, their own aspects of the truth taught in common by the first Christian writers. They have had different degrees of acceptance in different parts of the Church and in different ages. They have been, and continue to be, the subject of much debate with regard to their origin, date, authorship, and claims. For these questions see the articles on the several Epistles.

These seven Epistles are not given in the same order in ancient MSS, versions, and catalogues. Jerome notices a difference in this respect between the Greek and the Latin codices (*Prolog. 7. Epist. Canon.*). The order in which they stand in our English Bible (Ja, 1 and 2 P, 1, 2, 3 Jn, Jude) is the order in which they occur in most ancient documents. It is the order that is followed in Codex B, in the Canon of the

Synod of Laodicea (c. A.D. 363), in the lists of Athanasius, Cyril of Jerus., Epiphanius, Gregory Naz., Leontius, Jerome, Nicephorus, Amphilochius, the 'Sixty Books,' Isidore, and John of Damascus (see Westcott's *Canon of NT*, pp. 540–579). Eusebius also (*HE* ii. 23) speaks of James as reported to have written 'the first of the Catholic Epistles.' But in the Canon of the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), in the Apostolic Canons, and in the Claromontane Stichometry (*Sæc.* vii.), they are given as 1 and 2 P, 1, 2, and 3 Jn, Ja, and Jude. Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 12) enumerates them as two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James; which succession is followed also by Philastrius. Rufinus, again (*Comm. in Symb. Apost.* § 36), names them in the order of 1 and 2 P, Ja, Jude, 1, 2, and 3 Jn; Innocentius (*ad Exsuperium Ep. Tolosanum*) in that of 1, 2, 3 Jn, 1 and 2 P, Jude, Ja; Gelasius (*Decretum de lib. recep. et non recep.*) in that of 1 and 2 P, Ja, 1, 2, 3 Jn, Jude; while Junilius Africanus, noticing a difference in respect of extent of recognition between the first two and the five which follow, gives them in the succession of 1 P, 1 Jn, Ja, 2 P, Jude, 2 and 3 Jn. Neither have they the same *place* in the series of the NT books as given in ancient MSS, versions, and catalogues. In most they come between the Acts and the Pauline Epistles. This is the case with the Canon of the Council of Laodicea, Codices B and A, the lists of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Leontius, the 'Sixty Books,' Cassiodorus, John of Damascus, etc. This is the position assigned them in the critical editions of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort. But in the Canon of the third Council of Carthage, in Rufinus, in Amphilochius, and in Codex ℵ, they are inserted between the Pauline Epp. (with He) and the Apoc.; and this is the place given them by Griesbach in his critical edition. The same arrangement is so far followed also in the lists of Gregory Naz., Nicephorus, Philastrius, and Junilius Africanus, where they come after the Pauline Epp.; and in that of Epiphanius, where they precede the Apocalypse. In the Apostolic Canons they are placed between the 14 Epp. of Paul and the 2 Epp. of Clement; in Augustine, Innocentius, and Isidore, between the Pauline Epp. and Acts; in Jerome, between the Acts and the Apoc.; in the Claromontane Stichometry, after the Pauline Epp. and before the Ep. of Barnabas (supposed to mean here the Epistle to the Hebrews), the Rev. of Jn, and the Acts. In Gelasius they appear after the Apoc. and last in the list of our NT books; in the *Synopsis* of Chrysostom, after the Acts and last in the list. While in our English Bible they come between He and Rev, in the German Bible they are dealt with in a singular fashion. Instead of being brought into one series there, five of them (those ascribed to Peter and John) are introduced between Philem and He, and two of them (Ja and Jude) are placed between Hebrews and the Apocalypse.

Nor, again, has the group of Cath. Epp. been of the same compass at all times or in all parts of the Church. The first of the seven to be generally received seem to have been 1 P and 1 Jn. The other five were accepted later, and at different times, Ja apparently at a comparatively early period. Chrysostom's *Synopsis* mentions only three. Junilius Africanus places 1 P and 1 Jn by themselves, and explains that very many add (*adjungunt quamplurimi*) the remaining five. Amphilochius (*Iamb. ad Seleucum*) notices that some say seven Cath. Epp. are to be received, others only three, viz. one of James, one of Peter, one of John. Cassiodorus (*De Instit. div. lib.* xiv.) mentions only the *Epistolæ Petri ad Gentes* (if the reading is correct), *Jacobi, Johannis ad Parthos.* But it may be said that, in the Eastern Church at least, by the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th cent. the group included the whole seven. In Eusebius (*HE* ii. 23) they appear as seven, and the terms used of them imply that they had a recognised place, though not all quite the same place, in the Church. The Syrian Church, on the other hand, occupied a peculiar position in relation to these Epp. In that Church the group consisted only of three, 1 P, 1 Jn, and Ja. The remaining four formed no part of its Canon.

The history of the term **'Catholic'** is of interest. It is a term used frequently by the Fathers; and while it is employed by them of writings outside the NT Canon, it seems never to be applied by them to any of the NT books but these seven—neither to any of the Pauline Epp. nor to the Ep. to the Hebrews. For its application to these seven we are indebted to the Church of the East. It was not limited to these, however, in the usage of the great theologians of the East. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 15), *e.g.*, employed it of the letter of the Church of Jerus. given in Ac 15. It was applied by Origen (*Contra Celsum*, i. 63) to the Ep. of Barnabas. It was even used to describe a heretical composition. For Eusebius (*HE* iv. 23) speaks of an Ep. written by Themison, who appears to have been a disciple of Montanus, as a 'certain Catholic Epistle.' But it was applied to certain members of our group at an early period. Origen (*Selecta in Psalm., in Ps.* iii. c. 3, 7; *Comm. in Joann.* vi. c. 18) speaks of things said by Peter 'in the Catholic Epistle'; of 'the Catholic Epistle of John' (*Comm. in Matt.* xvii. c. 19); and of the statement regarding the angels which 'Jude the apostle' makes 'in the Catholic Epistle' (*Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.* B. v. t. iv., in the Latin tr.). Dionysius, in like manner, speaks of 'the son of Zebedee, the brother of James,' and 'the Catholic Epistle which bears his name' (Euseb. *HE* vii. 25). And by the 4th cent. it had come to be a designation of the group of seven. Eusebius, who reports (*HE* vi. 14) Clement of Alexandria to have included 'Jude and the other Catholic Epistles' in the accounts of the canonical writings which he gave in his *Hypotyposes*, speaks himself of 'James, who is said to have written the first of the Catholic Epistles,' and of the Ep. of Jude as one which 'not many indeed of the ancients have mentioned,' but which 'is also one of the seven called Catholic Epistles' (*HE* ii. 23). So the Canon of Athanasius names the ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ καλούμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἑπτά; the Canon of the Laodicene Council enumerates ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ ἑπτά; and the Canons of Cyril of Jerusalem and Epiphanius speak of them in terms indicating that they were seven in number, bearing the common title of *Catholic*.

In the Western Church these Epp. seem to have been later in receiving a general designation, and the title by which they came to be designated was a different one. The term *Catholic* is indeed applied to them. Jerome (*De vir. ill.* c. 1), *e.g.*, says of Simon Peter that he wrote two Epistles *quæ catholicæ nominantur*; of James (*ib.* c. 2), that he wrote *unam tantum . . . epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est*; and of 'Jude the brother of James' (*ib.* c. 4), that he left a 'small Epistle' *quæ de catholicis est.* But elsewhere (*Prolog.* 7. *Epist. Canon.*) he writes of the *epistolarum septem, quæ canonicæ nuncupantur.* And this term *canonicæ* seems practically to have taken the place of *Catholicæ* in the Latin Church as the common designation of the seven. At what time, however, this came to be the case, is not quite certain. Junilius Africanus (*c.* A.D. 550) employs it. He speaks of 1 P and 1 Jn as forming part of the seventeen *libri canonici* which make the *species* (*Scripturæ*), dealing *de simplici doctrina* as distinguished from *history, prophecy*, and the *species proverbialis.* To this he adds the statement—adjungunt quamplurimi quinque alias quæ Apostolorum *Canonicæ* nuncupantur; id est; Jacobi I., Petri secundam, Judæ unam, Johannis II. (*De part. divin. legis.* i. 2). Cassiodorus, too, employs it in the following statement about Clement—in epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus presbyter, qui et Stromateus dicitur, id est in Epistola S. Petri prima et secunda, et Jacobi quædam Attico sermone declaravit (*De inst. div. litt.* c. 8). Hence it is thought that by the 6th cent. this term *Canonicæ* was the accepted designation of the group in the Western Church. Yet Cassiodorus uses the term also of the Apostolic Epistles as a whole. And how it happened that this title took the place of *Catholicæ* in one half of the Christian communion, is difficult to explain. It is supposed by some to have been due to mere mistake. 'By a singular error,' it is said, 'the group of letters was called in the later Western Church 'canonical' (*canonicæ*) in place of 'catholic' (Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, p. xxix). Others, *e.g.*, Bleek, think that it 'originated in the belief that by *Catholic* as applied to these Epistles in the Greek Church was meant *universally recognised and received by the Church*, without reference to any distinction between them and the Pauline Epistles' (*Introd. to NT*, ii. p. 135, Clark's tr.). Other explanations, some of them of a fanciful kind, have been proposed; as, *e.g.*, by Lücke in *SK*, 1836, iii. pp. 643–659.

There is much that is still far from clear as re-

gards the origin and use of the terms *Catholic* and *Canonical* in this connexion. Different views have been taken of the precise meaning and intention of the title *Catholic*. Some fanciful speculations have also been indulged in. It has been supposed by some (Pareus, *Prolog. in Jac.*) that the name καθολικαί as applied to these Epp. was accidental, no definite purpose being attached to it. It has been supposed by others to be intended to express their doctrinal harmony; Augusti, *e.g.*, taking it to designate them as 'in der Lehre übereinstimmende Schriften.' The main explanations proposed, however, are these.

1. That the term refers to the *authorship* of these writings and their position as a *distinct group*. This is the view of Hug, who regards the word as a 'technical expression for one class of biblical writings which possesses it exclusively and communicates it to no other; namely, for that class which comprised in itself the didactical compositions of the apostles collectively, with the exception of Paul, καθολικός, *i.e.* καθόλου καὶ συλλήβδην. When the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles constituted one peculiar division, the works of Paul also another, there still remained writings of different authors which might likewise form a collection by themselves, to which a name must be given. It might most aptly be called *the common collection*, καθολικὸν σύνταγμα, of the apostles, and the treatises contained in it, κοιναί and καθολικαί, which are commonly used by the Greeks as synonymous.' He appeals in support of this to Clement of Alexandria, who, he says, 'calls the Epistle, which was dictated by the assembly of the apostles (Ac 15[23]), the *Catholic Epistle*, as that in which *all* the apostles had a share, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καθολικὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἁπάντων.' Whence he concludes that 'the seven Epistles are *Catholic*, or Epistles of *all* the apostles, who are authors' (*Introd. to Writings of NT*, p. 537, etc., Wait's tr.). This explanation has been followed more or less completely by Schleiermacher and Pott, by Eichhorn so far, and some others. Otherwise it has met with little favour. It is not borne out by Clement's statement. It disregards the fact that the term *Catholic* is applied by early ecclesiastical writers to compositions like the Ep. of Barnabas, the Ep. of Dionysius, the Ep. of Themison. It makes ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαί equivalent to αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ καθόλου. But there is nothing to show that the term καθολικός was employed elsewhere to express any such idea as that of *common apostolic authorship*, one collection of writings written by *all the apostles together*.

2. Others, therefore, take the term to refer to the *place of these Epistles in the Church*, their ecclesiastical recognition, the fact that they were universally received as genuine, their canonicity. Michaelis (*Introd. to NT*, vi. p. 270, Marsh's tr.) takes this view, holding that the word was used by Origen to distinguish 1 P and 1 Jn as undisputed Epp. from 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, and Jude, about which there was no such consent of opinion, and that it was given also to these five in course of time as they ceased to be doubted. This explanation, or one not materially different, is given also by Horne, Guericke, and others. It is supposed by some that there is an indication of the identification of the word *Catholic* with the word *Canonical* in the Muratorian Fragment, in the puzzling sentence 'Epistola sane Judæ et superscriptio Johannis duas in Catholica habentur.' Some refer in support of this view to the passage in which Eusebius, speaking of James who is 'said to have written the first of the Catholic Epistles,' and of Jude as also 'one of the seven Catholic Epistles,' adds that 'nevertheless we know that these, with the rest, are publicly used in most of the churches' (*HE* ii. 23). This is relevant, however, to the question of *public use* in the church, but not to more. For it speaks also of James as 'considered spurious' (νοθεύεται). Most found rather on the passage, also in Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3), in which mention is made of certain works ascribed to Peter, his *Acts*, the *Gospel according to Peter*, the *Preaching*, and the *Revelation of Peter*, and it is said of them 'we know nothing of their being handed down among *catholic* writings (οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα), for neither of the ancients nor of those of our own time has any ecclesiastical writer made use of testimonies from them.' Here, it is thought, the word in the phrase ἐν καθολικοῖς must have the sense of *genuine, undisputed, universally received*. Others, however, think the phrase may mean 'handed down among catholic *Christians*' (Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 289), or *publicly read in the churches*, the question of genuineness not being in view (Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, p. 257). It is with the distinction between *disputed* and *undisputed* books that Eusebius deals there. But what is referred to in his statement is not one class of the NT books, but these books as a whole; not the Catholic *Epp.* in particular, but the Catholic *writings* (γραφῶν) generally. Further, if the sense supposed were the true sense, the term would be no distinctive title of these seven Epistles, marking them off from the Pauline Epistles, which were no less canonical or generally recognised in the Church. Nor does this view consist with the fact that the term *catholic* is used by Origen, as we have seen, of the Ep. of Barnabas, and by Eusebius of the Epp. of Dionysius of Corinth to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Athenians*, the *Nicomedians*, and other Churches (*HE* iv. 23), of none of which it could be said that they were *canonical* or universally received. Nor has it regard, again, to the fact that only some of the seven Epistles were universally received at the time when the term was applied to the group as a whole. Eusebius himself in his chapter on 'The Divine Scriptures acknowledged as genuine, and those that are not' (*HE* iii. 25), distinguishes 1 Jn and 1 P as ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις from the other five as of the ἀντιλεγομένων γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὁμῶς τοῖς πολλοῖς. There is nothing in the facts to conflict with the idea that this came in course of time to be the sense. There is everything to rebut the assertion that it was the original and proper sense.

3. Others suppose that the term refers to the character of the contents of these Epp., the catholicity of their doctrine, distinguishing them from others which were *heretical* as *orthodox* or *authoritative* Epp.,—Epp. whose teaching was in harmony with Christian truth, or the Church's faith. So Salmeron held it to define them as giving the one true *catholic* doctrine which the whole Church might profitably receive. Similar is the explanation of Cornelius á Lapide and others. This view, too, is supposed to be favoured by the passage in which Eusebius speaks of the *Acts*, the *Gospel*, and other alleged writings of Peter. But the supposition has as little to support it in this case as in (2). The term so interpreted would equally fail to serve as a distinctive title of the group; for in this sense Paul's Epp. were as *catholic* as these. Further, it overlooks the fact that the title is used of the *heretical* Epistle of Themison.

4. Consequently, it is held that the term refers to the *destination* of the Epp., designating them as *Encyclical* letters, differing from the Pauline Epp. as being addressed, not to individuals or to single Churches, but to the Church universal, to circles of Churches, or to readers scattered over wide territories. This is the explanation given by Oecumenius (*Sæc.* x.) in the Preface to his Commentary on the Epistle of James: καθολικαὶ λέγονται αὗται ὡσεὶ ἐγκύκλιοι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφωρισμένως ἔθνει ἑνὶ ἢ

πόλει ὡς ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος, οἷον Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Κορινθίοις, προσφωνεῖ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν θίασος, ἀλλὰ καθόλου τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἤτει Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πέτρος, ἢ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν Χριστιανοῖς τελοῦσιν. It is the explanation given also by Leontius (*c.* A.D. 590): καθολικαὶ δὲ ἐκλήθησαν ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος ἐγράφθησαν ὡς αἱ τοῦ Παύλου ἐπιστολαί (*De Sectis Act.* ii.). Suidas also treats καθολικός and ἐγκύκλιος as synonymous when used of letters. This is the explanation which is preferred by most. It retains for the adjective the sense which it has in ancient, non-ecclesiastical Greek; the sense which it also has when it is used of the *Church*; the sense which can be traced back, in the application of the term, to particular writings, at least to the close of the 2nd cent. It is the sense that best suits Clement's statement on the letter addressed by the 'apostles and elders and brethren' at Jerusalem to the 'brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia' (Ac 15^{23}, etc., especially in view of the extent of its publication, Ac 16^{4}). It is the most natural sense for the term as used by Origen, in the passages cited above, of 1 Jn, 1 P, Jude, and Barnabas; by Clement, of Jude in his *Hypotyposes*; and by Dionysius of Alexandria, of 1 Jn (Euseb. *HE* vii. 25). It fits the tenor of 1 Jn, and is sufficiently consistent with the expressed destination of other members of the group of seven. Ja, 1 P, 2 P, and Jude are addressed, it is true, to definite circles of readers. But these are large circles, embracing the Christians and Churches of many lands, and differing widely from those which the Pauline Epp. have in view. James is meant for the brethren in the extensive Jewish Dispersion; 1 Pet. for the Churches of five provinces of the East; 2 Pet. and Jude, for circles still less particular or defined. The remaining two have inscriptions referring to individuals, and are in no proper sense *general* Epistles. Their position is explained either by the fact that they were *interpreted* at an early period as *general* Epp., the *Church* being taken to be addressed under the personal designation of the ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία of 2 Jn and the Gaius of 3 Jn (Clem. Alex. *Hypotyposes*); or by the circumstance that, being accepted as genuine letters of the Apostle John, they were naturally associated with his *first* Epistle, and so came to be included in the group of which it formed a part, and to share in the title borne by the group.

It would appear most probable, therefore, that the title 'catholic' had from the beginning its proper sense of 'general'; that it was used to designate letters of the nature of circular or encyclical Epistles; that in this sense it was applied at least from the end of the 2nd cent. to particular writings both within and without the NT literature proper; that in this sense it was applied first to individual members of the group, and by the time of Eusebius to the seven as a class distinguishable in this respect from the Pauline Epp.; that in course of time other ideas became connected with it, and its use became less constant; that by the 6th cent. it became identical with *canonical* in the Western Church, and assumed a more dogmatic character. There are things at the same time which indicate that its use was not quite fixed or uniform even at the close of the 4th cent. or the beginning of the 5th. Some, indeed, contend that when Origen speaks of 1 Peter as a *Catholic* Epistle he means to distinguish it as a genuine or accredited Epistle from 2 Peter as a disputed Epistle. It is much more reasonable to understand it there in the sense of *general* or encyclical. But there are passages in Eusebius which are of another kind. We have one such, *e.g.*, that in *HE* iii. 3, where, speaking of *acknowledged* and *disputed* books, he says of certain writings alleged to be by Peter, that they are not ἐν καθολικοῖς παραδεδομένα. We have another in *HE* iv. 23, where mention is made of the 'Catholic Epistles' of Dionysius of Corinth. The Churches to which these Epistles were addressed are named—the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Athenians*, the *Nicomedians*, the Church of *Gortyna*, and the 'other Churches in Crete,' etc. They are mostly particular Churches, and it is not a sufficient explanation to say, with Westcott (*Epp. of St. John*, p. xxviii), that the 'word is used of letters with a general application (though specially addressed) which made no claim to canonical authority.' It must be admitted that, as in the case of the process by which these Epp. came to form a collection and to rank as canonical, so, in the history of the names given to them as a group in the Eastern Church and in the Western, all is by no means clear yet.

LITERATURE.—See the usual books on NT Introd., especially those by Hug, Hilgenfeld, Bleek, Jülicher; the *Prolegomena* to the Comm. on the Epp., *e.g.* Westcott on *The Ep. of St. John*; the standard books on the Canon of NT, esp. Westcott, *General Survey of Canon of NT*; Charteris, *Canonicity*; Reuss, *Hist. of Canon*; also Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*; Gloag, *Introd. to the Cath. Epp.* pp. 1–11; Eusebius, *ut sup.*; Pott, *Proleg. ad Ep. Catholicas*, pp. 1–58; Mayerhoff, *Einleit. in die Petr. Schriften*, pp. 31–41; Herzog, *RE*; Sanday, *BL* on Inspiration; Harnack, *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, who assigns their authorship to unknown prophets or teachers such as appear in the *Didache*.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

CATHUA (A Καθουά, B Κουά), 1 Es 5^{30}.—One of the heads of families of temple servants who returned with Zerub. from captivity. It appears to correspond to GIDDEL in Ezr 2^{47}; cf. Neh 7^{49}.

CATTLE.—No fewer than six Heb. and two Gr. words are tr. in the Bible by *cattle*. **1.** מִקְנֶה *miḳneh*. The primary meaning of the word is *wealth* or *possessions*. It is so tr. Ec 2^{7}, where מִקְנֵה בָקָר וָצֹאן is rendered AV '*possessions* of great and small cattle,' RV '*possessions* of herds and flocks.' Among nomads, whose riches consist principally in herds and flocks, the word for *possessions* came to mean *cattle*. Thus the Arab. *mâl*, pl. *amwâl*, when used in connexion with the shepherd's life, usually means *cattle* in the generic sense. *Miḳneh* certainly includes horses, asses, oxen, sheep, and goats (Gn 47^{16}), where Joseph says, 'give your *cattle* (מִקְנֵיכֶם), and I will give you for your *cattle*' (מִקְנֵיכֶם). The narrator then states (v.^{17}) that 'they brought their *cattle* (מִקְנֵיהֶם) . . . *horses* . . . *flocks* (מ' הַצֹּאן, RVm *cattle* of the *flocks*) . . . *cattle* of the *herds* (מ' הַבָּקָר, RVm also *cattle* of the *herds*) . . . *asses*; and he fed them with bread for all their *cattle*' (בְּכָל־מִקְנֵיהֶם). The historian then says (47^{18}), 'my lord also hath our *herds* of *cattle*' (מ' הַבְּהֵמָה). *Miḳneh* may also be understood, in all passages where its meaning is not otherwise defined, to include *all* the domestic animals, which constituted so much of the wealth of the Hebrews. *Miḳneh* is also rendered *herd* as above (Gn 47^{18}), and *flocks* (Ps 78^{48}). The expression אַנְשֵׁי מִקְנֶה (Gn 46^{32}), awkwardly rendered in text AV 'their trade hath been to feed cattle,' RV 'they have been keepers of cattle,' is better rendered as AVm 'they are men of cattle,' or, still better, *herdmen*. Another meaning of the root קָנָה, from which *miḳneh* is derived, is to *buy*, and in Hiphil to *cause to buy*, *i.e.* to *sell*. This is the true meaning in the passage (Zec 13^{5}) אָדָם הִקְנָנִי, where AV has rendered the clause 'man taught me to keep cattle,' as if קָנָה, which means also to *possess*, meant particularly to *possess* or *keep cattle*. RV renders the passage 'I have been made a *bondman*,' *i.e.* man has sold me. **2.** בְּהֵמָה *behêmâh*, tr^{d} *cattle* in the places where it occurs with חַיָּה (Gn $1^{24.25}$ 3^{14} 8^{1}, Ps 148^{10}, Is 46^{1}), also, arbitrarily, in many other places. Probably the Eng. word *beast*, which is as flexible in its meaning and use as *bêhêmâh*, would more adequately

express it. **3.** צֹאן *ṣô'n*. This word is translated AV 'cattle' in two places (Gn 30^{43} 31^{43}), in both of which RV has 'flocks,' *i.e.* both sheep and goats. **4.** בָּקָר *bâḳâr*. This word, which means *oxen*, is rendered in one place *cattle* (Jl 1^{18}), עֶדְרֵי בָקָר 'herds of cattle.' **5.** בְּעִיר *be'îr*. Twice in AV translated *cattle* (Nu 20^{4}, Ps 78^{48}), RV adds Nu $20^{8.\ 11}$. See BEAST. **6.** שֶׂה *seh*. This word, which primarily means one of a flock of sheep or goats (cf. Arab. *shât*), is once tr. AV 'lesser cattle,' RV 'sheep' (Is 7^{25}), and once AV, RV 'small cattle' (Is 43^{23}). See SHEEP.

The word 'cattle' occurs twice in NT, once (Jn 4^{12}) as the tr^{n} of *θρέμματα*, and once (Lk 17^{7}) in the collocation 'feeding cattle' (*ποιμαίνοντα*, RV 'keeping sheep'). G. E. POST.

CAUDA (Καῦδα in B, confirmed by a few inferior authorities, by Καυδώ in Suidas, Καῦδος in *Notitia Episcopatuum*, viii. 240; *Gaudus* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 12 (61), and Pomp. Mela, ii. 114. Κλαῦδα is the form in ℵ, supported by the majority of other authorities, and by Κλαῦδος in Ptol. iii. 15. 8; Hierocles, *Synecd.* 651, 2,* and *Notitia Episcop.* 9. 149; and Κλαυδία in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, § 328, AV Clauda) was an island off the S. coast of Crete. Amid the varying forms of the name, the preference must be given to the forms in which the letter L is omitted, as is proved beyond dispute by the mod. forms Gavdho in Greek and Gozzo in Italian. The Alex. ship laden with corn in which Paul sailed from Myra for Rome, after lying becalmed for a considerable time in Fair Havens, proceeded on its course favoured by a light northerly breeze; but shortly after rounding Cape Matala (about 4 miles on its course), while the vessel was standing towards W.N.W. across the mouth of the Gulf of Messara, it was caught by a sudden eddying blast from E.N.E., which struck down from the lofty mountains of the island, and it could do nothing except scud before the wind, until, after running about 23 miles, it was able to get under the lee of Cauda (Ac 27^{16}), where in calmer water it became possible to attend to the condition of the ship. The perfect agreement of the description in Ac with the natural features and winds of the coast (where, according to Captain Stewart, R.N., 'southerly winds almost invariably shift to a violent northerly wind') has been admirably brought out by James Smith in his *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 96 ff. According to Suidas, wild asses of unusually large size lived on the island. There was a city on the island, which was the seat of a bishop in Byzantine times. It lay almost due S. of Phœnix, and is mentioned next to it in the Byzantine authorities.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CAUL (Fr. *cale*, a small cap or head-dress. Now obsol.).—**1.** (יֹתֶרֶת) The fatty envelope of the liver, which, with the fat of the kidneys and other inward parts (Ex $29^{13.\ 22}$, Lv 3^{4}, etc.), was to be burnt on the altar as an offering by fire unto the Lord. In Hos 13^{8} the rending of the caul or enclosure (סְגוֹר) of the heart is a term of uttermost destruction. See MEDICINE.

2. שְׂבָכִים Is 3^{18}, RV 'networks.' This was most probably the small head-veil, now of fine network or art muslin with floral designs, worn in the East over the brow and crown, and fastened loosely behind the neck under the hair. It is counted indelicate to go to the door or garden without it. Much art is often expended upon it. It is fringed with silk embroidery, and adorned with gold thread, tiny gilt discs, and other ornaments. The Heb. *shabîṣ* seems to have the same root-meaning as the Arab. *mutashabbaṣ*, applied to the network or interlacing of tree-branches; and similarly, the Arab. term for fine damask of branch and foliage-like design is *mu-shajjar*, from *shajarah*, a tree. G. M. MACKIE.

* Constantine Porphyrog, *de Them.*, is hardly an independent authority, but depends on Hierocles, whom he very often quotes.

CAUSE.—The obsol. phrase 'for his c.'='for his sake' is used 2 Co 7^{12} 'I did it for his c. that had done the wrong' (*ἕνεκεν*). Cf. Ps 69^{6} Pr. Bk. 'Let not them that trust in thee . . . be ashamed for my c.' (בִּי, AV 'for my sake,' RV 'through me'). Twice 'c.' is used in the vague sense of 'matter' (as if on the way to Ital. *cosa*, Fr. *chose*): 1 K 12^{15} 'the c. was from the LORD' (סִבָּה, LXX *μεταστροφή*, RV 'it was a thing brought about of the LORD'); 2 Ch 10^{15} 'the c. was of God' (נְסִבָּה, LXX as before, the only occurrences of the Gr. as of the Heb.; RV 'it was brought about of God'). **Causeless** is an adv. in 1 S 25^{31} 'thou hast shed blood c.'; but not in Pr 26^{2} 'the curse c. shall not come' (both חִנָּם, RV here 'that is c.,' after Geneva). J. HASTINGS.

CAUSEWAY.—This is the spelling of mod. edd. of AV (except in Pr 15^{19m}) for the 1611 spelling 'causey.' But the words are not the same. A causey is a mound or dam, made by treading (late Lat. *calciāre*), and a causeway is a way or road formed on such a mound. It occurs 1 Ch $26^{16.\ 18}$; Is 7^{3} AVm (1611 causeway) for 'highway' in text; the Heb. (מְסִלָּה *mĕṣillah*) means a way 'cast up' or raised up. J. HASTINGS.

CAVE (מְעָרָה, *σπήλαιον*, *spelunca*).—**1.** Palestine is a region abounding in caves; hence the frequent reference to them in the Bible. Natural caves and caverns are to be found in most countries formed of limestone strata and considerably elevated above the sea level; such as Malta, Sicily, parts of Italy,* and Derbyshire in England. In such countries the underground acidulated waters dissolve channels for themselves out of the rock, and upon a change of level with reference to their outlet, they leave these channels for others; the old channels becoming caverns with generally dry floors, and roofs decorated with stalactites. The elevated character of Western Palestine and its calcareous structure have naturally resulted in the formation of caves which in OT times, and still later, have become interwoven with the historical events of that country; and, as Dean Stanley observes, when Christianity became degraded in the early centuries, caves, the real or supposed scenes in the history of our Lord, became the seats of worship amongst the Eastern Christians. Thus the 'cave of the Holy Sepulchre' at Jerusalem and the 'cave of the Nativity' at Bethlehem,† both discovered or identified (according to Eusebius) by the empress Helena, have remained shrines of semi-idolatrous devotion down to the present day.

2. Prehistoric man appears to have made caves his dwelling wherever available, and it is not improbable that the Horites of Mount Seir (Gn 14^{6} 36^{20}), who were cave dwellers as their name implies, were the representatives of early cave-dwelling races of other countries.‡ The Horites were expelled by the Edomites; and the vast caverns artificially hewn out of the sandstone rock of Petra, the Edomite capital, attest the extent to which these early inhabitants made use of such hollows both for habitations and as sepulchres for the dead.§ See Driver on Dt 2^{12}.

* 'Quatuor sunt montanæ gentes, Tarati, Soffinati, Balari, Aconites, in speluncis habitantes,' Strabo, v. 225.

† It may be observed that there is no authority in the account of the Nativity for connecting the event with a cave: see Mt 2^{11}, Lk $27.\ 12$.

‡ Strabo, i. 42, xvi. 775, 776.

§ The caverns of Upper Egypt, hewn out of the same formation, 'the Nubian Sandstone,' were made use of by the ancient Egyptians for similar purposes.

3. Caves were largely made use of in the troublous times of Israelitish history as places of refuge: as such the following may be specially mentioned:—

(*a*) The cave in the hills above Zoar inhabited by Lot and his two daughters (Gn 19[30]).

(*b*) The cave of Makkedah at Beth-horon, in which the five kings of the Canaanites hid themselves (Jos 10[16]).

(*c*) Caves in which the Israelites hid themselves from the Midianites in the time of the Judges (Jg 6[2]), and from the Philistines in the time of Saul (1 S 13[6]). Both these references point to the conclusion that caves, both natural and artificial, were very numerous in these times; some of them may be now covered over and their entrances hidden from view.

(*d*) One of the most celebrated caves in biblical history was the cave of Adullam, in which David took refuge from the wrath of Saul (1 S 22[1], 2 S 23[13]). Adullam was one of the cities of Judah, and the residence of a Canaanite king (Jos 12[15]), and the cave was probably the largest of several occupying a position near the summit of the table-land, and overlooking the Plains of Philistia.*

(*e*) The cave of En-gedi, in the cliffs overlooking the Dead Sea, was another place of refuge for David, after he had been dislodged from the cave of Adullam (1 S 23[29] 24[3]). See ENGEDI.

(*f*) The cave in which Obadiah fed the prophets of the Lord in the days of Ahab (1 K 18[4]). This cave was probably situated on the flank of Mount Carmel.

The above instances explain the language of Is 2[10. 19. 21] where 'men shall go into the caves of the rocks, and into the holes of the earth, from before the terror of the LORD, and from the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake mightily the earth.'

4. Caves, both natural and artificial, were used as places of sepulture: the cave of Machpelah, purchased of Ephron the Hittite, was the sepulchre of Sarah (Gn 23[19]), and afterwards of Abraham (Gn 25[9]), Isaac (35[27-29]), and Jacob (50[13]). There can be no doubt but that the mosque of Hebron covers the last resting-place of the patriarchs; it is a spot considered of the highest sanctity by the Arab tribes.† E. HULL.

CEDAR (אֶרֶז *'erez*, κέδρος, *cedrus*).—We cannot enter intelligently on the discussion of the cedar without premising that the Heb. word *'erez* was probably used for three or more different trees. In this it resembles its English equivalent. *Cedar*, in English, is used for the *cedar of Lebanon*, for the *Bermuda cedar*, of which lead pencils are made, for *Juniperus Virginiana*, L., and for *Cupressus thyoides*, L., and other trees. The *cedar wood*, which (acc. to P) was used with scarlet and hyssop for purification (Lv 14[4], Nu 19[6]), was not, in all probability, the cedar of Lebanon, but a plant obtainable in Sinai, and afterwards in Palestine. Such a tree is *Juniperus Phœnicea*, L., which is found on Mt. Hor, and on the brow of the Edomitic limestone cliffs overlooking the Arabah, and probably in the Sinaitic peninsula. If no longer there, there is nothing in the climate to hinder its having grown there formerly. Houghton erroneously calls it *oxycedrus*, which is a shrub or small tree of the mountains of Syria.

It is uncertain what tree is meant by *'ărazîm* (Nu 24[6]). They are said to be trees growing by water. The cedar of Lebanon does not grow in moist places. On the contrary, it seeks the dry sloping mountain-side, where nothing but the moisture in the clefts of the rocks nourishes it. Unless we suppose, as has been hinted in the article on ALOES, that the location of the *'ărazîm* is poetic licence, we must suppose some water-loving tree to be intended in this passage, certainly not the *Cedrus Libani*, Barr., nor *Juniperus oxycedrus*, Lam., nor indeed any of the coniferæ of the Holy Land.

Avicenna defines *'arz*, in Arab., as the well-known juniper *berry*. This is the product of *Juniperus communis*, L.

In most of the passages of Scripture not already cited, probably in all, there can be no doubt that the *cedar of Lebanon* is intended. Let us analyse them in detail. (1) It was abundant (1 K 6[9-18] 10[27]). There is every reason to believe that the cedar was exceedingly abundant in Solomon's day. The remains of the old forests exist above el-Me'âsir, Barûk, 'Ain-Zeḥalta, el-Ḥadeth, Besherri, Sîr, and the Ḍunnîyeh. They probably covered all the sub-alpine peaks of Lebanon. It is also extremely probable that the cedar flourished in those days on Hermon and Antilebanon, both of which belong to the Lebanon system, and are suited climatically to the growth of these trees. Large forests of them exist in Amanus, and thence

A CEDAR FROM THE BESHERRI GROVE.

(It is not one of the largest, but exhibits the characteristic shape and horizontal ramification.)

they extend northward and westward to Akher-dagh, and for a long distance into the Taurus. The cedar existed also in Cyprus; and large forests of it are found in the Atlas and the Himalayas. (2) It was a tall tree (Is 2[13], Am 2[9]). Several of the trees in the Besherri grove are 60 or 70 ft. high. In Amanus it often reaches 100 ft. It is quite likely that it reached or exceeded this height in Lebanon. (3) It was not only a tree 'of a high stature,' but one 'with fair (*beautiful*) branches, and with a shadowing shroud' (*dense shade*) (Ezk 31[3]). No quality of the cedar tree is more beautiful than its horizontal spray, with an upper surface flat, and presenting an even carpet of dark green,

* Josephus, *Ant.* VI. xii. 2; Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 153.

† *Ib.* 238; see also Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, i. 101, 149; Robinson, *Travels*, ii. 79.

ornamented with its yellow staminate and purple pistillate cones. (4) It was suitable for the masts of ships (Ezk 27^5). It has been objected that the cedar has a thick, gnarled trunk, too short for a mast. This is true of the old weather-beaten veterans in the open groves of Lebanon at the present day. But in Amanus, where the growth is close and forest-like, there are multitudes of tall straight trunks, every way suitable for masts. Indeed, many of the younger trees of the Besherri grove would make excellent masts for ships of the size of those in Ezekiel's time. It has been proposed to consider the *Pinus Halepensis*, Mill., as the *'erez* here intended. It is curious that this pine is still known in some parts of Lebanon by the name *'arz*, and also in the neighbourhood of Aleppo. But it is not so well adapted to masting as the true cedar, and, although abundant throughout Lebanon, is also equally abundant in Pal., east and west of the Jordan. It is unlikely that Ezekiel would have spoken of the tree distinctively as the 'cedar from Lebanon,' if he had intended the Aleppo pine, which the Tyrians could have cut from the hill-country close to their city. (5) It was suitable for beams, pillars, and boards (1 K 6^9 7^2). The cedars of Amanus, where the normal growth obtains, could furnish a board 60 to 80 ft. long, and 6 to 8 ft. wide at the bottom, and 2 or more at top. They could furnish pillars and beams of any required thickness. The timber is indestructible by dry rot or borers. It is close-grained, sound to the heart, fragrant, and of a pleasing colour. We have abundant testimony as to its durability. Pliny says that the cedar roof of the temple of Diana at Ephesus lasted 400 years. That of the temple of Apollo at Utica lasted 1170 years. (6) It was suitable for carved work, as images (Is $44^{14.\ 15}$). Cedar wood is better fitted for this purpose than almost any other wood in the land. It is hard, close-grained, and takes a high polish. (7) It must be full of sap (Ps 92^{14}). The balsamic juice of the cedar exudes from every pore. Large beads and nodules of the fragrant resin form on the uninjured branches. An incision into the bark is followed by a copious distillation of the same. Where two branches meet and rub together, they each pour out the life-giving sap, which cements them, so that they grow fast to one another. Numerous examples of this can be seen in the grove at Besherri. (8) It was the king of trees. It is placed at the head of the vegetable kingdom by Solomon (1 K 4^{33}). Abimelech concedes its superiority (Jg 9^{15}). It is perhaps alluded to as 'the glory of Lebanon' (Is 35^2 60^{13}). The cedars are 'the trees of the Lord' (Ps 104^{16}). The Arabs still know them by the name *'arz er-rubb*, 'the cedars of the Lord.' When the cedar falls, the fir, itself a noble tree, howls, as a vassal for his lord (Zec $11^{1.\ 2}$). When Jehoash wished to express his contempt for Amaziah, he compared himself to a cedar and Amaziah to a thistle, and said, 'there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle' (2 K 14^9). The highest boast of Sennacherib was that he would 'cut down the tall cedars' (Is 37^{24}). (9) Of this tree much of the temple was built, also the palaces of David and Solomon, and many other grand buildings of Jerusalem. It was probably at that epoch that the denudation of Lebanon began.

The cedar is known by the natives of restricted localities in Lebanon by two other names. Thus the people in the neighbourhood of 'Ain-Zehalta, Bârûk, and el-Me'âsir call their cedars *ibhul*. The people in the neighbourhood of Sîr call it *tnûb*.

G. E. Post.

CEILING.—See Cieling.

CELIBACY.—See Marriage.

CELLAR.—In AV only (1 Ch $27^{27.\ 28}$) for wine or for oil. The Heb. (אוֹצָר) is common for any store or storehouse. RV gives 'c.' for AV 'secret place' in Lk 11^{33}, reading *κρύπτη* 'a vault,' 'crypt,' for *κρυπτόν* 'hidden.' The Greek word is used by Jos. *BJ* v. vii. 4, 'They set the tower on fire, and leapt into the c. beneath.' See House.

J. Hastings.

CENCHREÆ.—Cenchreæ or Kenchreae (not, as AV, Cenchrea; usually spelt *Κεγχ.*, by T., WH *Κενχ.*), where St. Paul, before sailing for Syria, had his hair shorn in compliance with a vow (Ac 18^{18}), and where Phœbe was a deaconess (Ro 16^1). C. was the seaport of Corinth, on the eastern side of the isthmus (see Corinth). It doubtless had its share in the bustle, luxury, and licence of the mother-city; but, under the influence of St. Paul, it early became the seat of a local church, whose deaconess had the honour of bearing the apostle's letter to the Roman Church.

William P. Dickson.

CENDEBÆUS (*Κενδεβαῖος*), a general of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who was given the command of the sea-coast, and sent with an army into Palestine in order to enforce the claims of Antiochus against Simon Maccabæus (comp. Athenobius). Cendebæus occupied Jamnia, fortified Kidron, a place not otherwise known, and then began to make raids upon Judæa. Owing to his advanced age Simon did not go out to battle himself, but placed his two sons, Judas and John, in command. The battle took place in a plain not far from Modin; and the Jews, although obliged to cross a torrent-bed before commencing the attack, gained a complete victory over Cendebæus, and pursued the Syrians as far as Kidron and the neighbourhood of Ashdod (1 Mac 15^{38} 16^9; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 3).

H. A. White.

CENSER.—Two Heb. words are thus rendered in our Eng. version, מַחְתָּה and מִקְטֶרֶת. The latter, from the same root as the word for incense, is rendered by the LXX in the two places where it occurs (2 Ch 26^{19}, Ezk 8^{11}) *θυμιατήριον*. For this reason *χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον* of He 9^4 has been understood since Jerome's time to mean 'golden censer' (AV, RV). The best modern authorities, however, have decided in favour of the rendering 'golden altar of incense' (so RVm after Bleek, Del. etc.), a sense in which the word frequently occurs in Philo and Josephus (for reff. see Thayer, *NT Lex. sub voc.*).

Elsewhere in OT the vessel used to carry the charcoal on which the incense was burned is termed מַחְתָּה. In AV and RV our translators have only in certain cases given the rendering 'censer,' preferring '**Firepan**' in those passages, apparently, where the מַחְתָּה is mentioned among the utensils connected with the altar of burnt-offering, as in Ex 27^3, Nu 4^{14} RV* etc.

There is no reason for this distinction, one and the same utensil being intended throughout. The מַחְתָּה was so constructed as to be capable not merely of lifting the glowing charcoal from the altar of burnt-offering,—so much is indicated by its etymology from חָתָה to take up 'live coals' from the hearth,—but also of containing a quantity sufficient to burn at least two handfuls of incense (Lv 16^{12}). We may therefore think of it as a bowl-shaped implement furnished with a short handle,—in other words, as a species of ladle. The censers of the Pent. (only in P) are of the same material as the great altar, probably bronze (Ex 27^3, cf. Nu $16^{38.\ 39}$). Those of Solomon's temple were of gold (1 K 7^{50},

* It is not correct to say, as in Smith's *DB*,[2] i. p. 552, that the vessels enumerated (Nu 4^{14}) are those of 'the golden Altar, *i.e.* of incense.' These have been mentioned but not named in v.[10]. Besides, '*the* altar' (v.[13]) is invariably in the Pent. the altar of burnt-offering.

2 K 25[15]). A censer of silver is mentioned in connexion with the daily offering in *Tamid* v. 4, 5, *Yōma* iv. 4. The favourite LXX renderings are πυρεῖον (cf. Sir 50[9]) and θυτσκη (cf. 1 Mac 1[22]).

It is now impossible to say in what respect, if at all, the מַחְתָּה differed from the מִקְטֶרֶת. Delitzsch is certainly mistaken in identifying (art. 'Räucherpfanne' in Riehm's *HBA*[2]) the latter with the vessel designated כַּף (see Nu 7[14ff.]), EV spoon, more probably a bowl with a handle, and therefore of similar shape to מַחְתָּה (hence LXX θυτσκη), in any case a vessel in which the incense was kept (cf. the כַּפּוֹת with incense on the table of shewbread, Ex 25[29]). The context in which it occurs (see above) requires us, in each case, to see in the מִקְטֶרֶת a proper censer.

The censer (λιβανωτός) appears along with incense in the imagery of the Apoc. (8[3. 5]). In 5[8] the 'golden vials (φιάλας) full of odours' (RV more correctly 'the golden bowls full of incense') have been suggested by the כַּפּוֹת or incense-holders just mentioned. For the use of this vessel in Herod's temple see *Tamid* v. vi.

Among the implements of the golden candlestick were its מַחְתּוֹת, EV **snuff dishes.** These were probably not trays for the snuffers as the LXX rendering in Ex 25[38] (ὑπόθεμα) would suggest, but rather a utensil of the same shape as the censer, in which to receive and carry away the burnt portions of the wicks.

Representations of the censers used by the ancient Egyptians are still extant. They consisted of a small pot or cup with a long handle (Kitto, *Encycl. Bibl. Lit.* 1862, p. 461) into which little pellets of incense were projected at intervals by the priest.

In early Christian times the use of censers is not mentioned; it appears to have commenced about the 4th cent. A.D., probably for antiseptic fumigation. In the 8th cent., however, their use was general, and directions for their adoption were given by local synods. But symbolical meanings became by degrees attached to the burning of incense. In many cathedrals on the Continent and in this country very valuable thuribles or censers of gold and silver (cf. Herod. iv. 162; Thucyd. vi. 46; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 21–24) are still to be found, some of them weighing as much as 16 lbs., and evidently not intended to be swung like the ordinary censer. In form modern censers vary considerably, being usually oval, but sometimes square. The ordinary form used by the Jews is of an octagonal shape. In Europe they are generally furnished with a perforated lid, and have three chains to the lower portion, a fourth chain being attached to the lid, so that it can be raised when required. There is usually a small shallow pan enclosed in the censer to receive live charcoal. They are now usually made of brass, as used in the Roman and Anglican services. The incense used for the censer is generally carried by an acolyte in a boat-shaped brass box, containing a spoon for sprinkling it on the censer.

LITERATURE.—Sonneschmid, *De Thymiaterio sanctissimo* (Vitel. 17–23; Deyling, *Obs.* ii. 565 *seq.*; Ugolini, *Thesaur.* xi.; Wentze in *Nov. Biblioth. Brev.* v. 337 *seq.*; Zeibrich, *De Thur.* Gerb. 1763; Royal, *De Thurib.* 724; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 444 f.; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 295.

A. R. S. KENNEDY and E. M. HOLMES.

CENSUS.—See DAVID, QUIRINIUS.

CENTURION (Latin, *centurio*; Gr. κεντυρίων in Mk; ἑκατονάρχης, ἑκατόναρχος in Mt, Lk, and Ac,—see critical authorities in Grimm-Thayer for the two forms of this word).—An officer in the Roman army in command of a century (*centuria*), which corresponded to the civil *curia*, and consisted of a body of men numbering from 50 to 100, according to the size of the legion of which it was a subdivision. Though resembling a British captain in the size of the unit under his command, the centurion in social position was equal only to a British non-commissioned officer. He could not become more than a centurion, except through exceptional circumstances, but left the service when his time was up and settled in some small town, to live on the smaller or larger fortune he had acquired in the wars.

We meet with centurions in the NT on five occasions—two of these being connected with incidents in the life of our Lord, one with St. Peter, and two with St. Paul. **1.** At Capernaum a centurion came to Jesus to seek healing for his servant (Mt 8[5-13], Lk 7[2-10]). This man was a Gentile, but probably not a Roman, because the occurrence took place in the dominions of Herod Antipas (see Holtzmann, *Handkom. in loc.*). The Herods would be inclined to imitate their Roman patrons in the organisation of their armies. The centurion shows a warm sympathy for his slave, such as was rare among Romans. His reference to his being a man under authority, having soldiers under him, would be esp. appropriate on the lips of a subordinate officer to whom the duty of obeying his superiors was as familiar as that of commanding his men. The Capernaum centurion had probably resided for some time in the city, which would thus appear to have been guarded by a garrison. There he had been so attracted by the good qualities of Judaism as to have built a synagogue, from which it may be inferred that he was a believer in the God of Israel, though evidently he was not a proselyte. He evinced great kindness of heart, humility, and faith—the exceptional strength of his faith surprising and delighting our Lord. **2.** A centurion was in charge of the execution of Jesus. This man must have been in the Roman army, as the crucifixion was carried out under the orders of Pontius Pilate, the Roman Procurator. The Synoptists note the impression produced on him by the spectacle of the last scene in the life of our Lord. According to St. Matthew and St. Mark, he exclaimed, 'Truly this' (Mk 'this man') 'was the son (or a son) of God' (Mt 27[54], Mk 15[39]); and according to St. Luke 'he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man' (Lk 23[47]). Whichever phrase he used, it cannot be supposed that as a heathen he fully appreciated the divinity of Christ, but it is clear that he was impressed with our Lord's goodness and greatness. This centurion appears again a little later when Pilate inquires of him as to the fact and time of the death of Jesus (Mk 15[45]). **3.** Cornelius, the first Gentile baptized and received into the Church (Ac 10), was a centurion of the Roman garrison at Cæsarea, the headquarters of the Procurator, and belonged to the 'Italian band'—(which see). It is evident from the narrative, that Cornelius, like the Capernaum centurion, had been deeply impressed with the religious ideas of the people among whom he was serving; but it is also evident that he had not become a proselyte—or St. Peter's scruples would not have needed to be removed by the vision on the house-top, and it seems clear that he was not satisfied with the measure of light he perceived in Judaism. **4.** Several centurions of the cohort at Jerusalem under the command of a chiliarch (called 'the chief captain' in Ac 21[31] AV and RV) appear during the riot at Jerusalem, and the subsequent rescue of St. Paul and his arrest (Ac 21[32] 22[25. 26] 23[17. 23]). There would be ten centurions to a cohort if the numbers were complete. **5.** After his appeal to Cæsar, St. Paul was conducted to Rome under the charge of a centurion named

Julius, with whom he came to be on very friendly terms (Ac 27[1. 11. 43] 28[16]). This centurion was 'of Augustus' band' (which see), Ac 27[1].

W. F. Adeney.

CEPHAS.—See Peter.

CERTAIN.—**1.** The orig. meaning of c. is fixed or definite, not fluctuating. It is seen in Ex 16[4] 'gather a c. rate every day' (דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, RV 'a day's portion every day'); 2 Ch 8[13] 'after a c. rate every day' (דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹם, RV 'as the duty of every day required'); Neh 11[23] 'a c. portion . . . for the singers, due every day' (אֲמָנָה דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, RV 'a settled provision . . . as every day required'); 1 Co 4[11] 'we . . . have no c. dwelling-place' (ἀστατοῦμεν). See also Dn 2[45] 'the dream is c.' (יַצִּיב 'fixed,' cf. 2[8] 'I know of certainty,' same Heb.); Ac 25[26] 'of whom I have no c. thing to write' (ἀσφαλές). Or c. after being *ascertained*, Dt 13[14] 'Then shalt thou inquire, and make search, and ask diligently; and, behold, if it be truth, and the thing c.' (נָכוֹן), and 17[4]. In this sense is the phrase 'for certain,' 1 K 2[37], Jer 26[15]; and 'for a certain,' 1 K 2[42] 'know for a c.' (RV 'for c.'), where the *a* is redundant. See A.

2. When a person or thing is taken out of the fluctuating multitude and fixed in the mind, it need not be further specified, and so becomes indefinite, as in the common phrases 'a certain man,' etc. (Heb. אִישׁ, אֲנוֹשׁ, or אֶחָד, Gr. τις mostly, also ἄνθρωπος, Mt 18[23] 21[33] 22[2], and εἷς). Thus we have, Ac 8[36] 'a c. water'; 5[2] 'a c. part'; Lk 23[19] 'a c. sedition'; 2 Ch 18[2] 'after c. years'; Ezr 10[16] 'c. chiefs of the fathers' (RV 'c. heads of fathers' houses'); and Dn 8[13] 'I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that c. saint which spake,' where we see the word changing from its definite to its indefinite use. 'Certain' in this sense is freq. used alone, where we now use the vaguer 'some,' as Nu 16[2] 'c. of the children of Israel'; 1 Ch 19[5] 'there went c. and told David'; Lk 8[20] 'it was told him by c. which said'; 18[9] 'unto c. which trusted in themselves.'

Certainly. 1 S 20[3] 'Thy father certainly knoweth that I have found grace in thine eyes,' not 'it is certain that thy father knoweth,' but 'thy father knoweth for a certainty' (Heb. יָדֹעַ יֵדַע, RV 'knoweth well'); so 20[9], Gn 43[7], Jer 13[12] 40[14] 42[19. 22]. Same Heb. in Jos 23[13] 'know for a certainty'; 1 K 2[37] 'know for certain'; 2[42] 'know for a certain'; Jer 26[15] 'know ye for certain.'

Certainty is used in the obsol. sense of 'the fact,' or 'actual circumstances,' in Lk 1[4] 'that thou mightest know the c. of those things' (ἀσφάλεια); Ac 21[34] 22[30] (τὸ ἀσφαλές). Cf. Shaks. *Ham.* IV. v. 140—

> 'If you desire to know the certainty
> Of your dear father's death.'

J. Hastings.

CERTIFY, in AV, means not 'to make certain' or 'assure,' but simply 'to make to know,' 'tell.' In OT it occurs (1) Ezr 4[14. 16] 5[10] 7[24] (הוֹדַע); (2) 2 S 15[28] (הַגִּיד); (3) Est 2[22] (אָמַר, RV 'tell'). In Apocr. Wis 18[6] (προγινώσκω), Ep. Jer[1] (ἀναγγέλλω), Bel[9] (δεικνύω), 1 Mac 14[21] (ἀπαγγέλλω), 2 Mac 1[18] (διασαφέω), 2 Mac 11[26] (εἰδότες). In NT Gal 1[11] 'I certify you' (γνωρίζω, RV 'I make known to you'). Cf. Ps 39[5] Pr. Bk. 'Lord, let me know mine end, and the number of my days, that I may be certified how long I have to live' (AV 'that I may know how frail I am,' RV 'Let me know how frail I am'); 19[2] Pr. Bk. 'One day telleth another, and one night certifieth another.'

J. Hastings.

CHABRIS (Χαβρείς).—One of the three rulers of Bethulia, Jth 6[15] 8[10] 10[6].

CHADIASAI (B οἱ Χαδιάσαι, A Χαδάσαι, AV they of Chadias), 1 Es 5[20].—They are mentioned with the Ammidioi as returning, to the number of 422, with Zerub. There are no corresponding names in the lists of Ezra and Neh. Fritzsche (*Exeg. Handb. in loc.*) identifies them with the people of Kedesh in Judah (Jos 15[23]).

H. St. J. Thackeray.

CHÆREAS (Χαιρέας, AV **Chereas**) was brother of Timotheus, the leader of the Ammonites, and held command at the fortress of Gazara, *i.e.* probably Jazer in the trans-Jordanic territory (see 1 Mac 5[6-8]). Chæreas was slain upon the capture of Gazara by Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 10[32-38]).

H. A. White.

CHAFE.—To c. is to make warm (Lat. *calefacere*, late Lat. *calefāre*, old Fr. *chaufer*); next to make warm by friction; then (as with 'friction' itself) to irritate. In 2 S 17[8] only (AV, RV) 'they be chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps in the field' (מָרֵי נֶפֶשׁ 'bitter of soul'). Cf.—

> 'Calmnesse is great advantage; he that lets
> Another chafe, may warm him at his fire,
> Mark all his wandrings, and enjoy his frets.'
> G. Herbert, *Temple* ('Church Porch,' liii.).

J. Hastings.

CHAFF.—The AV renders by this term four Heb. words. **1.** חֲשַׁשׁ *hăshash*. This word occurs but twice in OT, Is 5[24] 33[11], where it is rendered AV 'chaff.' It would be better rendered 'cut grass' or 'dry grass' (as Is 5[24] RV). **2.** מֹץ or מוֹץ *mōṣ*. This is chaff separated from the grain by winnowing. It is usually tr. in LXX χνοῦς (Ps 1[4] 35[5], Is 29[5], Hos 13[3]), once χνοῦς ἀχύρου (Is 17[13]), and once κονιορτός=*dust* (Job 21[18]). In the Oriental process of winnowing by tossing the cut straw, grain, and chaff into the air, the grain falls vertically back on the heap, the cut straw is carried a little distance away and deposited in another heap, while the chaff, consisting of the husks and the finer particles of the straw, is carried to and beyond the borders of the threshing-floor. Hence the imagery of the passages cited. **3.** תֶּבֶן *tebhen*, the same as the Arab. *tibn*=*cut straw*. This word is only once tr. 'chaff' (Jer 23[28] AV, where LXX renders ἄχυρον, and RV 'straw'). In all the other passages where it occurs, except Job 21[18], where it is incorrectly rendered 'stubble,' it is tr. 'straw.' *Cut straw* is preferable. See Straw. **4.** עוּר *'ûr*. This is an Aramaic word of somewhat uncertain signification. Some have derived it from the root עוּר *to be blind*, and regard it as that which blinds, such as the minute particles called AV 'chaff of the summer threshing-floors' (Dn 2[35]). The LXX rendering κονιορτός in this passage would make it the *dust* and not the *chaff* of the threshing-floor. This contains, however, many minute spicules of the straw, husks, and beards of the grain.

G. E. Post.

CHAIN.—The Bible frequently refers to chains, and uses a great variety of words to describe the different articles and their uses. Chains were chiefly employed for (1) ornament, (2) restraint.

1. *Ornament.*—**1.** There was the more solid form of simple or twisted ring for the neck (רְבִיד from רָבַד; cf. Arab. *rabaṭ*, 'to bind'). Such was Joseph's gold chain (Gn 41[42]), also Ezk 16[11]. The Maronite Christians of Lebanon regard it as a charm against evil spirits, or the evil eye (see Amulet). It is called a *ṭauḳ*, and in the mod. Arab. version of the Bible by Van Dyck the ouch of the high priest's dress is so translated. This chain may be of gold or silver, but the poorer classes, as the Bedawin, wear chains of copper or brass. **2.** There was a more elaborate form, made of plaited wire, like (1), but with jewels inserted and pendants attached, or, instead of the metal twist, composed of separate parts in squares, balls, or links (corresp. to Arab. *ḳilâdat*, *'iḳd*). It did not encircle the neck closely,

like the *ṭauḳ*, but hung loosely from it. The chain of Dn 5[7. 16. 29] was probably of this order, and examples of it are found in Jg 8[26], Ps 73[6], Ca 4[9], Pr 1[9]. It is customary in Syria to hang a crescent of silver, called the *hilâl*, by a hair rope or chain round the necks of valuable camels or horses (cf. Jg 8[21. 26]). **3.** The flexible chain (שַׁרְשֶׁרֶת, Arab. *silsilah*, 'link-chain') for suspending and festooning purposes (Ex 28[14. 22] 39[15], 1 K 7[17], 2 Ch 3[5. 16]). **4.** In Nu 31[50] RV 'ankle-chain' (which see). **5.** In Ca 1[10] (חָרוּז, Arab. *ḥaraz*) RV 'strings of jewels' means a necklace of gems, beads, or shells strung on a thread. **6.** In Is 3[19] (נְטִפוֹת, Arab. *nuṭafah*) RV 'pendants' means ear-drops, in design like a pearl or drop of water.

2. *Restraint.*—Named from the metal, copper (נְחֹשֶׁת), La 3[7]. In Jer 39[7] 52[11] chain is transl. *fetters* (see FETTER); also in AV in Jg 16[21], 2 S 3[34], 2 K 25[7], 2 Ch 33[11] 36[6]. Chain in Ps 68[6] is corrected in RV to 'prosperity' (כּוֹשָׁרָה). In NT the references to chains for restraint present little difficulty. The chief terms are ἅλυσις, Mk 5[3], Ac 28[20], 2 Ti 1[16], Rev 20[1]: σειρά in 2 P 2[4] 'chains of darkness'; δεσμός in Jude [6] 'everlasting chains,' which becomes a fig. 'bond' in Lk 13[16].

Modern brass was unknown in ancient times, but there was an alloy of copper and tin. The feet of prisoners were secured by a chain of copper (נְחֹשֶׁת, Arab. *silâsil naḥâs*, πέδη) attached to copper rings encircling each ankle, which were widened to receive the ankle, and then closed by a few strokes of a hammer. For the sake of safe custody, as the soft copper rings might be opened, the prisoner's eyes were put out (2 K 25[7]). In NT mention is made of the Roman custom of securing a prisoner by a chain, one end being fastened to the prisoner's wrist and the other to that of the soldier who guarded him (Ac 12[6] 28[20]). W. CARSLAW.

CHALCEDONY.—See STONES, PRECIOUS.

CHALDÆA, CHALDÆANS.—כַּשְׂדִּים (or אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים) is the usual OT designation of Chaldæa (Jer 50[10] 51[24] 24[5] 25[12]); the same word is seen in אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים (Gn 11[28]) 'Ur of the Chaldees.' The Sept. reads Χαλδαῖοι, substituting a liquid (l) for a sibilant (ש) before a dental (d). The corresponding form in the Assyr. inscrip. is *mât Kaldû*, 'land of Chaldæans.'

i. THE LAND.—The land of the Chaldæans, in OT, usually covers what is included in the term Babylonia, not inclusive of Mesopotamia in its larger sense, but of the lower or between-rivers Babylonia. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 128 f.) maintains that the Bab. name *Kašdu*, then *Kaššû*, is but the earlier designation of the 'territory of the *Kaš*' (*da*, meaning 'territory'), a people who held sway over middle Babylonia for some time before the 13th cent. B.C. (cf. also Del. *Sprache der Kossäer*). The land of the *Kaldû*, for some centuries after B.C. 1000, was located S.E. of Babylon, reaching to Bît-Yakîn and the head of the Pers. Gulf, and possibly swinging round W. to the edge of the Arabian desert. In the inscr. of Rammannirari III. (Rawlinson, *WAI* i. 35, No. 1, line 22) *Kaldi* covers all Babylonia in the expression *šarrâni ša mât Kaldi*, 'kings of the land of C.' Sargon always speaks of the rebel Merodach-baladan at Babylon as *šar mât Kaldi*, 'king of the land of Kaldu,' or *šar mât Bît-Yakîn*, 'king of the land of Bît-Yakîn.' So the Persian Gulf is mentioned as *tâmtum ša Bît-Yakîn*, interchangeably with *tâmtum ša mât Kaldi*, indicating that the Pers. Gulf was the sea of the Chaldæa of that day. Sennacherib (Rawlinson, *WAI* i. 37, line 37) draws a line between the Arabians and Aramæans on the one hand, and the *amêlu Kaldû*, 'the people of the Chaldæans,' on the other. In the time of the decline of Assyria and the rise of New Babylonia the term *Kaldû* included N. and S. Babylonia and the territory occupied by certain foreign tribes and peoples adjacent to them, who were later included in the name as used by the prophet-priest Ezekiel (23[23]). The later Chaldæa was about 400 miles long N.E. and S.W. by an average of 100 miles in width. The derivation of the word is somewhat doubtful, though it may be related to the name of a nephew of Abraham, Chesed (כֶּשֶׂד), of which it is a plural, in Gn 22[22]. It is also the same in root-form as the Assyr. *kašadû*, 'to conquer.'

ii. THE PEOPLE.—The origin of the Chaldæans is enveloped in the mists of antiquity. Whence and when they migrated into lower Babylonia is also an unsolved riddle. Winckler (*Gesch. Bab. und Assyr.* p. 99 f.) finds the first hint of such a people in the 'dynasty of the coast-land' [*meerlandes*], in the person of Ea-mukîn-šumi, king of Karduniaš, where the latter's territory is distinguished from the 'coast-land,' at about the middle of the 10th cent. B.C. It is also thought that the names of the kings of this dynasty are Kassite, thus sustaining a conjecture (cf. Del. as above) that the Kossæans, the *Kašdû*, were the pioneers of the Chaldæans in Babylonia. If these conjectures are true, then we find already in this period a mixed population in the lowlands, reaching as far as the Pers. Gulf. But the character of the Chaldæans, as we know them afterwards, is strongly Semitic. They pushed north from the Pers. Gulf against Babylon, and for centuries contended with Assyria for its possession. They were in early times nomads and agriculturists, despising city life. But their contact with the more advanced civilisation of lower Babylonia led them to respect and to foster centres for self-protection. Soon this industrious, thrifty people built and fortified cities, and extended their boundaries to the north against the older and more cultured capitals. In the second half of the 8th cent. B.C. we find north of Babylon the 'kingdom' of Bît-Dakkuri; and Sargon, as well as his successors on the throne of Assyria, had their hands full in holding at bay this vigorous people. The Chaldæan kings who forced their way to the throne of Babylon were probably heads of different cities, states, or tribes of that people. Merodach-baladan, son of Baladan, was king of Bît-Yakîn, Ukîn-zîr of Bît-Amukkani, and Šuzub, a Chaldæan, from some other place or tribe.

iii. THE LANGUAGE.—The language of the Chaldæans was the Bab. cuneiform, almost identical grammatically and lexically with the Assyrian. The term 'Chaldee' as applied to certain chapters of Dn and Ezr is incorrect, and should not be so employed. The correct term is Aramaic.

iv. THE WISE MEN.—In Dn (1[4] and often) the term 'Chaldæans' is generally used in the sense of astrologers, astronomers. The same sense is seen in classaicl writers (as Strabo, Diodorus). Schrader (*COT* ii. 125) says, 'The signification "wise men," that we meet with in the Bk of Dn, is foreign to Assyrio-Bab. usage, and did not arise till after the fall of the Bab. empire.' Delitzsch (*Calwer Bibellexicon*, p. 127[a]) regards this usage as built upon the fact that Bab.-Chaldæa had been the home and the chief seat of astrological and astronomical knowledge from early ages. The attempted identification of the peoples in the region of the Black Sea (mentioned by Xenophon as Chaldæans) with those in lower Mesopoṭamia has proved a failure. See BABYLONIA.

LITERATURE.—Delattre, *Les Chald. jusqu'à la fond. de l'emp. de Nebuch.* 1889; Winckler, *Untersuch. z. altorient. Ges.* 1889, 47 ff.; — *Ges. Bab. und As.* 1892, 111 ff.; Tiele, *Bab.-As. Ges.* 1888, 65, 207, 211, 286 ff., 422; on Chaldæan learning, Meyer, E., *Ges. des Alterthums*, 1884, vol. i. p. 185 f.; Hommel, *Ges. Bab. und As.* 1885, pp. 386 ff., 404 ff. IRA M. PRICE.

CHALDEE VERSIONS.—See TARGUMS.

CHALK-STONES (אַבְנֵי־גִר).—This expression is used only once, Is 27^{9}, where Israel's repentance evinces itself by the destruction of idolatrous altars, whose stones are to be as chalk (or limestone) broken in pieces, calcined and slaked for mortar (see Delitzsch, *ad loc.*). The expression is of much interest as showing that the practice of burning limestone and slaking with water was practised in Pal. in OT times. The limestone of Pal. consists largely of white granular carbonate of lime of the same geological age as the Chalk formation of England. E. HULL.

CHALLENGE.—In the sense of 'claim,' Ex 22^{9} 'any manner of lost thing which another challengeth to be his' (אָמַר, RV 'one saith'). Cf. More (1513), 'He began, not by warre, but by Law, to challenge the crown.' J. HASTINGS.

CHALPHI (AV **Calphi**)=Alphæus (Χαλφεί, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 7, Χαψέας), the father of Judas, one of the two captains of Jonathan Maccabæus who stood firm in a battle fought against the Syrians at Hazor in N. Galilee (1 Mac 11^{70}).
H. A. WHITE.

CHAMBER as a verb occurs Ro 13^{13} 'Let us walk honestly, as in the day . . . not in chambering and wantonness' (κοίτη, 'a bed,' Lk 11^{7}; 'the marriage bed,' He 13^{4}; here 'illicit intercourse'; cf. Ro 9^{10} κοίτην ἔχουσα, 'having conceived'). See HOUSE.
J. HASTINGS.

CHAMBERLAIN.—An officer in the houses of kings and nobles charged with the care of their apartments, dress, etc., though the office often implied other duties of trust. In OT the word occurs in 2 K 23^{11} and repeatedly in Est, where the original is *eunuch* (סָרִיס); but it is generally believed that this name is not to be taken always in a literal sense, and hence it is often rendered by the word *officer*. In Esther, however, the chamberlain evidently belongs to that class of persons who are entrusted with the watchful care of the harems of Oriental monarchs. In NT at Ac 12^{20} it is said that the people of Tyre and Sidon sought the favour of Herod Agrippa through the mediation of Blastus 'the king's c.' (τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως), showing that the office was one of considerable influence. The word occurs again in AV in Ro 16^{23}, but is rendered in RV more accurately 'treasurer (οἰκονόμος) of the city,' in connexion with the name of Erastus, a Christian of Corinth, from which place it is generally believed that St. Paul wrote his Ep. to the Romans, and where it is not likely there would be a chamberlain in the primary sense of the word. J. WORTABET.

CHAMELEON.—AV so renders כֹּחַ *kôăḥ*, χαμαιλέων, *chameleon*, the second of the lizards mentioned in Lv 11^{30}, which RV renders *land-crocodile*. On the other hand, RV renders by *chameleon* the last of the animals mentioned in this passage, תִּנְשֶׁמֶת *tinshemeth*, ἀσπάλαξ, *talpa*, which AV renders *mole*.

The Heb. *kôăḥ* is used in many passages in its etymological sense of *strength*, but only in the present for an *animal*. Nothing in its etymology points to the *chameleon*. Among the lizards the *land-monitor*, which is the *land-crocodile* of the ancients, *Psammosaurus scincus*, Merrem, is next to the *Nile-monitor*, *Monitor Niloticus*, Geoffr., in size and strength. The Arabs call both *waral* (vulgo *waran*). They distinguish the first as *waral el-arḍ*=the *land-waral*, and the second as *waral el-baḥr*=*water-waral*. But the first is also called *ḍabb*=צָב *ẓâb*, which is the name of the last animal in the previous verse, translated in AV *tortoise*, and in RV *great lizard*. It often attains a length of from 4 to 5 ft. It would therefore be better to render *ẓâb*, *land-crocodile* or *land-monitor*, and *kôăḥ*, *Nile-monitor* or *water-monitor*. This would carry out the etymological idea of strength, as the water-monitor is a foot or two longer than its land relative, and Arabian stories are full of the records of its power in fighting, not only snakes, but the *ḍabb* itself. This would give to two of the lizard group appropriate specific names. Both are noted for devouring crocodile's eggs. The Nile-monitor was held in great reverence in ancient Egypt on this account.

As before said, RV gives *chameleon* for *tinshemeth* (Lv 11^{30}). While it is perhaps probable that this animal is a lizard, as its name stands at the end of a list of lizards, it is by no means certain. It is also at the end of a list of things 'that creep upon the earth' (11^{29}). In those days there was no scientific study of objects of Nature, and the collocation of the different clean and unclean animals was with reference to characteristics which are not recognised in any other system of classification ($11^{4\text{-}7.\ 20\text{-}23}$). It is quite possible, therefore, that *tinshemeth* is not a lizard, but the *mole-rat* of Syria, *Spalax typhlus*, which, although not a true mole, has all its habits and its general aspect. The LXX and Vulg. renderings strengthen this possibility. There is, however, one strong objection to rendering *tinshemeth* 'mole-rat.' It is that *holed* (Lv 11^{29}) tr. in both VSS (on the authority of the LXX γαλῇ, and Vulg. *mustela*), *weasel*, very probably refers to the *mole-rat*. See MOLE, WEASEL. It is inadmissible to suppose that the same animal is mentioned twice, by different names, so close together in the same list.

There seems to be no warrant for the adoption of *chameleon* for *tinshemeth*, excepting the derivation of the word from a root signifying to *breathe*, coupled with the ancient opinion that the chameleon *lived on air*. It must not be forgotten that, in the same chapter, *tinshemeth* is given as the name of an aquatic fowl (v.^{18}, cf. Dt 14^{16}). See SWAN. On the whole, we think the question of the identity of both *tinshemeths* very unsatisfactory, and well-nigh insoluble. G. E. POST.

CHAMOIS (זֶמֶר *zemer*, καμηλοπάρδαλις, *camelopardus*).—This was one of the wild animals allowed to the Israelites as food (Dt 14^{5}), and therefore presumably accessible to them. This would make impossible the renderings *camelopard* and *chamois*. Tristram establishes a very strong probability that it is the mountain-sheep of Egypt and Arabia, called in N. Africa *aoudad*, and in Arabia *kebsh*, which signifies a *ram*. It is known to naturalists as *Ovis tragelaphus*, and lives in small flocks in the most rugged mountain districts from Barbary to Egypt. The *kebsh* of Sinai is probably identical with it, though as yet no naturalist has seen it. The Bedawîn know it well. It may well be supposed that it was abundant in the Mosaic age, and, as it was allowed to the Israelites for food, they may have done much toward its extinction in those parts. It is more than 3 ft. in height, has no mane, but long hair down its throat and breast, and on the fore-legs, forming a sort of ruffles to the knee. It is very active, bounding from rock to rock. It has massive horns, 2 ft. in length, and curving gently backward. G. E. POST.

CHAMPAIGN means 'an open plain' (from Lat. *campania*, It. *campagna*, old Fr. *champaigne*). It occurs Dt 11^{30} (in 1611 *champion*, a later form which was introduced in the beg. of 16th cent.) 'the Canaanites, which dwell in the c.' (עֲרָבָה, RV 'Arabah'); Ezk $37^{2\text{m}}$ (1611 *champian*, a still later form), and Jth 5^{1} 'in the c. countries' (ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις, RV 'in the plains'). The word is pron. *sham'pān*. J. HASTINGS.

CHAMPION (from late Lat. *campio*, one who fights in the *campus* or open plain) is an accurate tr. of the Heb. in 1 S 17[4. 23] (אִישׁ־הַבֵּנַיִם, lit. 'the man of the space between,' that is, the space between the two armies, which is called in Gr. the *μεταίχμιον*). But in 17[51] Goliath is simply called 'mighty one' (גִּבּוֹר), and the 'champion' of AV and RV is unhappy. J. HASTINGS.

CHANCE.—The 'reign of law' is no discovery of the 19th century. It was an accepted, even an axiomatic, fact to the ancient Hebrew throughout the whole course of his history. And more than that, the law was the immediate expression of a personal will, not the fortuitous harmony of working forces. 'Chance,' therefore, has scant recognition in OT or in NT. Neither *συντυχία* nor *τύχη* occurs in NT; and *τύχη* only twice, *συντυχία* not once, in LXX. The first occurrence of *τύχη* in LXX is Gn 30[11] *καὶ εἶπεν Λεία Ἐν τύχῃ*, 'and Leah said, With fortune!' following the *kethîbh* בָּגָד *bĕghâdh* (in pause), which RV also follows, 'and Leah said, Fortunate!' The other occurrence of *τύχη* is Is 65[11] *ἑτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαιμονίῳ τράπεζαν καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα*, 'preparing for the demon a table, and filling up for fortune a mixed drink.' Here *τύχη* stands for Heb. מְנִי *Mĕnî*, which most scholars identify with Venus. But *δαιμόνιον* stands for גַּד Gad, an old Semitic name for the god of Fortune, found in inscriptions, proper names, and common in Syr. = *τύχη*. See GAD. Apart from the passages above, the nearest approach to a recognition of 'chance' is in 1 S 6[9], where the Philistines devise a method of discovering whether the calamities they had suffered while the ark was in their midst were due to the presence of the ark, or whether 'it was a chance that happened to us' (מִקְרֶה, LXX *σύντρωμα*); but here, as in the other places where the same Heb. is used (Dt 23[10] 'that which chanceth him,' Ru 2[3], 1 S 20[26], Ec 2[14. 15] 3[19] *ter* 9[2. 3]), the idea is not something independent of J", but something unexpected by man. The prevalent Hebrew mind on the matter is expressed in the proverb (16[33])—

> 'The lot is cast into the lap;
> But the whole disposing thereof is of the LORD.'

The other places in which 'chance' occurs are these: Ec 9[11] 'time and c. happeneth to them all' (פֶּגַע, elsewhere only in 1 K 5[4] and tr. 'occurrent,' not 'chance,' but external incident or event; cf. 2 Es 10[49] 'these things which have chanced'); Lk 10[31] 'by c. there came down a certain priest that way' (*συγκυρία*, again not 'chance,' but 'concurrence' or 'coincidence,' see Plummer *in loc.*); and so 1 Co 15[37] 'it may c. of wheat, or of some other grain' (*εἰ τύχοι*; *i.e. we* cannot tell which; cf. 14[10] *εἰ τύχοι*, 'it may be'); while in Dt 22[6] 'If a bird's nest c. to be before thee in the way,' and 2 S 1[6] 'As I happened by c. upon Mount Gilboa,' the Heb. is simply 'come upon' or 'meet' (קָרָא).

For the verb 'c.' = turn out (1 Co 15[37]) cf. Coverdale's tr. of Ph 1[19] 'Ye same shal chaunce to my Saluacion.' J. HASTINGS.

CHANCELLOR.—'Rehum the c.,' Ezr 4[8. 9. 17] (בְּעֵל־טְעֵם, lit. 'the lord of judgment'). *Dhêm* in Assyrian is the technical word used of the official reports forwarded to the kings of Assyria and Babylonia by their correspondents abroad. With this Sayce identifies the Aram. *tĕ'ĕm*, and translates *bĕ'ĕl tĕ'ĕm*, 'lord of official intelligence' or 'postmaster.' 'Chancellor,' even in its old sense of royal notary or official secretary to the king, is thus unsuitable; while in mod. usage the word is restricted to special offices, all very different from this. See BEELTETHMUS, REHUM.

J. HASTINGS.

CHANGE.—**1.** See CHANGE OF RAIMENT; and notice that the sing. is used for the pl. in Jg 14[12. 13. 19] 'thirty change of garments' (RV 'changes'). The Heb. word (חֲלִיפָה) there and elsewhere used in 'change' of raiment is found in three difficult passages: Job 10[17] 'changes and war are against me,' which may mean 'relays' of soldiers as in 1 K 5[14], but see Davidson *in loc.* In Job 14[14] 'all the days of my appointed time will I wait till my c. come,' the meaning is clearly 'release' from the worry of life, as the soldier is released when his watch is over. But in Ps 55[19] 'who have no changes, and who fear not God,' this meaning, if possible, is not so easy. See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.* **2.** In Lv 27[33] 'if he c. it at all, then both it and the c. thereof shall be holy,' c. = exchange (תְּמוּרָה, RV 'that for which it is changed'). Cf. Heywood (1562), 'Chaunge is no robry, but robry maketh chaunge.' **3.** Wis 14[26] 'changing of kind' (*γενέσεως ἐναλλαγή*, RV 'confusion of sex'). **4. Changeable** in Is 3[22] 'the c. suits of apparel,' means *that may be changed*; Cheyne, *state dresses*, named in Heb. from their being put off when the occasion for their use was over. **5. Changer.** See MONEY.

J. HASTINGS.

CHANGE OF RAIMENT.—The expression occurs in Gn 45[22], where Joseph gives to Benjamin five changes of raiment (חֲלִיפוֹת שְׂמָלֹת); in Jg 14[12. 19], where Samson offers thirty changes of garments (ת׳ בְּגָדִים); also in 2 K 5[5. 22. 23], as part of Naaman's gift. In Jg 17[10] part of Micah's wages was to be an outfit of clothing (עֶרֶךְ בְּגָדִים). The separate mention (Jg 14[12]) of the innermost garment (סָדִין AV 'sheet,' RV 'linen garment') indicates that 'change of raiment' referred to outer articles of dress. These, under some difference of name, pattern, and material, acc. to life in desert, village, or city, were two: (1) the coat or tunic (כֻּתֹּנֶת, *χιτών*), in the form of a dressing-gown worn with girdle; and (2) the cloak or mantle (מְעִיל, *ἱμάτιον*), of more ample and loose pattern. See COAT, CLOAK, DRESS.

G. M. MACKIE.

CHANT was formerly (and is still poetically) used as a simple synonym for 'sing.' So Am 6[5] 'that chant (Coverdale, 'synge') to the sound of the viol' (פָּרַט [all], RV 'sing idle songs').

CHANUNEUS (Χανουναῖος, AV **Channuneus**), 1 Es 8[48] (47 LXX).—A Levite, answering to Merari, if to anything, in the parallel list in Ezr 8[19].

CHAPEL.—The Frankish kings looked with special reverence on the *capella* or cloak of St. Martin, which was carried before them in battle and invoked in oaths. The name *capella* was then used for the sanctuary in which its *capellani* guarded this treasure. By steps which can readily be traced, the same designation came to be given to any sanctuary attached to a palace and containing holy relics, to any private sanctuary, to any room or building for worship, not being a church. Our AV employs its English equivalent *chapel* at Am 7[13], but the RV has discarded this in favour of *sanctuary*. The latter comes nearer the meaning of the original, *miḳdash*, which signifies *a holy place*. The former, however, aptly suggests that dependence on the king which was one of the characteristics of the sanctuary at Bethel. As an English Chapel Royal is not a parish church belonging to the public, but a place of worship under the control and meant for the use of the sovereign, so were such buildings as that at Bethel intended primarily for the king. It was by his permission that the people found a place there. Even at Jerusalem, Solomon built temple and palace in close proximity to each other: cf. Ezk 43[8]. Chapel occurs also in 1 Mac 1[47] (RV 'shrine'), 2 Mac 10[2] (RV 'sacred inclosure'), 11[3] (RV 'sacred place'). J. TAYLOR.

CHAPHENATHA (Χαφεναθά), 1 Mac 12[37].—Close to Jerus. on the east. Unknown.

CHAPITER (from Lat. *caput*, through the French) is now displaced, in ordinary speech, by the cognate form 'capital,' which the American Revision Company wish to substitute for the older form retained by the British Revisers. **1.** כֹּתֶרֶת, LXX ἐπίθεμα, the spherical capital, 5 cubits high, of each of the two great brazen pillars—JACHIN and BOAZ (wh. see)—of Solomon's temple. The passage recording the construction of these pillars, 1 K 7[15ff.] (with which cf. 2 K 25[17], 2 Ch 4[12. 13], Jer 52[22]), is one of the worst preserved in the OT, and much uncertainty still prevails as to the precise form and ornamentation of the capitals. For details see art. TEMPLE, and compare the reconstruction of Stade in his *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. p. 332, and of Perrot and Chipiez in *Hist. of Art in Sardinia and Judæa* (Eng. tr.), i. plates 6 and 7. In 2 Ch 3[15] צָפָה is used for these chapiters. **2.** כֹּתֶרֶת appears in MT of 1 K 7[31] as a part of the brazen lavers made by Hiram for the temple, but is almost certainly a corruption of כֻּתְפֹּת (Ewald, Stade, Klost.). See LAVER. **3.** In Ex 36[38] we read that the upper portions or tops (רָאשֵׁיהֶם, EV 'their chapiters') of the five pillars which supported the 'screen for the door of the tent' (RV) were to be overlaid with gold, while the corresponding parts of the pillars of the court were to be overlaid with silver (Ex 38[17. 19. 28]). Although all these pillars were of one piece, the parts thus treated would have the appearance of capitals (LXX κεφαλίδες).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CHAPMAN (Anglo-Sax. *ceáp* 'trade,' and *mann* 'man') is used only once in AV, 2 Ch 9[14] 'Beside that which chapmen and merchants brought' (אַנְשֵׁי הָרֹכְלִים, RV 'the chapmen,' Amer. RV 'the traders'). For the same Heb., RV gives 'chapmen' (AV 'merchantmen') 1 K 10[15], and it is an appropriate tr. if the word had been still in use. For its meaning cf. Rogers (1642), 'It is not a meete thing that man should be both chapman and customer.'

J. HASTINGS.

CHAPT.—Jer 14[4] 'Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth' (חַתָּה, Amer. RV 'chapped,' RVm 'dismayed,' for the Heb. has both meanings). Bradley (1727) in his *Farmer's Dict.* speaks of 'claiey or stiff earth . . . subject to chap during the heat of summer'; but the word, which means 'cracked,' is no longer used of land.

J. HASTINGS.

CHARAATHALAN (B Χαραααθαλάν, A Χαρὰ Ἀθαλάρ, AV **Charaathalar**), 1 Es 5[36].—A name given to a leader of certain families who returned from Babylon under Zerub. But 'Charaathalan leading them and Allar' is due to some perversion of the original, which has 'Cherub, Addan, Immer,' three names of *places* in Bab., *from which* the return was made (Ezr 2[59] כְּרוּב אַדָּן, Χαρούς (A Χερούβ), Ἠδάν; cf. Neh 7[61]). The form in 1 Es may be partly accounted for by confusion between Θ and B, and between Λ and Δ.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CHARAX (Χάρακα, *εἰς τόν*, 2 Mac 12[17], RV 'to Charax,' AV 'to Characa').—East of Jordan, and apparently in the land of Tob. Unknown.

CHAREA (A Χαρεά, B om.), 1 Es 5[32]=HARSHA, Ezr 2[52], Neh 7[54].

CHARGE, CHARGEABLE.—*To charge* (late Lat. *carricare* to load, from *carrus* a wagon, whence old Fr. *charger*) is 'to load,' and *a charge* is 'a load,' as we still speak of 'charging' a gun, and of its 'charge.' But in the Bible the word is used only figuratively. **1.** To burden one, or be a burden on one, AV 'be chargeable,' Neh 5[15] 'the former governors, that had been before me, were c. unto the people' (הִכְבִּידוּ עַל, lit. 'made heavy on,' RVm 'laid burdens upon'); esp. in the matter of expense, 2 S 13[25] 'let us not all now go [to the sheep-shearing feast], lest we be c. unto thee' (נִכְבַּד, RV 'be burdensome'); 1 Th 2[9] 'because we would not be c. unto any of you' (ἐπιβαρέω, 'be a weight upon,' RV 'that we might not burden'; so 2 Th 3[8]); and 2 Co 11[9] 'I was c. to no man' (καταναρκάω, only here and 12[13. 14], though LXX gives simple ναρκάω as tr. of יָקַע 'to be dislocated,' 'torn away,' Gn 32[25. 32 bis], Job 33[19], Dn [LXX] 11[6]. The vb. κ. is to benumb, as a torpedo [νάρκη] might benumb, and so to paralyse one by laying another's maintenance on him). Cf. Geneva B. 'I was not slothful to the hinderance of anie man'; RV 'I was not a burden on any man.' **2.** The burden of *expense* is also expressed by 'charge,' both verb and subst.: Neh 10[32] 'to c. ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God' (נָתַן); 1 Ti 5[16] 'let not the church be charged' (βαρεῖσθαι, RV 'be burdened' as in 2 Co 5[4] EV); 1 Co 9[18] 'that . . . I may make the gospel without c.' (ἀδάπανος); 9[7] 'who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?' (ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις); Ac 21[24] 'be at charges with them' (RV 'for them,' δαπάνησον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, 'spend upon them'). Cf. Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. ii. 256—

'I'll be at charges for a looking-glass.'

3. To lay a special duty upon one, as 2 Ch 36[23]= Ezr 1[2] 'he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerus.' (פָּקַד). Then this duty or responsibility is expressed by the subst. 'charge,' Job 34[13] 'Who hath given him (God) a c. over the earth?' (פָּקַד); Jth 7[32] 'he dispersed the people every one to their own c.' (παρεμβολή). Then the word is freely used (as tr. of מִשְׁמֶרֶת), esp. in Nu (P) in a half-technical sense, quite foreign to any modern idiom. Thus the duty is called, Nu 4[31] 'the c. of this burden.' Since J" imposes it, it is 'the c. of the Lord,' Lv 8[35]. It is also called 'the c. of the sons of Gershon' (Nu 3[25]), because on them the burden lies. And from its object or extent it is described as: 1[53] 'the c. of the tabernacle of the testimony'; 3[31] 'the c. of the ark'; 3[8] 'the c. of the children of Israel'; or 3[38] 'the c. of the sanctuary, for the c. of the children of Israel.' **4.** This meaning passes easily into *care* or *custody*: 2 K 7[17] 'to appoint to the c. of the gate' (הַפְקִיד); 1 Ch 9[28] (עַל); Ac 8[27] 'who had the c. of all her treasure' (ἐπί); Nu 31[49] 'the men of war which are under our c.' (יָד); cf. Ac 1[20] AVm '*office* or *charge*' (ἐπισκοπή, AV 'bishoprick,' RV 'office,' RVm 'overseership'). **5.** From 'give a c.' (Mt 4[6], Lk 4[10], 1 Ti 6[13]), or 'give in c.' (1 Ti 5[7] 'these things give in c.,' παραγγέλλω, RV 'command'), there naturally arises the meaning of 'enjoin' or 'command,' of which the examples are numerous and obvious,* and the subst. c.=a command, as 2 S 18[5], Ac 16[23. 24] ('charging the jailor to keep them safely; who, having received such a c.'), 1 Ti 1[18] 6[13]. **6.** The last and heaviest weight to lay on one is to 'lay blame,' found chiefly in the phrase 'lay to the c. of,' Dt 21[8], Ps 35[11], Ac 7[60] 23[29], Ro 8[33], 2 Ti 4[16]. But the simple verb is also used in this sense, 2 S 3[8] 'thou chargest me to-day with a fault concerning this woman'; Job 1[22] 'nor charged God foolishly' (RV 'with foolishness'), 4[18] 'his angels he chargeth with folly.'

J. HASTINGS.

CHARGER (orig. either something that may be loaded or something to load with. See CHARGE).—A charger is 'a large plate or flat dish for carrying a large joint of meat,' *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* The word is

* But see Mt 9[30], Mk 1[43] 'straitly charged,' ἐμβριμάομαι, with Thayer on that word, Gould's note on Mk 1[43], and *Expos. Times*, vol. i. p. 172 ff.

used as tr. of (1) קְעָרָה Nu 7 *passim*, the silver c. offered by various princes as a dedication gift; (2) אֲגַרְטָל Ezr 1^{9bis} 'thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver,' being part of the vessels of the house of the Lord restored by Cyrus; (3) πίναξ Mt $14^{8.\ 11}$, Mk $6^{25.\ 28}$ of the charger in which John the Baptist's head was presented to Salome, and by her to her mother. See BASKET, FOOD.

J. HASTINGS.

CHARIOT (רֶכֶב, רָכַב Ps 104^{3}, קִרְקֵבָה, עֲגָלָה Ps 46^{9}, ἅρμα, *currus*). — In ancient times war chariots formed an important part of the military strength of a nation. We learn from Egyptian monuments that they were largely employed in the armies of the Hittite and Palestinian kings, and thence they were introduced into Egypt about the 17th cent. B.C. (Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 295). An Egyp. poem mentions that the Hittites brought 2500 chariots against Ramses II. (B.C. 1360); and when the Egyptians defeated the allied forces of the Syrians at Megiddo in the 14th cent. B.C., they captured 2041 horses and 924 chariots. A papyrus relating to the same period described the adventures of an Egyptian *mohar* or official, who drove through Pal. in a chariot, accompanied by his servant. In the OT we read of the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh at the time of the Exodus (Ex $14^{6ff.}$ $15^{1.\ 4}$). In Pal. the Israelites must have become familiar with the use of chariots in war long before they adopted them. Thus they were used by the Can. kings defeated at the Waters of Merom (Jos 11^{4-9}), by Jabin and Sisera, who had 900 chariots of iron (Jg $4^{3.\ 13}$ 5^{28}); and it was through their iron chariots that the Canaanites of the valleys were able to maintain themselves against the conquering Israelites (Jg 1^{19}, cf. Jos $17^{16.\ 18}$). These chariots were doubtless built of wood (cf. Jos 11^{9} 'burnt their chariots') and plated or strengthened with iron. The translation of Vulg. *currus falcati* (Jg 1^{19} $4^{3.\ 13}$) seems to involve an anachronism; for the use of scythes attached to the axles of war chariots was probably introduced from Persia. Certainly, chariots of this kind are never represented on the monuments of Egypt or Assyria, and Xenophon attributes the invention to Cyrus (*Cyrop.* vi. 1. 27). In the time of Saul the Philistines invaded the country of Israel with 3000 chariots (1 S 13^{5} LXX [Luc.]; see Driver, *Text of Sam.*). David, during his Syrian wars, captured 1000 chariots (1 Ch 18^{4}), and on another occasion 700 (2 S 10^{18}); but, following the example of Joshua (Jos 11^{9}), he maimed the horses, reserving only sufficient for 100 chariots (2 S 8^{4}). The introduction of chariots into the Israelite army dates from the time of Solomon, who maintained an establishment of 1400 chariots (1 K 10^{26}, 2 Ch 1^{14}) and 4000 horses (2 Ch 9^{25}, in 1 K 4^{26} [Heb. 5^{6}] wrongly 40,000). These were stationed partly in Jerusalem and partly in more suitable cities selected for the purpose (1 K 9^{19} 10^{26}). Both chariots and horses were mainly imported from Egypt, and a profitable trade in them was carried on with the Hittite and Syrian kings. We are told that a chariot was brought from Egypt for 600 shekels of silver, and a horse for 150 shekels (1 K $10^{28f.}$, 2 Ch $1^{16f.}$). From this time onwards chariots form a regular part of the army both in the northern and southern kingdoms (1 K 16^{9}, 2 K 7^{14} $9^{16.\ 21}$ 10^{2} $13^{7.\ 14}$ 8^{21}, Is 2^{7}, Mic 5^{10} etc.). In particular, the king seems regularly to have gone to battle in his chariot (1 K $22^{34f.}$, 2 K 23^{30}, cf. 1 K 12^{18}, 2 K 9^{21}). Zimri held the important office of captain of half the chariots (1 K 16^{9}). There seem, however, to have often been difficulties in securing a sufficient supply of horses (2 K $7^{13f.}$ 18^{23}); hence in the time of Isaiah there was a strong party in Judah which favoured a close alliance with Egypt (Is $30^{2.\ 16}$ 31^{1} 36^{9}). But the consciousness still survived that the use of chariots had been introduced from heathen countries. Hence, while the historian looks upon them as a mark of regal despotism (1 S 8^{11}), and the Deuteronomic law forbids the king to multiply horses (Dt 17^{16}), the prophets regard horses and chariots as a sign of dependence on human aid instead of on divine protection (Hos 1^{7} 14^{3} [Heb. ^{4}], Is 2^{7} 30^{16} 31^{1}), and they predict their destruction in the Messianic future (Mic 5^{10} [Heb. ^{9}], Zec 9^{10}).

Frequent allusion is made to the use of war chariots by the Syrians (1 K $20^{21.\ 25}$ 22^{31}, 2 K $6^{14f.}$), the Assyrians (Is 5^{28} 37^{24}, Nah 3^{2}), the Egyptians (2 K 7^{6}, Jer $46^{4.\ 9}$), and others (Ezk 23^{24} 26^{7}, Is 43^{17}, Jer 51^{21}, Hag 2^{22}). Chariots were used also in the later Syrian kingdom (Dn 11^{40}, 1 Mac 1^{17} 8^{6}), and Antiochus Eupator is said to have possessed 300 chariots armed with scythes (2 Mac 13^{2}).

The chariot was employed also in times of peace (Gn 50^{9}, 1 K $18^{44f.}$, 2 K $5^{9.\ 21}$ $10^{15f.}$, Is 66^{20}), and was regarded as a mark of high rank. Thus Pharaoh assigned to Joseph his 'second chariot' (Gn 41^{43}); Absalom and Adonijah prepared chariots and horses to mark their claims to the throne (2 S 15^{1}, 1 K 1^{5}); cf. also Is 22^{18}, Jer 17^{25} 22^{4}. In the NT the only chariot mentioned, except in Rev 9^{9}, cf. 18^{13}, is that of the Ethiopian treasurer of Candace (Ac $8^{28ff.}$). The heathenish practice of dedicating horses and chariots to the sun, introduced by some of the later kings of Judah, was abolished by Josiah (2 K 23^{11}).

The chariots of the Hebrews doubtless resembled those used by the surrounding nations, and represented on Egyp. and Assyr. monuments. They were two-wheeled vehicles, open behind, drawn by two horses, and containing two (1 K 22^{34}) or perhaps three persons (2 K 9^{25}). The latter view is supported by the special Heb. term for an officer, *shalish* (שָׁלִישׁ), lit. *third man*; see Ex 14^{7} 15^{4}, 2 K 7^{2} 9^{25} 10^{25} 15^{25} etc. The Egyp. chariots were of light and simple construction, the material employed being wood, as is proved by sculptures representing the manufacture of chariots. The axle was set far back, and the bottom of the car, which rested on this and on the pole, was sometimes formed of a frame interlaced with a network of thongs or ropes. The chariot was entirely open behind, and for the greater part of the sides, which were formed by a curved rail rising from each side of the back of the base, and resting on a wooden upright above the pole in front. From this rail, which was strengthened by leather thongs, a bow case of leather, often richly ornamented, hung on the right-hand side, slanting forwards; while the quiver and spear cases inclined in the opposite direction. The wheels, which were fastened on the axle by a linch-pin secured with a short thong, had six spokes in the case of war chariots, but in private vehicles sometimes only four. The pole sloped upwards, and to the end of it a curved yoke was attached. A small saddle at each end of the yoke rested on the withers of the horses, and was secured in its place by breast-band and girth. No traces are to be seen. The bridle was often ornamented; a bearing-rein was fastened to the saddle, and the other reins passed through a ring at the side of this. The number of horses to a chariot seems always to have been two; and in the car, which contained no seat, only rarely are more than two persons depicted, except in triumphal processions.

Assyrian chariots did not differ in any essential points from the Egyptian. They were, however, completely panelled at the sides, and a shield was sometimes hung at the back. The wheels had six, or, at a later period, eight spokes; the felloes were broad, and seem to have been formed of three distinct circles of wood, sometimes surrounded by a metal tire. While only two horses were attached to the yoke, in the older monuments a third horse is generally to be seen, which was prob-

ably used as a reserve. The later chariots are square in front, not rounded; the car itself is larger and higher; the cases for weapons are placed in front, not at the side; and only two horses are used. The harness differs somewhat from the Egyptian. A broad collar passes round the neck, from which hangs a breast ornament, the whole being secured by a triple strap under the belly of the horse. As in Egypt, there are no traces visible; two driving-reins are attached to each horse, but the bearing-rein seems to be unknown. In addition to the warrior and the charioteer, we often see a third man, who bears a shield; and a fourth occupant of the chariot sometimes appears.

The Hittite chariots, as represented on Egyp. monuments, regularly contain three warriors. In construction they are plainer and more solid than the Egyptian, and the sides are not open. The chariots on Persian sculptures closely resemble the Assyrian.

In Sir 49[8] the first vision of Ezekiel is alluded to as 'the chariot of the cherubim,' and that chapter (Ezk 1), under the title of 'the chariot,' figures largely in later Jewish mystical speculation. Cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 347.

LITERATURE.—Layard, *Nineveh* (1849), ii. 348-356; Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies* (1864), ii. 1-21; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians* (1847), i. 335-359; Nowack, *Heb. Archäologie*, i. 366 f.

H. A. WHITE.

CHARITY.—From 1 Co 8[1] onwards 'charity' is frequently employed in AV as the tr. of *ἀγάπη*; in RV it does not occur.

The Gr. word *ἀγάπη* is supposed to have been coined by the LXX. It is found in no profane author, not even in Josephus, and only once in Philo (i. 283). In LXX it occurs 2 S 1[26] (A) 13[15], Ec 9[1-6], Ca 2[4. 5. 7] 3[5. 10] 5[8] 7[6] 8[4. 6. 7bis], Jer 2[2] always as tr. of אַהֲבָה; and in Wis 3[9] 6[18], Sir 48[11]. It has been supposed that the LXX felt the need of a word *of purer suggestion* than any in existence, but 2 S 13[15] (the love of Amnon for Tamar) disproves that supposition. What the LXX seems to have felt the need of was a *stronger* word than either *ἀγάπησις* or *φιλία*, with which they elsewhere translate אַהֲבָה. Thus in 2 S 13[15], Ec 9[1. 6] it is used in emphatic contrast to 'hate.'

When Christianity came, having received the new revelation of the *love of God*, it found this word as yet unspoilt by common use, and adopted it to express the new divine idea. Perhaps the fact that the LXX had used it to express the *intensity* of love, made it the more easily adopted, for this was now also a leading thought, as in 1 Jn 4[8. 16] 'God is love,' and 4[10] 'Herein is love, not that we loved God,' etc.

The word is used 117 times in NT (including *ἀγάπαι*, 'love-feasts,' Jude 12 [and 2 P 2[13] L Tr WH]), always of love with which God has something to do. Its distribution, accord. to Moulton and Geden's *NT Concord.*, is as follows: Synop. 2 (Mt 24[12], Lk 11[42]), Jn 7, Ro 9, 1 Co 14, 2 Co 9, Gal 3, Eph 10, Ph 4, Col 5, 1 Th 5, 2 Th 3, 1 Ti 5, 2 Ti 4, Tit 1, Philem 3, He 2, 1 P 3, 2 P 2, 1 Jn 18, 2 Jn 2, 3 Jn 1, Jude 3, Rev 2. That is, Synop. 2, Jn (including Rev) 30, Paul 75, He 2, P 5, Jude 3. It is not used in Mk, Ac, Ja.

Jerome experienced the difficulty which has been attributed to the LXX. There was no direct equivalent in Latin for *ἀγάπη*. *Amor* was impossible, suggesting idolatry as well as sensuality. He sometimes chose *dilectio*, esteem, and sometimes *caritas* (*charitas*), dearness, though both words, being comparatively weak, missed the very point for which *ἀγάπη* had first been coined. *Dilectio* is found in Vulg. 24 times, *caritas* 90 times (1 P 5[14] gives a different tr.); but the choice of one or the other seems accidental.

Wyclif followed the Vulgate, giving 'love' for *dilectio* and 'charity' for *caritas* everywhere, except in Col 1[8. 13] where he has 'loving' for *dilectio*, not 'love'; and in 1 Co 13[4] where he uses the pronoun 'it' for the third *caritas*.

Tindale systematically avoided ecclesiastical words, and so discarded 'charity' entirely, using 'love' everywhere, except Ro 14[15] 'charitably' (*κατὰ ἀγάπην*), and Col 1[13] 'His dear Son' for 'the Son of his love.' Tindale was followed by Coverdale, the Great Bible, and the Geneva Bible, except that the Geneva has 'charity' in Rev 2[4. 19].

The Bishops restored 'charity' into the foll. places: Ro 13[10 bis], 1 Co 8[1] 13[1. 2. 3. 4 ter 8. 13 bis] 14[1] 16[14], Col 3[14], 1 Th 3[6. 12] 5[8], 2 Th 1[3], 1 Ti 1[5] 2[15] 4[12], 2 Ti 2[22] 3[10], Tit 2[2], 1 P 4[8 bis] 5[14], 2 P 1[7], 1 Jn 3[1], 3 Jn 6, Jude 2. 12, Rev 2[19]; while they accepted Tindale's 'charitably' in Ro 14[15], and his 'dear Son' in Col 1[13].

The Rhemish Bible, being tr. from the Vulg., returned to the use of 'charity' and 'love,' following the Vulg. precisely, except that (as with Wyclif) the third 'charity' is omitted in 1 Co 13[4].

The translators of AV followed the Bishops, except in Ro 13[10 bis], 1 Th 3[12] 5[8], 1 Jn 3[1], and Jude 2, where they capriciously prefer 'love' to 'charity.'

The RV gives 'love' wherever the Revisers found *ἀγάπη* in the text they adopted; for they reckoned it their special duty to translate the same Gr. word by the same English word, if that could possibly be done. No other Eng. version is so consistent. 'Charity' never occurs.

The word 'charity' entered the Eng. language at two different times. First in the form *cherte* (from Fr. *chierté, cherté*) and with the ordinary meaning of the Lat. *caritas*, 'dearness,' both in reference to price and affection. Next in the forms *caritat, caritet, charitet, charité*, from the popular use of the *caritas* (*caritatem*) of the Vulg. in the Church to indicate Christian 'love.' The two words were too close to be kept distinct, and in the 17th cent. *cherte* was discontinued.

After the Vulg., charity was used of the love of God, as 1 Jn 4[8. 16] 'God is charite' (Wyclif) = 'God is charitie' (Rheims—*ἀγάπη* is tr. by 'c.' throughout 1 Jn in Wyclif and Rhemish). Its meaning as applied to man is well expressed by Abp. Hamilton, *Catechism* (1552), 'Quhate is cherite? It is lufe, quharby we lufe God for his awin saik . . . and our neichbour for God's saik, or in God.' But such a word could not resist the strong tendency to degeneration, if indeed it had not degenerated in the use of the Vulg. itself. As early as Caxton we find the general sense of kindly disposition, leniency. Thus, *Cato* 3, 'I . . . beseche alle suche that fynde faute or errour that of theyr charyte they correcte and amende hit.' Dr. G. Salmon (*Gnosticism and Agnosticism*, p. 211) thinks it probable that the popular limitation of the word to almsgiving arose from its freq. employment in appeals of preachers either for money on behalf of some good object, or for prayers on behalf of the souls in purgatory; the common exordium being, 'Good Christian people, we pray you of your charity to give so and so.'

That there was a feeling about 1611 against the use of 'love' in the language of religion is shown by Bacon's remark (1603), 'I did ever allow the discretion and tenderness of the Rhemish translation in this point, that finding in the original the word *ἀγάπη* and never *ἔρως*, do ever translate Charity and never Love, because of the indifferency and equivocation of the word with impure love' (the statement is incorrect, since Rheims gives 'love' for *ἀγάπη* 23 times, but it expresses the feeling of the day). But it does not appear that it was in deference to any such feeling that the Bishops and AV introduced 'charity' again, but either to avoid 'the scrupulosity of the Puritans,' or to escape the charge of 'unequal dealing towards a great number of good English words.' The objections to 'c.' as a tr. of *ἀγάπη* are that it is now obsolete in the sense of 'love,' suggesting a mild toleration, in place of the noblest and most searching of virtues; and that its use in AV (esp. throughout 1 Co 13) has given rise to the mistaken idea that St. Paul is less the apostle of love than St. John. See ALMSGIVING and LOVE.

J. HASTINGS.

CHARM.—See AMULET and DIVINATION.

CHARME (Χαρμή, AV **Carme**), 1 Es 5[25].—Called HARIM, Ezr 2[39], Neh 7[42]. The form in 1 Es is derived from the Heb., and not from the Gr. form in the canonical books.

CHARMIS (Βʀ Χαρμεῖς, A Χαλμεῖς = חָרִמ Gn 46[9]).—Son of Melchiel, one of three rulers or elders of Bethulia (Jth 6[15] 8[10] 10[6]).

CHASE.—See HUNTING.

CHASEBA (Χασεβά), 1 Es 5[31].—There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr and Neh.

CHASTENING, CHASTISEMENT, TRIBULATION.—The idea represented by the words chastening or chastisement fills a considerable space both in OT and NT. In Heb. it is usually expressed by the verb יָסַר, יִסֻּר, and the substantive מוּסָר, with which תּוֹכִיחַ and תּוֹכַחַת are frequently combined; and in Gr. by the corresponding verb and subst. *παιδεύω* and *παιδεία*. The etymological connexion of these last words with *παῖς* suggests that education, in the widest sense of the word, including reference to the means as well as the end of the process, is the main idea involved. And on the whole this is true. In one passage, Eph 6^4, fathers are charged to bring up their children in the *παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ κυρίου*, where *παιδεία* is the Christian discipline of character, as it ought to be enforced in the Christian family. The same idea is presented in He 12^9, where fathers are regarded in the character of *παιδευταί*—as those who exercise discipline over their children, and esp. over their faults, for their good. This same conception is applied without reserve to God. One of the most striking passages is Pr $3^{11ff.}$ 'My son, despise not the chastening (*παιδεία*) of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked (*ἐλεγχόμενος*) by him; for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth (*παιδεύει*), and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.' This is quoted and enforced in He 12^{4-11} and Rev 3^{19}. The idea insisted upon is that the troubles which befall the people of God are not to be read as signs of His hostility, but of His paternal care. 'What son is he whom the father chasteneth not?' In a larger sense, perhaps, than this, the grace of God is spoken of as having appeared in saving power, teaching us (*παιδεύουσα*) that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts we should live soberly, righteously, and godly. 'Teaching' here suggests too little, and probably 'disciplining' or 'chastening' is too narrow; but the conception of the Christian life offered in this passage is that of education under a power which is at once gracious and severe. The *χάρις* which brings salvation to men employs resources of all kinds to put them in complete possession of it. Often the idea of painful correction is prominent, and in one place the severe word 'judgment' appears in the context. The abuses connected with the Lord's Supper at Corinth had produced much sickness and not a few deaths in the Church (1 Co 11^{30}). Men had been eating and drinking 'judgment' to themselves. Yet even under such judgments (*κρινόμενοι*), the apostle teaches, Christians are not objects of God's hostility: He is seeking their good; 'we are being chastened by the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world.' Even in those peculiar passages where the chastisement seems so awful or extreme that Satan, not God, is made the instrument of it, this holds good. The sinner in 1 Co 5 is delivered to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh indeed (by death?), but that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. So in 1 Ti 1^{20} Hymenæus and Alexander are handed over to the Adversary, that they may be taught under his hands (*παιδευθῶσι*) not to blaspheme. Compare also St. Paul's own case: the thorn in the flesh is called an angel of Satan, yet it disciplines him in the Christian grace of humility. The human mind, so long as it dwells in the human body, will not be able to avoid calling such things 'evils'; *no* chastening for the present seems matter of joy: it is all grief and pain, and it is only afterward, when the fruit of righteousness appears, that we can see it is something to thank God for, a real indication of His love for His children. The large use made in the Apocrypha of the idea of 'chastisement' for the moral interpretation of experience is very striking. One of the chief passages is Wis 3^{4-7}. There we find the conception that suffering is a trial, which, when one stands it successfully, brings a sure reward: a reward too, as in 2 Co $4^{17f.}$, out of proportion to the suffering, *ὀλίγα παιδευθέντες μεγάλα εὐεργετηθήσονται*. The idea of purification also, as well as that of testing, is involved in the comparison of Wis 3^6 *ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτούς*. The gracious and paternal aspects of chastisement are signalised in Wis $11^{10f.}$: the people of God are chastened in mercy, the wicked are judged and tormented in wrath; His own He puts to the proof *ὡς πατὴρ νουθετῶν*, the others He condemns *ὡς ἀπότομος βασιλεύς*. So again, in 2 Mac 6^{16}, though God 'chastens with calamity,' He never abandons His people. This is the main thought of the NT passages also: suffering is the rod in a Father's hand, and the sole instrument by which the purposes of the Father's love can be effected.

The word **tribulation** has come into our language from the Vulg. rendering, not of *παιδεύω*, but of *θλίβω, θλῖψις*. In NT none of the passages in which these words are used suggest explicitly that 'tribulation' is disciplinary. It is said, indeed, that we must through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of God (Ac 14^{22}), but they are rather barriers to be forced, dangers to be disregarded, than disciplines to be welcomed. In 2 Co 1^6 the idea occurs that one man may have to suffer in order to acquire the gift of administering consolation to others. Once in OT (Is 26^{16}) the ideas of 'tribulation' and 'chastening' are expressly combined: *ἐν θλίψει μικρᾷ ἡ παιδεία σου ἡμῖν*; but as a rule *θλῖψις* (affliction or tribulation) is used in a more purely objective way. It may be, in point of fact, an instrument of *παιδεία*, but that is not the point of view to which of itself it leads.

J. DENNEY.

CHASTITY.—See CRIMES, and MARRIAGE.

CHEBAR (כְּבָר, *Χοβάρ*, Ezk $1^{1.3}$ $3^{15.23}$ $10^{15.20.22}$ 43^3).—A river in 'the land of the Chaldæans,' by the side of which Ezekiel saw his first vision of the Cherubim. Near the banks of this stream was Tel-abib, the home of a colony of Jewish exiles, among whom Ezekiel lived and prophesied (Ezk 3^{15}). The Chebar has commonly been identified, in accordance with a Syrian Christian tradition, with the Habor (חָבוֹר, *Ἀβόρρας*), the modern Chabour, which runs into the Euphrates not far from the site of Circesium. But the two names are very different, and Babylonia, whither the Jews were deported (2 K $24^{15f.}$, Jer $29^{1.20}$), can hardly be considered to include Northern Mesopotamia. It is therefore more probable that the Chebar was one of the numerous canals in the neighbourhood of Babylon to which the name of 'river' was often given (cf. Nöldeke in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*). The name, however, has not yet been discovered in any of the numerous lists of rivers and canals which are to be found in Assyrian and Babylonian literature. The word is probably connected with the Semitic root כבר *to be great*; hence it has been suggested that Chebar was another name of the *Nahar Malcha*, or Royal Canal of Nebuchadrezzar.

H. A. WHITE.

CHECK in the obsol. sense of 'rebuke' or 'reproof' occurs Job 20^3 'I have heard the c. of my reproach' (RV 'reproof which putteth me to shame'). Cf. Pepys, *Diary*, 26th Sept., 'I was very angry, and . . . did give him a very great check for it, and so to bed'; and Shaks., *Henry IV.* IV. iii. 34, 'I never knew yet but rebuke and check was the reward of valour.' RV gives the verb in 1 S 24^7 in the mod. sense of 'restrain,' 'so David checked his men with these words' (AV 'stayed').

J. HASTINGS.

CHECKER WORK (now generally spelt *chequer-*

work) is work arranged after the pattern of a chess-board (which was orig. called 'a checker or chequer'). 1 K 7[17] 'nets of checker work' (שְׂבָכִים מַעֲשֵׂה שְׂבָכָה),—trellis work of some material used to ornament the 'chapiters' of the pillars in Solomon's temple. In 2 K 1[2] the *sĕbhâkhâh* is a 'lattice' in an upper chamber through which Ahaziah fell. In Job 18[8] it is a net for snaring. J. HASTINGS.

CHEDOR-LAOMER (כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר, Χοδολλογομόρ, *Chedorlahomor*). — Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, commanded the vassal-kings Amraphel of Shinar, Arioch of Ellasar (which see), and Tidal, king of Goiim, in the war against the Canaanite princes of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar (Gn 14[1-16]). After twelve years of servitude the latter had rebelled against Chedorlaomer, who, with his allies, thereupon marched into the west, on the eastern side of the Jordan, smiting the Rephaim in Bashan, the Zuzim or Zamzummin in Ammon, the Emim in Moab, and the Horites in Mount Seir. He then turned northward through Kadesh-barnea (now 'Ain Ḳadîs), and 'smote all the country of the Amalekites (or Bedawin), and also the Amorites that dwelt in Hazezon-tamar' or En-gedi, on the western shore of the Dead Sea. Then followed a battle with the Canaanite princes in the vale of Siddim, which resulted in the defeat of the Canaanites, the death (?) of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the capture of their cities. 'Abram the Hebrew,' however, armed 318 of his men and fell upon the conquerors by night near Dan in the extreme north, pursuing them to Hobah, west of Damascus, and recovering the spoil of Sodom, as well as his nephew Lot.

Chedorlaomer is the Elamite name Kudur-Lagamar,* 'servant of Lagamar,' one of the principal Elamite gods. Similar names are Kudur-Nankhundi, 'servant of the god Nankhundi,' and Kudur-Mabug, the father of Eri-aku (Arioch). In the time of Eri-aku, Babylonia was under the suzerainty of Elam; and while Eri-aku reigned at Larsa and Ur, and claimed sovereignty over the whole of Chaldæa, an independent dynasty was ruling at Babylon 'in the land of Shinar.' Kudur-Mabug is called by his son 'the father of the land of the Amorites,' or Syria and Palestine, which implies some kind of authority there, but he never has the title of king. He was also 'the father of Iamutbal,' a frontier district of Elam. The 'land of the Amorites' had been subdued by the Bab. conqueror Sargon of Accad many centuries before (in B.C. 3800). Four times he marched into Syria, and, after erecting an image of himself by the shore of the Mediterranean and crossing the countries 'of the sea of the setting sun,' he united his conquests into a 'single' empire. His son Naram-Sin made his way into the Sinaitic Peninsula, and must therefore have followed the same road as Chedorlaomer. A later king of Babylonia, Ammi-satana (B.C. 2230), still calls himself 'king of the land of the Amorites'; and the deep and permanent influence of Babylonia in Canaan, evidenced by the Tel el-Amarna tablets, proves that Bab. domination must have long continued there. Ammi-satana was the great-grandson of Khammurabi, the king of Babylon who overthrew Eri-aku and his Elamite allies, and united all Babylonia under one monarch. Khammurabi died sixty years before the accession of Ammi-satana, so that, as he reigned fifty-five years, we may place the expedition of Chedorlaomer about B.C. 2330. A. H. SAYCE.

CHEEK, CHEEK-BONE (לֶחִי, Arab. *laḥi*, 'jaw-bone'; *liḥyah*, 'beard'; σιαγών).—1. The cheek, with its ruddy token of health, is a feature of beauty (1 S 16[12], Ca 1[10] 5[13]). In the Lebanon vineyards a species of tinted grape is called 'maidens' cheeks.' On the other hand, as of something that ought not to be, it is said of Jerusalem in her desolation, 'her tears are on her cheeks' (La 1[2]).

2. It is connected with manliness and pride. To be smitten on the cheek, as described in 1 K 22[24], 2 Ch 18[23], Job 16[10], Ps 3[7], Is 50[6], meant the greatest possible affront, and implied that there was no further power to resist. This gives emphasis to Mt 5[39], Lk 6[29], where the want is not of power, but of will, to resist. G. M. MACKIE.

CHEEK TEETH.—Jl 1[6] 'he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion' (מְתַלְעוֹת, RV 'jaw teeth,' as in Pr 30[14] 'their jaw teeth as knives' AV, RV; but in Job 29[17] [all] 'jaws,' RVm 'great teeth'). Cheek teeth=molar teeth, is found in Caxton, *Chron. Eng.* (1480), 'Al that ever were borne after that pestilence hadden ij chekteth in hir hede lesse than they had afore.' J. HASTINGS.

CHEER.—The 'cheer' is orig. the *face* (Fr. *chère*, late Lat. *cara*), as Caxton, *Golden Legend*, 'In the swete of thy chere thou shalt ete brede.' Then the expression of the face; and so, any state of mind, or mood, as Shaks., *Sonnets*, xcvii. 13, 'so dull a cheer'; but generally with adj. 'good.' So always in AV (except 1 Es 9[54] 'Then went they their way to make great c.'), as in the phrase 'Be of good cheer,' Mt 9[2] 14[27], Mk 6[50], Jn 16[33], Ac 23[11] (all θαρσέω); Ac 27[22. 25. 36] (εὐθυμέω or εὔθυμος); and in RV Job 9[27] (אַבְלִיגָה, AV 'comfort myself,' RVm 'brighten up'). Finally, the word came to signify 'good spirits,' whence the verb 'to cheer,' Jg 9[13], or 'cheer up,' Dt 24[5] (RV 'cheer'). J. HASTINGS.

CHEESE.—See FOOD.

CHELAL (כָּלָל 'perfection'). — One who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[30]).

CHELLIANS.—Probably the inhabitants of the town CHELLUS (which see). Cf. Jth 1[9] 2[23].

CHELLUS (Χελούς or Χεσλούς).—From the text (Jth 1[9]) this place is supposed to have been situated S.W. of Jerus. near Betane, and N. of Kadesh and the river (var. 'torrent') of Egypt, identified with the Wady el-'Arîsh. Reland thinks it may be Ḥaluẓah (חַלּוּצָה), the site well known to the Gr. and Rom. geographers under the altered form of Elusa, situated near the source of the Wady es-Sani stream. The mention of a land of the Chellians by the wilderness, to the south of which were the children of Ishmael (Jth 2[23]), is looked upon as supporting this view of the position of C. Doubt must, however, be regarded as accompanying the identification of C. with Ḥaluẓah or Elusa if the Syr. transcription Kalōn (with K for Ch) be correct. C. is also regarded as a mistake for Chelul =Halhul, Jos 15[58]. I. A. PINCHES.

CHELOD (B Χελεούλ, ℵ Χεσλαιουδά, A Χελεούδ, Old Lat. Chelleuth, Vulg. omits, Syr. Chaldæans).—Jth 1[6b] reads, not as AV and RV 'many nations of the sons of Chelod assembled themselves to battle,' but 'there came together many nations unto the array (or ranks) of the sons of Cheleul'; less naturally 'to battle with (against) the sons of Ch.' (εἰς παράταξιν υἱῶν Χ.). Syriac 'to fight against the Chaldæans,' is improbable. It is not certain whether the 'many nations' are allies of Nebuchadrezzar or of Arphaxad, nor whether they come to help or to fight the 'sons of Ch.' Probably v.[6b] summarises v.[6a]; hence 'sons of Ch.' should be

* The name *Ku-dur-la-ukh-ga-mar* has now been read by P. Scheil on a tablet of Khammurabi (see *Rev. Bib. Internat.* 1896, p. 600, and *Rev. de Théol.* 1897, p. 83 ff.).

Nebuchadrezzar's army. But he is, in Jth, king of Assyrians, not Chaldæans. No probable conjecture as to Aram. original has been made.

F. C. PORTER.

CHELUB (כָּלוּב).—**1.** A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{11}). **2.** The father of Ezri, one of David's superintendents (1 Ch 27^{26}). See GENEALOGY.

CHELUBAI (כָּלוּבָי), 1 Ch 2^{9}, another form of **Caleb.** Cf. 1 Ch $2^{18.\ 42}$, and see CALEB.

CHELUHI (כְּלוּהִי *Kethibh*, כָּלוּהוּ *Kerê*, **Cheluhu** RVm, **Chelluh** AV).—One of the Benê-Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{35}).

CHEMARIM.—In EV this word is found only in Zeph 1^{4}; but the original כְּמָרִים, of which it is the transliteration, is used also at 2 K 23^{5} and Hos 10^{5}, and in both instances *Chĕmârim* is placed in the margin of AV and RV 'idolatrous priests,' and 'priests' holding the post of honour in the text. It is a little curious that at Zeph 1^{4}, the one case where our versions have it, it is probably an interpolation: the LXX omits it, and the parallelism is spoilt by its presence. Wellhausen wished to assert its claim to a place in Hos 4^{4}, but other critics have rightly denied this. *Chōmer*, of which *Chĕmârim* is the plural, is of Aram. origin,* and when used in Syr. carries no unfavourable connotation. In the Peshittâ Version of the OT it is employed at Jg $17^{5.\ 12}$ of Micah's idolatrous priests, but at Is 61^{6} of the true priests promised to the restored Israel. In the Pesh. Vers. of the NT, Ac 19^{35} has it as the rendering of *νεωκόρος*, thus reminding us of the Latin *œditui* (=temple-attendants) of Hos 10^{5}, Zeph 1^{4}; and the Epistle to the Hebrews, *passim*, employs it of the Levitical priests and of our Lord (2^{17} 3^{1} $4^{14.\ 15}$ $5^{5.\ 10}$, and many other places). In the Heb. of the OT, however, *Chĕmârim* always has a bad sense: it is applied to the priests who conducted the worship of the calves (2 K 23^{5}, Hos 10^{5}), and to those who served the Baalim (Zeph 1^{4}). Kimchi believed the original significance of the verbal form was 'to be black,' and explained the use of the noun by the assertion that the idolatrous priests wore black garments. Amongst recent lexicographers Brockelmann accepts this derivation. Others take the root to mean, 'to be sad,' the *chûmrâ* being a sad, ascetic person, a monk or priest. The two ideas run into each other, as is well exemplified at Ezk 31^{15}, where Pesh. has *chĕmîrâ*, LXX *ἐσκότασεν*, Vulg. *contristatus est*, EV *caused to mourn.*

J. TAYLOR.

CHEMOSH (כְּמוֹשׁ *Kĕmôsh*, Χαμώς).—The national deity of the Moabites, as J" was the national deity of the Israelites. He is frequently referred to as the god of Moab both in the OT and on the Moabite Stone, and the Moabites are referred to as the people of Chemosh (cf. Nu 21^{29}, Jer 48^{46}). On the Moabite Stone we have a king Chemosh-melek. We also read of a deity Ashtor-Chemosh, not to be identified with C., but distinct. In the inscription, Mesha, the king of Moab, represents the subjection of Moab to Israel as due to the fact that C. was angry with his land. At length the anger of C. was appeased, and he bade Mesha go and take Nebo from Israel. C. drove Israel out from before him, and restored to Moab the land taken by Israel. The slaughter of the people of 'Ataroth is spoken of as a gazing-stock to C. Mesha accordingly made a high place for C., because he had saved him and made him victorious over his foes. That upon occasion he might be worshipped with human sacrifices is probable from 2 K 3^{27}, where the king of Moab offered his eldest son as a burnt-offering, and thus forced the Israelites to raise the siege. Solomon built a high-place for C. 'the abomination of Moab' (1 K 11^{7}), which lasted till the time of Josiah's reformation, when it was destroyed (2 K 23^{13}). According to Jg 11^{24} C. was also the national deity of the Ammonites; but this can hardly be correct, since Milcom was their special god. It has been suggested that the text should be corrected, and Milcom read here; but perhaps, as Moore says, the error runs through the whole learned argument (*Judges*, p. 295).

A. S. PEAKE.

* In an inscrip. found near Aleppo we find כמר שהר=priest of Sahar (the moon). See *Rev. Sémit.* 1896, pp. 280, 282.

CHENAANAH (כְּנַעֲנָה).—**1.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{10}). **2.** The father of Zedekiah the false prophet in the reign of Ahab (1 K 22^{11}, 2 Ch 18^{10}).

CHENANI (כְּנָנִי, prob. for כְּנַנְיָה).—A Levite (Neh 9^{4}).

CHENANIAH (כְּנַנְיָה or יָהוּ).—Chief of the Levites at the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch $15^{22.\ 27}$), named among the officers and judges over Israel (1 Ch 26^{29}).

CHEPHAR-AMMONI (כְּפַר הָעַמּוֹנִי), 'village of the Ammonites,' Jos 18^{24}.—A town of Benjamin. Probably the ruin *Kefr 'Âna* near Bethel. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xiv. C. R. CONDER.

CHEPHIRAH (הַכְּפִירָה), 'village,' Jos 9^{17} 18^{26}, Ezr 2^{25}, Neh 7^{29}.—One of the four Hivite cities which made peace with the Hebrews, re-peopled after the Captivity, having belonged to Benjamin. Now *Kefîreh* S.W. of Gibeon, in a position which aids to determine the W. border of Benjamin. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. C. R. CONDER.

CHERAN (כְּרָן).—One of the children of Dishon, the son of Seir, the Horite (Gn 36^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{41}). The Sept. transliteration, acc. to Dillm., is possibly based on a supposed connexion of the word with כַּר=a lamb. H. E. RYLE.

CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES (כְּרֵתִי וּפְלֵתִי).—A designation repeatedly applied to a body of troops in the service of David, which seem to have formed the king's bodyguard. As to the derivation of the words, opinions have differed. Gesenius explained them as = *executioners and runners* (from the verbs כָּרַת and פָּלַח), their duty being to inflict capital punishment, and also to convey the king's mandates as quickly as possible to those who held places of government. Linguistic and other objections seem to be fatal to this theory, as well as to another which makes כְּרֵתִי to be so called from כָּרַת = *to be expelled from one's country* (Zec 14^{2}),—an explanation which would identify it with the Sept. rendering of פְּלִשְׁתִּי (Philistine) by Ἀλλόφυλος.

It seems to be unquestionable that Cherethite and Pelethite are not common but proper names. The Cherethites, as a tribe inhabiting the southern border of Canaan, are thrice mentioned in the OT (1 S 30^{14}, Zeph 2^{5}, Ezk 25^{16}), and in all these passages they are associated so closely with the Philistines as to be practically identified with them. Now we know from Am 9^{7}, Dt 2^{23}, and Jer 47^{4} that the Philistines were believed to have come to Canaan from Caphtor, which is generally identified with Crete. May *Cherethites* not be another form of *Cretans*? Instead of *Cherethites*, the Kethîbh of 2 S 20^{23} offers the reading *Carites*. So in 2 K $11^{4.\ 19}$ the true reading as restored in RV is *Carites*, where AV reads *Captains*. The terms Cretans and Carites may both be represented readily enough by כְּרֵתִי. That פְּלֵתִי is simply a variation of פְּלִשְׁתִּי (Philistine) was Ewald's opinion, and has since been generally accepted.

The Cherethites and Pelethites were thus a Philistine bodyguard, originally introduced by David, whose action is explained by his relations with the

Philistines prior to his accession to the throne. This conclusion finds further support in the fact that in 2 S 15[18] the Gittites, who were certainly Philistines, are coupled with the Cherethites and Pelethites. These men were chosen on the same principle as the Swiss Guards at European courts and the Oriental Janissaries, whose fidelity is in proportion to their freedom from local ties and interests. His Philistine mercenaries proved themselves worthy of David's confidence by standing by him amidst the troubles occasioned by Absalom, Sheba, and Adonijah (2 S 15[18] 20[7], 1 K 1[38]). While some have confined the existence of this bodyguard to the reign of David, others have found traces of it down to the close of the Judæan kingdom. The mention of the Carites in 2 K 11 is in favour of the latter view. It was the officers of the Carians and the foot-guards that enabled Jehoiada to accomplish the overthrow of Athaliah, and the installation of Jehoash as king. So in 1 K 14[28] we read of guards who accompanied the king when he visited the sanctuary, and from 2 K 11[4ff.] it is evident that the royal bodyguard formed also the guard of the temple. Is there any reason to conclude that these guards were *foreign mercenaries*? W. R. Smith adduces two passages from OT to prove their identity with the Cherethites and Pelethites. Zeph 1[8] speaks of men connected with the court who were clad in foreign garb, and who leaped over the threshold, and filled their masters' house with violence and deceit. Smith finds here an allusion to the Philistine custom of leaping over the threshold of the sanctuary (1 S 5[5]); but others deny the validity of his argument, and make 'leaping over the threshold' simply a name for housebreaking,* while those who are clothed in foreign garb are Israelites who ape foreign customs. Be this as it may, Smith's other OT reference seems to be conclusive. In Ezk 44[6ff.] there is a bitter complaint that uncircumcised foreigners were permitted to keep guard in the sanctuary, and to discharge functions which the prophet would henceforth confine to the Levites. Who can these be except the guards referred to in 2 K 11? This conclusion is strengthened if Smith is right in his conjecture that prior to the time of Ezekiel the king's guards slaughtered the animals provided by the king for the temple, or intended for the royal table. As he points out, the Heb. designation for captain of the guard is רַב הַטַּבָּחִים = *chief of the slaughterers* (*of cattle*). 'The bodyguard were also the royal butchers, an occupation not deemed unworthy of warriors in early times' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] p. 262, n.; cf. Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 153 n., 164; Driver, *Text of Sam.* 172, 267).

J. A. SELBIE.

CHERITH (נַחַל כְּרִית).—The brook by which Elijah lived (1 K 17[3. 5]) was 'before Jordan,' *i.e.*, according to familiar usage, on the E. of Jordan. Elijah 'was of the inhabitants' (or 'sojourners,' RV) of Gilead, or according to the LXX 'of Tishbeh of Gilead,' and would be well acquainted with the hiding-places of that country. If the 'Ravens' (עָרְבִים) were an *Arab* tribe, as many believe (see OREB), it must have been well to the E. where they pastured their flocks. The popular identification of the brook Cherith with the *Wady Kelt* between Jerus. and Jericho is unwarranted.

A. HENDERSON.

CHERUB.—A proper name (Ezr 2[59], Neh 7[61]); one of the places from which certain families, on the return from Babylon, failed to prove their register as genuine branches of the Israelite people. The name has been identified with the Chiripha of Ptolemy. See CHARAATHALAN. H. E. RYLE.

* In view of the Oriental reverence for the threshold, this seems an unlikely explanation. (See Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 259 f.; and for the Philistine custom, p. 116 f.)

CHERUBIM (כְּרוּבִים or כְּרֻבִים, χερουβίμ; sing. כְּרוּב, χερούβ).—By this name are denoted the winged creatures which, in the religious symbolism of OT, are not infrequently mentioned as attending upon the Most High, and as possessed of certain sacred duties in the court of the heavenly beings that surround the throne of God.

What the Heb. conception of a 'cherub' was, does not appear at all certain. And if, as seems most probable, both name and thing were derived from a primitive stage of religious thought in W. Asia, this uncertainty in the Israelitish writings admits of a natural explanation. For writers who were under the influence of the worship of J″ would shrink from giving a description that might lend itself to obvious comparison with the idolatrous symbolism of other religions.

i. In OT we find references to the cherubim (1) in the Israelite version of primitive myth; (2) in early Heb. poetry; (3) in apocalyptic vision; and (4) in the descriptions of the furniture and adornments of the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple.

1. Gn 3[24] 'And he placed at the east of the garden of Eden the cherubim, and the flame of a sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.' The function of the cherubim here is to guard the approach to the sacred tree. The number of the cherubim appointed for this duty is not mentioned; nor is it stated, as is usually supposed, that each of the cherubim bore in his hand a flaming sword. We are only told that a sword with darting flames was entrusted to them for the purpose of keeping the way.

It has been natural to compare with these guardian, or sentinel, 'cherubim' the monster winged bulls with human heads which stood at the entrance of Assyr. palaces and temples. M. Lenormant having suggested, on the authority of a talismanic inscription, that *kirubu* was an Assyr. name in use for the steer-god, the temptation to connect the cherubim of Gn 3 with the Assyr. figures was almost irresistible. But this use of *kirubu* is questionable; the *cherubim* in our passage are not limited to two; there is no mention of a gate of Paradise; and the function of the cherubim is evidently primarily connected with the sword, which, to judge from the description, is probably intended to denote lightning.

2. Ps 18[10] (=2 S 22[11]) 'And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly.' In the context of this poetical description, the Psalmist describes the power of J″ as manifested in the thunderstorm. J″ is represented in flight through mid-air, borne up upon the wings of a cherub, while the lightnings flash before Him ('at the brightness before him,' v.[11]). The cherub appears to be the mighty winged spirit of the storm,—on whose back J″ Himself is seated. He is the personification of the swift storm-cloud that sweeps down as upon eagles' wings. J″ is carried by the cherub, as the Indian god Vishnu by Garuda, and as Oceanus by the griffin (Æsch. *Prom.* 395).

3. In the prophetical writings of Ezekiel we have two allusions to the cherubim. (1) In Ezk 28[14] 'Thou wast the anointed cherub that covereth; and I set thee *so that* thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire.' Here the prophet compares 'the Prince of Tyre' to one of the chosen attendants upon God, a cherub whose wings, as in the Holy of Holies, shaded the mercy-seat, one whose abode was in the holy mountain, and one who there walked among the flashing lightnings that surrounded the Divine Presence. A 'cherub,' according to this account, abides in the sacred precincts of the Most High, and round about him play the thunderbolts. The idea of the

thundercloud is combined with that of heavenly guardianship.

(2) The imagery employed by the same prophet in the Vision of the Cherubim (Ezk 10) is very obscure, and introduces a much more complex idea. The prophet recognises them as identical with 'the living creatures that I saw under the God of Israel by the river Chebar' (10[20]), referring to the vision of 'the chariot' in ch. 1. These were four in number (10[10]); they had each four faces, 'the face of a cherub, a man, a lion, and an eagle' ([14]), and 'four wings' ([21]). As one of their faces was that of 'a cnerub,' and the prophet on seeing them 'knew that they were cherubim' ([20]), the shape of a 'cherub' as of a fabulous creature must have been well known through popular representations (cf. 1 K 7[29]). Unfortunately, the prophet's description throws no further light upon their shape. But presumably it must have resembled that of an ox (cf. Ezk 1[10]). He tells us that the 'glory of the LORD' rested above 'the cherubim' (10[19]); that their progress was straight forward ([22]); while they moved not with wings only, but with whirling wheels, and burning fire was between them ([6. 7]). We have the thought of the thunderstorm connected with their appearance in Ezk 1[4]; the noise of their wings (1[24]) suggests the thunder; fire and lightning attend them (1[13]).

Altogether, this description, though much more complex and involved than any that has been suggested by the previous passages which we have considered, presents no sort of contradiction to them. In all probability it represents an elaboration, in accordance with the general style and characteristics of Ezekiel's literary work, of the older and simpler conception. The 'cherub,' as one of the powers of heaven, in poetry impersonated the storm-clouds that do J"'s bidding; in Ezekiel's vision there are four such 'cherubim,' corresponding to the four quarters of the sky. In poetry, J" had ridden on the cherub; in the vision the cherubim not only flew, but moved on wheels, supporting the glory of J". In poetry the lightnings flashed before the cherub; in the vision there is fire between the cherubim, and 'the living creatures' ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning.

4. The representation of the 'cherubim' occupied an important place in Heb. sacred art. (1) The figures of two 'cherubim' were placed on the mercy-seat of the ark (Ex 25[18-21]). Unfortunately, no minute account is given of their appearance. We are only told that their wings lifted upwards, and were outspread so as to cover the ark, and that they were presented in a posture facing one another, but looking down upon the ark—an attitude to which we may suppose the apostle makes reference in 1 P 1[12]. They were composed of 'wrought gold,' possibly hammered solid gold as opposed to plated gold. As the mercy-seat covered by their wings was only 3 ft. 9 in. (2½ cubits) long, the figures of the cherubim were quite small.

(2) Figures of cherubim were introduced into the veil or hanging screen which separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies (Ex 26[31]). It has commonly been considered that, as the way into the Holiest was through this curtain, the thought intended by these representations of cherubim may have been similar to that expressed by the guardian cherubim who guarded 'the way of the tree of life' in Gn 3.

(3) Solomon's temple contained in its Holy of Holies two colossal cherubim, 10 cubits (or 15 ft.) high, made of olive wood and overlaid with gold. The wings of the cherubim were spread out, and measured 10 cubits from the extremity of one wing to the extremity of the other. The Holy of Holies was a cube of 20 cubits or 30 ft.; and the two cherubim touched with their outer wings the wall on either side, while they touched one another with their outstretched inner wings. The whole span of their four wings was 20 cubits, equal to the width of the sanctuary. They each therefore stood at the same distance from one another as they did from the wall on either side (1 K 6[23-28]). From this description we should certainly infer that they had each only two wings. In 2 Ch 3[1-17] the same general account is given of the 'cherubim' of 'image-work' in Solomon's temple; but it is added that 'they stood on their feet, and their faces were toward the house,' by which is probably meant, facing the entrance. It has been disputed whether the smaller cherubim which protected the mercy-seat of the ark were retained in Solomon's temple. And it may be granted that the height of the Solomonic cherubim made it perfectly possible, but scarcely probable.

(4) 'Cherubim' were introduced, along with 'palm-trees and open flowers,' into the carved woodwork with which the walls and doors of the exterior and interior of the temple were adorned (1 K 6[29. 32. 35]). In the description of the 'brazen sea' it is recorded that in the ornamentation there were figures of 'lions, oxen, and cherubim' (1 K 7[29]).

From these OT passages we can gather no precise conclusion as to the shape and general figure of the cherub, according to Hebrew treatment in poetry and art. It had wings; it stood on feet (2 Ch); its face was not that of a man, a lion, or an eagle (Ezk 10[14]). It may have resembled an ox. But we are driven rather to suppose that its figure was an imaginary one, like that of a griffin or a dragon.

Whether its name is of Sem. origin or not, is a disputed point (see below). There is not sufficient reason to doubt that the original idea belongs to the early childhood of Israel's religion, and is thus related to similar conceptions in other races.

The prominence given to the cherubim in the passages we have passed in review makes it very unlikely that they had been borrowed from other countries or foreign religions. For we can hardly imagine the one representation of a living creature, which was permitted in the construction of the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple, to have been derived from an alien source. The fact that the making and designing of the cherubim is apparently recorded without any consciousness of the violation of the second commandment, is in itself an indication that the conception of these creatures belongs to an original national idea—the superstitious element of which was destined to be removed by the teaching of J" worship. Thus the 'cherub' survived as one of the traces of a Heb. mythology, which was retained by the prophets because it represented pictorially the attributes of the majesty of the God of Israel, and was employed to express more vividly the means by which His glory is revealed to man.

Besides the winged bulls familiar to us from the Assyr. remains, we come across many representations of winged monsters and chimæras in the countries adjoining Palestine. Egyp. religious art is said to have borrowed from Syria the figure of the Sefer, or Seref (cf. the Heb. 'seraph'). Phœn. monuments contain representations of winged griffins guarding the sacred tree (cf. a white marble relief from Arados in the Museum of the Louvre). The famous monster represented on the tomb of Chuecu-hotep, an Egyp. king (*c.* B.C. 2100), gives us a leopard, from whose back issues a human head, with wings on either side of the neck. All these are attempts apparently to combine the attributes of strength and swiftness in animals with the intellect of man, in representation of the

'demon' spirits (see Pietschmann's *Gesch. der Phönizier*, pp. 176, 177). To this category belongs in all probability the earliest Heb. idea of the cherubim. Having been popularly associated with the thundercloud, their presence and form were transferred, in the language of Heb. poetry and vision, to the personal court and attendance of J", whose presence was proclaimed by the voice of thunder (cf. Ex 19^{16}, 1 S 12^{17}, Ps 77^{18}). They therefore bear a close analogy to the seraphim (Is 6), who personified the lightnings that surround the throne. Perhaps the two groups of attendant beings are referred to in Ps $104^{3.4}$.

The expression applied to J", He 'sitteth upon, or inhabiteth, the cherubim' (ישב הכרובים), which we find in 2 K 19^{15}, Ps 80^{1} 99^{1}, Is 37^{16}, is not without difficulty. The rendering 'sitteth *between* the cherubim' is an explanation, not a translation, of the original: nor does it give the full meaning of the words. To the Heb. poet the cherubim are not only the attendants of J", but the bearers and upholders of His throne. The thunderclouds are the dark wings of these ministers of God. They bear Him up. And to this, which is the picture presented by the service of the mute forces of nature, there is an analogy presented by the service of God's people. Hence the earthly correlative to 'thou that sittest upon the cherubim' is 'thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel' (Ps 22^{3}, and see Cheyne's note).

In later Jewish theology the cherubim take their place among the highest angels of heaven. Thus Enoch speaks of the court of the palace of heaven. 'Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and lightnings, with fiery cherubim between in a transparent heaven' (xiv. 11, ed. Charles). Of the throne he says, 'Its circuit was as a shining sun and the voice of cherubim' (xiv. 18, ed. Charles). Speaking of the host of heaven, he mentions 'Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise, and the serpents, and the cherubim' (xx. 7, ed. Charles); and in another passage he speaks of 'all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the cherubim, seraphim, and ophanim, and all the angels of power, etc. (lxi. 10, ed. Charles). Cf. 'and round about were seraphim, cherubim, and ophanim: these are they who sleep not, and guard the throne of His glory' (lxxi. 7, ed. Charles). The Jews regarded them as supernatural beings, without attempting to define them. Josephus, speaking of the cherubim in the temple, says none could tell or even guess what they were like (*τὰς δὲ χερουβεῖς οὐδεὶς ὁποῖαί τινες ἦσαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ εἰκάσαι δύναται*, *Ant.* VIII. iii. 3). Philo, referring to the cherubim over the ark, mentions that in the opinion of some they represented the two hemispheres (so Philo himself, *De Cherub.* § 7); but his own preference was to identify them with the two most ancient and supreme attributes of the Almighty—the power of creating, and the power of ruling (*ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν εἴποιμι δηλοῦσθαι δι' ὑπονοιῶν τὰς πρεσβυτάτας καὶ ἀνωτάτω δύο τοῦ Ὄντος δυνάμεις τήν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν. Ὀνομάζεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ θεός, καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ διεκόσμησε τόδε τὸ πᾶν· ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ᾗ τῶν γενομένων ἄρχει καὶ σὺν δικῇ βεβαίως ἐπικρατεῖ*, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 8, ed. Mangey, ii. 150).

ii. In NT they are spoken of in the Ep. to the Hebrews in connexion with the ark, 'above it the cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat' (He 9^{5}), where the expression, 'the cherubim of glory,' conveys the special thought of created beings ministering to the manifestation of the divine glory. In the Apoc. they are represented as 'living creatures,' four in number, full of eyes, standing in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne of God (Rev $4^{6.7}$). From this description it is difficult to understand their exact position. But presumably the words are intended to convey the picture of the four 'living animals' upholding the throne, and facing outwards towards the four quarters of heaven, and the scene is derived from Ezekiel's vision.

Rabbinic theology regarded the cherubim as youthful angels, but also as those who were admitted into the special group of spirits attending the throne of God. The 'living creatures' support the throne at rest; the cherubim bear the glory of God as it passes through heaven (cf. Weber, *Altsynag. Palästt. Theolog.* 163, 164). There is a strange passage in the treatise Chagigah (13b, i. 25) which has reference to the cherubim, and the passages in Ezk 1 and 10. The passage concludes, 'What is the meaning of cherub? R. Abohu said, It is equivalent to a growing child. For so in Babylon a young child is called Rabya. R. Papa said to Abohu, But, as it is written, The first face was the face of the cherub, and the second face was the face of a man, and the third the face of a lion, and the fourth the face of an eagle, this shows that the face of a cherub is the same as the face of a man. There are large faces, and there are small faces' (see translation by Streane, pp. 73, 74).

iii. It remains to mention the various derivations which have been given of the word. (1) As has been mentioned above, it was derived from the Assyr. *kirubu*; but apparently considerable uncertainty hangs over this derivation. (2) Renouf (*PSBA*, 1884, p. 193) conjectured that it was derived from the Egyp. *xeref*. (3) Gesenius connected it with a Syr. word meaning 'strong.' (4) Others have suggested another Syr. word meaning 'to plough.' It is difficult to resist the impression that the word must have a common origin with *γρύψ*, 'griffin,' 'hippogriff.'

But, for the present, the etymology of the word must be considered doubtful. The explanations which were given of the name by the Fathers may be illustrated by the following.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 240: *ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν χερουβὶμ δηλοῦν αἴσθησιν πολλήν.*

Theodorus *ap.* Theodoret, *Quæst. in Gen.* iii.: *ἀλλὰ χερουβὶμ καλεῖ πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν· οὕτως λέγει, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ δυνατῶς βασιλεύων, καὶ, ἐπέβη ἐπὶ χερουβὶμ καὶ ἐπετάσθη, ἀντὶ τοῦ, μετὰ πολλῆς παρεγένετο τῆς δυνάμεως.*

Jerome, *Comm. in Is.* lib. iii. cap. vi.: In septuagesimo nono psalmo legimus: *Qui sedes super cherubim manifestare*; qui in nostra lingua interpretantur *scientiæ multitudo*. Unde et Dominus in aurigæ modum super cherubim aperte sedere ostenditur. . . . In cherubim ergo ostenditur Dominus; in seraphim ex parte ostenditur, ex parte celatur.

Augustine, *Enarrat. in Ps* 79^{2} [Eng. 80^{1}]: Qui sedes super cherubim. Cherubim sedes est gloriæ Dei, et interpretatur Plenitudo scientiæ. Ibi sedet Deus in plenitudine scientiæ. Licet intelligamus cherubim sublimes esse cœlorum potestates atque virtutes; tamen si vis, eris cherubim. Si enim Cherubim sedes est Dei, audi quid dicat Scriptura: Anima justi sedes est sapientiæ.

Didymus Alexandrin., *Expos. in Ps* 79 [Eng. 80]: *Καθήμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ ὁ κύριός ἐστιν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐζεκιὴλ παρίσταται. Ἐφέψεται δὲ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ζώοις οὖσιν, τετευχόσι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῆς προσούσης αὐτοῖς σοφίας. Πλῆθος γὰρ γνώσεως ἑρμηνεύεται τὰ χερουβίμ.*

These patristic explanations seem to go back to Philo's statement that the Greek meaning of 'cherubim' was 'much knowledge,' *ἃ πατρίᾳ μὲν γλώττῃ προσαγορεύεται χερουβίμ, ὡς δὲ ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν, ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή* (*Vit. Mos.* lib. iii. § 8; Mangey, ii. 150).

LITERATURE.—The subject is extensively discussed in the standard works on the Theology of the OT, by Oehler, Smend, Schultz, Dillmann; and on the Archæology, by Nowack and Benzinger. See also Cheyne's 'Excursus' in vol. ii. of his *Isaiah*, and his Notes on the word in *Com. on Psalms*.

H. E. RYLE.

CHESALON (כְּסָלוֹן).—Near Kiriath-jearim on the border of Judah, Jos 15[10]. Now the village *Kesla* on the hill N. of Kiriath-jearim. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet xvii. It is noticed in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Chasalon) as a large village in the Jerus. district. C. R. CONDER.

CHESED (כֶּשֶׂד).—One of the sons of Nahor and Milcah (Gn 22[22] J). He is obviously here introduced into the genealogy of the Terahites as the presumptive forefather of the Casdim (כַּשְׂדִּים) or Chaldæans. This probably represents a different tradition from that in P, where Ur of the Chaldees (*i.e.* Casdim) is spoken of as the dwelling-place of Terah (Gn 11), Nahor's father.

It is noticeable that the eldest of the brothers of Chesed is Uz, and that in Job 1 the Casdim (translated Chaldæans) are found invading the territory of Uz. Gn 22[21. 22] probably represent, in the terms of genealogy, the supposed kinship of allied clans who dwelt in Mesopotamia. The Heb. tradition gives the names of tribes identified with various localities on the borders of the plain of Mesopotamia. H. E. RYLE.

CHESIL (כְּסִיל), Jos 15[30].—The LXX reads Bethel, probably for Bethul, as in the parallel passage, Jos 19[4], and כְּסִיל of MT is prob. a textual error. (So *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade.)

CHEST.—**1.** In order to defray the cost of certain repairs of the temple, the priest Jehoiada placed in the court (our authorities are not agreed as to the exact location; cf. 2 K 12[9] (Heb. 10), 2 Ch 24[8], with LXX in each case) a chest (אָרוֹן), in the lid (Heb. door) of which a hole had been bored, for the reception of the offerings of the worshippers, as recorded 2 K 12[4ff.] (Heb. 3ff.) (LXX κιβωτός, Vulg. *gazophylacium*), and, with variations, 2 Ch 24[8ff.] (γλωσσόκομον, *arca*). The ark (of the covenant) is also invariably denoted by אָרוֹן, either alone or with qualifications (see ARK i.). So, too, the coffin in which Joseph's mummy was placed (Gn 50[26]). The feature common to all three is the rectangular shape; the first two certainly, the third most probably, were of wood. Γλωσσόκομον, used by the LXX translator of Chron. as a synonym of κιβωτός, is freq. employed by the later Gr. translators as the rendering of אָרוֹן in all the three applications given above, as by Aquila in Gn 50[26], where the so-called Targ. of Jonathan also renders גלוסקמא. Jos. further uses it (*Ant.* VI. i. 2) to denote the 'coffer' (EV, אַרְגָּז 1 S 6[8ff.]) or small chest in which the Phil. princes deposited the golden mice, while in NT it is applied to the cash-box of which Judas Iscariot had charge (Jn 12[6] 13[29]). In the temple of Herod, 13 chests stood in the court of the women, to receive the various kinds of money gifts, in shape resembling a trumpet (if the treatise Shekalîm vi. 5 may be trusted), wide at the bottom but gradually narrowing towards the top, hence called שׁוֹפָרוֹת. It was into one of these chests that the widow cast her slender offering (Mk 12[41], Lk 21[1]).

2. In AV and RV we find in Ezekiel's inventory (27[24]) of the merchandise of Tyre 'chests (גְּנָזִים) of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar.' But the sense 'chests' for this word is without sufficient support (see comm. of Cornill, Davidson, Smend), and the word rendered 'made of cedar' must mean 'strong, durable,' so that we should probably render 'cloths of cords twined and durable.' A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CHESTNUT TREE (עַרְמוֹן *'armôn*, πλάτανος, *platanus*). — *'Armôn* is mentioned twice in OT; once as one of the trees in which Jacob 'pilled white strakes' (Gn 30[37]), and set them before the flocks at the watering troughs, and again as one of the trees with which the cedar of Lebanon, symbolical of Assyria, is compared (Ezk 31[8]). The *chestnut tree*, which is the rendering of the Rabbis and of AV, is not indigenous in any part of Syria and Pal., and does not succeed in cultivation. It has probably never grown there except as an exotic. The *plane tree* of LXX, Vulg., and RV, *Platanus Orientalis*, L., on the contrary, grows everywhere by, and in, watercourses, and is one of the finest trees of the country. It has a trunk which is often 6 to 10 ft. in diameter, and 50 to 100 ft. high, spreading branches, and large palmate-lobed leaves. The monœcious flowers are in pendulous, spherical heads, the fertile becoming as large as a small walnut. The name *'armôn* signifies *naked*, and probably refers to the fact that the outer layers of bark scale off as in the *Eucalyptus globulus*, leaving a smooth surface. When peeled, it would leave a white streak. Plane trees grow in Mesopotamia. Chestnut trees do not. There can be no reasonable doubt that the *'armôn* is the plane tree. It is called in Arab. *dilb*. In Sir 24[14] wisdom is compared to a plane tree by the water. G. E. POST.

CHESULLOTH (כְּסֻלוֹת), Jos 19[18].—The same as Chisloth-tabor, Jos 19[12]. A place on the border of Zebulun. Now the ruin of *Iksâl* at the foot of the Nazareth hills, in the fertile plain W. of Tabor. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Chasalath) the site was known as near Tabor, but it was also wrongly identified with Achshaph (see *Onomasticon, s.v.* Acsaph and Achaseloth). The ruin is chiefly remarkable for a cemetery of tombs apparently mediæval. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet v.

C. R. CONDER.

CHETH or **ḤETH** (ח).—Eighth letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 8th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

CHEZIB, Gn 38[5].—See ACHZIB.

CHIDE.—To *chide* (past 'chode') is to wrangle; then to scold or sharply rebuke; so Ps 103[9] 'He will not always c.' (ריב). Cf. Ps 18[15], Pr. Bk. To *chide with* is to wrangle with one, have an altercation with one; so Gn 31[36] 'Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban,' Ex 17[2 *bis*] (RV 'strive'), Nu 20[3], Jg 8[1] (all ריב). **Chiding** as subst. occurs Ex 17[7] 'because of the c. of the children of Israel' (ריב, RV 'striving'). J. HASTINGS.

CHIDON (כִּידוֹן).—The name acc. to 1 Ch 13[9] of the threshing-floor where Uzzah was struck dead for rashly touching the ark (see UZZAH). In 2 S 6[6] the name is given as Nacon, which Budde considers to be a less probable reading. No locality has ever been identified with either name. The view has been advanced that C. is the name, not of a place, but of the proprietor of the threshing-floor, and attempts have been made to identify him with Araunah or Ornan the Jebusite. (See further Driver and Wellh. on 2 S 6[6].) R. M. BOYD.

CHIEF.—i. In old Eng. as in modern, 'chief' was both a subst. and an adj.; but in AV (though it is the tr. of some twenty Heb. words, all substs.) it is seldom if ever a substantive. The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes as a subst. the occurrence of 'c.' in Nu 3[30] and Ps 105[36]; but even these are not certain instances. If 'c.' were a subst. in Nu 3[30], then in 3[32] 'Eleazar shall be chief over the *chief* of the

Levites,' the plu. would be used, 'over the *chiefs*' (נְשִׂיאִים, RV 'princes'), there being no example of the sing. used for the plural. It is prob. that 'c.' is an adj. with 'men' understood. In Ps 105[36] 'He smote also all the firstborn in the land, the c. of all their strength,' the Heb. (רֵאשִׁית, lit. 'beginning,' the common word for 'first-fruits') is the same as in Am 6[1] 'c. of the nations' and 6[6] 'the c. ointments,' where the word is clearly an adj. in the one case, and probably in the other. Cf. Lk 11[15] 'the c. of the devils' (ἄρχων, RV 'prince'), with 14[1] 'one of the c. Pharisees' (ἄρχων, RV 'one of the rulers of the P.'). Hence when RV gives 'chiefs' for AV 'chief,' as 'the chiefs of the Levites' 2 Ch 35[9], 'the chiefs of the priests' 36[14], Ezr 8[24. 29a] 10[5], it introduces a plu. not found in AV, and a word of doubtful application.

ii. 'Chief' is given as tr. of **1.** *ro'sh*, 'head,' esp. in the phrase 'c. of the fathers' (RV 'heads of the fathers' *houses*'), on which see Ryle on Ezr 1[5] and art. FAMILY. In Ezk 38[2. 3] 39[1] *ro'sh* is taken by RV as a proper name, Rosh (wh. see). **2.** *Kôhên*, 'priest,' referring to David's sons (2 S 8[18]) and to Ira the Jairite (20[26]), is mistranslated 'c. ruler' (RV 'priest'), after the gloss of the Chronicler (1 Ch 18[17]). See Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, on 2 S 8[18] and art. PRIESTS. **3.** In Pr 16[28] *'allûph* (אַלּוּף, fr. [אלף] *cleave to*) is tr. 'chief friends,' evidently from a recollection that *'allûph* also means 'duke' of Edom throughout Gn 36, and in Ex 15[15], 1 Ch 1[51. 52. 53. 54]; and in Zec 12[5. 6] 'governor' (RV 'chieftain'). But in the latter sense *'allûph* is best taken from *'eleph* (אֶלֶף), 'a thousand,' that is, 'leader of a thousand,' 'chiliarch.' Dr. Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict.*) thinks this passage in Pr (16[28] 'a whisperer separateth c. friends') has suggested the Scot. 'chief'=intimate, as 'They're very c. wi' ane anither.' **4.** In Is 14[9] '[Hell] stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the c. ones of the earth,' the Heb. for 'c. ones' is *'attûdîm* (עַתּוּדִים), lit. 'he-goats,' here as the *leaders* of the flock; Cheyne (after Kay), 'bell-wethers.' See Cheyne *in loc.*, and cf. Zec 10[3].

iii. In NT 'chief' renders ἄρχων (Lk 11[15] RV 'prince,' 14[1] RV 'ruler'); ἡγούμενοι, *leaders* (Ac 15[22]); and πρῶτος, *first* frequently. In Ac 16[12] 'Philippi, which is the c. city of that part of Macedonia,' chief city=capital, metropolis (cf. 1 Ti *subscr.*); but it is a mistrans., for Amphipolis was the c. city of that part of M., Thessalonica being the c. city of the whole province. Here πρῶτος must mean 'first,' that is, first to be reached in the direction St. Paul came: RV 'a city of M., the first of the district.' For **Chief Priest** see PRIEST; and for '**Chief of Asia**,' Ac 19[31] 'certain of the c. of Asia' ('Ασιάρχης, RV 'chief officers of Asia,' RVm 'Asiarchs'), see ASIARCH.

iv. When c. lost its obsol. sense of supreme, and was weakened into 'leading' (cf. Am 6[6] 'anoint themselves with the chief ointments'=choice), comparison became possible. 'Chiefer' is not found in AV, but 'chiefest' occurs 1 S 2[29] 9[22] 21[7], 2 Ch 32[33], Ca 5[10], 2 Mac 13[15], Mk 10[44], 2 Co 11[5] 12[11] (both 'very chiefest,' Gr. ὑπερλίαν), 1 Ti *subscr.*

J. HASTINGS.

CHILD, CHILDREN (יֶלֶד, בֵּן).—The Heb. language has a rich variety of words adapted to the different stages by which infancy passes into manhood and womanhood. This wealth of description indicates the importance of what is described. No word in the Bible contains so much of God's goodness and human happiness as is found wrapped up in the word 'child.' Most of these associations are common to the human family everywhere and in all ages; some are Oriental, a few are special to Israel. (See BIRTHRIGHT, CIRCUMCISION, REDEMPTION.)

1. *Children as gifts of God and tokens of divine favour.*—The desire to possess children has always been a marked feature of Oriental life. Rachel spoke as the mother of her people when she cried, 'Give me children, or else I die' (Gn 30[1]). This desire gives their chief value to the tombs of saints and the superstitious shrines of modern Syria. The petition always carries with it a vow to do or give something in honour of the saint appealed to. In the same way, but with a wiser devotion, Hannah went to the tabernacle of God, and afterwards named her child Samuel ('God hath heard'), and surrendered him to the Lord's service (1 S 1[11. 20]). To this devout recognition is due the fact that while many names, such as Isaac, Manasseh, Moses, Ichabod, were suggested by some incident or anxiety of the hour, and names of females were often taken from objects of beauty in nature, such as Deborah, Esther, Rhoda, many others contained the name of God, or an attribute of God, as Elimelech, Athaliah, etc. So among the Arabs we have Shikri ('my gratitude'), Saladin (*ṣalâḥ-ed-dîn* 'virtue of religion'), 'Abd-ul-Hamid ('servant of the Blessed'), Na'amat-Ullah ('grace of God'). For the same reason, Oriental feeling is rather against the observance of birthdays, as it seems to turn the sense of favour into an occasion of feasting. In a life so full of uncertainties, it has always seemed safer to be humbly thankful for a gift than to appear elated by a possession. Nothing is more dreaded or disliked by an Oriental parent than to have a child's healthy or beautiful appearance commented upon without thanks being expressed to God in the same breath. The mention of the divine name is understood to avert the curse of the evil eye. Children are 'the heritage of the Lord' (Ps 127[3]), and in Arabic salutation they are referred to as 'the guarded ones.'

2. *Parental and filial affection.*—Child-life has always been the great emblem of what appeals to human affection and responds to it. With the young, love, that in the ordinary lives of men is often the hireling of selfish interests, is always a free and independent instinct. The child's natural assurance that it must be so with all, appears amid sordid commonplaces and surrendered ideals as a remembrancer of Eden, and a type of what the kingdom of God is meant to be (Mt 18[2] 19[14]). The Bible is throughout a book for the families of men, and finds the fulfilment of all its teaching in the life of the Sinless Man. Its references, especially to child-life, are so simple and realistic that in reading them one forgets the antiquity of the narrative. The Land is here in very close affinity with the Book, for the strength of the family affections is the brightest feature of Oriental life. The infant in the ark of bulrushes cries like a child of to-day on beholding the strange face of his deliverer (Ex 2[6]). Again, in 2 K 4[19] we have a child's repeated cry of pain, the instinctive appeal to the father, and the resource of a mother's comforting and care. Isaiah takes note of the first words a child learns to lisp (Is 8[4]), and Naaman's flesh becomes 'like the flesh of a little child' (2 K 5[14]). Solomon reveals his own wisdom in revealing the strain that could be put upon the love even of a degraded mother. David cries over his rebellious yet still beloved son, 'Would God that I had died for thee!' (2 S 18[33]). The cruelty to their infants was one of the experiences that made it impossible for the captives to forget Jerusalem (Ps 137[9]). Such an experience was in its turn the worst thing that could happen to the oppressors of Israel (Nah 3[10]). The transmission of suffering to the innocent of the third and fourth generations was one of the mightiest intimidations of the moral law (Ex 34[7]). Hagar could not bear to sit alone and watch the last unconscious movements of her dying child (Gn 21[16]). 'When my children were

about me' (Job 29[5]), was a touching summary of vanished happiness. Amos, seeking to picture the day of ruin that Israel was precipitating by wholesale corruption, could find nothing more expressive of all that was bleak and bitter and unbearable than 'the mourning of an only son' (Am 8[10]).

It was in such a prepared cradle of family experience, with its tenderest ties of affection, and folds of life's sweetness and sorrow, that the gospel of the unexpected and unspeakable gift was laid. 'He gave his only-begotten Son' (Jn 3[16]); 'He spared not his own Son' (Ro 8[32]).

3. *The importance of the parental position.*—Mingled with the natural affection of parents towards their children, was the fact that their possession meant increase of dignity, influence, and wealth. This is shown in the preference for male children. In the home-circle, daughters might be as affectionate and as much beloved as sons, but in the expansion and continuance of the family name, in the holding of property, the acquisition of wealth, and generally with regard to worldly prosperity, sons and not daughters were the precious gifts of God. The former especially were the olive-shoots springing up from the roots of the parent stem (Ps 128[3]). Hence the forfeiture and reproach connected with childlessness, and the rejoicing over a man-child born into the world. In Syria the paternal position is so important that the father usually ceases to be called by his own name, and receives that of his firstborn son, as Abu-Yuseph ('father of Joseph'). If a middle-aged man has no son, courtesy often gives him a fictitious paternity, and styles him Abu-'Abdullah ('father of 'Abdullah'). The son might also be known by the father's name as a sort of surname. Thus David's full name was David Jesse, or ben-Jesse ('son of Jesse'). It was quite unusual for the son to receive in circumcision the name of the father until late in Israel's history (see Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 2 ff.). The father was still alive, and needed as yet no memorial, but a son often received the name of a grand-parent, to keep alive the name of the departed, and with the name to inherit his gifts and graces of character. The later custom appears in Lk 1[59] 'They would have called him Zacharias, after the name of his father.' The authority of the parents over their children, and over all arrangements for their welfare, was complete and far-reaching. One of the commandments was devoted to this relationship, and one of the death-penalties of the law of Moses was to meet the case of filial disobedience (Dt 21[20]). Hence the solemnity of the charge against Israel (Is 1[2]), and the deep meaning of the confession, 'I am no more worthy to be called thy son' (Lk 15[19]).

4. *Heredity.*—Given a life with little change in its outward conditions, and with a law that controlled every detail of life, it followed that time would be an intensifier of the parental features. Among the Arabs the epithet 'dog' has for its climax 'son of a dog.' As one of their proverbs states the problem, 'If the father be onion and the mother garlic, how can there be sweet perfume?' When Saul asked the young slayer of Goliath, 'Whose son art thou, young man?' (1 S 17[58]), the question would not only reveal the family of David, but also account in part for the courage he had shown. Hence the incriminations, 'Ye are the children of them that killed the prophets' (Mt 23[31]); 'If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham' (Jn 8[39]); and the defence, 'How can Satan cast out Satan?' (Mk 3[23]). So Ezk 18[2], Ac 13[10] etc.

5. *Spiritual sense of father, son, brother.*—The use of the word *son* in a fig. sense carries the three chief meanings of the literal use, namely, (1) affection, (2) obedience, (3) likeness. By these significations we must interpret 'sons of the Highest,' 'children of belial,' 'son of peace—perdition—disobedience—the commandment.' The new creature born of the Spirit receives new preferences and powers for the new life in Christ Jesus. St. Paul speaks of Timothy and Onesimus as his children; and St. John finds his chief delight in the fact that *his children* walk in the truth. The Lord's Prayer is an assemblage of all that the children should be and do and expect in order to please their Father in heaven. In the prohibition, 'call no man your father upon the earth' (Mt 23[9]), the allusion was most likely to a formality of ecclesiastical homage, like the salutation 'Rabbi' of v.[8]. Among the Syrian Christians it is customary to salute the priest as *Abûna* ('our father').

In the East the family is always reckoned from the standpoint of the chief or oldest representative. Those whom he calls children are brethren. Thus the women of Bethlehem said, 'There is a child born *to Naomi*' (Ru 4[17]). This custom gave a vital and affectionate largeness of meaning to the word 'brother.' When Christians seek to realise the brotherhood that belongs to the society of the redeemed, the most effective way is found to be a return to Bible thought and Oriental custom, namely, united service to the Head of the family, devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. See also FAMILY; and for **Children of God** see GOD, CHILDREN OF.

G. M. MACKIE.

CHILEAB (כִּלְאָב).—The second son of David by Abigail, the wife of Nabal the Carmelite (2 S 3[3]). In 1 Ch 3[1] he is called **Daniel**, while the LXX in Sam. has Δαλουιά, which is also given by A in 1 Ch; but B reads Δαμνιήλ. Wellh. considers that כִּלְאָב is only a variant for כִּלּוֹב, a bye-form of כָּלֵב, and therefore not unsuitable for a descendant of the house of Caleb. A comparison of the Heb. text, in which the last three letters of Chileab are repeated in the following word, favours the reading of the LXX, which would correspond to the Heb. דְּלָיָה or דְּלָיָהוּ (Delaiah), cf. 1 Ch 3[24] 24[18], Ezr 2[60] = Neh 7[62], Neh 6[10], Jer 36[12. 25].

J. F. STENNING.

CHILION and **Mahlon** were the two sons of Elimelech and Naomi, Ephrathites of Bethlehem-judah, who migrated as a family into the country of Moab in consequence of a famine 'in the days when the judges judged' (Ru 1[1. 2]). They married women of the Moabites, Mahlon marrying Ruth and Chilion Orpah (Ru 4[10]), and after a sojourn of ten years in Moabite territory died there. (Chilion = כִּלְיוֹן 'wasting away' = Κελαιών, Χελαιών, LXX B. Mahlon = מַחְלוֹן 'sickly' = Μααλών, LXX, *Mahalon*, Vulg., as if the Heb. was originally read מַחֲלוֹן to connect the name with the hiph. ptcp. of חָלָה.) Neither of these names occurs elsewhere in the Bible. Jesse is called an Ephrathite of Bethlehem-judah in 1 S 17[12]. The two names occur in varying order in Ru 1[2] and 4[9], so that no conclusion can be drawn as to which was the elder. The Targ. on 1 Ch 4[22] connects them with the Joash and Saraph of that passage.

H. A. REDPATH.

CHILMAD (כַּלְמַד) occurs in Ezk 27[23] at the close of the list of nations that traded with Tyre. The name has been thought to be the Aram. form of Charmande, a town on the Euphrates mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* ii. 5. 10). George Smith identified Chilmad with the modern Kalwâdha near Baghdad. The LXX reads Χαρμάν, which is perhaps the prov. of Carmania in S. Persia. None of these conjectures has much probability. After Asshur (which there is no reason to suppose means anything else than Assyria) we should certainly expect a country rather than a town, and at the end of the list an important and well-known

country. The Targ. seems to have read כל־מדי ('all Media'). But the best suggestion, after all, is perhaps that of Joseph Kimchi (adopted by Hitzig and Cornill), who reads the word פָּלְחוּ, explaining: '[Asshur etc. were] as those accustomed to come to thee with their merchandise.' It is to be noted that the Heb. has no 'and' before Chilmad. The whole verse, however, shows traces of textual derangement. J. SKINNER.

CHIMHAM (כִּמְהָם, כִּמְהָן).—Probably the son (cf. 1 K 2[7]) of Barzillai the Gileadite, who returned with David from beyond Jordan to Jerus. after the death of Absalom (2 S 19[31ff.]). Acc. to Jer 41[17] (*Kerê* כִּמְהָם), C. would seem to have erected a caravanserai near Bethlehem for the benefit of those travelling from Jerus. to Egypt; others suppose that the inn was named after him as the owner of the land, and infer that C. received some land near Bethlehem from David. See BARZILLAI. J. F. STENNING.

CHIMNEY.—In Hos 13[3] 'as the smoke out of the c.,' the Heb. is *'ărubbah* (אֲרֻבָּה), a *lattice*, hence a latticed opening in a room whence the smoke escapes. But in 2 Es 6[4] [all] 'c.' is the tr. of Lat. *caminus*, the very word from which c. comes; and the meaning is not the flue or vent, but the fireplace or oven, 'or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot' (RV, after Syr., 'or ever the footstool of Sion was established'). This is the oldest meaning of the word in Eng., and is found as late as Goldsmith. Cf. Milton, *L'Allegro*, 111—

> 'Then lies him down the lubbar fiend,
> And, stretch'd out all the chimney's length,
> Basks at the fire his hairy strength.'

And Goldsmith, *Deserted Village*, 235—

> 'While broken tea-cups, wisely kept for shew,
> Ranged o'er the chimney, glistened in a row.'

J. HASTINGS.

CHINNERETH (כִּנֶּרֶת).—A city (Dt 3[17], Jos 11[2], in latter spelt **Chinneroth**, 19[35]) which gave its name to the **Sea of Chinnereth** (Nu 34[11], Jos 12[3] 13[27]), the OT designation of the Sea of Galilee. The site of the town is uncertain, but it follows Rakkath (probably Tiberias), and may have been in the plain of Gennesaret (cf. 1 K 15[20]).

C. R. CONDER.

CHIOS (ἡ Χίος) was a large island which formed part of the province of Asia, situated in the Ægean Sea off the Ionian coast, still called Scio (according to the Italian form), about 32 miles long from N. to S., and in breadth varying from 18 to 8 miles. It is separated from the mainland by a channel of varying width, which at its narrowest (about 5 miles across) is blocked by a group of small islands. The ship in which St. Paul sailed from Troas to Patara (on his way to Jerus.) passed through this channel as it sailed S. from Mitylene; and it anchored for a night on the Asian coast opposite the island, and thence struck across the open sea S. to Samos (Ac 20[15]). The voyage of Herod by Rhodes, Cos, Chios, and Mitylene, towards the Black Sea, described by Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ii. 2, affords an interesting comparison with that of St. Paul. The channel is very picturesque. The chief city of the island, bearing the same name, is situated on its E. coast, towards the S. end, probably facing the point where St. Paul's ship lay at anchor. The island is rocky (esp. in the broader N. part) and unproductive, except that it was famous for its wine, and its gum mastic has been a source of trade and profit both in ancient and in modern times. It was one of the seven places that claimed to be the birthplace of Homer; and a much stronger body of tradition speaks in favour of it than for any of the other claimants. Like Cnidus, Cos, Cyzicus, Ilium, Samos, Smyrna, Mitylene, and many other cities of the province Asia, C. had the rank of a free city, which implied merely that in certain respects it was administered according to native law, while other Asian cities were administered according to Rom. law. W. M. RAMSAY.

CHISLEV, AV Chisleu (כִּסְלֵו, Χασεηλού B, Χασεηλού A, Neh 1[1], Χασελεύ Zec 7[1]). See TIME.

CHISLON (כִּסְלוֹן 'strength,' Χασλών).—Father of Elidad, Benjamin's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34[21] P).

CHISLOTH-TABOR, Jos 19[12].—See CHESULLOTH.

CHITHLISH (כִּתְלִישׁ), Jos 15[40], in AV Kithlish.—A town in the Shephelah of Judah. The site is unknown.

CHITTIM (1 Mac 1[1] 8[5]) for KITTIM.

CHIUN.—Notwithstanding the fact that both Luther and our AV have this word, it has continued, even to our own time, to be an open question among English and German scholars whether כִּיּוּן is a common or a proper noun. If it were the former, it would signify the litter or pedestal on which the image of a deity was carried in ceremonial processions [see illustrations in Perrot and Chipiez's *Chaldæa and Assyria*, i. 75, ii. 90]. Ewald maintained this view: 'כִּיּוּן, *gestelle*, von הֵכִין *stellen* mit dem ' als zweitem Wurzellaute.' W. R. Smith, too, held that a 'pedestal' was meant (*Prophets of Israel*, p. 400). The balance of opinion, however, preponderates in the other direction. *Chiun* is obviously parallel to *Sicuth* (RV), or rather *Saccuth* (Assyr. *Sak-kut*): if the one is the name of a deity, so is the other. Moreover, it would be very strange if the prophet spoke of the litter rather than of the god carried on it. Ka-ai-va-nu (Schrader, *KAT* p. 443;* cf. *SK* 1874, p. 327) is the Assyr. name of the planet and planetary deity Saturn, who was credited with malignant influences. In Arab. and Persian, Saturn is called by the same name. Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, p. 26, speaking of the immigration of Phœnician gods into the Egyptian pantheon, says that this deity found his way there under the name *Ken*. The appositional phrase, 'your star-god,' falls in perfectly with this interpretation. The evidence of the VSS is discordant. Aq. and Sym. have χιοῦν [Jer. says *chion*]. The LXX Ῥαιφάν, a corruption of Καιφάν. The Targ. and Pesh. reproduce the Heb. The Arab. has Raphāna; Vulg. *imaginem*.

With regard to the *sense* of the only passage, Am 5[26], where this deity is spoken of, there can be no doubt that it is a threat: 'But ye shall take up Sakkuth your king, and Kaivân [or Kêvân] your star-god, your images which ye have made for yourselves, and I will cause you to go into exile.' Wellhausen, *Die Kl. Proph.* p. 83, argues that this threat must be a later addition, seeing that the Israelites of Amos' day were not chargeable with the worship of Assyr. gods. The *form* of the word has struck many students as anomalous. An ingenious explanation has recently been advanced. After adverting to the fact that its vocalisation is the same as that of *Sicuth* [סִכּוּת, כִּיּוּן], Dr. C. C. Torrey says: 'It seems to me pretty certain that for the form of these two names in our present text we are indebted to the misplaced wit or zeal of the Massoretes. It is the familiar trick of fitting the pointing of one word to the consonant skeleton

* Schrader, in the above-cited passage, states that Sakkut is another name for Adar or Adrammelech, and that as *A-tar*= Father of Fate, so Sak-kut=Head of Decision, both words being of Accadian-Sumerian origin.

of another, as in עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, מֹלֶךְ, אֹפֶת, and so on. In this case the pointing is taken from the word שִׁקּוּץ *shiqqûẓ*, "abomination."' J. TAYLOR.

CHLOE (Χλόη), mentioned only in 1 Co 1[11].—St. Paul had been informed of the (σχίσματα) dissensions at Corinth ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης, *i.e.* prob. by some of her Christian slaves. Chloe herself may have been either a Christian or a heathen, and may have lived either at Corinth or at Ephesus. In favour of the latter is St. Paul's usual tact, which would not suggest the invidious mention of his informants' names, if they were members of the Corinthian Church. A. ROBERTSON.

CHOBA (Χωβά), Jth 4[4]. **Chobai** (Χωβαΐ), Jth 15[4. 5]; noticed with Damascus.—Perhaps the land of Hobah.

CHOKE.—Death by drowning is not now described as 'choking'; so in Mk 5[13] 'the herd . . . were choked in the sea,' Amer. RV changes 'choked' into 'drowned'; but RV retains, to preserve uniformity in tr. of πνίγω. 'Choking' occurs Sir 51[4] 'from the c. of fire' (ἀπὸ πνιγμοῦ πυρός). J. HASTINGS.

CHOLA (Χωλά).—An unknown locality mentioned in Jth 15[4].

CHOLER (Gr. χολέρα, Lat. *cholera*), *bile*, is used in Sir 31[20] 37[30] in the sense of a disease, 'perhaps cholera, diarrhœa'—*Oxf. Eng. Dict.* (χολέρα, RV 'colic'); and in Dn 8[7] 11[11] in the sense of bitter anger (קֶצֶף). Both meanings are old, and belonged indeed to the Lat. *cholera* as early as the 3rd and 4th cent. J. HASTINGS.

CHORAZIN (TR Mt 11[21] Χοραζίν, Lk 10[13] Χωραζίν; TTrWH always Χοραζείν).—A town situated at the N. end of the Sea of Galilee on the W. of the Jordan. The meaning of the name is uncertain. It was a 'city' (πόλις), and therefore possessed a synagogue. Our Lord laboured in it, as is shown by His mention of it in Mt 11[21], Lk 10[13]. It is not mentioned in Josephus, but the Jews long after the time of Christ praised the superior quality of its wheat (*Bab. Tal.* 'Menahoth' 85 A). Jerome (*c.* A.D. 400) locates it at two miles from Capernaum, but says that it was deserted. Beyond these meagre notices the place has no history. Thomson (1857) found a ruin called *Kerazeh*, which from its location and the correspondence of names he thought was the site of Chorazin. Wilson (1866) examined and described the remains at this place, and confirms the identification of Thomson. This view is now generally accepted. The ruins are of some importance, the entire stonework, walls, columns, and ornamentation being composed of black basalt rock. A short paved road ran from the town to the great caravan road leading past the Sea of Galilee to Damascus. S. MERRILL.

CHORBE (Χορβέ, AV **Corbe**), 1 Es 5[12]=ZACCAI, Ezr 2[9], Neh 7[14].

CHOSAMÆUS.—In 1 Es 9[32] Σίμων Χοσαμαῖος A, or Χοσάμαος B, takes the place of יְעֻתַי, the reading of the parallel passage Ezr 10[31] (see SIMEON, No. 2). It is not improbable that the Gr. reading is due to a copyist's error, especially seeing that the three proper names that follow Simeon in the text of Ezra are omitted in 1 Es. J. A. SELBIE.

CHRIST.—See JESUS CHRIST, and MESSIAH.

CHRISTIAN (Χριστιανός, Ac 11[26] 26[28], 1 P 4[16]).—The name borne by the 'followers of Christ' in all ages and countries from NT times.

I. *Place and date of origin.*—According to the account in Ac 11[26] the first to have the name applied to them were the members of the church at Antioch. This fact is especially mentioned by the author of the Acts in a manner which shows that he attached great significance to it. The evangelising work in the city of Antioch was being carried out by men of Cyprus and Cyrene (*i.e.* by Hellenists), and though perhaps not directed to Gentiles who had no previous connexion with the synagogue (for we can scarcely substitute Ἕλληνας for Ἑλληνιστάς in face of the MS evidence; see Westcott and Hort, *N.T. in Greek*, Introd. *ad loc.*), yet on more liberal lines than hitherto. In Antioch, too, was established the first considerable church outside Palestine. The mother-church of Jerus. was not slow to recognise the importance of these events. Barnabas was sent to guide and control the new community, and the result of a year's work in co-operation with his chosen partner, Saul, was that they 'taught a great multitude, and the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.' We cannot fix exactly the date of this 'whole year' (v.[26]), but it is certainly before the Herodian persecution of 44, and, to judge from the expressions of v.[27] 12[1] (ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν), not very long before it; perhaps between 40–44, which leaves room for the possibility that the words ἥτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius,' in v.[28] *may* imply that Agabus' prophecy was uttered in the reign of Caligula.

The objections made to the statement of Ac 11[26] are based ultimately upon the theory which discredits the authority of that book as a comparatively late document. If we regard the Acts as the work of St. Luke, the account it gives of the origin of the name 'Christian' is invested with the authority of contemporary evidence, which cannot lightly be set aside on account of apparent difficulties. The objections which have been raised on the score of these difficulties may be gathered under three heads. (*a*) Baur (*Paul, His Life and Work*, i. 94, footnote, Eng. tr. 1873) says that the termination is Latin, and seems to think that the name arose in Rome. The termination *-ianus* was used in Latin during the time of the civil wars to denote 'followers of' (*e.g.* 'Cæsariani,' *Hist. Bell. Afr.* 13; 'Pompeiani,' Cæsar, *Bell. Civil*, iii. 44 *et pass.*), and acquired this meaning from the adjectival sense 'belonging to,' which the form already possessed, although it was very seldom used, *e.g.* Tamphiliana domus (from 'Tamphilus'), Nep. *Att.* xiii. 2; Cæsarianum bellum, *ib.* vii. 1; Catoniana familia, Cic. *ad Q. Frat.* iv. vi. 5; Miloniana tempora, Balbus ap. Cic. *E. a. Att.* ix. 7, B 2. The adoptive names in *-ianus* are not parallel because the 'i' in these cases belongs to the stem of the gentile name, *e.g.* Æmilianus, Æmilius. So far, then, Baur was justified. The termination *-ianus* was common in Latin of this period. But as names like Cæsariani, Pompeiani, etc., were known and used throughout the whole Rom. Empire, it seems to have become the fashion in Greek-speaking countries also to form other words on the same analogy. Thus (omitting 'Herodiani,' which may have originated in Roman official circles) we find names such as those mentioned in Hegesippus (ap Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 22), Σιμωνιανοί, Καρποκρατιανοί, Οὐαλεντινιανοί, Βασιλειδιανοί, Σατορνιλιανοί. The theory that this *-ιανος* is a native 'Asiatic type' of termination is not borne out by the instances quoted, in which either the 'i' belongs to the stem, *e.g.* Ἀσιανός (Ἀσία) Σαρδιανός (Σάρδεις), or the words are late enough to have been copied from the Latin termination. But the instances quoted above show that, whether derived from the Latin or not, the termination became common enough in Greek, and therefore there is no necessity to ascribe to the name Χριστιανός a Roman origin.

(*b*) Hausrath (*N.T. Times: Apostles*, ii. pp. 211, 212, Eng. tr. 1895) objects to Ac 11[26] that we find no trace of the word 'Christian' in contemporary literature until the time of Trajan. But until the Neronian persecution the sect can scarcely have attracted much attention in the Roman literary class, and from the year 64 to the time of Trajan the extant literature is extremely scanty, and so in both cases we are not justified in arguing *ex silentio*. On the other hand, however, passages in Tacitus and Suetonius furnish us with an indirect argument that the name was known and used in Rome in the year 64. Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44) says, 'quos . . . vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus,' etc. The imperfect 'appellabat' is significant when we remember that Tacitus was probably living in Rome in 64, and an eye-witness of the Neronian persecution. It is quite probable that he is recording a circumstance which he remembered in connexion with these events, viz. that the word 'Christiani' was in everybody's mouth, and he somewhat naturally believed Christ Himself to have been the author (auctor) of the name. Suetonius, writing only a year or two later than Tacitus, also introduces the name 'Christiani' into his reference to this persecution (*Nero*, 16,

'afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ'). Some have found additional evidence for an early use of the name in the supposed occurrence of the word in an inscription at Pompeii, *i.e.* dating before A.D. 79. But this inscription (*CIL* iv. 679), which is merely a few lines scribbled upon a wall, cannot be deciphered with any certainty. The letters -RISTIANI are fairly plain, and before the R are two faint perpendicular strokes, probably II (= E). If they are meant for H the horizontal stroke has quite disappeared. The drift of the whole inscription is as uncertain as the reading of this word. See V. Schulze in *ZKG* iv. 125 ff.; Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengesch. Roms*,[6] iii. 645, n. 3; C. F. Arnold, *Neron. Christenverfolg.* p. 54.

Equally indecisive is the mention of the name in Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 3), εἰσέτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον. This section is deservedly suspected by the great bulk of modern scholars to be entirely or partly a later forgery. The latest editor, Niese (*Flavii Josephi Opera*, Berlin, 1892, Introd. to vol. iii.), rejects the whole section as an interpolation. Others (*e.g.* G. A. Müller, *Christus bei F. Josephus*) incline to accept a substratum of authentic matter. The passage is not found at all until it occurs in a quotation by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 11; *Dem. Evang.* iii. 5), since whose time the whole is repeated (excepting quite unimportant divergences) in all MSS and other evidence for the text of this part of Josephus' works. (Besides the books referred to above, see also on this subject C. Arnold, *XXX Epistolæ de F. Josephi testimonio quod Jesu Christo tribuit*, 1661; C. Daubuz, *Pro testimonio F. Josephi de Jesu Christo*, 1706; F. H. Schœdel, *F. Jos. de Jesu Christo testatus*, 1840; Gieseler, *Lehrb. d. Kirchengesch.* 1824, i. 65; Langen, *Th. Quartalschrift*, 1865, 1; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 143 ff.).

(*c*) R. A. Lipsius urges the silence of St. Paul's Epistles, and indeed of the whole body of the earliest Christian literature. He regards the Asiatic origin of the name as probable, but is not inclined to date it earlier than the last decade of the 1st cent. But even if we set aside, as he does, the evidence of Acts and 1 Peter, this silence explains itself from the fact that the name arose in non-Christian circles, and was for some time confined to them.

II. *By whom was the name invented?*—Here we are left without direct evidence. The χρηματίσαι (EV 'were called') of Ac 11[26] might be used indifferently of a name adopted by oneself, or given by others (see Thayer, *NT Lex. s.v.*). But there are certain hints which furnish some clues.

(*a*) The Christians do not seem to have used it of themselves, at any rate within the apostolic period. They called themselves 'the brethren' (οἱ ἀδελφοί, Ac 14[2] 15[13], Ro 16[14] etc.), 'the disciples' (οἱ μαθηταί, Ac 11[26] 13[52] 20[30]), 'the saints' (οἱ ἅγιοι, Ro 16[15], 1 Co 16[1], Eph 1[18] etc.), 'the faithful' (οἱ πιστοί, Ac 10[45], 1 Ti 4[3. 12]), 'the elect' (οἱ ἐκλεκτοί, Mt 24[22], Mk 13[22], 2 Ti 2[10], 1 P 1[1]), 'the way' (ἡ ὁδός, Ac 9[2] 19[9. 23] 24[22]), but never 'Christians.' In the only passage in which this is apparently not true (1 P 4[16]), 'as a Christian' is parallel with 'as a thief,' 'as a murderer,' which shows that the writer is speaking for the moment from the point of view of the heathen persecutor. St. Paul (Ac 26[29]) seems even to avoid using the name 'Christian,' which Agrippa had employed, and to substitute for it the periphrasis τοιοῦτος οἷοίος καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι. It is not probable, then, that we must look to Christians themselves for the invention of this title.

(*b*) Nor is it much more probable that the Jews invented it. The only direct name by which they call the Christians in NT is that of Ναζωραῖοι, 'Nazarenes' (Ac 24[5]). Elsewhere they speak of them as ἡ αἵρεσις αὕτη, 'this sect' (*ib.* 28[22]; cf. 24[14]). On one occasion, indeed, we find the word in the mouth of the Jewish king Agrippa (Ac 26[28]). But Agrippa had spent a great part of his life in Rom. circles, and was speaking on this occasion at Cæsarea before a Rom. audience. It is too much then to infer from this passage that the word 'Christian' was in use among the Jews. On the other hand, there is a strong *à priori* improbability that the Jews, even in irony, would call the new sect 'followers of the Messiah, the Anointed One' (ὁ Χριστός).

(*c*) More probably it is to the heathen populace of Antioch that we must look for the origin of the name. It was amongst the populace ('vulgus,' in *loc. cit.*) that Tacitus' attention was drawn to the word in Rome. It was (next to the Jews) the heathen populace whose notice was first attracted by the Christians. And their notice was attracted to them as the preachers of one Christos. This name was always on their lips. It was the name in which they were baptized (Ac 2[38] 8[16] 10[48], Ja 2[7] *). It is not surprising, then, that the Antiochenes, hearing that this Christos had been alive not more than fifteen years before, should call his followers the Χριστιανοί. We must, however, leave room for the possibility that the word may have originated in the Latin-speaking suite of the *legatus*, *i.e.* in the official class, though not necessarily as an official name. Though we hear of nothing which would bring the Christians prominently before this class in Antioch, as happened in other towns, yet, in our complete ignorance of the relations between the Christians and this official class in Antioch at the time, this might easily be the case without our knowing anything of it.

III. *Early spread of the name.*—We must be on our guard against overestimating the attention which the Christian body attracted in Antioch at the time when the name was invented. The ὄχλος ἱκανός, 'much people,' of Ac 11[26] might be almost unnoticeable in so large a metropolis as Antioch, and the arrival of another new teaching would easily escape observation in a great centre of thought, where all the religions of the world jostled with one another. St. Luke, writing at a time when the name had become famous, assigns to its origin an importance reflected from its later history. He is writing also from within the Christian circle, to which the name would be familiar long before its application became general. But though confined, it may be, in its beginnings to that quarter of the city where the Christians had settled, it must have spread very quickly beyond Antioch to all parts of the empire whither Christianity had made its way. Less than twenty years after its birth we hear it mentioned in the Rom. official circle at Cæsarea as a familiar word, whose signification was too well known for it to need introduction or explanation (Ac 26[28]). A year or two later it is in common use among the populace of Rome (Tac. *loc. cit.*), and not far from the same date St. Luke indirectly implies that the name has become famous (11[26]). St Peter, writing probably between 64–67 from Rome to the Christian communities in Asia Minor (1 P 5[13] 1[1]), assumes that it is quite well known over all that district (*ib.* 4[16]). From the correspondence between the younger Pliny and the emperor Trajan in 112–113 we find that it is by that time equally familiar to members of the official bodies in Rome and Bithynia. Finally, in the Ignatian Epp., written in the first or at the beg. of the second decade of the 2nd cent., we find for the first time that the Christians have accepted the name and use it amongst themselves (*e.g. Eph.* 11[14], *Rom.* 3, *Polycarp* 7).

IV. *Significance of the name.*—St. Luke evidently wishes to connect the origin of the name with the final departure of Christianity from merely Jewish ideals and the dawning consciousness of this fact in the Gentile mind. It is then fair to ask, 'What were the distinctive marks of the new sect to those who first used the word Christian?' If it did not originate as a sarcastic *jeu d'esprit*, it very soon came to be used with a contemptuous signification. It occurs with an implication of scorn in the mouth of Agrippa, 'With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian' (Ac 26[28]).

* Many editors take this passage as a direct allusion to the name 'Christian.' The expression τὸ ὄνομά τινος ἐπί τινα καλεῖν is a Hebraism which occurs many times in the LXX. The Heb. equivalent denotes that the person whose name is 'called over' a thing possesses the rights of ownership in it. See esp. 2 S 12[28] 'Lest I take the city, and my name be called upon it' (RVm), and the note of Driver, *ad loc* (*Heb. Text of Sam.*). The allusion in Ja 2[7] is, then, more correctly referred to baptism in the name of Christ (see Mayor, *Ep. of St. James*, *ad loc.*). See also art. CALL.

From 1 P we learn that in heathen mouths 'Christian' was practically equivalent to 'malefactor' ($4^{15.16}$, cf. 2^{12} 3^{16}). What were the reasons for this malice and contempt? They were perhaps mainly four.

(*a*) The object of the Christians' worship was a crucified man, 'unto Jews a stumbling-block, and unto Gentiles foolishness' (1 Co 1^{23}). Compare the contempt expressed in the Palatine graffito, probably of the 2nd cent., representing a Christian worshipping a crucified man with an ass's head.

(*b*) The Christians themselves were 'not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble' (*ib.*^{26}), but 'base' and 'despised' (*ib.*^{28}). Many of them were slaves (Eph 6^5, Col 3^{22}, 1 P 2^{18}, 1 Co 7^{21}).

(*c*) There was much in heathen social life which, even if innocent in itself, suggested associations offensive to Christian scruples (1 P $4^{3.4}$, 1 Co 8^{1-13}, Ro 14^{1-23}). Again, it must have caused many heart-burnings and domestic strifes when the new religion made its way into families. Hence arose the hatred of Christians as morose and unsociable Puritans.

(*d*) Besides merely holding aloof from heathen society, Christians were fearlessly outspoken in condemnation of its vices and idolatry (Eph 2^{1-3} 4^{19}, Ro 1^{18-32}). The secret consciousness that such condemnation was not at bottom unfounded, embittered the heathen world still more against its self-constituted censors. From this hatred it was but a short step to the fabrication of slanders (1 P 2^{12} 3^{16}), and such charges found a shadow of support in the mystery with which the Christians invested their acts of worship. At the same time the proofs of their world-wide organization gave them the aspect of a secret society banded together against the religion and manners of the day.

Somewhat later in the corrupted form 'Chrestianus' the Apologists applied the word to themselves as the 'good' (*χρηστοί*). The word *Χριστός*, though known to the Greeks as an adjective, was not used as a proper name except to translate the Hebrew 'Messiah.' *Χρηστός*, on the other hand, was a tolerably familiar name. Hence arose the corruption (probably towards the middle of 2nd cent.) into *Χρηστιανοί*. Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) uses 'Chrestus' for 'Christus'; but there is no evidence that he connected the name with 'Christiani,' which appears (*Nero*, 16) without any variant reading 'Chrestiani.' It appears as 'Christiani' also in Tacitus and Pliny (*loc. cit.*). Justin Martyr plays on the double name (*Ap.* i. 55 A), *ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μᾶλλον κολάζειν ὀφείλετε. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον.* Cf. Tert. *Ap.* 3, 'cum et perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos) de suavitate et benignitate compositum est.'

LITERATURE.—R. A. Lipsius, *Über den Ursprung und ältesten Gebrauch des Christennamens*, 1873; Zeller, *Bibl. Wörterbuch s.v.* 'Christ'; Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1889, Ignatius, i. pp. 415–419; Keim, *Aus dem Urchrist.* Essay vi., *Fragmente aus der röm. Verfolgung*, § 1, 'Das neronische Verbrechen und der Christenname'; C. F. Arnold, *Neron. Christenverfolg.*; Ramsay, *Church in Roman Empire* (*passim*). S. C. GAYFORD.

CHRISTOLOGY.—The purpose of this article is to reproduce the conception of Himself and of His relation to God left by Christ in the minds of His earliest followers; and then to estimate the truth and worth of this conception. For this inquiry, we fortunately have, in the NT, abundant materials. We there find various, and in great part independent, witnesses speaking to us from the first and second generations of the followers of Christ, and comprising some who stood in close relation to Him.

i. 1. The undisputed and well-attested genuineness of some of the Epistles of St. Paul, and the probable genuineness of the others, make these the best starting-point for our inquiry. For in them we have a secure platform on which we may stand firmly, and from which we can survey the entire evidence. We shall then consider the Synoptic Gospels and the writings attributed to the Apostle John.

Throughout his Epistles we notice the profound reverence with which St. Paul bows before Christ as in the presence of One incomparably greater than himself or the greatest of men. There is no comparison of Christ with other men, and no trace of familiarity, or of that sense of equality, which no differences of rank or ability can altogether efface. But there is everywhere a recognition of the honour of being a servant, or indeed a slave, of so glorious a Master.

St. Paul speaks of Christ, *e.g.* in Ro 1^4 5^{10}, 1 Co 1^9, Gal 4^4, as *the Son of God*, using this term as a title of honour distinguishing Him even from the adopted sons of God. In Ro 8^3, and again in v.^{32}, he calls Him God's *own Son* whom He sent into the world and gave up on behalf of us all. This last passage suggests a comparison with a human father who gives up to peril or death his own son to save others who are not his sons. And this comparison dominates the whole teaching of St. Paul and of the NT about the death of Christ. It implies that Christ is the Son of God in a sense not shared by other men. Now the word *son* suggests derivation of one person from another. And the term *Son of God* given to Christ as a mark of honour, distinguishing Him from all others, suggests irresistibly that He is derived from the Father, but in a manner differing in kind from that by which we sprang from the Creator's hands.

In Ro 3^{26} St. Paul teaches that God gave up Christ to die in order to harmonise with His own justice the justification of those who believe in Christ. This implies, not only that among a race of sinners Christ is sinless, but that in moral worth He is equal to the whole race for which He died. In Ro 5^{15-19} Christ is contrasted with Adam as the second and greater Head of the race. This gives to Him a unique superiority to all the generations of men.

In Ro 2^{16} we read that 'God will judge the secret things of men through Jesus Christ'; and in 2 Co 5^{10} St. Paul writes that himself and all others 'must needs appear before the judgment-seat of Christ.' Similar teaching is attributed to St. Paul in an address recorded in Ac 17^{31}. In 1 Th 4^{16} we read that at the voice of Christ the dead will rise; and in Ph 3^{21} that by His mighty power He will transform the lowly bodies of His servants into the likeness of His own glorious body.

In Col 1^{16}, a document which we may accept with complete confidence as written by St. Paul, we read that in Christ, and through His agency, and for Him, all things, even the successive ranks of angels, were created; that He is earlier than all things; and that in Him all things have their unity, or 'stand together.'

All this proves decisively that, in the eyes of the pupil of Gamaliel, the Carpenter of Nazareth stood infinitely above men and angels, in a position of unique dignity and unique nearness to God. This must be accepted as well-attested historical fact.

2. We turn now to another group of documents differing widely from the Epistles of St. Paul, the Synoptic Gospels. These were accepted without a shadow of doubt in the latter part of the 2nd cent. all round the Mediterranean as written by the Apostle Matthew, and by Mark and Luke, friends of apostles. The First Gospel, as the farthest removed from the theological standpoint

of St. Paul, is specially valuable in the inquiry before us.

Throughout the Synoptic Gospels we find Christ making for Himself claims corresponding to the homage constantly paid to Him in the Epistles of St. Paul. In Mt 5^{17} the young Teacher from Nazareth announces that He has come, not to annul the law and the prophets, but to complete and fulfil. In ch. 11^{27} He asserts that He alone and those taught by Him know God. He calls to Himself all the weary and heavy-laden, and promises to give them rest by laying upon them His yoke. Yet He speaks of Himself as meek and lowly of heart. And no one resents these strange assertions as involving undue assumption.

As in the Epistles of St. Paul, so in the Synoptic Gospels, Christ is called, in a special sense, *the Son of God*. This title is given to Him by a voice from heaven at His baptism, in Mt 3^{17}, Mk 1^{11}, Lk 3^{22}; and His claim to it is the question at issue in His temptation. The same august title is, as narrated in Mt 16^{16}, given to Him by St. Peter, and is accepted by Christ at an important turning-point of His teaching. Its meaning is expounded by Christ in the Parable of the Vineyard in Mt $21^{33\text{-}41}$, Mk $12^{1\text{-}9}$, Lk $20^{9\text{-}16}$; where, after the ill-treatment of his servants, the master sends his son, thinking that, whatever the vinedressers have done to them, they will reverence him. Christ here claims to be as much above the prophets of the Old Covenant, above Moses and Isaiah and John the Baptist, as the master's son is above the highest of his servants. The same contrast is found in He $3^{5.\ 6}$, where Moses is called a faithful *servant in* the household, and Christ a *Son over* the household. That this comparison is found in these four documents, one of them so different from the others, reveals its firm place in the thought of the apostolic Church. It implies clearly that, to the writer's thought, Christ's relation to God, in virtue of His derivation from Him, differs in kind from that of even the greatest of men.

As recognised by St. Paul, but more conspicuously, Christ claims in Mt $7^{22f.}$ $13^{41f.}$ 16^{27} $25^{31\text{-}46}$, and in the parallel passages, that in the great day He will sit upon a throne and pronounce judgment on all men; while the angels do His bidding as His servants. This teaching raises Christ as much above the rest of mankind as the judge who sits in dignity on the bench is above the criminal who stands at the bar.

3. Another marked type of NT teaching is found in the Fourth Gospel, which a unanimous tradition, reaching back to the 2nd cent., and supported by powerful internal evidence, attributes to the beloved Apostle John. In it we have teaching of Christ given, apparently, not as in the Synoptic Gospels to the many, but to a favoured few, and of the utmost value.

Christ is here represented as making for Himself claims practically the same as those recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. In Jn $7^{37.\ 38}$ He bids all the thirsty to come to Him and drink; and declares that they who believe in Him shall themselves become fountains of living water. He calls Himself in 8^{12} 9^{5} 'the light of the world'; and in $10^{11.\ 16}$ 'the good Shepherd' of the 'one flock.' In 10^{30} He asserts, 'I and the Father are one.' In 11^{25} He calls Himself 'the Resurrection and the Life'; and in 14^{6} claims to be the only way through which men can come to God.

In close harmony with the Epistles of St. Paul and the Synoptic Gospels, Christ speaks of Himself in Jn 5^{25} 9^{35} 11^{4} as *the Son of God*. The same title is in ch. $1^{34.\ 49}$ given to Him by the Baptist and by Nathanael. In ch. $3^{16.\ 18}$ Christ claims to be *the only-begotten Son*. The same term is found in 1 Jn 4^{9}, and a similar one in Jn $1^{14.\ 18}$.

In Jn 5^{22} Christ asserts that 'the Father has given all the judgment to the Son, in order that all men may honour the Son according as they honour the Father'; and that an 'hour cometh when all that are in the graves will hear his voice and will go forth, they who have done the good things to a resurrection of life, and they who have done the bad things to a resurrection of judgment.'

In Jn 10^{33} 5^{18} the enemies of Christ assert that by speaking of God as His 'own Father,' Christ was making Himself *God*, or *equal to God*. This equality is involved in 5^{19} 'whatever things he does, these also the Son does in like manner'; in 14^{9} 'he that hath seen me hath seen the Father,' and in ch. 16^{15} 'all things, so many as the Father hath, are mine.'

In close harmony with Col 1^{16}, we read in Jn 1^{3} 'all things through his agency came into being, and apart from him came into being nothing which hath come into being.' This careful repetition of a word denoting *to begin to be* is a marked contrast to v.^{1} 'in the beginning *was* the Word.' So v.^{10} 'the world through his agency came into being.'

In Jn 20^{28}, in view of the pierced hands and side of the Risen One, Thomas accosts Him as 'my Lord and my God.' This supreme honour Christ accepts. It is given to Him, in express words, by the evangelist in Jn 1^{1}, where we read 'the Word was God.' The assertion immediately following, that through His agency all things were made, compels us to accept this term as involving the infinite attributes of deity.

Similar honour is paid to Christ in the Book of Revelation. In Rev 5^{6} we see Him in the midst of the throne as a slain lamb, an object of worship and lofty praise to those nearest the throne, and to every creature in heaven and earth and sea. Yet the interpreter angel twice (19^{10} 22^{9}) refuses worship from John, saying, 'worship God.'

ii. It is now evident that throughout the various documents and types of thought contained in NT we have one harmonious picture of the dignity of Christ. In the Epistles of St. Paul we noticed the profound reverence with which he bowed before Christ as in the presence of One far greater than himself or the greatest of men, and we found a complete counterpart to this reverence in the lofty claims which in each of the four Gospels He is recorded to have made for Himself. In all these documents the title *Son of God* is claimed by Christ, or is given to Him, as a title of unique dignity, and as noting a unique relation to God. The meaning of this title is determined by the Parable of the Vineyard recorded in each of the Synoptic Gospels, by the term *only-begotten Son* in the Fourth Gospel and in the 1st Ep. of St. John, by St. Paul's appeal to the love of God manifested in the gift of His *own Son* to save men, and by the contrast in the Epistle to the Hebrews between Moses, a faithful servant, and Christ the Son of God. This agreement, in writers so various, leaves no room to doubt that, as matter of historical fact, this title, and in this sense, was actually given to Christ by His earliest followers. It is equally clear that they looked upon Him as the designated Judge of the world. We have also seen that the two greatest writers of NT looked upon Christ as earlier than the universe, and as the Agent through whom it was created. One writer gives to Him the supreme title *God*, and records His own earlier acceptance of the same.

iii. In this harmonious account, by various writers, of the dignity of Christ we notice marks of development. In the Synoptic Gospels we find it in its most rudimentary form; in the Epistles of St. Paul it is more fully developed; in the Fourth Gospel the development is complete. Even within the writings of St. Paul, and again within the Fourth

Gospel, we notice development. In 1 Co 8^6 we read of 'one Lord, through whom are all things'; and in Col $1^{16.17}$, written in the mature thought of St. Paul's first imprisonment, we read that the Son existed before all creatures, and that through His agency even the successive ranks of angels were created,—a thought much in advance of anything in his earlier Epistles. Very much in advance of Christ's teaching about Himself before His death, are the exclamation of Thomas, and the assertion of the evangelist that 'the Word was God.'

It is worthy of note that this development proceeds always on the same lines, that whatever we read about Christ in the Epistles of St. Paul, and indeed in the Fourth Gospel, is either a necessary inference from the teaching of Christ about Himself in the First Gospel, or is needful in order to give to that teaching unity and intelligibility. Between the accounts of the dignity of Christ given by the different writers of NT there is no contradiction. They differ only in their degree of definiteness and completeness. Indeed there is much greater difference between Mt 19^{17} and 28^{19} and between Jn 1^1 and 14^{28} than between the teaching of the First Gospel, taken as a whole, and that of the Fourth.

Possibly, the more fully developed teaching of the Epistles of St. Paul and of the Fourth Gospel about the Son of God may, in its literary form, have been influenced by Gentile modes of thought and expression. Certainly, St. Paul's modes of thought and expression were moulded by his Gentile surroundings. But the complete harmony of all NT writers about the Son of God, and the infinite gulf which separates their teaching from all other earlier or contemporary teaching, leave no room for substantial contributions from sources external to Israel. Contemporary Greek or Oriental thought does little or nothing to elucidate the teaching of NT about the Son of God.

iv. The teaching adduced and expounded above involves a new and definite conception of God. For the assertions of Christ in the NT are equivalent to a claim to share with the Father the infinite attributes of deity; and the contrast between Him who was with God in the beginning and the universe which sprang into being by His agency, suggests irresistibly that, whereas even the bright ones of heaven began to be, He exists, as a person distinct from the Father, from eternity.

Faint indications in the OT of a plurality of persons in the Godhead have been pointed out. But they are dim and uncertain. The definite and complex and yet harmonious conception of God, which underlies the teaching about Christ of the various writers of NT, is altogether different from every conception of God set forth in the entire literature of the world, except so far as later literature has been moulded by Christian teaching. It is a matter of simple historical fact that the NT embodies a complete revolution in man's thought about God.

This new and complex metaphysical conception of God has survived to our day, and has been in all ages the deep conviction of an immense majority of the followers of Christ, and esp. of nearly all those who have done most to spread His name and influence. We hear much about theological differences between contending Churches and schools of Christian thought. Far more wonderful than these differences is the agreement of the mass of the servants of Christ about the dignity of their Master, and about His relation to God.

Of this agreement, the various Creeds and Confessions of the various Churches are decisive proof. The so-called Nicene Creed is accepted by both Greek and Roman Churches, and even by the Armenian Church, which rejected the subsequent Definition of Chalcedon. Even this wide agreement is not the whole. While rejecting much of the teaching of the Church of Rome, the German and Swiss and Eng. Reformers clung tenaciously to the doctrine of the Son of God embodied in the Nicene Creed. It is to-day the deep conviction of both Anglicans and Nonconformists in England and of the various Churches in America. In other words, the remarkable agreement of the various writers of NT about the dignity of Christ finds a complete counterpart in the wonderful agreement of an immense majority of His followers in all ages and nations.

v. Of these well-attested historical facts, only three explanations are possible.

It may be suggested that Christ was Himself in error. If so, the greatest religious teacher the world ever knew, the author of a religious impulse which has changed and raised human thought and life, was in deep error touching the nature of God and touching His own relation to God; and His error has been shared by nearly all those who have done most for the religious life of men. If this be so, the Light of the World was, and they to whom He has been the Light of Life are, in deep darkness. So absurd a suggestion is not worthy of a moment's consideration.

The only remaining alternative is either that Christ is in very truth what the various writers of NT represent Him as claiming to be, and being, or that His immediate followers, those who gained for Him the homage of succeeding ages, and through whom He became the Saviour of the world, misunderstood altogether the teaching of their Master about Himself and about God, and made for Him, and represented Him as making for Himself, claims which He would have rejected with horror as blasphemous. This hypothesis requires us to believe that the various and very different writers of NT, including a friend and colleague of the murderers of Christ, fell into the same error, and adopted the same complicated metaphysical conception of God therein involved. Nay, more. It requires us to believe that this error survived the theological conflicts of later days, and is now the deep and cherished, but mistaken, conviction of nearly all those who have done most to spread the name of Christ and the blessings of Christianity. This is the easiest alternative open to those who reject the harmonious teaching of the NT about Christ and the historic faith of the Church of Christ.

vi. One more difficulty remains. Not a few intelligent and educated men who pay homage to Christ as the greatest of men refuse to accept as correct the portrait of Him given in NT. If this portrait be incorrect, these men have detected an ancient and serious error, and have restored to the civilised world the true conception of God. We expect to see in them as a fruit of their important discovery some moral and spiritual superiority to those who are still held fast by the great delusion. We look in vain. They who deny the divinity of Christ have done very little to carry the gospel to the heathen, to rescue the perishing at home, or to help forward the spiritual life of men.

On the other hand, if the confident belief of the apostles and of the mass of Christians in all ages be correct, the facts of modern Christendom are explained. If Christ be the only-begotten Son of God, His birth was by far the greatest event in the history of our race, and Himself infinitely greater than the greatest of men. We wonder not that His advent was a new era in human thought and in history, and that the Christian nations enjoy to-day a position of unique superiority to all others.

The precise relation of the Son to the Father

belongs to the domain of systematic doctrinal theology. The various yet harmonious teaching of NT implies that the Son is, in a real and glorious sense, equal to, yet personally distinct from, subordinate to, and one with, the Father. But this mysterious subject lies beyond the scope of this article.

It has been sufficient for our purpose to show that the various and very different writers of NT give one harmonious account of the dignity of Christ and of His relation to God, that this conception has been in all ages the deep conviction of the mass of His followers, and that this remarkable unanimity, ancient and modern, can be explained only by the truth of the conviction so widespread and so firm.

This important result of our examination of documentary evidence receives wonderful confirmation from the direct inward moral and spiritual effects of the doctrine expounded above. In all ages the vision of the Son of God, divine yet human, has been a powerful stimulus to every kind of excellence, an encouragement in conflict, a joy in sorrow, and the Light of Life under the shadow of death. The moral helpfulness of this vision is a sure witness that the vision itself is an apprehension of objective reality. J. AGAR BEET.

CHRONICLES, I. and II.—POSITION IN CANON.—The name *Chronicles* is given, in the English Bible, to two books written in historical form, which immediately follow 1 and 2 Kings. In the LXX their position is the same. This arrangement is due to similarity of contents. Heb. MSS place them, as one book, in the third division of OT, *Kĕthûbhîm* (כְּתוּבִים), the *Writings* (*Hagiographa*), either at the beginning (so in the Massoretic lists and in Spanish MSS) or at the end (so in the Talmud, *Baba bathra* 13b–15, usually in German MSS, and from these in printed Heb. Bibles), rarely in some other position (*e.g.* third, after Dn and Ezr, Kennicott 30; it is not probable that Jerome (*Prol. Galeat.*) had MSS authority for placing it third from the end, followed by Ezr and Est). Its position, whether prefixed or affixed to the other Hagiographa, is probably due to the late date at which canonical authority was ascribed to it. Exactly when this occurred we cannot say. The historian Eupolemus (*c.* B.C. 150) seems to have known, not merely the Heb. text, but the LXX translation of Ch, so that it appears to have been reckoned in the Canon not much after B.C. 200, at latest (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 33, 34, cf. 2 Ch 2^{2-15}; Freudenthal, *Alex. Polyhistor*, 108, 119, cited by Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. pp. 162, 204).

UNITY.—It is evident that the two Books of Ch are really one. The narrative is continuous, and the division due only to convenience, like the modern division of a book into volumes. Like the division of S and K, it was made in Alexandria prior to our oldest MSS of LXX, passed through the LXX into the Vulg. and the modern versions, including the Eng., appeared in Heb. in the printed text of the Bomberg Bible (1521), and is now customary in printed Heb. Bibles. The Books of Ezr and Neh form a continuation of the same work, by the same hand, and might with propriety be entitled 3 Chronicles, or included under the one name of Chronicles (see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH).

NAME.—The name of Chronicles in Hebrew is *Dibhĕrê Hayyāmîm* (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים), a phrase occurring frequently in K and Ch with the meaning *annals*, or *records* of such and such a king (lit. *the acts of the days* of, etc.). The LXX (followed by the Vulg.) adopted the name Τὰ Παραλειπόμενα, of doubtful meaning; the usual interpretation is of *things passed over*, by Sam. and Kings, but this does not explain the present tense of the participle. The Eng. name *Chronicles* is a fairly good translation of the Heb. name. It can be traced back to Jerome (*Prologus Galeat.*; introduction prefixed to his trans. of S and K): 'Septimus [liber] Dabre Ajamim (דברי הימים), id est verba dierum, quod significantius Χρονικόν totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare. Qui liber apud nos Παραλειπομένων primus et secundus inscribitur' (Migne, *Hieron.*, ed. Vallarsi, ix. 554).

CONTENTS.—The period embraced in Ch extends from Adam to the Restoration of the Jews under Cyrus.

(1) 1 Ch 1–9 contain chiefly genealogies (beginning 'Adam, Seth, Enosh'), coming down through Noah's sons, and then particularly through the line of Shem to Esau and Israel and their sons, with their descendants. The last twelve vv. of ch. 1 contain a list of Edomitish kings and chiefs. In the various genealogies many problems arise, due in part to defective text, in part to lack of completeness in the tables, in part to a confusion between names of persons and names of places and peoples. Brief narratives, from various periods, are interspersed among the genealogies (*e.g.* 2^{23} $4^{9.\ 10.\ 39-43}$ $5^{9.\ 10.\ 18-22.\ 25.\ 26}$). The last genealogy in this collection, 9^{35-44} (repeated, with some differences, from 8^{29-38}), makes a kind of transition to the following section.

(2) *a.* 1 Ch 10–29 are concerned with David's reign, the introduction being the last battle and the death of Saul (ch. 10), and the conclusion the accession of Solomon (23^{1} $28^{5ff.}$ $29^{22ff.}$). *b.* 2 Ch 1–9 are devoted to Solomon's reign. *c.* 2 Ch 10–36 contain the history of the kingdom of Judah down to the fall of Jerus., with the division of the kingdoms as preface, and the Restoration-edict of Cyrus as appendix, or, more exactly, as introduction to the history of the Restoration and the early Jewish community given in Ezr-Neh. (On the parallels, see below.)

STYLE.—The style of Ch is strongly marked. The genealogical lists, the religious interests, and the edifying tendency of the author (see below) of themselves impart a certain tone to it; thus there is often comparative brevity and lack of precision in describing external affairs,—even such important ones as the temple-building, Sennacherib's invasion, and the fall of Jerus.,—while pedigrees, speeches, and matters relating to ritual are given at length. Other essential features of it are a peculiar vocabulary, peculiar syntactical habits, and noteworthy idiosyncrasies in phraseology (see esp. Driver, *LOT* 502 ff., and C. C. Torrey, *Ezra-Nehemiah*).

The following words and phrases occur (in Heb.) only in Ch (incl. Ezr-Neh), and in writings certainly still later (Est, Dn, Ec, Ps-titles) * :—

1. אֲבָל *howbeit, but*, † 2 Ch 1^{4} 19^{3} 33^{17}, Ezr 10^{13}; also Dn $10^{7.\ 21}$.

2. אִגֶּרֶת *letter*, † 2 Ch $30^{1.\ 6}$, Neh $2^{7.\ 8.\ 9}$ $6^{5.\ 17.\ 19}$; also Est $9^{26.\ 29}$.

3. אַרְגָּמָן *purple*, † 2 Ch 2^{7} (Heb. v.^{6}), cf. Aram. אַרְגְּוָנָא Dn $5^{7.\ 16.\ 29}$;—the more common Heb. אַרְגָּמָן is most frequently late, and occurs in 2 Ch 2^{13} 3^{14}.

4. אֲרָצוֹת *lands*, as a designation of the territory of Israel, † 2 Ch 15^{5}; this territory is certainly included (if not solely designated) in Ezr 3^{3} (text dub.) $9^{1.\ 2.\ 11}$, Neh 10^{28} (Heb. v.^{29}); even אַרְצוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל 1 Ch 13^{2}; אַרְצוֹת יְהוּדָה 2 Ch 11^{23}; כָּל־הָאֲרָצוֹת אֲשֶׁר לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 Ch 34^{33}. (The pl. form ארצות is chiefly late in all senses.)

5. בּוּץ, בִּיץ *byssus*, † 1 Ch 4^{21} 15^{27} (but emend after 2 S 6^{14}), 2 Ch 2^{14} (Heb. v.^{13}) 3^{14} 5^{12}; also Est 1^{6}; it occurs also MT Ezk 27^{16} but del. 𝔊 Cornill.

* In this art. the sign † indicates that *all* the passages are cited in which a particular word or phrase occurs. 𝔊=Gr. version of LXX. 𝔊L=Lucian's recension. 𝔖=Syr. version (Peshiṭta). 𝔙=Vulgate.

6. בָּזָה *spoil*, ↑ 2 Ch 14[13] 25[13] 28[14], Ezr 9[7], Neh 4[4] (Heb. 3[36]); also Dn 11[24. 33], Est 9[10. 15. 16].

7. מְבִין *skilled, skilled (in)*, ↑ 1 Ch 15[22] 25[7. 8] 27[32], 2 Ch 34[12] (other kindred meanings are chiefly late).

8. בִּירָנִית *fortresses*, ↑ 2 Ch 17[12] 27[4].

9. בְּרוּרִים *chosen*, ↑ 1 Ch 7[40] 9[22] 16[41]; בְּרוּרוֹת *id.*, ↑ Neh 5[18].

10. דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים *drachmæ*, ↑ Ezr 2[69]=Neh 7[71], Neh 7[70. 72] (Heb. 7[69. 70. 71]); אַדַּרְכֳּנִים, ↑ 1 Ch 29[7], Ezr 8[27].

11. מִדְרָשׁ *midrash*, ↑ 2 Ch 13[22] 24[27].

12. הֵיךְ *how*? ↑ 1 Ch 13[12]; also Dn 10[17] (cf. Aram.).

13. הַלֵּל ליהוה *praise J"*, of technical Levitical function, ↑ 1 Ch 16[4. 36] 23[5. 30] 25[3], 2 Ch 5[13. 13] 20[19] 29[30] 30[21], cf. 1 Ch 29[13], 2 Ch 20[21], Ezr 3[11. 11]; הלל יהוה ↑ Ezr 3[10], Neh 5[13]; הַלֵּל abs., ↑ 1 Ch 23[5], 2 Ch 7[6] 8[14] 23[13] 29[30] 31[2], Neh 12[24].

14. נָזַח **Hiph.** *reject*, ↑ 1 Ch 28[9], 2 Ch 11[14] 29[19].

15. נָזַל *come out, appear*, of leprosy, ↑ 2 Ch 26[19].

16. מְחַבְּרוֹת *binders, joints*, ↑ 1 Ch 22[3], 2 Ch 34[11].

17. חָזַק **Hithp.** sq. לִפְנֵי=*withstand*, ↑ 2 Ch 13[7. 8]; sq. עִם=*hold strongly with*, 1 Ch 11[10], 2 Ch 16[9]; also Dn 10[21].

18. חֻזְקָה=royal *power*, ↑ 2 Ch 12[1] 26[16]; also Dn 11[2].

19. חָדְוָה *joy*, ↑ 1 Ch 16[27], Neh 8[10].

20. חָלָא *be sick*, ↑ 2 Ch 16[12] (usually חָלָה).

21. מַחֲלָיִם *sufferings*, ↑ 2 Ch 24[25] (מַחֲלָה, *sickness*, occurs ↑ Pr 18[14], 2 Ch 21[15]).

22. מַחְלֹקֶת *division, course* (of Levitical and priestly organization), ↑ 1 Ch 23[6] 24[1] 26[1. 12. 19] 27[1. 1. 2. 2. 4. 4. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15] 28[1. 13. 21], 2 Ch 5[11] 8[14. 14] 23[8] 31[2. 2. 15. 16. 17] 35[4. 10], Neh 11[36].

23. חֶסֶד=*pious deeds* (of men), ↑ 2 Ch 32[32] 35[26], Neh 13[14].

24. יְדָע *knowledge*, ↑ 2 Ch 1[10. 11. 12]; also Dn 1[4. 7] and (=*mind, thought*), Ec 10[20].

25. יוֹם בְּיוֹם=*day by day* (for earlier יוֹם יוֹם), ↑ 2 Ch 30[21], Ezr 3[4], Neh 8[18]; לְיוֹם בְּיוֹם 2 Ch 24[11]; לְעֵת־יוֹם בְּיוֹם 1 Ch 12[22]; בִּדְבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹם 2 Ch 8[13]; עֹלוֹת יוֹם בְּיוֹם Ezr 3[4].

26. הִתְיַחֵשׂ *be genealogically enrolled*, ↑ 1 Ch 4[33] 5[1. 7. 17] 7[5. 7. 9. 40] 9[1. 22], 2 Ch 12[15] 31[16. 17. 18. 19], Ezr 2[62]=Neh 7[64], Ezr 8[1. 3], Neh 7[5].

27. יָמִן **Hiph.** *use the right hand*, ↑ 1 Ch 12[2].

28. כְּמִכְרָכָל *bemantled*, ↑ 1 Ch 15[27] (cf. prob. Aram. כִּרְבְּלָא *mantle*).

29. כֶּבֶשׁ *footstool*, ↑ 2 Ch 9[18] (cf. NH, Aram.).

30. נָצַח, נִצָּח *oversee, direct; overseer, director*, ↑ 1 Ch 15[21] 23[4], 2 Ch 2[2. 18] (Heb. vv.[2. 17]), 34[12. 13], Ezr 3[8. 9]; also in titles of Pss 4. 5. 6. 8. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 31. 36. 39. 40. 41. 42. 44. 45. 46. 47. 49. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 75. 76. 77. 80. 81. 84. 85. 88. 109. 139. 140; also in title Hab 3[19].

31. נָתַן יָד תַּחַת=*submit, yield to*, ↑ 2 Ch 30[8]; נָתַן יָד לְהוֹצִיא=*id.*, 1 Ch 29[24]; נָתַן יָדָם לְהוֹצִיא=*give their pledge that they would send away*, Ezr 10[19]; נָתַן לֵב ל *set the heart* to (do) a thing, etc., ↑ 1 Ch 22[19], 2 Ch 11[16], Dn 10[12], Ec 1[13. 17] 7[21] 8[9. 16].

32. הֶעֱמִיד = *appoint, institute, establish* (priests, Levites, prophets, etc.), ↑ 1 Ch 6[31] (Heb. v.[16]) 15[16. 17] 17[14], 2 Ch 8[14] 9[8] 11[15. 22] 19[5. 8] 20[21] 25[5] 30[5] 31[2] 33[8] 35[2], Ezr 3[8], Neh 6[7] 7[3] 12[31] 13[30] (cf. 10[33]); also Dn 11[11. 13. 14].

33. (עמד, עמר) עָמַד עַל־עָמְדוֹ *stand on his standing, i.e.* in his place, etc., ↑ 2 Ch 30[16] 34[31] 35[10], Neh 13[11]; also Dn 8[18] 10[11]; with קוּם for עמד Neh 9[8]; without vb. Neh 8[7].

34. לְמַעְלָה=*exceedingly*, ↑ 1 Ch 14[2] 22[5] 23[17] 29[3. 25], 2 Ch 1[1] 16[12] 17[12] 20[19] 26[8] 34[4].

35. עֹצֶר כֹּחַ *control* (=possess) *power, be able*, ↑ sq. ל inf. 1 Ch 29[14], 2 Ch 2[6] (Heb. v.[5]); sq. ל subst. 2 Ch 22[9]; abs. 2 Ch 13[20]; also abs. Dn 10[8. 16] and (עצר כוֹחַ חֲזִיזִי) 11[6]; עָצַר alone=*have power, be able*, ↑ 2 Ch 14[10], sq. ל inf. 20[37].

36. מְצִלְתַּיִם *cymbals*, ↑ 1 Ch 13[8] 15[16. 19. 28] 16[5. 42] 25[1. 6], 2 Ch 5[12. 13] 29[25], Ezr 3[10], Neh 12[27].

37. עְתּוּד *he-goat*, ↑ 2 Ch 29[21], Ezr 8[35]; also Dn 8[5. 5. 8. 21] (Aram. עְתִּיד).

38. שִׁר, שָׁרֵי of priests and Levites: — שָׁרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים ↑ 2 Ch 36[14], Ezr 8[24. 29] (+וְהַלְוִיִּם) 10[5]; שָׁרֵי־הַלְוִיִּם ↑ 1 Ch 15[22], שָׁרֵי הַל v.[16], 2 Ch 35[9]; cf. שִׁר of chief musician, 1 Ch 15[27] (also שָׁרֵי־קֹדֶשׁ וְשָׁרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים 24[5], and שָׁרֵי קֹדֶשׁ Is 43[28]).

39. מְשֹׁרְרִים, and (Ezr 2[65]=Neh 7[67]) מְשֹׁרְרוֹת, *singer(s)*, ↑ 1 Ch 6[33] (Heb. v.[18]) 9[33]+11 t. Ch; Ezr 2[41. 65. 70]=Neh 7[44. 67. 73], Ezr 7[7] 10[24], Neh 7[1]+12 t. Neh.

40. שֵׁשׁ *alabaster*, ↑ 1 Ch 29[2] (cf. שֵׁשׁ, ↑ Est 1[6], Ca 5[15]).

41. שׁוֹעֲרִים *porters, gate-men*, of temple, etc., a sacred function, ↑ 1 Ch 9[17]+19 t. Ch; Ezr 2[42. 70]=Neh 7[45. 73], Ezr 7[7] 10[24], Neh 7[1]+7 t. Neh. (The word occurs elsewhere only 2 S 18[26]—but rd. הַשַּׁעַר, see Driver—and 2 K 7[10. 11] of porter of a city and a palace.)

The following exilic and post-exilic words and phrases are, in the meanings given, characteristic of Chronicles, although not exclusively so:—

1. אֲחֻזָּה *possession*, 1 Ch 7[28] 9[2], 2 Ch 11[14] 31[1], Neh 11[3]; also Ezk 44[28. 28]+14 t. Ezr, Ps 2[8], Gn 17[8]+43 t. Gn, Lv, Nu, Dt, Jos (all P).

2. גָּזַר **Niph.** ↑ 2 Ch 26[21]; also Is 53[8], Ps 88[6], and (in different senses) Ezk 37[11], La 3[54], Est 2[1].

3. מִגְרָשׁ *common-land*, 1 Ch 5[16] 6[55] (Heb. v.[40])+40 t. 1 Ch 6, 13[2], 2 Ch 11[14] 31[19]; also Ezk 45[2] 48[15. 17] and Nu 35[2. 3. 4. 5. 7], Jos 14[2] 21[2]+55 (or 59, if vv.[36. 37] belong to MT) t. Jos 21 (all P).

4. הֲדֹם *footstool*, ↑ 1 Ch 28[2]; also Is 66[1], La 2[1], Ps 99[5] 110[1] 132[7].

5. הֲדָרַת קֹדֶשׁ *holy adornment*, ↑ 1 Ch 16[29]=Ps 96[9], 2 Ch 20[21]; also Ps 29[2] (post-exil. ?).

6. הָמוֹן=*great number*, ↑ 1 Ch 29[16], 2 Ch 11[23] 31[10]; also Jer 49[32] (*v.* also *infr.*).

7. זַן *kind, sort*, ↑ 2 Ch 16[14], Ps 144[13].

8. זָקַק *refine*, **Pu.** *refined*, 1 Ch 28[18] 29[4]; also Is 25[6], Ps 12[7]; **Pi.** *refine*, Mal 3[3]; **Qal** *id.* Job 28[1] 36[27].

9. טָהֵר **Pi.** *purify*, 2 Ch 29[15. 16. 18] 34[3. 5. 8], Neh 13[9. 30]; also Ezk 39[12], Job 37[21], Mal 3[3]; and esp. *make* or *pronounce clean*, ceremonially, Ezk 43[26], Lv 13[6]+15 t. P, Neh 12[30]; morally, Ezk 24[13]+3 t. Ezk, Lv 16[30] (P), Mal 3[3], Ps 51[4], Jer 33[8]; **Hithp.** *purify oneself*, 2 Ch 30[18], Ezr 6[20], Neh 12[30] 13[22]; also Gn 35[2] (R[P]), Nu 8[7], Jos 22[17], cf. Lv 14[4. 7. 8. 11. 14. 17. 18. 19. 25. 28. 29. 31] (all P), Is 66[17]. טָהֳרָה *purifying*, ↑ 1 Ch 23[28], 2 Ch 30[19], Neh 12[45]; also Ezk 44[26], Lv 12[4. 5] 13[7. 35] 14[2. 23. 32] 15[13], Nu 6[9] (all P); טָהוֹר=*physically pure, clean*, 1 Ch 28[17], 2 Ch 3[4] 9[17] 13[11]; also Zec 3[5. 5], Job 28[19], Ezk 36[25], Ex 25[11]+30 t. Ex, Lv (all P or H).

10. טוּחַ *overspread, overlay*, ↑ 1 Ch 29[4]; also Ezk 13[10. 11. 12. 14. 15. 15] 22[28], Lv 14[42. 43. 48].

11. עַל־יְדֵי, עַל־יַד =*according to the guidance of*, 1 Ch 25[2. 2. 3. 3. 6], 2 Ch 23[18] 26[13] 29[27], Ezr 3[10]; also Jer 5[31] 33[13].

12. יָדָה **Hithp.**=*give thanks*, in ritual worship, ↑ 2 Ch 30[22];=*confess*, Ezr 10[1], Neh 1[6] 9[2. 3]; also Lv 5[5] 16[21] 26[40], Nu 5[7] (all P or H), Dn 9[4. 20] (*v.* also *infr.*).

13. תּוֹלְדוֹת *generations*, 1 Ch 1[29] 5[7] 7[2. 4. 9] 8[28] 9[9. 34] 26[31]; also Ru 4[18], Gn 5[1]+28 t. Gn, Ex, Nu (all P).

14. כְּתָב *writing*, ↑ 1 Ch 28[19], 2 Ch 2[11] (Heb. v.[10]) 35[4], Ezr 2[62]=Neh 7[64], Ezr 4[7]; also Ezk 13[9], Dn 10[21], Est 1[22] 3[12. 14] 4[8] 8[8. 9. 9. 13] 9[27].

15. כָּעַל *commit a trespass*, 1 Ch 2[7] 5[25] 10[13], 2 Ch 12[2] 26[16. 18] 28[19. 22] 29[6] 30[7] 36[14], Ezr 10[2. 10], Neh 1[8] 13[27]; also Ezk 14[13]+6 t. Ezk, Lv 5[15]+11 t. Lv, Nu, Dt, Jos (all P), Pr 16[10]; כַּעַל *trespass*, 1 Ch 9[1] 10[13], 2 Ch 28[19] 29[19] 33[19] 36[14], Ezr 9[2. 4] 10[6]; also Ezk 14[13]+5 t. Ezk, Lv 5[15]+11 t. Lv, Nu, Jos (all P), Dn 9[7], Job 21[34] (esp. frequent as cogn. acc. with כָּעַל).

16. נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם coll.=*persons*, ↑ 1 Ch 5[21]; also Ezk 27[13], Nu 31[35. 40. 46] (P); in Gn 9[5] (P) נֶפֶשׁ הָאָדָם=*life of man*.

17. נָקַב **Niph.** *be expressed* by name, ↑ 1 Ch 12[31] (Baer[32]) 16[41], 2 Ch 28[15] 31[19], Ezr 8[20]; also Nu 1[17] (P).

18. עָמַד=*rise* (for earlier קוּם), ↑ 1 Ch 20[4] 21[1], Ezr 2[63]=Neh 7[65], Neh 8[5]; also Dn 8[22. 23. 25] 10[11] 11[2. 3. 4. 7. 14.

20. 21. 31 12[1], Est 4[14], cf. transition to this usage Ezk 2[1] 37[10].

19. מַעֲרָב *west*, ↑ 1 Ch 7[28] 12[15] 26[16. 18. 30], 2 Ch 32[30] 33[14]; also Is 43[5] 59[19], Dn 8[5], Ps 75[6] (Heb. v.[7]) 103[12] 107[3].

20. הָיָה פַּחַד יהוה עַל *the fear of J" came upon*, ↑ 2 Ch 14[14] (Heb. v.[13]) 17[10] 19[7] 20[29] (פַּחַד אֱלֹהִים; cf. יהוה נָתַן נֶפֶל פַּחַד ׳ עַל־ אֶת־פַּחֲדוֹ עַל־ 1 Ch 14[17]); elsewhere פַּחַד ׳ עַל 1 S 11[7], Job 13[11], and so of fear of men, or undefined fear, Ex 15[16], Est 8[17] 9[2. 3].

21. קִבֵּל *receive*, ↑ 1 Ch 12[18] 21[11], 2 Ch 29[16. 22], Ezr 8[30], Pr 19[20], Job 2[10. 10], Est 4[4] 9[23. 27]; הִקְבִּיל=*be in front of* (cf. Aram. קֳבֵל) Ex 26[5] 36[12] (P).

22. רָאשֵׁי אָבוֹת *of heads of families*, ↑ 1 Ch 7[11] 8[6. 10. 13. 28] 9[9. 33. 34] 15[12] 23[9. 24] 24[6. 31] 26[21. 26. 32] 27[1], 2 Ch 1[2] 19[8] 23[2] 26[12], Ezr 1[5] 2[62] 3[12] 4[2. 3] 8[1] 10[16], Neh 7[70. 71] 8[13] 12[12. 22. 23]; also Ex 6[25], Nu 31[26] 32[28] 36[1. 1], Jos 14[1] 19[51] 21[1. 1] (all P).

23. רָשַׁע Hiph. *display wickedness, do wickedly*, ↑ 2 Ch 20[35] 22[3], Neh 9[33]; also Job 34[12], Ps 106[6], Dn 9[5] 11[32] 12[10].

24. שֶׁלַח *weapon*, ↑ 2 Ch 23[10] 32[5], Neh 4[17. 23] (Heb. vv.[11. 17]); also Job 33[18] 36[12], Jl 2[8], cf. *id.*=*shoot, sprout*, Ca 4[13].

25. שָׁמַעְתִּי *hear me* (in beginning a speech), ↑ 1 Ch 28[2], 2 Ch 13[4] 15[2] 20[20] 28[11] 29[5]; also Gn 23[6] (*hear us*), vv.[8. 11. 13. 15] (all P).

The following occur occasionally in pre-exilic literature, but are especially characteristic of Chronicles:—

1. אָמַר=*promise* or *command* sq. inf. 2 S 24[11], 2 K 8[19], but esp. 1 Ch 21[17] 27[23], 2 Ch 1[18] 14[3] 21[7] 29[21. 27. 30] 31[4. 11] 35[31], Neh 9[15]; also Dn, Est, etc.

2. אַשְׁמָה=*guilt, wrong-doing*, Am 8[14] (in concrete sense), but esp. 1 Ch 21[3], 2 Ch 24[18] 28[10. 13. 13. 13] 32[23], Ezr 9[6. 7. 13. 15] 10[10. 19]; also Ps 69[6], Lv 4[3] 5[26] (P), also (in another sense) Lv 5[24] (P), 22[16] (H).

3. בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים *house of God*, 1 Ch 9[11. 13. 26]+(52 times in Ch, Ezr, Neh); of sanctuary at Shiloh, Jg 18[31].

4. גְּדוּד=*troop*, of divisions of army, Mic 4[14] (doubtful date), but esp. 1 Ch 7[4], 2 Ch 25[9. 10. 13] 26[11], cf. Job 29[25] (of a *marauding band* it is both early and late).

5. גְּדוּלָה *greatness*, 2 S 7[21. 23]=1 Ch 17[19. 19. 21], 1 Ch 29[11]; also Ps 71[21] 145[3. 6], Est 1[4] 6[3] 10[2].

6. דָּרַשׁ יהוה *seek J" in prayer and worship*, Am 5[4. 6], Hos 10[12], Is 9[12] etc., but esp. 1 Ch 28[9], 2 Ch 12[14] 14[4. 7](Heb. vv.[3. 6])15[2. 12] 16[12] 22[9] 26[5], Ps 105[4]=1 Ch 16[11]; דָּרַשׁ (הָ)אֱלֹהִים 2 Ch 19[3] 26[5] 30[19]; דָּרַשׁ לַיהוה 1 Ch 22[19], 2 Ch 15[13] 20[3], Ezr 6[21]; ד׳ לאלהים 2 Ch 17[4] 31[21] 34[3], Ezr 4[2].

7. הָמוֹן=*multitude*, Jg 4[7], 1 S 14[16] etc.; but also 2 Ch 13[8] 14[10] 20[2. 12. 15. 24] 32[7]; also Ezk, Dn (*v.* also *supr.*).

8. זָעַף=*be enraged*, ↑ 2 Ch 26[19. 19]; זַעַף *rage*, ↑ 2 Ch 16[10] 28[9]; also (poet.) Is 30[30], Mic 7[9], Pr 19[12], and (*raging* of sea) Jon 1[15].

9. חָגָב *locust, grasshopper*, Nu 13[33] (JE), but esp. 2 Ch 7[13], Lv 11[22] (P), Is 40[22], Ec 12[5].

10. חֹדֶשׁ calendar *month*, merely numbered (not named), 1 K 12[32. 33], Jer 1[3] etc., esp. 1 Ch 12[15] 27[2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15], 2 Ch 2[3]+12 t. 2 Ch, Ezr 3[1]+10 t. Ezr, Neh 7[72] 8[2. 14], Ezk 24[1] 32[1], Lv 16[29]+ oft. P, Hag 1[1. 13], Zec 1[1] 7[1. 3], Est 3[12] etc.

11. חוֹזֶה=*seer*, Am 7[12], Mic 3[7] etc., 2 S 24[11]=1 Ch 21[9], and esp. 1 Ch 25[5] 29[29], 2 Ch 9[29] 12[15] 19[2] 29[25. 30] 33[18. 19] 35[15].

12. חָזַק Hithp.=*strengthen oneself*, 1 S 30[6] (התחזק ביהוה), 2 S 3[6], 1 K 20[22], but esp. 2 Ch 1[1] 12[13] 13[21] 17[1] 21[4] 23[1] 25[11] 27[6], 15[8] (=*take courage*), Ezr 7[28] (=*gain* strength); also Dn 10[19] (*id.*); =*put forth one's strength*, Gn 48[2], Nu 13[20] (both JE), Jg 20[22], 1 S 4[2], 2 S 10[12], but also 1 Ch 19[13], 2 Ch 32[5] (*v.* also *supr.*).

13. חֲצֹצְרָה *clarion*, as sacred instrument, ↑ 2 K 12[14], but esp. (for use by priests only) 1 Ch 13[8] 15[16. 24. 28] 16[6. 42], 2 Ch 5[12. 13. 13] 13[12. 14] 20[28] 29[26. 27. 28], Ezr 3[10], Neh 12[35. 41]; also Ps 98[6] and Nu 10[3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10] 31[6] (all P); חצצר vb. denom. Pi. and Hiph. *sound a clarion*, ↑ 1 Ch 15[24], 2 Ch 5[12. 13] 7[6] 13[14] 29[28].

14. יָדָה Hiph.=*praise*, of ritual worship, 2 S 22[50]=Ps 18[50]=108[4]; also Is 12[4] 25[1], but esp. Ps (67 t.) and 1 Ch 16[4. 7. 8. 34. 35. 41] 23[30] 25[3] 29[13], 2 Ch 5[13] 7[3. 6] 20[22] 31[2], Ezr 3[11], Neh 11[17] 12[24. 46]; תּוֹדָה=*thank-offering*, Am 4[5], 2 Ch 29[31. 31] 33[16]; also Ps, Jer, and P.

15. יָמִין adj. *right* (hand), 1 K 6[8] 7[39], 2 K 11[11]; also 1 K 7[21]=2 Ch 3[17] *Kerê*, 2 Ch 4[10] 23[10], Ezk 4[6] *Kerê*, 47[1. 2], Ex 29[20]+8 t. P.

16. כּוּן Hiph. *set up, prepare*, etc. 2 S 5[12], 1 K 2[24] etc., but esp. 1 Ch 14[2] 28[7], 2 Ch 12[1] 17[5]+36 t. Ch.

17. כָּנַס *gather*, ↑ Is 28[20] (Hithp.), but also 1 Ch 22[2], Neh 12[44]; also Ezk 22[21] 39[28], Ps 33[7] 147[2], Est 4[16], Ec 2[8. 26] 3[5].

18. כָּנַע Niph. *be humble, humbled, humble oneself*, 1 S 7[13], 1 K 21[29] etc., but esp. 1 Ch 20[4], 2 Ch 7[14] 12[6. 7. 7. 12] 13[18] 30[11] 32[26] 33[12. 19. 23. 23] 34[27. 27] 36[12]; Hiph. *humble, subdue*, ↑ Jg 4[23], Dt 9[3], 2 S 8[1]=1 Ch 18[1], also 1 Ch 17[10], 2 Ch 28[19]; also Is 25[5], Job 40[12], Ps 81[15] 107[12].

19. מִלֵּא יָד=*consecrate*, Jg 17[5. 12], 1 K 13[33], but also 1 Ch 29[5], 2 Ch 13[9] 16[33] 29[31]; also Ezk 43[26] and Ex 28[41] 29[9. 29. 33. 35] 32[29], Lv 8[33] 16[33] 21[1], Nu 3[3] (all P).

20. מַלְכוּת *kingdom, reign*, Nu 24[7] (JE), 1 S 20[31], 1 K 2[12], but esp. 1 Ch 11[10]+27 t. Ch., Ezr 1[1] 4[5. 6. 6] 7[1] 8[1], Neh 9[35] 12[22]; Est 1[2]+25 t. Est, Dn 1[1]+15 t. Dn, Ex 4[14], 5 t. Ps, 3 t. Jer.

21. נָדַב Hithp. *offer* (oneself) *willingly*, ↑ Jg 5[2. 9] (in war), but esp. (in sacred gifts and services) 1 Ch 29[5. 6. 9. 9. 14. 17. 17], 2 Ch 17[16], Ezr 1[6] 2[68] 3[5], Neh 11[2].

22. עֶזְרָה *help*, of divine assistance, 1 S 7[12], Gn 49[25] etc., but esp. Ps and 1 Ch 12[18] 15[26], 2 Ch 14[11. 11] (Heb. v.[10]) 18[31] 25[8] 26[7] 32[8].

23. עֹשֶׁר וְכָבוֹד *riches and honour*, ↑ 1 K 3[13], but esp. 1 Ch 29[12. 28], 2 Ch 1[11. 12] 17[5] 18[1] 32[27]; also Pr 3[16] 8[18], Ec 6[2].

24. לָרֹב *abundantly*, 1 K 10[27]=2 Ch 1[15]=9[27], and esp. 1 Ch 4[38] 12[40] 22[3. 3. 4. 5. 8. 14. 15] 29[2. 21], 2 Ch 2[9] (Heb. v.[8]) 4[18] 9[1. 9] 11[23] 14[15] (Heb. v.[14]) 15[9] 16[8] 17[5] 18[1. 2] 20[25] 24[11. 24. 27] 27[3] 29[35] 30[5. 13. 24] 31[5] 32[5. 29], Neh 9[25]; also Zec 14[14].

There are also classes of peculiarities in Ch, many of them syntactical; *e.g.* omission of the relative; ה־ for the relative; שָׁעָר וְשָׁעַר and other such repetitions with ו in a distributive sense; וּכְכֹלוֹת and other temporal inf. phrases at beginning of sentence (for older וַיְהִי כְּכַלּוֹת, etc.); and particularly the use of prepositions:—ל *c. inf.* with circumstantial force, at the end of sentences, as 1 Ch 15[16] etc.; ל *c. inf.* denoting purpose, etc.; ל as the accusative sign after a verbal suffix, *e.g.* 1 Ch 5[26], לְדַבֵּר יוֹם, and without a preceding suffix 2 Ch 26[14]; בְּיוֹמוֹ ↑ 1 Ch 16[37], 2 Ch 8[14] 31[16]; לְאַיִן=*without, e.g.* 1 Ch 22[4], 2 Ch 14[12]; לְלֹא=*without* ↑ 2 Ch 15[3. 3. 3]; לְכָל־=*wholly, namely, e.g.* 1 Ch 13[1] etc.; ל and (oft.) לְלַל־, carrying on another preposition (לְפָנֵי, עִם, etc.), or introducing a nominative 1 Ch 26[26] 28[1. 21] 29[6]; the curious combination לְלָמָּה, in לְמַבְרֵאשׁוֹנָה ↑ 1 Ch 15[13], and לְמַעַן ↑ 2 Ch 30[3]; the frequent and noteworthy עַל before both verbs and nouns, *e.g.* 1 Ch 28[20], 2 Ch 16[12] 36[16]; בְּ of accompaniment, without a verb, 1 Ch 16[6] etc.; בְּ before adverbs, *e.g.* בְּפִתְאֹם 2 Ch 29[36]; and others (see esp. Driver, *LOT* 504–506).

The peculiar and often anomalous phraseology of Ch, which is apparent in every chapter, may be further illustrated by the following specimens chosen almost at random:—

1 Ch 10[13] says that (Saul died . . .) because he did not obey J"'s command, and because he made inquiry by necromancy; in Heb. thus: עַל־דְּבַר ׳ אֲשֶׁר לֹא שָׁמַר וְגַם לִשְׁאוֹל בָּאוֹב לִדְרוֹשׁ;

11[10] speaks of heroes whom David had, הַמִּתְחַזְּקִים עִמּוֹ בְּמַלְכוּתוֹ עִם־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמְלִיכוֹ;

12[18] (Baer, EV v.[17]) makes David say, 'I will

heartily join with you,' in Heb. thus: יְהִי־לִי עֲלֵיכֶם לֵבָב לְיַחַד, lit. 'I will have a heart toward you for unitedness.'

28^{18} לְתַבְנִית הַמֶּרְכָּבָה הַכְּרוּבִים וְהָבָה לְפֹרְשִׂים וְסֹכְכִים עַל־אֲרוֹן וגו״, *i.e.* (refined gold) for the pattern of the chariot, (viz.) the cherubim (viz. of) gold (making them, *notice* ל) to spreading out and covering over the ark, etc.

28^{19} הַכֹּל בִּכְתָב מִיַּד י״ עָלַי הַשְׂכִּיל, the whole by a writing from the hand of J″ upon me hath he taught.

29^{30} וְהָעִתִּים אֲשֶׁר עָבְרוּ עָלָיו וְעַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וגו״ and the times (*i.e.* experiences) which have passed over him and over Israel, etc.

2 Ch 11^{23} וַיְבַקֵּשׁ הַמּוֹן נָשִׁים, and he sought a crowd of wives (but rd. perh. וַיִּשָּׂאוּ לָהֶם נָ, so F. Perles, *Anel.* 47).

15^{3} וְיָמִים רַבִּים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְלֹא אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶת וּלְלֹא כֹּהֵן מוֹרֶה וּלְלֹא תוֹרָה׃, and long was Israel without a true God, and without a priest as teacher, and without a law.

16^{9} לְהִתְחַזֵּק עִם־לְבָבָם שָׁלֵם אֵלָיו, to show himself strong in helping those whose heart is perfect toward him (אֲשֶׁר omitted before לבבם).

21^{19} וַיְהִי לְיָמִים מִיָּמִים וּכְעֵת צֵאת הַקֵּץ לְיָמִים שָׁנִים, *i.e.* and it came to pass after some days, even about the time of the outgoing of the end of two years.

DATE.—(1) The peculiarities of language already noted give an overwhelming presumption in favour of a very late date for Ch. (2) Specific evidence appears—(*a*) 1 Ch 3^{24} where Anani is named according to MT in the 6th generation after Zerubbabel, or about B.C. 350; (𝔊, followed by 𝔖𝔇, makes Anani the 11th from Zerubbabel, or about B.C. 250–200); probably also (*b*) the expressions 'kingdom of Persia,' 'king of Persia,' 2 Ch $36^{20.\ 22.\ 23}$, if, as is likely, these expressions were used to distinguish the Persian rulers, not from the Semitic Babylonian, but from the later Greek (note the absence of this expression in the *contemporary* references of Neh 2^{1} 5^{14} 13^{6}; also $11^{23.\ 24}$ etc.). (3) Further specific evidence appears in Ezr-Neh,—originally one work with Ch—(*a*) the *terminus a quo* is given Neh 13^{6} 'the 32nd year of Artaxerxes' = B.C. 433; (*b*) Jaddua, Neh 12^{11}, is 6th high priest after Joshua (Hag $1^{1.\ 12}$ 2^{4}, Zec $3^{1.\ 3.\ 6.\ 8.\ 9}$ 6^{11}); Eliashib, 3rd in this list, was a contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{1} $13^{4.\ 28}$); Josephus, *Ant.* XI. viii. 4, names Jaddua, as high priest in the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 333; (*c*) Darius III. (Codomannus) reigned B.C. 336–332, and his reign ('Darius the Persian') is mentioned Neh 12^{22}; (*d*) on 'the Persian' (*l.c.*), and 'king of Persia,' Ezr ($1^{1.\ 1.\ 2}$) 1^{8} 3^{7} $4^{3.\ 5.\ 5.\ 7.\ 24}$ 6^{14} 7^{1}, cf. 2 (*b*) *supra*; (*e*) late words and constructions, evident Aramaic influence in the language, and extended Aramaic passages (Ezr 4^{8-23} 5^{1}–6^{18} 7^{12-26}). On the other hand, if Eupolemus knew the LXX translation of Ch (cf. POSITION IN CANON, *supr.*), the original must have had canonical authority not much later than B.C. 200. From all these indications it is safe to say that Ch was not composed before B.C. 300, and may have been composed as late as B.C. 250.

PARALLELS.

1 Ch 1^{1-4} = Gn 5^{3-22} (condensed by omitting chronol notes).
1^{5-23} = Gn 10^{2-29} (om. Gn 10^{9-12}).
1^{24-27} = Gn 11^{10-26} (condensed by omitting chronol. notes).
1^{28} = Gn 21^{3} etc., and 16^{15} etc. (condensed).
1^{29-31} = Gn $25^{13b-16a}$.
$1^{32.\ 33}$ = Gn $25^{2.\ 3a.\ 4}$.
1^{34} = Gn 25^{19-26} (condensed).
1^{35-54} = Gn 36^{10-43} (condensed)
$2^{1.\ 2}$ = Gn 35^{23-26} (condensed).
2^{3-5} = Gn 46^{12}, with additions from Gn 38; cf. Nu 26^{19-21}.
$2^{6.\ 7}$, cf. Jos 7^{1}, 1 K 4^{31}.
2^{8} has no ‖.
2^{9-12}, cf. Ru 4^{19-22} (to *Jesse*).
2^{13-17}, cf. 1 S 16^{6-13}, 2 S 2^{18} 17^{25}.
2^{18-24} descendants of Caleb, no ‖. } These are evidently to a large extent geogr. names.
2^{25-41} ,, Jerahmeel, no ‖.
2^{42-49} further sons of Caleb, no ‖.
2^{50-55} descendants of Caleb's son Hur, no ‖.
3^{1-9} David's children = 2 S 3^{2-5} 5^{13-16} 13^{1}.
3^{10-16} kings of Judah, descendants of Solomon, cf. 1 K 12–2 K 24.
3^{17-24} descendants of Jehoiachin, ending with Anani, no ‖ (cf. Mt 1^{12} from Jehoiachin to Zerubbabel).
4^{1-23} Judah's descendants. Little ‖ (on v.^{1} cf. Gn. 46^{12}, Nu 26^{19-21}).
4^{24} Simeon's descendants, cf. Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}, Nu $26^{12.\ 13}$.
4^{25-27} Simeon's descendants, no ‖.
4^{28-33} ,, cities = Jos 19^{2-8}.
4^{34-43} ,, descendants, and narrative about them, no ‖.
5^{1-26} Reuben, Gad, and ½ Manasseh; on 5^{3} cf. Gn 46^{9}, Nu $26^{5.\ 6}$.
6^{1-3} (Heb. 5^{27-29}), Levi:—Aaron's sons, cf. Gn 46^{11}, Ex $6^{16.\ 18.\ 20.\ 23}$, Nu 3^{2}.
6^{4-15} (Heb. 5^{30-41}), chief priests till fall of Jerus., no ‖.
6^{16-53} (Heb. 6^{1-37}), Levitical genealogies, no ‖ (only occasional reff.).
6^{54-81} (Heb. 6^{38-66}), Levitical cities, cf. Jos 21^{10-39}.
7^{1-5} Issachar, cf. Gn 46^{13}, Nu $26^{23.\ 25}$.
7^{6-12} Benjamin, cf. Gn 46^{21}, Nu $26^{38.\ 39}$.
7^{13} Naphtali, cf. Gn 46^{24}, Nu $26^{48.\ 49}$.
7^{14-19} Manasseh, cf. Nu 26^{29-33}.
7^{20-29} Ephraim, cf. Nu $26^{35.\ 36}$, Jos 16.
7^{30-40} Asher, cf. Gn 46^{17}, Nu $26^{44.\ 45}$.
8^{1-40} Benjamin, incl. Saul's descendants, through Jonathan; cf. Gn 46^{21}, Nu $26^{38.\ 39}$, 1 S $14^{49.\ 59}$, 2 S $28\ 4^{4}$ 9^{12}.
9^{1-34} Post-exilic families in Jerus. (some ‖ in Ezr and Neh).
9^{35-44} Saul's family = 8^{29-40} (some divergencies of detail).
10^{1-12} Saul's last battle, and death = 1 S 31^{1-13}.
$10^{13.\ 14}$ Moral reflection, no ‖.
11^{1-3} David, king at Hebron = 2 S 5^{1-3}.
11^{4-9} David captures Jerusalem = 2 S 5^{6-10}.
11^{10-47} David's heroes, cf. 2 S 23^{8-39} (additional name in Ch).
12^{1-22} David's followers at Ziklag, no ‖.
12^{23-40} David's king-makers, no ‖.
13^{1-14} Ark brought from Kiriath-jearim = 2 S 6^{1-11}.
$14^{1.\ 2}$ Hiram and David = 2 S $5^{11.\ 12}$.
14^{3-7} David's children in Jerusalem = 2 S 5^{13-16}.
14^{8-17} David's conquest of Philistines = 2 S 5^{17-25}.
15^{1-28} Ark brought to Jerusalem. } Cf. 2 S 6^{12b-20} (greatly expanded).
15^{29} Michal's contempt.
$16^{1-6.\ 37-43}$ Sacrifices, Blessing of people, Levitical ministers of ark.
16^{8-35} Psalm on the occasion:— 16^{8-22} = Ps 105^{1-15}. 16^{23-33} = Ps 96^{1-13}. $16^{34.\ 35}$ = Ps $106^{1.\ 47.\ 48}$.
$17^{1.\ 2}$ David's desire to build temple = 2 S 7^{1-3}.
17^{3-15} Prophecy of Nathan = 2 S 7^{4-17}.
17^{16-27} David's prayer and thanksgiving = 2 S 7^{18-29}.
18^{1-13} David's foreign conquests = 2 S 8^{1-14}.
18^{14-17} David's internal rule = 2 S 8^{15-18}.
19^{1-19} 20^{1-3} David's war with Ammon = 2 S 10^{1-19} 11^{1ff} 12^{26-31}.
20^{4-8} David's war with Philistines = 2 S 21^{15-22}.
21^{1-30} David's numbering of people, and its penalty; purchase of Ornan's threshing-floor = 2 S 24^{1-25}.
22^{1-19} David's preparations for temple-building, no ‖.
23^{1} David appoints Solomon his successor, cf. 1 K 1^{33-39}.
23^{2}–27^{34} David's elaborate Levitical and ritual arrangements, incl. musical; appointment of other officials, no ‖.
28^{1-21} 29^{1-19} Further announcement by David of plans for temple, and of Solomon as his successor, no ‖.
29^{20-30} Accession of Solomon and death of David, cf. 1 K 1^{33-39} $2^{11.\ 12}$.

2 Ch 1^{1-13} Solomon's reign; his sacrifice at Gibeon, cf. 1 K 3–13.
1^{14-17} Solomon's reign; its splendour, etc., cf. 1 K 10^{26-29}.
2–4 Building of temple (and palace), cf. 1 K 5–7 (condensed).
5^{1-14} Dedication of temple, cf. 1 K 8^{1-11} (expanded).
6^{1-42} Prayer of Solomon = 1 K 8^{12-61} (vv.$^{54-61}$ om. in Ch).
7^{1-11} Sacrifices, etc., cf. 1 K 8^{62-66} (expanded).
7^{12-22} Solomon's vision of J″, cf. 1 K 9^{1-9}.
8. 9 Further glory of Sol.'s kingdom, cf. 1 K 9^{10-28} 10^{1-25} (many differences of detail); specifically 9^{1-12}, Queen of Sheba = 1 K 10^{1-13}.
9^{31} Death of Solomon = 1 K 11^{43}.
10^{1-19} Accession of Rehoboam, and division of kingdom = 1 K 12^{1-20}.
11^{1-23} Rehoboam's reign, cf. 1 K 12^{21-24} 14^{21-24} (expanded).
12^{1-16} Rehoboam and Shishak, cf. 1 K 14^{25-31}.
13^{1-22} Abijah, and his war with Jeroboam, cf. 1 K 15^{1-8} (expanded).
14. 15 Asa, his reforms and success in war, cf. 1 K 15^{9-24} (expanded).
16 Asa's apostasy, no ‖.
17 Jehoshaphat, his reforms and might, cf. 1 K 22^{41-46} (expanded).
18 Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab = 1 K $22^{1-35.\ 50}$.
19 Prophet's rebuke for this alliance, no ‖.
20^{1-34} Jehoshaphat's success against Moab, Ammon, and Edom, no ‖ (takes the place of 2 K 3^{4-27}).
20^{35-37} Jehoshaphat and ships of Tarshish, cf. 1 K $22^{48.\ 49}$.
21 Jehoram's wicked reign, and disaster, cf. 2 K 8^{16-24} (expanded).
22^{1-9} Ahaziah's wicked reign, and disaster, cf. 2 K 8^{25-29} 9^{21-28}.
22^{10-12} Athaliah's wicked reign, cf. 2 K 11^{1-3}.
23^{1-21} Athaliah's overthrow by Jehoiada, cf. 2 K 11^{4-20} (expanded).

2 Ch 24[1-27] Joash's reign, first good, then bad, cf. 2 K 12[1-21] (expanded).
25[1-28] Amaziah's reign, first good, then bad, cf. 2 K 14[1-20] (expanded).
26[1-23] Uzziah's reign, first good, then bad, cf. 2 K 14[21. 22] 15[1-7] (expanded).
27[1-9] Jotham's good reign, cf. 2 K 15[32-38].
28[1-27] Ahaz's wicked reign, cf. 2 K 16[1-20] (expanded).
29[1-36] Hezekiah's good reign; reforms, cf. 2 K 18[1-8] (expanded).
30[1-27] Hezekiah's passover, no ‖.
31[1-21] Hezekiah's reforms, cont., no ‖.
32[1-22] Sennacherib's invasion, cf. 2 K 18[13-37] 19[1-37] (condensed).
32[24] Hezekiah's sickness, cf. 2 K 20[1-11] (condensed).
32[23. 25-33] Hezekiah's pride; homage from others; death, cf. 2 K 20[12-21] (modified and condensed).
33[1-20] Manasseh's wicked reign, captivity, and repentance, cf. 2 K 21[1-18] (greatly modified).
33[21-25] Amon's wicked reign, cf. 2 K 21[19-26].
34[1-33] Josiah and his reforms, the law-book, etc., cf. 2 K 22[1-20] 23[1-20. 24-28].
35[1-19] Josiah's passover, cf. 2 K 23[21-23] (greatly expanded).
35[20-27] Josiah's death, cf. 2 K 23[29. 30] (expanded).
36[1-3] Jehoahaz's reign, cf. 2 K 23[31-35].
36[4-8] Jehoiakim's reign, cf. 2 K 23[36. 37] 24[1-6] (condensed).
36[9. 10] Jehoiachin's reign, cf. 2 K 24[8-17] (condensed).
36[11-13] Zedekiah's reign, cf. 2 K 24[18-20] 25[1-7] (condensed); with v.[12] cf. also Jer 37[1. 2].
36[14-16] Moral reflections, no ‖ (cf. 2 K 24[20]).
36[17-21] Fall of Jerus., cf 2 K 25[8-21] (condensed); with v.[21] cf. also Jer 25[9. 11. 12] 29[10].
36[22. 23] Restoration-edict of Cyrus=Ezr 1[1-3a], no other ‖.

Comparison.—*A.* The foregoing table shows at once, that while parts of Ch have no parallel in the earlier books, there are still larger portions of those books unrepresented in Ch. The following are such portions of Samuel and Kings:—1 S 1–30, 2 S 1–4. 9. 11[2-27] 12[1-15] 13–20. 21[1-14] 22. 23[1-7], 1 K 1[1-32] 2[1-9. 13-46] 3[1-3. 16-28] 4[1-34] 13. 14[1-20] 15[25-34] 16–21, 2 K 1–7. 8[1-15] 9. (chiefly), 10. 13. 15[8-31] 17. 25[22-26. 27-30]. They include (1) the entire activity of Samuel, and the reign of Saul (except the close); (2) David's lament for Saul and Jonathan, his conflict with Ishbosheth, and dealings with Mephibosheth; (3) the story of Uriah and Bathsheba; (4) the story of Amnon and Tamar, and Absalom's flight and recall; (5) Absalom's rebellion and David's exile; (6) the Psalm of 2 S 22=Ps 18; (7) the 'Last Words of David' 23[1-7]; (8) the intrigues and struggles attending Solomon's accession; (9) evidences of Solomon's wisdom and poetic gifts; (10) Solomon's alliances with foreign women, and his idolatries in later life; (11) his vexation by adversaries, including Jeroboam; (12) the entire history of the Northern Kingdom, after the division, except when the account of the Southern Kingdom makes necessary some mention of the Northern; (13) the governorship and murder of Gedaliah, after Jerusalem's fall; (14) the exile-life of Jehoiachin.

B. Ch condenses also, in several places, and as a result gives statements with less precision than the earlier books. These passages are chronological (as in the genealogies 1 Ch 1), architectural (as in the case of the temple-building 2 Ch 2–4; the building of Solomon's palace is not described at all), political (as Sennacherib's invasion 2 Ch 32[1-22]; the reigns of the last kings 2 Ch 36[4-13]), or humiliating (Michal's contempt 1 Ch 15[29]; sickness of Hezekiah 2 Ch 32[24]; fall of Jerusalem 2 Ch 36[17-21]; the same quality may partly account for the cases mentioned under the previous head). That Ch expands some political and military narratives is also true, and will be noticed below. Other narratives are modified in various ways, *e.g.* the sacrifice by Solomon at Gibeon (2 Ch 1[3-6]), the overthrow of Athaliah (2 Ch 23), and the reigns of Jehoram (2 Ch 21[5-20]), Ahaziah (2 Ch 22[1-9]), Joash (2 Ch 24), Ahaz (2 Ch 28), and Manasseh (2 Ch 33[1-20]); some of these will be noticed below under *D*.

C. In those parts of Ch which have no parallel in S and K, as well as in Ch's expansions and modifications of narratives occurring in them, certain definite interests are prominent:—(1) Moral reflections and explanations of calamities as divine judgments, *e.g.* 1 Ch 10[13. 14], 2 Ch 36[11-13]; so Shishak's invasion is explained 2 Ch 12[2], and Jehoram's misfortunes 2 Ch 21[10. 16-19], cf. the 'letter of Elijah the prophet' vv.[12-15], and the wreck of ships at Ezion-geber 2 Ch 21[37], and Amaziah's defeat 2 Ch 25[14-16], and Uzziah's leprosy 2 Ch 26[16-21], and Josiah's death 2 Ch 35[21. 22]; (2) divine interpositions in war, *e.g.* 2 Ch 13[15. 16] 14[12. 13] 20[22-24]; (3) speeches and prophetic addresses, hortatory, didactic, etc.; also prayers: *e.g.* 1 Ch 22[5-19] 28[1-10] 29[1-20], 2 Ch 13[4-12] 14[7] 15[1-7] 16[7-9] 19[2. 3. 9-11] 20[5-12. 14-17] 21[12-15] (writing of Elijah) 25[7. 8] 28[9-11] 29[5-11] 30[6-9] (decree of Hezekiah) 32[7. 8] 35[21]; (4) matters connected with worship, including Levitical, ritual, and especially musical appointments, *e.g.* 1 Ch 15. 16. (including the Psalm vv.[8-36]) 22–26. 28. 29, 2 Ch 5[12. 13] 7[1. 3. 6] 8[14. 15] 11[13. 14. 16] 13[8-12] 17[8. 9] 19[8-11] 20[19. 21. 28] 23[2. 4. 6. 7. 8. 18. 19] 24[5. 6. 11] 26[16-20] 29[4. 5. 7. 12-36] 30. 31. 34[9. 12. 13. 30] 35[1-19. 25]; a peculiar case is 2 Ch 8[11] where Solomon's wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, is brought to the house built for her because the house of David has become too holy by reason of the coming of the ark; contrast 1 K 3[1] 7[8] 9[24]. (On some additions of another kind, see below.)

D. It remains for us to examine the parallel passages a little more closely, selecting some of those most important for purposes of comparison:—

In some cases the agreement is close, almost exactly verbal, as 1 Ch 10[1-12]=1 S 31, 2 Ch 9[1-9]=1 K 10[1-10], 2 Ch 18=1 K 22[1-35] (including the blunder of v.[28b]), etc. In others there is important divergence, *e.g.*:—

1. 1 Ch 6[3-15] (Heb. 5[30-41]) gives the list of chief priests through Eleazar, son of Aaron; most of the chief priests known to Sam. and Kings do not appear in this list, *viz.* Eli 1 S 1[9] 2[30], Ahitub, Eli's grandson (son of Phinehas) 1 S 14[3], Ahijah 1 S 14[3], and Ahimelech 21[2] 22[9. 11. 20] etc. (both described as 'son of Ahitub,' and hence identified by Bertheau, Klost. *al.*; 'brothers,' according to Kittel, *Gesch.* ii. 173, etc.), Abiathar, son of Ahimelech 1 S 22[20], who was deposed by Solomon 1 K 2[26f.]. Zadok, whom Solomon substituted, appears as 10th in Ch's list, the son of an Ahitub, son of Amariah. Missing also are Jehoiada 2 K 11[4] etc., and Urijah 2 K 16[10] etc. Azariah appears in Solomon's time, but 1 K 4[2] calls him son of Zadok, while in Ch he is son of Johanan; Hilkiah 2 K 22[4] etc. appears in Ch, and so does Seraiah 2 K 25[18]. These occasional agreements make the variations all the harder to explain. 1 Ch 24[2. 3] makes Ahimelech a descendant of Aaron through his son Ithamar, and these and the following vv. make an attempt to satisfy their rival claims by recognising both in the temple service.

2. 1 Ch 13[10] explains the death of Uzzah as 2 S 6[7] does; but 1 Ch 15[13] gives a new reason, *viz.*, because the Levites did not carry the ark.

3. 1 Ch 20[5] Elhanan killed Lahmi, brother of Goliath; but 2 S 21[19] he killed Goliath himself.

4. 1 Ch 21[1] it is Satan that moves David to number Israel, in 2 S 24[1] it is J".

5. 2 Ch 1[3ff.] explains Solomon's sacrifice at Gibeon by saying that the tent of meeting and the brazen altar were there (cf. 1 Ch 21[29]); but 1 K 3[3f.] says that Sol. worshipped at the high places, and sacrificed at Gibeon because that was the great high place; and v.[15] speaks not only of his coming back to Jerus. (2 Ch 1[13]), but also of his standing before the ark and sacrificing there, which Ch omits.

6. 2 Ch 7[1. 3] the sacrifices at the temple dedication are consumed by fire from heaven; there is nothing of this in 1 K 8[62ff.].

7. 2 Ch 7[12-22] and 1 K 9[1-9] both describe a second appearance of J" to Solomon; but the language used by them differs, esp. in the condensation of 1 K 9[1] and the insertion of vv.[13-16] in Ch.

8. 2 Ch 14[5] 17[6] (cf. 19[3]) commend both Asa and Jehoshaphat for removing the high places; but 1 K 15[14] 22[43] tell us that these kings did not remove the high places (so also 2 Ch 15[17] 20[33]).

9. 2 Ch 20[35. 36] says that Jehoshaphat allied himself with Ahaziah of Israel to make ships [for an expedition by sea 1 K 22[49]]; but 1 K 22[49] says that Ahaziah proposed the joint expedition, and Jehoshaphat refused.

10. 2 Ch 20[36] says that they made ships at Ezion-geber to go to Tarshish (on the Mediterranean, not accessible from Ezion-geber); but 1 K 22[48] simply speaks of Tarshish-ships (large sea-going vessels), and says they were destined for Ophir.

11. 2 Ch 21[7] says 'J" would not destroy the house of David, because of the covenant,' etc.; but 2 K 8[19] says 'J" would not destroy Judah for David his servant's sake.'

12. 2 Ch 22[9] describes Jehu's murder of Ahaziah thus: 'And he sought Ahaziah: and they caught him (for he was hid in Samaria) and brought him to Jehu: and when they had slain him, they buried him,' etc.; but according to 2 K 9[21ff.] Ahaziah drove out from Jezreel with Joram to meet Jehu, fled on discovering the treachery, and was killed in his flight. He died at Megiddo, was brought by his servants to Jerusalem,

and buried there 'in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David.'

13. 2 Ch 23 represents the overthrow of queen Athaliah thus: Jehoiada and the captains of hundreds, and all the Levites in the cities of Judah, and the heads of families of the people, making 'all the congregation,' were gathered at Jerus.,—Athaliah being ignorant of it,—but while v.[3] says 'all the congregation made a covenant with the king in the house of God,' v.[6] provides that only priests and ministering Levites be allowed to enter the temple, and then the king is proclaimed, and Athaliah slain; but 2 K 11, while agreeing as to the main facts, represents a secret conspiracy between Jehoiada and the captains of the foreign mercenaries who served as temple guard; the meeting-place was the temple, into which the foreigners came and took their oath; the Levites, trained singers, burnt-offerings, law of Moses, etc., which appear in Ch, are all lacking in K.

14. 2 Ch 24[14], speaking of the collection for repairing the temple, under Jehoash of Judah, says, 'they brought the rest of the money before the king and Jehoiada, whereof were made vessels for J"'s house'; but 2 K 12[13] says that no vessels were made for J"'s house out of the proceeds of the collection.

15. 2 Ch 24[2. 17ff.] makes Joash reign righteously 'all the days of Jehoiada the priest,' and after Jehoiada's death apostatise; but 2 K 12[2] says, 'And Jehoash did that which was right in the eyes of J" all his days, (namely) wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him,' and K tells us nothing of any apostasy or wickedness, only criticising (v.[3]), as in other cases, the non-removal of the high places.

16. 2 Ch 28[5-15] describes slaughter and bondage inflicted on Judah by Pekah of Israel in the reign of Ahaz, which is not only unknown to 2 K 16 and Is 7, but is inconsistent with 2 K 16[5], Is 7[1. 4. 7].

17. 2 Ch 28[16ff.] makes Ahaz send to the king(s) of Assyria for aid against the Edomites and Philistines; but 2 K 16[7] expressly says that it was against the kings of Aram and Israel.

18. 2 Ch 28[20. 21] says that 'Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him not,' and again: 'he helped him not.' With this 2 K 16[9] is in contradiction.

19. 2 Ch 33[11-19] represents Manasseh as humbled and changed in heart by captivity, and as a reformer in the latter part of his reign. 2 K 21 knows nothing of this, paints him in colours wholly dark, and makes the fall of Jerus. a punishment specifically for Manasseh's sins (cf. also Jer 15[4]).

20. 2 Ch 34 represents Josiah's reforms as accomplished in his 12th year (v.[3]), and the law-book as discovered in his 18th year. 2 K 22. 23 represent the reforms as suggested and occasioned by the discovery of the law-book, and as occurring, like that discovery, in the 18th year of his reign.

E. One peculiarity of Ch, which involves some discrepancies with the earlier books, is a fondness for large numbers, *e.g.* 1 Ch 18[4] 19[18] make David capture 7000 horsemen and slay 7000 chariotmen, over against 700 of each in 2 S 8[4] 10[18]; according to 1 Ch 21[25] David pays 600 shekels of gold for Ornan's threshing-floor, according to 2 S 24[24] only 50 shekels of silver; 2½ tribes, according to 1 Ch 5[21], capture from the Hagrites 100,000 prisoners, 50,000 camels, 250,000 sheep, and 2000 asses; 1 Ch 12 represents that 339,000 men came to make David king; 1 Ch 22[14] says that David provided for the temple building 100,000 talents of gold (=4,911,000 kilograms), and 1,000,000 talents of silver (=at least 33,660,000 kgs.); Shishak (2 Ch 2[3]) came with 1200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen, and people without number; 2 Ch 13[3. 17] makes Abijah, with 400,000 men, fight against Jeroboam with 800,000, and kill 500,000 of them; Asa (2 Ch 14[8]) had 300,000 men of Judah and 280,000 of Benjamin; Zerah the Ethiopian, his opponent, had 1,000,000 men and 300 chariots (2 Ch 14[9]); Amaziah (2 Ch 25[5. 6]) had 300,000 soldiers of his own, and hired 100,000 more from Israel; Azariah (2 Ch 26[13]) had an army of 307,500 men; Pekah (2 Ch 28[6. 8]) killed 120,000 Judæan warriors in one day, and carried off 200,000 captives.

F. The combination of these various peculiarities of the author gives a very different aspect to the history from that found in the earlier books. The pre-royal time has only a genealogical interest for him. The beginning of the kingdom, the first reign, the attempts of Saul's dynasty to maintain itself, are no concern of his. Practically, David is his first king. David and Solomon are kings of almost spotless excellence, and enjoy undisturbed prosperity. The ceremonial law of the Priests' Code is recognised and observed by David, even before there is a temple. The service is stately and rich. After the division of the kingdom the ten tribes are not of importance enough to be mentioned, except incidentally. Interest is concentrated on Judah and Jerusalem. All good Judæan kings, trained in the law of one exclusive sanctuary, of course forbade the high places. Sins, when they do occur, are sternly punished by God, and public calamities are due to sins. Huge numbers give majesty and importance to many scenes, and to the kingdom in its continuous history, and central in that history is the hand of God, His temple, His solemn ordinances, His ceremonial and impressive worship.

SOURCES.—I. For 1 Ch 1–9 the sources are apparently genealogical lists in Gn, Ex, Nu, Jos, and (occasionally) S,—the relation between Ru 4[19ff.] and 1 Ch 2[9ff.] is doubtful,—also other lists not found in the earlier canonical books. The latter is the case particularly in the latter half of 1 Ch 2, and in chs. 4. 6 and the middle of 7 (see esp. Wellh. *De gentibus*, and Kittel). Only twice in these chapters is there reference to an earlier writing; the first is in 1 Ch 5[17], but whether this writing (or these writings, *v. infr.* II. 13) really served the Chronicler as a source is extremely doubtful (Kuenen, *Ond.*[2] i. 483); the second is in 1 Ch 9[1] (see below).

The Psalm 1 Ch 16[8-35] is made up of parts of three Psalms found in our Psalter (see PARALLELS, above).

The question as to the origin of 2 Ch 36[22. 23] (Restoration-decree of Cyrus)=Ezr 1[1-3a], belongs rather to a discussion of Ezra-Nehemiah.

Ch's own references to earlier writings (with the exceptions noted above) are in the main part of the book, 1 Ch 10[1]–2 Ch 36[21].

II. Ch refers by name to the following works:—

1. (*a*) The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, 2 Ch 16[11] 25[26] 28[26]; evidently=(*b*) The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, 27[7] 35[27] 36[8].

2. The Book of the Kings of Israel, 1 Ch 9[1] (so Bertheau, Keil, Oettli, Kautzsch, RV; Ⓖ, Kuenen doubtfully. AV adds 'and Judah,' which otherwise is subj. of following vb.).

3. The Doings of the Kings of Israel (2 Ch 33[18] (for Manasseh).

4. The Midrash of the Book of Kings, 2 Ch 24[27] (for Joash).

5. The Vision of Isaiah the Prophet, son of Amoz, in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, 2 Ch 32[32].

6. The Words of Jehu, son of Hanani, which are taken up into the Book of the Kings of Israel, 1 Ch 20[34] (for Jehoshaphat).

The following were probably of limited compass:—

7. The Words of Samuel the Seer, and the Words of Nathan the Prophet, and the Words of Gad the Seer, 1 Ch 29[29].

8. The Words of Nathan the Prophet, and the Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the Vision of Iddo the Seer regarding Jeroboam, son of Nebat, 2 Ch 9[29].

9. The Words of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer for reckoning by Genealogies, 2 Ch 12[15].

10. The Midrash of the Prophet Iddo, 2 Ch 13[22].

11. The rest of the Doings of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the Prophet, son of Amoz, write, 2 Ch 26[22].

12. The Words of the Seers, 2 Ch 33[19] (cf. v.[18]; so Ⓖ, Bertheau, Kautzsch; of Hozai, Ⓕ, Oettli, RV).

The author refers also to—

13. A genealogical enrolment in the days of Jotham and in the days of Jeroboam [II.], 1 Ch 5[17] (since these kings were not contemporary, are two lists referred to?).

14. The Later Doings of David, 1 Ch 23^{27}.

15. The Chronicles (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים) of king David, 1 Ch 27^{24}.

16. The Lamentations (a collection in which the lamentations over Josiah were included), 2 Ch 35^{25}.

But these are not all separate works. 1 (*a*) and (*b*) and 5 refer obviously to the same; so probably do 2, 3, and 6; for although 'Judah' is not mentioned in the title (except possibly in the case of 2), 3 and 6 relate to kings of Judah, and the title is therefore presumably abbreviated. It is highly likely that 4 is another designation of the same work. The prophetic writings 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 are possibly, though not demonstrably, sections of the same comprehensive book. If not, they are in any case of subordinate consequence. As to 13–16 it is not clear that these have actually contributed anything to Ch; 16 certainly has not.

It is true that the Chronicler explicitly appeals to none of the documents named as authorities for what he states, but only as repositories of (further) information. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, cited under different names, is the main source of Ch. The many agreements with S and K prove that Ch used either these books or some work based on these. There is no evidence that it used the sources of S and K; these books must themselves have been known to the author, for they had long been in existence in his time, and the order and choice of material follow theirs to a large extent; moreover, the matter which is peculiar to Ch shows the marked characteristics of the author's style, in sharp contrast with those of the matter corresponding to that of Samuel and Kings; in particular, the following additional proofs show that Ch does not go behind them for its materials:—

2 Ch 15^{17} 20^{33} state that Asa and Jehoshaphat did not remove the high places. This is in conflict with the author's own statements 14^{5} 17^{6} (cf. 19^{3}), and is evidently due to unthinking imitation of his source. It appears 1 K 15^{14} 22^{43}, and the agreement is almost verbal. These statements, however, certainly belong to the Deuteronomic redaction, and not to the sources of Kings.

Other passages common to Kings and Ch, which must be original with Kings (several of them Deuteronomic, and none from the sources) are 2 Ch 10^{19}=1 K 12^{19}, 2 Ch $21^{7.\ 8.\ 10ab}$=2 K $8^{19.\ 20.\ 22}$, 2 Ch $25^{3.\ 4}$=2 K $14^{5.\ 6}$ (verbally), 2 Ch 28^{4}=2 K 16^{4} (verbally), 2 Ch 31^{1} based on 2 K 18^{4}; cf. also 2 Ch 32^{12}=2 K 18^{22} (substantially), 2 Ch 33^{3a}=2 K 21^{a} (verbally).

A special class of passages consists of those which are appropriate in Sam. and Kings, but have become unfitting or meaningless because of omissions by Ch:—

1 Ch 14^{3-7} begins, 'And David took yet more (עוֹד) wives at Jerus.'=2 S 15^{13-16}, although 2 S 3^{2-5} to which עוֹד refers, is omitted in Ch.

1 Ch 20^{1} 'But David tarried at Jerus.'=2 S 11^{1}; it is in conflict with 1 Ch $20^{2.\ 3}$; this is due to the omission of the story of Uriah and Bathsheba 2 S 11^{2}–12^{25}, and of $12^{28.\ 29}$ which tell of Joab's summoning David.

2 Ch 8^{11} (=1 K 9^{24} 3^{1b} in part) mentions the daughter of Pharaoh *incidentally* (not indeed with great respect) as Solomon's wife, although 1 K $3^{1a.\ 7}$ 7^{8} are omitted.

2 Ch 10^{2} speaks of Jeroboam's return from Egypt, 'whither he had fled from the presence of Solomon the king'=1 K 12^{2}, although 1 K 11^{26-40} are omitted.

2 Ch 10^{15} refers specifically to Ahijah's prophecy about Jeroboam=1 K 12^{15}, although the prophecy itself, 1 K 11^{29-39}, is omitted.

2 Ch 32^{18} specifies 'the Jews' speech'=2 K 18^{28}, although 2 K 18^{25}, which gives point to this detail, is omitted.

Some of these passages are more cogent than others, but all are confirmatory of the position that our S and K and nothing earlier (with possible exceptions noted below) underlie Ch in its narrative portions.

It is, however, improb. that the Chronicler used these canonical books directly, as the chief source of his historical material. We have seen that his main interests are not political, and that he omits or greatly condenses many matters which do not contribute much to his purposes. At the same time some of his material not found in S and K is of a political and personal nature, *e.g.* the fortifications of Rehoboam, and his might and wisdom 2 Ch $11^{5-12.\ 17.\ 23}$, Asa's war with the Ethiopians 2 Ch 14^{9-15}, Jehoshaphat's war with Moab, Ammon, and Edom 2 Ch 20, Amaziah's relations with his Israelitish mercenaries 2 Ch $25^{6-10.\ 13}$, Uzziah's wars and buildings 2 Ch 26^{6-15}, the successful invasion of Pekah 2 Ch 28^{5-15}, and of the Edomites and Philistines vv.$^{17.\ 18}$. Some of these narratives the Chronicler uses to point his own moral teachings, but it is most unlikely that he either invented them, or resorted to some special source for them; they are not such as particularly appeal to him. Most likely, therefore, he found them in the document which was his main source for other matter, and, finding them, used them to enforce his religious views. This source was probably the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel (see above), which was, in that case, based on our S and K, with additional matter of uncertain and probably varying value. Since the style of these additions (with a few minor exceptions) resembles that of the Chronicler, it may be that this Book of the Kings was produced in the school to which he belonged. The alternative is to suppose that he rewrote them. That he at least retouched them is probable. How far the peculiar religious and ecclesiastical tone of Ch is due to this source we cannot tell, but the presence of the same in Ezr-Neh, which do not depend on this Book of the Kings, makes it clear that this tone was such as the Chronicler himself would produce, and probably it is, throughout, mainly due to him.

Historical Trustworthiness.—The late date of Ch presumably hinders it from being a historical witness of the first order. It could be so only if its sources were demonstrably such. But it has no sources certainly older than the canonical S and K; its chief source is probably much later. An interval of 250 or 300 years separates it from the last events recorded in K. In all cases of conflict, then (see the examples above), preference must be given to S and K. The obvious special interests of Ch also (see above) are not to its advantage as a simple witness to facts. Intrinsic probability points the same way in many instances (see especially *Comparison* D, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 20, and Driver, Bertheau, Oettli, etc., on the passages); this holds true of the huge numbers of Ch as well.

If this is so in the parallel narratives, it must be so likewise in those matters which we owe entirely to Ch. Some of these conflict with the known course of the history, *e.g.* the complete Levitical arrangements of David and his successors; others are in themselves most unlikely, *e.g.* Amaziah's dealings with Israelitish mercenaries. It is plain that the character of Ch's testimony, when we can control it by parallel accounts, is not such as to give us reason to depend on it with security when it stands alone. Perhaps it does not enlarge our stock of historical matter beyond that given in S and K. We cannot say *absolutely* that it does not; *e.g.* Rehoboam's buildings,

Uzziah's buildings and wars, Hezekiah's waterworks, Manasseh's captivity, etc., may be in part, or altogether, stated accurately, and to some of them a certain degree of probability attaches (cf. Kittel), but on the unsupported evidence of Ch we cannot be sure of them. It is not certain whether his source derived them from other documents or from tradition, and we cannot tell with positiveness how far they are trustworthy. This uncertainty passes over into Ch itself. Its main value lies in another direction. (On the Restoration-edict of Cyrus, see Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israël*, 1894, and art. EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.)

CHARACTER OF THE CHRONICLER.—It would be most unjust to call the Chronicler a falsifier. He shows himself, on the contrary, as a man of great sincerity and moral earnestness. Even if falsification had, in his time, when his conception of the history was widely accepted, had any sufficient motive, he would have been incapable of it. His view of the past is that of a son of his own age, in whom the historical imagination had not been largely developed. The Pent. had long been complete, and its latest code had a firm grasp on the lives and the minds of the people, and on his own. He did not conceive of a time, since the kingdom began, when it was otherwise. He was almost certainly a Levite, and probably a musician. He was trained in the law, and knew its religious power. God was near His people in it, God Himself enforced it. Membership in God's people was to him a great privilege, and genealogies that assured it, of great importance. These habits and convictions, the result of inheritance and of training, determined his mode of writing history. David and Solomon he idealised, presenting strongly and without much qualification those sides of their character which appealed to him, and depicting the religion of their time according to what seemed to him the necessary conditions of righteousness. The Northern Kingdom, as apostate, was of little interest for him. The history of the Southern Kingdom was his concern mainly because it was ecclesiastical history—'Ecclesiastical Chronicle of Jerusalem' Reuss has called it (cf. *Literature* below). God was watching and judging it on the basis of His complete law; it fell at last because 'all the chief of the priests, and the people, transgressed very much after all the abominations of the heathen; and polluted the house of J",' and when they were rebuked 'mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his prophets' (2 Ch 36^{14-16}). The whole conception of the history was not that of a mere individual, but that of an age, from which the individual could not separate himself,

VALUE OF CHRONICLES.—It follows from the foregoing paragraphs that the value of Chronicles is not mainly that of an accurate record of past events. Nevertheless, its value is real and great. It is, however, the value more of a sermon than of a history.

1. We must, indeed, remember that there is a certain negative historical value in the fact that Ch agrees with S and K to so large an extent. It is not an independent witness, but at least it appears that as to the main course of the pre-exilic history there was, when Ch was written, no variant tradition which the author thought worth noticing.

2. We must remember, further, that there *may* be good historical material in matter peculiar to Ch, *e.g.*, in the genealogical lists and some scattered incidents (see Kuenen, Kittel, Gray), although the determination of its limits and the interpretation of it will require critical acumen.

3. The knowledge the author gives us of his own time, also, is historically important. The fact that he clothes old history with his own contemporary habits makes his own time more intelligible to us. We understand better how religious Jews thought and felt in the 3rd cent. B.C. This enlivens and vitalizes the period for us, and prepares us better to appreciate the conditions of the work of Jesus and His disciples.

4. The author's selection of matter emphasizes the fundamental and permanent elements in the history. He gives only a one-sided view of David, and yet he thereby throws stress on David's real, though, as we know, not unwavering desire for righteousness. He thinks chiefly of the Southern Kingdom, but that kingdom is the one of historical importance in the development of religion. And so with other details. In this, as in the particulars following, he served his own age, and the service continues to ours.

5. His belief in God was intense, as one actively governing the world, punishing the evil and rewarding the good, demanding obedience and worship, but long-suffering and gracious to His people in spite of their sin. There is at times something mechanical in his conception, but it is strong and effective.

6. He illustrates for us the value and the limitations of the law in spiritual education. Obedience to its smallest requirements was an avenue to God. Formalism, the subordination of the moral to the ceremonial, is the accompanying danger, and the Chronicler did not wholly escape it. But the law really was a means of spiritual growth, and this the Chronicler exemplifies. Devotion to it did not exclude some breadth of spiritual sympathy, as the beautiful passage 2 Ch $30^{18.\ 19}$ distinctly shows.

7. He bears witness, also, to the value of the liturgical element in religion. Worship is to him a rich and stately thing. The art of music has its contribution to make. The most thorough preparation, and splendid execution, befit the service in which men approach the Almighty God. This thought, too, has its dangers. The essence of worship is always in the soul of the worshipper. But the ideal of worship includes both the genuine spirit and the fitting expression of it, and the Chronicler teaches here a permanent lesson.

Thus Ch illustrates for us God's use of a professedly historical writing to enforce His truth, both in spite of, and by means of, the very qualities which impair its excellence as pure history.

TEXT.—Ch appears to have been less read, and hence less often copied, than many other books. One source of textual error is therefore minimised. The history of its transmission is, however, long enough to give much room to textual criticism. The text of Ch can often be corrected, in parallel passages, by that of S and K, but more often the author is himself responsible for variations. The peculiar characteristics of Ch are certainly not textual. Sometimes Ch has preserved the better reading. The greatest number of textual questions is connected with proper names. The following, taken from parallel texts, may serve as illustrations:—

Ch has the worse reading:—

1 Ch 1^{6} דִּיפַת, ℌB Εφιφαθ, A Ριφαε, ℌL Ριφαθ = דִּיפַת Gn 10^{3}, so ℌ.

1^{17} מָשֶׁךְ, ℌB om., A ℌL Μοσοχ; = מֶשֶׁךְ Gn 10^{23} (where ℌ also Μοσοχ, but erroneously; מֶשֶׁךְ has already occurred, v.^{2}).

1^{39} הוֹמָם, ℌB Αιμαν, ℌL Ημαν = חֵימָן Gn 36^{22}, ℌ Αιμαν (interchange of ו and י especially frequent).

1^{40} עַלְיָן, ℌB Σωλαμ, A Ιωλαμ, ℌL Αλουαν = עַלְוָן Gn 36^{23}, ℌ Γωλων, ℌL Γωλαμ.

1^{41} חֶמְדָּן, ℌB Εμερων, A ℌL Αμαδα(μ) = חֶמְדָן Gn 36^{26}, ℌ Αμαδα.

1^{51} עַלְיָה *Kethîbh*, עַלְוָה *Kerê*, ℌB Γωλα, ℌL Αλουα = עַלְוָה Gn 36^{40}, ℌ Γωλα.

1 Ch 3^{6} אֱלִישָׁמָע, ⊕B Ελεισα, A ⊕L Ελισαμα = אֱלִישׁוּעַ 2 S 5^{15}, ⊕ Ελεισους, etc.

4^{24} יָרִיב, ⊕B Ιαρειν, A Ιαρειβ = יָכִין Gn 46^{10} = Ex 6^{15} = Nu 26^{12}, so ⊕ in all.

$18^{3.5.7}$ הֲדַרְעֶזֶר, ⊕ Αδρα(α)ζαρ = הֲדַדְעֶזֶר 2 S $8^{3.5.8}$ (⊕ here also, erron., Αδρααζαρ),

etc. etc.

The reading is doubtful :—

1 Ch 1^{36} צְפִי, ⊕B Σωφαρ, ⊕L Σεπφουη = צְפוֹ Gn 36^{11}, ⊕ Σωφαρ.

1^{40} שֶׁפִי, ⊕B Σωβ, A Σωφαρ, ⊕L Σαπφει = שֶׁפוֹ Gn 36^{23}, ⊕B Σωφ, ⊕L Σωφαν.

1^{50} פָּעִי, ⊕ Φογωρ, ⊕L Φαουα = פָּעוּ Gn 36^{39}, ⊕ Φογωρ.

3^{1} דָּנִיאֵל, ⊕B Δαμιηλ, A ⊕L Δαλουια = דָּלְאָה 2 S 3^{3}, ⊕ Δαλουια (!).

4^{24} נְמוּאֵל = Nu 26^{12}, ⊕ (in both) Ναμουηλ = יְמוּאֵל Gn 46^{10} = Ex 6^{15}, so ⊕ (in both).

זֶרַח = Nu 26^{13}, ⊕B (in Ch) Ζαρες, A ⊕L Ζαρα(ε), ⊕ (in Nu) Ζαρα = זֹהַר Gn 46^{10} = Ex 6^{15}, ⊕ (in both) Σααρ,

etc. etc.

Ch has the better reading :—

1 Ch 1^{7} רוֹדָנִים, ⊕ Ῥοδιοι (⊕L Δωδανειμ) = דְּדָנִים Gn 10^{4}, ⊕ Ῥοδιοι.

1^{42} יַעֲקָן, ⊕B (και) Ωναν, A (και) Ουκαμ, ⊕L (και) Ιαακαν = וַעֲקָן Gn 36^{27}, ⊕ (και) Ουκαν, ⊕L (και) Ιουκαμ.

2^{17} יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי ⊕B ὁ Ισμαηλ(ε)ίτης (⊕L Ισραηλίτης) = הַיִּשְׁרְאֵלִי 2 S 17^{25}, so ⊕B GL, A Ισμαηλείτης.

$8^{33.33} = 9^{39.39}$ אֶשְׁבַּעַל, ⊕ Ασαβααλ, Ιεβααλ, Ισβααλ Βααλ = אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת 2 S $2^{8}+10$ t. Sam, ⊕ Ιεβοσδε, and (most often, strangely) Μεμφιβοσθε.

$8^{34.34}$ מְרִיב בַּעַל $= 9^{40}$ and (better, see Kittel) מְרִי־בַעַל v.^{40}, ⊕ Μεριβααλ, Μεχριβααλ, Μεφριβααλ, ⊕L Μεμφιβααλ = מְפִיבֹשֶׁת 2 S $4^{4}+14$ t. Sam, ⊕ Μεμφιβοσθε, ⊕L Μεμφιβααλ, exc. 2 S 21^{8} Μεμφιβοσθε (for distinction).

11^{29} סִבְּכַי = 2 S 21^{18}, ⊕ (in Ch) Σοβοχαι, etc., ⊕L Σοβοκχα, ⊕B (in Sam) Οεβοχα, A Σεβοχαει, ⊕L Σοβεκχι = סִבְכַי 2 S 23^{27}, ⊕B ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν, Σαβενι,

etc. etc.

For further details see in Wellh. *De gentibus*, etc.; Kittel, *Books of Ch. in Hebrew*; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*.

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE OT.—The OT contains data from which a chronology may be compiled from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerus. by the Chaldæans. For convenience, this chronology may be considered under several periods.

i. FROM THE CREATION TO THE FLOOD. — The data for this period, which are found in the genealogical table of Gn 5 and the notice of the year of the Flood in Gn 7^{6}, are given differently in the Heb. text, the Sam., and the LXX. These differences are exhibited in the following table :—

	Age of each when next was born or event occurred.		
	Heb.	Sam.	LXX
Adam	130	130	230
Seth	105	105	205
Enosh	90	90	190
Kenan	70	70	170
Mahalalel	65	65	165
Jared	162	62	162
Enoch	65	65	165
Methuselah	187	67	167
Lamech	182	53	188
Noah	600	600	600
Years from Creation to the Flood	1656	1307	2242

Thus we have three different lengths assigned for the period from the creation of man to the Flood. The numbers of the Heb. text have generally been regarded as the original, although recently those of the Sam. have been defended by Dillmann and Budde. The LXX text, however, was accepted by the Hel. Jews and the early Christian Church, and has found defenders among certain Eng. scholars (Hales, Jackson, Poole, Rawlinson, and others), who have looked upon it with favour as furnishing a chronology more in accord with the antiquity of man than that of the Heb. text. But these numbers, whichever table may be regarded as the original, cannot, in any case, be accepted as historical, and hence for a real chronology of the early ages of man they are valueless. To accept them as genuine records is to assume from the creation of man a degree of civilisation high enough to provide a settled calendar, and a regular registration of births and deaths, and the preservation of such records from the creation of man to the time of the composition of Gn. All that is known of primitive antiquity is against such a supposition. The art of writing was not then known; and however tenacious may have been the memory of man, it is doubtful whether language then possessed the requisite terminology for the expression of such lapses of time. Man also has been upon the earth for a far longer period than that given even by the LXX chronology. The conjectural character of the table of Gn 5 may be also recognised from the variations of the three texts. Such liberties would probably not have been taken with figures supposed to rest upon authentic historical documents. The sacred writer chose the form of a genealogical table to represent the early period of the world's history. The number of the patriarchs, *ten*, is a common one in the lists of the prehistoric rulers or heroes of many peoples. It appears at once to be a suggestion from the ten fingers. The length assigned for the period from the Creation to the Flood is more difficult of explanation. Accepting that of the Heb. text, the most probable explanation is seen in connecting the 1656 years with the subsequent data given for the period between the Flood

and the Exodus, which together make 2666, or two-thirds of 4000 years. Four thousand years, according to a Jewish tradition, were to elapse from the creation of the world to the coming of the Messiah. Two-thirds of that period, then, would have passed at the Exodus, or the giving of the law and founding of the Jewish Theocracy at Mount Sinai.

ii. FROM THE FLOOD TO THE EXODUS.—For the period from the Flood to the birth of Abraham, we have a genealogical table in Gn 11^{10-26} similar to that of Gn 5, and likewise given differently in the three ancient texts. In this instance, however, the Sam. and LXX VSS are almost identical, both giving a much longer period than the Heb. text. The LXX also has an extra name, Cainan, wanting in both the Heb. and Sam. texts, giving 130 additional years; and the years of Nahor at the birth of Terah in the LXX are 179, while in the Sam. 79. The variations are shown in the following table :—

	Age of each when next was born or event occurred.		
	Heb.	Sam.	LXX
Shem	100	100	100
Arpachshad	35	135	135
Cainan	...	...	130
Shelah	30	130	130
Eber	34	134	134
Peleg	30	130	130
Reu	32	132	132
Serug	30	130	130
Nahor	29	79	179
Terah	70	70	70
Abraham	...	...	...
	390	1040	1270
Yrs. of Shem's life bef. the Flood	*100	100	100
From Flood to birth of Abraham	290	940	1170

Of these three texts the Heb. is undoubtedly the original. The LXX and Sam. show an endeavour to gain more time by systematically heightening the birth year of the patriarchs. The extra name of the LXX probably arose from a desire to make the number of the patriarchs ten (perhaps they were so originally), and thus bring the table more into conformity with that of Gn 5. The LXX text has been preferred by Hales, Jackson, Poole, and others as providing a more adequate time than the Heb. text for the growth of the nations of antiquity. But the LXX period is too short. It places the Flood at about 3000 B.C. But Egyptian remains point to a civilisation whose beginnings were not later than 5000 years B.C., and very likely millenniums earlier (Maspero says 8000 or 10,000 years B.C.), and Assyr. discoveries have revealed an historic period extending to as early a date. This table came evidently from the same source as that of Gn 5, and is of the same artificial character, except that in some of the patriarchal names are reminiscences of peoples and places.

The data for the period from the birth of Abraham to the Exodus are given in the notice of the age of Abraham at the birth of Isaac (Gn 21^5), and of Isaac at the birth of Jacob (Gn 25^{26}), and of Jacob at his descent into Egypt (Gn 47^9), and of the length of the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt (Ex. 12^{40}). In this last passage the LXX and Sam. texts make the sojourning of the children of Israel to include also the sojourning of the patriarchs in the land of Canaan. From these data we present the following table with a summary of the preceding tables, with also the reference to the age of Abraham at his call from Haran (Gen. 12^4) :—

Age of Abraham on leaving Haran	75	75
Age of Abraham at the birth of Isaac	100	25
Age of Isaac at the birth of Jacob	60	60
Age of Jacob at the descent into Egypt	130	130
Years of the patriarchal sojourn in Canaan	215	..
Years of the patriarchal sojourn in Egypt	430	430
Years of the sojourn in Egypt according to LXX	215	..
From the birth of Abraham to the Exodus		720
From the Flood to birth of Abraham		290
From the Creation to the Flood		1656
From the Creation to the Exodus		2666

How nearly these numbers represent the actual duration of the beginnings of the people of Israel, and of their sojourn in Egypt, cannot now be determined. They are evidently from the same original source as the previous tables, and there is no reason to suppose that authentic historical records underlie them.* Some early hist. reminiscences, however, may be preserved in them. The number 400 for the years of the oppression in Egypt appears in Gn 15^{13}, which belongs to one of the earliest sources of the Hexateuch.

The Period of the Sojourn in Egypt.—The descent of the children of Israel into Egypt, according to the story of Joseph, took place when a Sem. foreigner might be received at the Egyp. court with favour, and his people readily granted possessions in the land. The reign of the Hyksos or Shepherd-kings meets this condition, and the descent of the children of Israel at that time is both an ancient tradition and the view generally accepted by biblical scholars. The period of the Hyksos rule, owing to the obscurity and uncertainty of Egyp. chronology, cannot be very definitely determined. It lasted several centuries, and terminated not later than 1530 B.C.† A famine is recorded as occurring during the reign of Aphophis or Apepi, one of the last of the Hyksos rulers; and this monarch may have been the Pharaoh of Joseph. He is so mentioned by George Syncellus, a historian of the 9th cent. A.D.; and the supposition is received with favour by Sayce, Brugsch, Kittel, and others. It is, however, only a supposition.

The Pharaoh of the oppression, under whom the children of Israel built the treasure cities Pithom and Raamses (Ex 1^{11}), was Ramses II. This fact, long conjectured, has been definitely settled by Naville's identification of Pithom, and discovery that it was built by Ramses II. The Exodus has usually been assigned (by Brugsch, Ebers, Rawlinson, Sayce, and others) to the reign of Menephtah (Merenptah) or Seti II., the immediate successors of Ramses II. Since, however, both of these kings were no mean sovereigns, and apparently controlled both Pal. and the Sin. Peninsula, it may be better (with Kittel, Maspero, Wiedemann, and others) to assign

* More exactly, according to the statement of Gn 11^{10} that Arpachshad was born 'two years after the Flood,' the years of Shem's life before the Flood are 98 years. But the 'two years after the Flood' is probably a gloss inserted by some one who, overlooking the round and systematic character of the data of the lives of the patriarchs, desired to make the birth of Arpachshad correspond exactly to the detailed statements of the duration of the Flood (Gn 7^6 $8^{13.\ 14}$).

* According to the documentary hypothesis of the composition of the Pent. or Hex. they belong to the priestly document now generally regarded as the latest portion of the Pentateuch.

† This is the date given by Ed. Meyer as the latest possible, and is thus accepted by Wendel and Erman. Other dates given for the close of this period or the beginning of the New Empire are Wiedemann, 1750; Brugsch, 1706; Mariette, 1703; Rawlinson, 1640; Lepsius, 1591.

the Exodus to the period of royal weakness and general anarchy following their reigns at the close of the 19th dynasty (not later, according to Meyer, than 1180 B.C.; according to Rawlinson and others, about a cent. earlier). M°Curdy (*Hist., Proph., and the Mon.*) places the Exodus in the 20th dynasty, in the latter part of the reign of Ramses III., or immediately after his reign. He does not think the Egyp. control in the Sin. Peninsula or in Pal. to have been sufficiently relaxed at an earlier period for either the Exodus or the conquest of Pal. to have been possible. He gives the date about 1200 B.C. The children of Israel, however, during the reign of Ramses III. (1180–1148) may have been wandering in the desert and taking possession of the country E. of the Jordan. This would allow about 50 years from their departure from Egypt to their entrance into W. Pal., corresponding roughly with the biblical 40 years. This much at least seems certain, that Pal. was for many centuries an Egyp. province, and that the conquests under Joshua cannot well have begun until the close of the 19th dynasty, and probably the close of the reign of Ramses III. The view of some writers (F. C. Cook, Conder, Köhler, Sharpe, and others), who have assigned the Exodus to earlier periods, is refuted by Naville's discovery of Pithom, built by Ramses II.; by the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which show that Pal. was thoroughly an Egyp. province during the 18th dynasty; and by the fact of the control exercised by Seti I. and Ramses II. over Pal. within the 19th dynasty.*

iii. From the Exodus to the Founding of the Temple.—The founding of Solomon's temple is said in 1 K 6^1 to have taken place in the 480th year after the Exodus (according to the LXX, in the 440th year). Such an exact statement, if historical, requires that an accurate system of reckoning time was employed by the children of Israel during all those years. A provision for this has been seen in the yearly Heb. festivals, and especially in the Sabbatical and Jubilee years. If this, however, was the case, it is strange that we do not find traces of such a mode of reckoning in the OT. While there are allusions to the recurrence of feasts as indicating a year's time, there is nothing to indicate festivals or Sabbatical or Jubilee years as being regarded as the units or termini of any calendar. The only method apparent is by the years of the monarch of the land. Before the royal period we have no evidence of any system of reckoning dates, and it is probable that during the period from the Exodus to the founding of the temple, Sabbatical years and years of Jubilee were not observed. The number 480 appears, like the numbers of the Pent., to be conjectural, arising from the supposition that from the Exodus to the founding of the temple there were 12 generations of 40 years each. This period, however, is too long. The interval from the Exodus to the founding of the temple is probably nearer 300 than 500 years. The Exodus we have seen can in no case be placed earlier than after the reign of Ramses II., and the building of the temple occurred not later than the middle of the 10th cent. B.C. Reliable chron. data for computing the exact length of this period we may well believe were not preserved. The disorganised condition of affairs during the period of the judges, when there was no central authority, is against the supposition of the use of a settled calendar and the official registration of events. The chron. data of the Book of Judges appear also to be somewhat artificial. They are as follows:—

Israel serves Cushan-rishathaim (3^8)	8 years
Deliverance by Othniel: the land rests (3^{11})	40 ,,
Israel serves Eglon (3^{14})	18 ,,
Deliverance by Ehud: the land rests (3^{30})	80 ,,
Oppression by Jabin (4^3)	20 ,,
Deliverance by Deborah: the land rests (5^{31})	40 ,,
Oppression by Midian (6^1)	7 ,,
Deliverance by Gideon: the land rests (8^{28})	40 ,,
Abimelech reigns over Israel (9^{22})	3 ,,
Tola judges Israel (10^2)	23 ,,
Jair judges Israel (10^3)	22 ,,
Oppression by Ammon (10^8)	18 ,,
Jephthah judges Israel (12^7)	6 ,,
Ibzan judges Israel (12^9)	7 ,,
Elon judges Israel (12^{11})	10 ,,
Abdon judges Israel (12^{14})	8 ,,
Oppression by the Philistines (13^1)	40 ,,
Samson judges Israel (15^{20} 16^{31})	20 ,,
Total	410 years.

To these years must be added—

The sojourn in the Wilderness	40 years.
The conquest under Joshua	x ,,
The judgeship of Eli (1 S 4^{18})	40 ,,
The judgeship of Samuel	*20 ,,
The reign of Saul	y ,,
The reign of David (1 K 2^{11})	40 ,,
Of the reign of Solomon (1 K 6^1)	4 ,,
Total	144+x+y years.

According to these figures the entire period is over 550 years, and the repeated occurrence of 40 or its multiple shows that some of the numbers are round, and probably conjectural.

Some of the judgeships recorded in the Book of Judges may have been local and contemporaneous with others. In that case no chronology can be computed from these statements. In all likelihood, however, the numbers were designed to represent 480 years,—the years of oppression, like those of a usurper, as is customary in Oriental reckonings, being not counted, their interval being included in the years of rest belonging to a lawful ruler. Arranged on this principle we have the following result:—

Moses	40 years.
Joshua and the Elders	x ,,
Othniel	40 ,,
Ehud	80 ,,
Barak	40 ,,
Gideon	40 ,,
Tola, Jair, Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon	76 ,,
Samson	20 ,,
Eli	40 ,,
Samuel	*20 ,,
Saul	y ,,
David	40 ,,
Solomon	4 ,,
	440+x+y years.

If 30 years (cf. Jos. 24^{29}) are given to Joshua and the elders, and 10 years to Saul, we have exactly 480 years.†

iv. From the Founding of the Temple to the Fall of Jerusalem.—This era is marked by an advance in culture among the Hebrews, and in the office of royal recorders or scribes provision seems to have been made for the regular registration of important events. These events were probably dated by the years of reigning monarchs. At least we find this system in 1 and 2 K, Jer, and Ezk. A provision, however, for the keeping of exact chron. records does not necessarily imply their preservation, and the Books of Kings, our biblical source for the chronology of this period, were not written until its close, several

* Since the above article was in type, the new inscription of king Merenptah mentioning the people of Israel has been discovered. This may call for a revision of the opinion expressed above in regard to the date of the Exodus, and may require its assignment to an earlier period. See Egypt, Exodus (Route).

* The assignment of 20 years to Samuel is an inference from 1 S 7^2. The period of Israel's desire for the Lord is regarded as representing Samuel's judgeship, and ceasing when the people desired and chose a king.

† The above scheme is Nöldeke's. Moore (*Judges*, p. xli f.) omits Saul as being to a Judæan writer an illegitimate sovereign, and assigns, after LXX, 20 years to Eli, and conjectures 40 years each for Joshua and Samuel.

centuries after the earlier events narrated. The writer of these books, it is true, refers constantly to 'the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah,' and 'to the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel,' as sources of his information. But it is not known whether he had access to original royal records or only to two historical works based in some way upon them. Probably the latter, because (1) it is unlikely that the State records of the N. kingdom were preserved and brought to Jerus.; (2) the references are not to the chronicles or annals themselves, but to the *book* of the chronicles; and (3) it is difficult to account for the statements of the writer in reference to dates of accession and lengths of reigns, if he had access to original records.

1 and 2 K give a complete list of the monarchs of Judah and Israel, and the length of their reigns in years from Solomon to the fall of Samaria and of Jerusalem. The commencement of each reign is dated by the year of the reign of the contemporaneous king in the other kingdom. This mode of cross-reckoning is evidently that of the biblical writer, for it is scarcely possible that in either kingdom the year of the king of the other kingdom should be used to fix the date of its own king. An examination of the synchronisms leads to a similar conclusion. From the construction of the Heb. sentence in many instances the synchronisms appear to be an addition to a statement of the simple duration of a reign, and they seem in some instances to reveal an attempt at an adjustment of two unequal series of numbers. Rehoboam and Jeroboam came to the throne at the same time, also Athaliah and Jehu. The sums of the years of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah between these two dates should be the same. That of Israel, however, as is seen in the following table, exceeds that of Judah by 3 years. (The 7 days of the reign of Zimri are omitted, for that week naturally was reckoned as belonging either to the reign of Elah or Omri.):—

Rehoboam	17	Jeroboam	22
Abijam	3	Nadab	2
Asa	41	Baasha	24
Jehoshaphat	25	Elah	2
Joram	8	Omri	12
Ahaziah	1	Ahab	22
		Ahaziah	2
		Joram	12
	95		98

Since the lengths of the reigns are expressed in even years, and since actual reigns must have embraced fractions of a year, it is apparent that these years are calendar years. The question now arises whether the calendar year in which a king died was reckoned as his own last year and the 1st year of his successor, or whether the 1st year of his successor began with the following new year. The former method of *pre-dating* introduces the confusion of a calendar year being reckoned as belonging to two reigns; and yet it is in accordance with the Heb. usage, which reckoned fractions of time as full units. For example, the siege of Samaria, which began in the 4th and ended in the 6th year of Hezekiah, is said to have lasted 3 years (2 K $18^{9f.}$). There is also the familiar example of 'the 3 days' of Christ's being in the grave. The latter method of *post-dating* was the usual one of the Assyrians. With them the general practice was to count the regnal years from the new year's day after the accession, and to call the period between the accession and the 1st new year's day 'the beginning of the reign'; while the year from the new year's day was called 'the 1st year,' and the following ones were numbered successively from it. Which of these methods was systematically used by the Hebrews cannot now be decisively determined. Possibly, neither of them consistently or entirely. The Talm. testifies apparently to the method of pre-dating (Wieseler, *Chron. Synopsis*, p. 47), and this has often been assumed as the Heb. method. Jer. and Ezk., however, post-dated, and many scholars (Dillmann, Stade, Wellhausen, and others) believe this to have been the Heb. method. The writer or compiler of 1 and 2 K, as will be seen from the following table of synchronisms, used both methods:—

Rehoboam	1	1 Jeroboam.
	17	17
In 18th of Jeroboam (1 K 15^{1}), Abijam	1	18
	2	19
In 20th of Jeroboam (1 K 15^{9}), Asa	(1) 3	20
	1	21
	2	22. 1. Nadab in 2nd of Asa (1 K 15^{25}).
	8	1. 2. Baasha in 3rd of Asa (1 K $15^{28.33}$).
	26	24. 1. Elah in 26th of Asa (1 K 16^{8}).
	27	2. Zimri in 27th of Asa (1 K 16^{10}).
	1	Omri in 27th of Asa (1 K $16^{15f.}$).
	31	5
	38	12. 1. Ahab in 38th of Asa (1 K 16^{29}).
	39	2
In 4th of Ahab (1 K 22^{41}), Jehoshaphat	(1) 41	4
	1	5
	17	21 1. Ahaziah in 17th of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22^{51}).
	18	1. 22. 2. Joram in 18th of Jehoshaphat (2 K 3^{1}).
In 5th of Joram (2 K 8^{16}), Jehoram	1. 22	5
	4. 25	8
In 12th of Joram (2 K 8^{25}), Ahaziah	8. 1	12

The method of post-dating is here applied to the reigns of the S. kingdom until the reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah, the former of whom is made co-regent with his father for four years. Asa and Jehoshaphat come to the throne in the years preceding their 1st years, while Abijam comes in his 1st year. Thus we have two methods of post-dating. The reigns of the N. kingdom are all pre-dated, and Ahaziah is made co-regent with Ahab for one year. Thus the total length of the reigns is shortened, and the interval from Solomon to Athaliah becomes 90 years.

In 1 K 16^{23} Omri is said to have begun to reign in the 31st year of Asa, and in 2 K 1^{17} Joram in the 2nd of Jehoram. Both of these statements are in general harmony with a scheme of post-dating the kings both of Israel and Judah. This fact, with the apparently systematic shortening of the intervals expressed by the reigns of the N. kingdom and then of the S. kingdom, to make them agree, suggests the possibility of the lengths of the reigns not being entirely derived from accurate historical sources, and yet representing a chronological scheme which the author did not feel free to modify.

Samaria fell, according to 2 K 18^{10}, in 'the 6th year of Hezekiah, which was the 9th of Hoshea, king of Israel.' The durations of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel from the accessions of Athaliah and Jehu to this year, then, should be the same. The figures recorded in 2 K, however, give quite a different result—

Athaliah	6 years.	Jehu	28 years.
Joash	40 ,,	Jehoahaz	17 ,,
Amaziah	29 ,,	Joash	16 ,,
Azariah	52 ,,	Jeroboam	41 ,,
Jotham	16 ,,	Zachariah	6 months.
Ahaz	16 ,,	Shallum	1 ,,
Hezekiah	6 ,,	Menahem	10 years.
		Pekahiah	2 ,,
		Pekah	20 ,,
		Hoshea	9 ,,
	165		143 yrs. 7 mos.

Thus the years of the reigns of the southern kingdom exceed those of the northern kingdom by over 21 years.

The following table gives the biblical synchronisms of this period.* (The various statements have been adjusted to each other by allowing the variable factor of a co-regency, and reckoning the 1st year either from the commencement of the co-regency or of the sole reign):—

Athaliah . . . 1	1 Jehu.
6	6
In 7th of Jehu (2 K 12[1]) Joash 1	7
22	28
23	1 Jehoahaz in 23rd of Joash (2 K 13[1]).
37	15 (1) Jehoash in 37th of Joash (2 K 13[10]).
In 2nd of Jehoash (2 K 14[1]), Amaziah . . (1) 38	16 (2)
(2) 39	17 (3)
(3) 40	4 (1)
4	5 (2)
(1) 6	7 (4)
(10) 15	16 (13) Jeroboam in 15th of Amaziah (2 K 14[23]).
In 27th of Jeroboam (2 K 15[1]), Azariah (24) 29	27
25	28
38	41. 1. Zachariah in 38th of Azariah (2 K 15[8])
	2. Shallum in 39th of Azariah (2 K 15[13]).
39	Menahem in 39th of Azariah (2 K 15[17]).
40	1
49	10
50	1 Pekahiah in 50th of Azariah (2 K 15[23]).
51	2
52	1 Pekah in 52nd of Azariah (2 K 15[27]).
In 2nd of Pekah (2 K 15[32]), Jotham . . . 1	2
(1) 9	10
(8) 16	17
In 17th of Pekah (2 K 16[1]), Ahaz	
9 (17)	18
11 (19)	20
12 (20)	1 Hoshea in 20th of Jotham and 12th of Ahaz (2 K 15[30] 17[1]).
In 3rd of Hoshea (2 K 18[1]), Hezekiah . . 14 (1)	3
15 (1)	4
16 (2)	5
In 6th of Hezekiah (2 K 18[10]), Samaria taken . 6	9 Samaria taken in 9th of Hoshea (2 K 17[6] 18[10]).

The following tables (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) give dates for the accession of the kings of Judah, and (*d*) (*e*) (*f*) of the kings of Israel—(*a*) according to 1 and 2 Ch, in which the durations of the reigns are the same as those mentioned in 1 and 2 K, and are given without reference to the corresponding reigns of the N. kingdom, so that their sum would be naturally taken as the duration of the S. kingdom; (*b*) according to the tables of synchronisms given above; (*c*) according to a determination from the Assyr. inscriptions. An asterisk indicates a co-regency; but see the following paragraphs. (*d*) corresponds to (*a*), and is adjusted to it by pre-dating the reigns of Nadab, Elah, and Ahaziah, and lengthening that of Jeroboam II. to 51 years, and Pekah's to 30. (*e*) and (*f*) correspond to (*b*) and (*c*). The explanation of (*c*) and (*f*) is given in the following paragraphs. (*a*) and (*d*) correspond essentially to Ussher's system of dates given in the margin of the AV. Of these tables only (*b*) and (*e*) represent approximately the course of history. The others are given merely for the sake of comparison.

* According to this table the number of years from the accessions of Athaliah and Jehu to the fall of Samaria is 129. This table, with the one above of synchronisms, however, has not been given to present the course of history, but to give a bird's-eye view of the chronological statements of 1 and 2 K.

	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)
David (40)	1059	1009	1017
Solomon (40)	1019	969	977
Temple founded . . .	1015	965	973
Rehoboam (17)	989	939	937
Abijam (3)	962	922	920
Asa (41)	959	919	917
Jehoshaphat (25) . . .	918	878	876
Jehoram (8)	893	*857	851
Ahaziah (1)	885	850	843
Athaliah (6)	884	849	842
Joash (40)	878	843	836
Amaziah (29)	838	*806	796
Azariah (Uzziah) (52) . .	809	*801	*789 767
Jotham (16)	757	749	*753 737
Ahaz (16)	741	*741	735
Hezekiah (29)	725	*727	*726 715
Fall of Samaria	719	722	722
Invasion of Sennacherib . .	711	..	701
Manasseh (55)	696	..	697 686
Amon (2)	641	..	641
Josiah (31)	639	..	639
Jehoahaz (3 months) . .	608	..	608
Jehoiakim	608	..	608
Jehoiachin (3 months) . .	597	..	597
Zedekiah (11)	597	..	597
Destruction of Jerusalem . .	586	..	586
	(*d*)	(*e*)	(*f*)
Jeroboam (22)	989	939	937
Nadab (2)	967	918	915
Baasha (24)	966	917	914
Elah (2)	942	894	900 890
Zimri (7 days)	941	893	899 889
Omri (12)	941	893	899 889
Ahab (22)	919	882	875
Ahaziah (2)	897	*862	853
Joram (12)	896	861	852
Jehu (28)	884	849	842
Jehoahaz (16)	856	821	815
Joash (17)	840	*807	798
Jeroboam II. (41) . . .	823	*804	782
Zachariah (6 months) . .	771	763	741
Shallum (1 month) . . .	770	763	741
Menahem (10)	770	762	741
Pekahiah (2)	760	752	737
Pekah (20)	758	750	736
Hoshea (9)	728	730	734
Fall of Samaria . . .	719	722	722

Our examination of the biblical statements shows from the variety of the modes of reckoning, and from the apparent inconsistencies of the synchronisms (unless an ever variable factor in co-regencies is assumed), that we must look to another source for determining the true chronology of this period. Such a source, in a limited degree, has been found in the Assyr. inscriptions. These inscriptions are dated by the Assyr. calendar or canon. In this canon, which exists in several copies, all of which closely agree, covering the period from about 900 B.C. to about 650 B.C., each year bears the name of an officer called an eponym. From the mention of a total eclipse, which occurred in 763 B.C., is determined the date of all the remaining years. The following persons and events of biblical history are mentioned in the Assyr. inscriptions, and dated by the Assyr. canon (*COT* ii. p. 167 ff.):—

Ahab (at the battle of Karkar) . . .	854
Jehu (the payment of tribute) . . .	842
Azariah (war with Tiglath-pileser) . .	742–740
Menahem (payment of tribute) . . .	738
Pekah (conquered by Tiglath-pileser) . .	734
Ahaz (payment of tribute)	734
Hoshea (successor of Pekah) . . .	734
Fall of Samaria (near the close of the year) .	722
Invasion of Sennacherib	701
Manasseh	681–668

According to the Assyr. sources, Tiglath-pileser III. (745–728) conducted a campaign (742–738) against Syria, Hamath, and Palestine. At the head of a coalition against him (742–740) is mentioned

Azariah, king of Judah. Menahem is also mentioned as paying tribute in 738. During the years 737–735 Tiglath-pileser was campaigning in the East, but in 734 he returned to suppress another coalition in the West, when he conquered Pekah, and appointed Hoshea king of Samaria in his stead.

According to the biblical account, Menahem and Azariah were contemporaries, and Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser (called Pul in 2 K 15^{19}); and after the brief reign of Pekahiah the son of Menahem, in the last year of Azariah, Pekah came to the throne. Pekah, with Rezin king of Damascus, in the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, made war on Judah, evidently to coerce Judah to form an alliance against Assyria. During the reign of Pekah the N. kingdom suffered great loss of territory and inhabitants by Assyr. invasion, and Pekah was followed by Hoshea.

These two accounts, the biblical and Assyrian, harmonize, and it only remains for us to fix the dates. In 737 Pekahiah is king, perhaps having come to the throne in the previous year. His reign is brief, and in 736 or 735 he is slain by Pekah. In 737 or 736 Azariah dies, and Jotham, who for some 14 years may be thought of as having been co-regent, his father being a leper, becomes sole king. In 735 Ahaz succeeds Jotham; in 734 Pekah is slain, and Hoshea becomes king. Samaria falls in the winter of 722–721. Thus in this period the biblical chronological statements must be considerably modified. The result is given in tables (*c*) and (*f*).

A difficulty is also presented in 2 K $18^{10.\ 13}$, which date the fall of Samaria in the 6th year of Hezekiah, and the invasion of Sennacherib in the 14th; but the former event occurred in 722, and the latter in 701. According to the former reckoning, Hezekiah came to the throne in 728 or 727; and according to the latter, in 715 or 714. If we adopt the latter reckoning, the reign of Ahaz must be lengthened to some 20 years, and that of Manasseh or of Hezekiah shortened some 10 years. A co-regency of Hezekiah with Ahaz has been suggested as the solution, or that the date of an invasion of Sargon in 711 may have been given for that of Sennacherib. According to this latter solution, however, Hezekiah would have come to the throne in 725 or 724.

The presence of Ahab at the battle of Karkar brings his reign down to 854 at least. At this battle, according to the Assyr. inscription, Ahab appears as an ally of the king of Damascus. According to 1 K 20^{34} Ahab formed such an alliance, which lasted three years (1 K 22^{1}). In the third year of the alliance the truce was broken, and Ahab was slain at Ramoth-gilead (1 K $22^{1-3\ 37-40}$). Assuming the alliance to have been made in 855, the close of Ahab's reign, then, may be placed in 853.* See AHAB.

In the period before Ahab a change in the biblical length of the reign of Omri has been thought by some scholars necessary from the statement of Mesha on the Moabite Stone, where he says: 'And Omri took possession of the land of Mĕhēdeba, and it (Israel) dwelt therein during his days, and half his son's days, forty years.' If 'his son' is Ahab, then Omri's reign must be lengthened at the expense of Baasha's. In favour of this is the importance and lasting impression of Omri's reign (Mic 6^{16}). The 'land of the house of Omri' in Assyr. inscriptions is a standing designation for the N. kingdom. If, however, 'his son' means Omri's grandson Joram, then no great change is needed. This is more probable, agreeing with 2 K 1^{1} 3^{5}, which place the revolt of Moab (unlikely to have happened under the powerful king Ahab) in the reign of Joram. If we knew from Egyp. history the precise date of Shishak's reign and invasion of Palestine, we could fix definitely the reign of Rehoboam ('In the 5th year of Rehoboam, Shishak came up against Jerusalem,' 1 K 14^{25}). As far as Egyp. history gives any light on this point, it confirms the date given in (*c*).

For the period between the death of Ahab and that of Azariah (Uzziah) it is necessary to shorten several reigns. The disturbed condition of affairs at the death of Jeroboam II.—a destructive rivalry of factions is indicated in the prophetical writings—suggests the shortening of Menahem's reign to three years to allow the others of Israel to stand. Internal evidence favours allowing the reigns of Athaliah and Joash to remain unchanged. The sole reigns of Azariah (Uzziah) and Jotham, then, may be shortened by making them co-regents for a number of years with their fathers.

The periods given for the reigns of Amon, Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah are undoubtedly correct. The following table gives the dates and synchronisms of their reigns:—

	Amon's accession	641	
	Josiah's ,,	639	
	,, 1st year	638	
	,, 13th ,,	626	1st year of Jeremiah's ministry (Jer 1^{2}).
	,, 18th ,,	621	Discovery of the Book of the Law (2 K $22^{3.\ 8}$).
(2 K 23^{31}) Jehoahaz 3 mos. reign and Jehoiakim's accession	,, 31st ,,	608	Battle of Megiddo (2 K 23^{29}).
	Jehoiakim's 1st	607	
	,, 4th	604	Jeremiah's 23rd and Nebuchadrezzar's 1st (Jer $25^{1.\ 9}$).
(2 K 24^{8-18}) Jehoiachin's 3 mos. reign and Zedekiah's accession	,, 11th	597	8th of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 24^{12}).
	Zedekiah's 1st year	596	
	,, 10th ,,	587	18th of Nebuchadrezzar (Jer 32^{1}).
	,, 11th ,,	586	19th of Nebuchadrezzar and destruction of Jerusalem (2 K 25^{8}).

These dates are determined by Nebuchadrezzar's 1st year, which, according to Ptolemy's Canon,* is 604. The reigns given in the table above are post-dated. This arrangement is the one generally accepted. Some, however, have preferred to pre-date them. Then Jerusalem falls in 587 or 588. In favour of this are Jer $52^{28.\ 29}$, which place seemingly the captivity of Jehoiachin and destruction of Jerusalem in the 8th and 18th years of Nebuchadrezzar. The battle of Carchemish (Jer 46^{2}) is dated in the 4th year of Jehoiakim. According to Tiele and others, this took place in 605, the year of Nebuchadrezzar's accession. This pre-dates the 4th year of Jehoiakim.

From the facts presented, it is evident that only

* Another explanation of the events of this period is, that the king present as a Syrian ally at the battle of Karkar was not Ahab but Ahaziah or Joram, the Assyr. scribe having unwittingly given the name of the father for that of the son, being ignorant of the latter's accession. The argument for this view is that Israel would not have assisted the Syrians except as a vassal, and that such vassalage immediately followed the battle of Ramoth-gilead. Ahab's death, then, probably would have occurred in 855.

* The Canon of Ptolemy is a chron. compilation by the celebrated Alexandrian scholar Ptolemy of the 2nd cent. A.D., with astronomical notes, commencing B.C. 747 with the reigns of the Bab. kings. As far as it has been tested, it has proved an accurate and reliable document. See ASSYRIA, p. 179b.

a few dates in Israel's history can be fixed with absolute certainty. The time of most events can only be given definitely within a space of two or three years. There generally remains that amount of uncertainty, hence few tables of dates furnished by OT chronologists exactly agree.

In view of the corrections which must be made in the OT chron. statements from the founding of Solomon's temple to the destruction of Jerus., and in view of the apparent endeavour of the writer of 1 and 2 K to preserve and harmonize in his synchronisms the recorded lengths of the reigns of kings, the question may arise whether in this period as well as the former ones the chronological data may not be partially conjectural or artificial, complete historical data for both the S. and N. kingdom not having been preserved. This is the view of W. R. Smith, Stade, Wellhausen, and others. In its favour is the fact that from the founding of Solomon's temple to that of Zerubbabel, according to the biblical numbers, there are 480 years, and the duration of the N. kingdom (omitting the 2 years of Elah or reducing Baasha's to 22) is 240 years. The combinations seen in the length of the reigns suggest also, it is said, artificiality.

Solomon		37	Brought forward		259
Rehoboam	17	20	Jotham	16	
Abijam	3		Ahaz	16	38
Asa		41	Hezekiah	6	
Jehoshaphat	25		Hezekiah	23	
Jehoram	8	40	Manasseh	55	80
Ahaziah	1		Amon	2	
Athaliah	6		Josiah	31	
Joash		40	Jehoiakim	11	53
Amaziah	29	81	Zedekiah	11	
Uzziah	52		Captivity		50
Carry forward		259	Total		480

The combination of $41+81+38=40+80+40$, it is said, cannot be mere chance.

A system likewise, it is claimed, appears in the years of the first eight kings of Israel.

Jeroboam	22		Omri	12	
Nadab	2		Ahab	22	
Baasha (24)	22	48	Ahaziah	2	48
Elah	2		Joram	12	

Here are eight kings reigning 96 years, an average of 12 for each. Three reign $12+10$, three $12-10$, and two 12.

From the inaccuracy of some of the biblical numbers, and from the symmetry of their sum, it is not improbable that missing lengths of the reigns of some kings were supplied by conjecture, so as to make the duration of the N. kingdom 240 years, and the interval between the founding of the two temples 480 years. Such an arrangement would be helpful to the memory and analogous to reckonings of the early periods of the world and of Israel, and such an arrangement also finds a counterpart in the genealogy of Jesus in Mt, where the generations are reduced to three series of 14 each. But, taking the biblical data as a whole for this period, they do not present sufficient symmetry to be entirely or mainly artificial. Errors doubtless crept into lists of reigns, and the lengths of some probably were not preserved, and hence were supplied by conjecture.

v. Chronology of the Post-Exilic Period.—When Judah became a vassal, and her own kings ceased, the years of foreign rulers, as we have already seen at the beginning of the Captivity, were employed in dating events. The time of these rulers is fixed by the Canon of Ptolemy. The following table gives the principal OT chronological references of this period :—

Nebuchadrezzar's 19th	586	Fall of Jerusalem (2 K 25[8])
Cyrus' accession	539	Capture of Babylon by Cyrus
,, 1st year	538	Edict for the Return (Ezr 1[1])
	537	Return under Zerubbabel
	536	Founding of the Temple (Ezr 3[8])
Darius' accession	522	
,, 2nd year	520	Haggai and Zechariah prophesy (Hag 1[1], Zec 1[1])
,, 6th ,,	516	Temple finished (Ezr 6[15])
Artaxerxes' accession	465	
,, 7th year	458	Ezra arrives at Jerusalem (Ezr 7[8])
,, 20th ,,	445	Nehemiah's mission to Jerusalem (Neh 2[1])

Literature.—*For the Chron. of the Hex.* consult the Commentaries of Delitzsch, Dillmann, and other writers on that portion of the OT; also Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, ch. vi.; Budde, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte*, ch. iii.; Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, §§ 19, 25; (for Chron. of Judges, § 30, 2); F. C. König, 'Beiträge zur Biblische Chronologie,' in *ZKW*, 1883; Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A.T.*, pp. 173-198. *For the regal period*: Brandes, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Orients im Alterthum*, 1874; Wellhausen, 'Die Zeitrechnung des Buches der Könige,' in *JDTh*, 1875; 'Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah compared with the Monuments,' in *Church Quart. Rev.*, Jan. 1886; S. Sharpe, *Heb. Nation and Lit.*, pp. 381 ff., 389 ff.; G. Smith, *Assyr. Epon. Canon*, chs. i. and vii.; W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Philology*, x. p. 209 ff.; Kamphausen, *Chron. der Hebräischen Könige*, 1883; Schrader, *COT* ii. 161-175, supplemented by O. C. Whitehouse, pp. 320-324, 1888; Orr, 'Assyr. and Heb. Chron.,' in *Pres. Rev.*, Jan. 1889; Kittel, *Hist. of the Hebrs.*, § 53A, 1892; Wellhausen, *Proleg. to Hist. of Israel*, 285 f., 1883; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 88 ff., 558 ff., 1887.

E. L. Curtis.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. THE GOSPELS.

The data for the chronology of the Life of Christ group themselves round three points, the Nativity, the Baptism, and the Crucifixion, and the intervals between these, namely, the age of Christ at the Baptism, and the duration of the Ministry. If some of them could be settled conclusively, the rest could be deduced at once: for instance, the date of Christ's birth combined with his age when baptized would fix the date of the Baptism; if the moments of the beginning and end of the Ministry are known, its length follows; and so on. But as it is, since for no one of these dates or intervals is there demonstrative proof, while yet about each of them conclusions more or less probable can be reached, it is imperative to investigate them separately, and to check the tentative results by comparison with one another.

A. The Date of the Nativity.—1. *The Year.*—a. St. Matthew tells us that Jesus Christ was born in the reign of Herod the Great, who at some period not more than two years afterwards ordered a massacre of all the infants at Bethlehem, and that the Holy Family fled to Egypt, where they remained for the rest of the king's lifetime (Mt 2[1. 13-16. 19]). Thus Herod's death is the *terminus ad quem* for the Nativity.

For the chronology of the events of Jewish history of NT times, the primary authorities are the *BJ* and *Ant.* of Josephus (quoted throughout this article in the critical edition of B. Niese, Berlin, 1887–1895). Josephus nowhere states the exact year of Herod's death, but he gives the length of his reign from two more or less fixed starting-points, and the length of his three successors' reigns to more or less fixed concluding points. (i.) Herod when he died, not very long before the Passover, had reigned 37 years * as king *de jure* since the Roman decree of the 184th Olympiad [middle of B.C. 44 to middle of B.C. 40], and consulship of Domitius Calvinus and Asinius Pollio [B.C. 40]; *Ant.* xiv. xiv. 4, 5, xvii. viii. 1; *BJ* i. xxxiii. 8. Thus the decree belongs to the first half of B.C. 40: but as it is uncertain even so whether the month was earlier or later than the month (March?) of Herod's death, it is uncertain also whether the 37th year had begun before March B.C. 4, or only before March B.C. 3. (ii.) He had reigned also 34 years as king *de facto* since the death of Antigonus; and Antigonus died 'on the day of the great Fast [Sept.-Oct.] in the consulship of M. Agrippa and Canidius Gallus [B.C. 37], 27 years to a day since the entry of

* That is, according to the general rule of ancient calculations,—to which attention is here called once for all,—not 37 years or something over, but 37 years or something less.

Pompey into Jerusalem in the consulship of Antonius and Cicero' [B.C. 63 less 27=B.C. 36]. Of these two discordant reckonings for Antigonus' death, 34 years from the first would put Herod's death in the beginning of B.C. 3, 34 from the second in the beginning of B.C. 2; and if the second may reasonably be set aside as due to the confusion of all chronology previous to the introduction of the Julian calendar in B.C. 46, even B.C. 37 is inconsistent with the evidence of Dio, a later but equally well informed historian, who names the consuls of B.C. 38, Claudius and Norbanus, so that the 34 years would expire in B.C. 4 (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 3, XIV. xvi. 4, XVII. viii. 1; *BJ* I. xxxiii. 8: Dio, xlix. 22). (iii.) Of Herod's successors, Archelaus, king of Judæa, was banished in the consulship of Lepidus and Arruntius [A.D. 6], when in the ninth year of his reign according to *BJ*, the tenth according to *Ant.* As his accession was near the beginning of the year, the former reckoning would throw it probably in B.C. 3 (possibly in B.C. 4), the latter probably in B.C. 4 (possibly B.C. 5). If the two may be reconciled by supposing that the banishment fell very early in A.D. 6, before the anniversary of the accession, and that *Ant.* reckons Archelaus' second and succeeding years from Jan. 1, both would point to B.C. 4; if otherwise, *Ant.* as the later and fuller work is more likely to have corrected an earlier error than to have introduced a new one, so that B.C. 4 is in any case the more probable date (*BJ* II. vii. 3; *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 2, 3, cf. *Vita*, 1; Dio, lv. 25. 27). (iv.) Herod Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, reigned 37 years, and died in the 20th year of Tiberius—that is, reckoning from Augustus' death in August A.D. 14, between August A.D. 33 and August A.D. 34, which would leave Herod Philip's accession doubtful between B.C. 3 and 4 (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6). (v.) Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, was issuing coins as late as his 44th year; and as his banishment by Gaius Caligula (March A.D. 37–Jan. A.D. 41) can hardly have been later than A.D. 39—his rival and nephew, Herod Agrippa, left Palestine after him, and was apparently at Lyons with the emperor in the winter of A.D. 39–40—his 2nd year would go back to B.C. 4, and his accession (since the Jewish princes apparently reckoned their years from Nisan 1) to the year preceding Nisan 1 B.C. 4 (Dio, lv. 24; see further, Philo *in Flaccum*, 5, ed. Mangey, ii. 521; Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 11, vii. 2; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*[2], p. 122).

Thus the year of Herod's death was probably B.C. 4, possibly B.C. 3; and one further note of time in Josephus may help to resolve the doubt. An eclipse of the moon occurred at a moment when Herod, lying at Jericho in his last illness, had partially revived. He grew worse again, and was taken to the baths of Callirrhoë across the Dead Sea; but when all remedies failed he was brought back to Jericho, and thither as a last caprice of tyranny he summoned to his bedside all the leading Jews of Palestine, intending a general massacre of them at the moment of his death. Then the long expected authorization from Augustus of the execution of Antipater arrives and is at once acted on; five days later the king succumbs himself. The funeral rites occupy a week, and soon afterwards the Passover is 'close at hand' (*Ant.* XVII. vi. 4–ix. 3). Now the only lunar eclipses visible in Palestine during B.C. 5–3 were those of March 23, B.C. 5, Sept. 15, B.C. 5, and March 12–13, B.C. 4. But unless the events just catalogued can be spread over 12 or 13 months, from March 12, B.C. 4, to March 31 (the passover of B.C. 3), which is very unlikely, the year B.C. 3 for Herod's death is excluded. If, on the other hand, one month seems as much too little for them as twelve are too much, the eclipse may be that of September, B.C. 5, the king's death falling six months afterwards, about March, B.C. 4.

The Nativity, however, must be placed, not only before this, but, as St. Matthew's account seems to imply, some time before it; for the age limit fixed for the massacre of the innocents, and the sojourn of the Holy Family in Egypt, have both to be allowed for, even if the one is to be qualified by Herod's determination to set a limit on the safe side, and the other by St. Luke's silence. The Birth of Christ may so far be placed one, two, or even three years before Herod's death, B.C. 7–5.

With the longer interval from B.C. 7 would tally Kepler the astronomer's suggestion, that the star of Mt 2[2] was a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, such as occurred in the constellation Pisces in May, October, and December of B.C. 7. The statement of a mediæval Jew, R. Abarbanel, that the conjunction of these two planets in Pisces is to be a sign of Messiah's coming, may perhaps have been derived ultimately from ancient traditions known to the Chaldæans. On the other hand, it is maintained that the conjunction of B.C. 7 was never close enough for the planets to appear as a single star, though even this would hardly be conclusive against Kepler's view. But in any case chronological conclusions cannot be primarily rested on such a basis.

b. St. Luke dates the Nativity by a general census ordered by Augustus and carried out in Syria by the legate Quirinius (2[2] *αὕτη* [*ἡ*] *ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*). The bracketed article is to be omitted with B D (and in effect ℵ); the clause is to be rendered, not 'this was the first census [of those that were made] while Quirinius was governor of Syria,' but 'this was taken as the first census [of the whole series down to the present] while Quirinius,' etc.: so Clement of Alexandria, *ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γενέσθαι* (*Strom.* i. 21. 147, p. 407, ed. Potter).

A famous census did indeed take place, Quirinius being the governor sent to carry it out, ten years or more after the Nativity, when Judæa, on the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6, became a Roman province; and it provoked the revolt of Judas the Gaulonite or Galilean (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5, XVIII. i. 1; Ac 5[37]). But there is also reason to believe that Quirinius must be the name wanting on a mutilated inscription which describes some official who twice governed Syria under Augustus; and in that case another census might be postulated for his other tenure to justify St. Luke, if it were not that even this other cannot possibly have coincided with the Nativity. The period from B.C. 10 or 9 till Herod's death is exhausted by the tenures of M. Titius, C. Sentius Saturninus, and P. Quintilius Varus. Varus came as the immediate successor of Saturninus not later than the summer of B.C. 6—for coins of his are extant of the 25th year of the era of Actium [Sept. B.C. 31], *i.e.* Sept. B.C. 7 to Sept. B.C. 6—and was still in office at the time of Herod's death. Quirinius consequently had either left some years before the Nativity or did not arrive till after it (*Ant.* XVI. viii. 6, ix. 1, XVII. v. 2, ix. 3; Mommsen, *Res Gestæ Divi Augusti*[2], p. 169 ff.).

St. Luke then is in error in the name of Quirinius; it does not follow that he is in error in the fact of a census. 'It must be remembered that the chronological data of Lk 2 and 3 were in all probability supplied by himself and not by his "sources"'; Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 20. The evangelist's acquaintance with Palestine was perhaps limited to the two years of St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea; and if his source made mention simply of a census, he may easily have been misled into identifying it with the great Roman census of A.D. 6–7, made the more famous by the revolt it occasioned. Nor is there any inherent improbability in the hypothesis of a census in Judæa somewhere within the years B.C. 8–5. Of another client prince, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Tacitus happens to relate that he took a census 'after the Roman manner' under Tiberius; *Ann.* vi. 41. And if Herod did set himself to supply the information to his suzerain (for the statistics of the resources of the empire, dependent states included, were a favourite study of Augustus), it may well be believed that he veiled his purpose under forms adapted to the susceptibilities of his Jewish subjects, and so, in avoiding the scandal caused by the later Roman census, avoided also the notice of history.

St. Luke's evidence, then, adds nothing trustworthy for the chronology of the Nativity beyond its synchronism with a census.

c. But if St. Luke's census has no date, or rather a wrong one, does early Christian tradition help to fix the Nativity more nearly?

Patristic writers, in nearly all cases where a date is given for the Nativity, appear to deduce it from the date of the Baptism or Crucifixion; though it may be noted in passing that the earlier Fathers are a good deal nearer the mark with the year B.C. 3–2 than Dionysius Exiguus, the 6th cent. author of the present calculation of the Christian era (Iren. *Hær.* III. xxi. 3, ed. Massuet; Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 147; 'Tert.' *adv. Judæos*, 8; Hippolytus *in Dan.* iv., ed. Bratke, p. 19, l. 3).

There is, however, one casual statement of Tertullian's which serves in remarkable fashion to bridge the gap left by the dissociation of Quirinius' name from the census of the Nativity. The Marcionites defended their Doketic views of Christ's humanity by appeal to his own question, 'Who are my mother and my brethren?' interpreted as a denial of all human relationships; the assertion of the Jews, 'Thy mother and thy brethren stand without,' became on their view a mere desire to 'tempt' Christ. Tertullian reminds them *inter alia* that Christ's family could easily have been discovered from the census known to have been taken under Augustus in Judæa by Sentius Saturninus: *census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum apud quos genus eius inquirere potuissent* (*adv. Marcionem*, iv. 19). Here, of course, if Tertullian had said Quirinius, he would have been merely repeating St. Luke; but he names instead Quirinius' penultimate predecessor, governor about B.C. 9–6. Whether or not Tertullian himself means to connect this census with the Nativity is not quite clear;

the point is, that the name Saturninus, since it can hardly be a mere slip for St. Luke's Quirinius, must have come from an independent authority, possibly the same as supplied another reference to Saturninus in Tert. *de pallio*, i. In general trustworthiness, Tertullian is immeasurably inferior to St. Luke; but a Roman lawyer could command familiar access to many sources inaccessible to a physician from the provinces, and it is hardly rash to believe that in this one instance the former has by a happy chance preserved the evidence which at once confirms and corrects the latter,—confirms the fact of a census, and corrects the name from Quirinius to Saturninus.*

If this correction be accepted, the census taken while Saturninus was Syrian legate cannot fall later than the time when Varus succeeded him, in or before the middle of B.C. 6. The order of events in St. Matthew will permit of an interval of two or three years between the Nativity and Herod's death; and the *data* appear to be best harmonized by attributing the census of the Nativity to B.C. 7 or the beginning of B.C. 6.

2. *The Month and Day of the Nativity.*—Of these nothing is really known; for the patristic evidence, interesting in itself, though too voluminous for discussion here, leads to no real results. It must suffice to say that the oldest traditional date for Christmas Day is, in the East, Jan. 6, in the West, Dec. 25. The earliest trace of the one is the observance of Jan. 6 as the festival, not of the birth of Christ but of his Baptism, by the Basilidian Gnostics of the time of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21.147, p. 408); and a Gnostic tradition is worth nothing at all. The other first appears in Hippolytus' newly-recovered *Fourth Book on Daniel* (p. 19, l. 2), and was probably deduced by him from March 25, a day which in his *Chronicle* marks not only the Crucifixion but the Conception, the γένεσις Χριστοῦ side by side with the πάθος.

B. THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE NATIVITY AND THE BAPTISM.—St. Luke relates that Jesus at the time of the Baptism was about 30 years of age, 3^{23} αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα. The word ἀρχόμενος does not qualify the description of age, as supposed by the earliest known interpreters, Valentinians of the Ptolemæan school *ap.* Iren. II. xxii. 5, *ad baptismum venit nondum qui triginta annos suppleverat, sed qui inciperet esse tamquam triginta annorum*; and so, too, Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. 16, τριάκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν ἀλλ' οὐ πλήρης· διὸ λέγει Ἀρχόμενος. It rather means 'when just commencing his ministry,' an idiomatic use of ἄρχεσθαι paralleled in Lk 23^5 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας; Ac 1^{22} ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάνου; Ac 10^{37} ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐκήρυξεν Ἰωάνης.

The chronological reference, in fact, is limited to the words ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, into which in turn the meaning has been read that our Lord waited till he had completed the 30 years of an authorized teacher. But Jewish ideas do not seem to have attached any such importance to this particular age. The *minimum* limit for the Levitical service, even if originally 30, —and against Nu $4^{3.\ 47}$ (Heb.), 1 Ch 23^3 are to be set Nu $4^{3.\ 47}$ (LXX) 8^{24}, which give 25,—had been reduced to 20 before the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch $23^{24.\ 27}$), who ascribes the change to David. On the other hand, so far as there was any official age for teaching, it was not 30 but 40: see the treatise *Aboda Zara* in the Bab. Talm. (ed. Frankfort, 1715, fol. 19*b*: quoted by Schoettgen, *ad loc.*): *Ad quodnam vero ætatis momentum exspectandum est antequam vir doctus alios docere possit?* Resp. *Ad exactos annos quadraginta.* Similarly, Irenæus contrasts the *prima indoles iuvenis* of 30 years with the *magistri perfectam ætatem*, which appears to be 40 (II. xxii. 4, 5). The traces of an age standard of 30 for different offices of the Christian ministry are due, of course, directly to this very statement in St. Luke; so expressly the Council of Neo-Cæsarea, canon 11.

Thus there is no reason to press St. Luke's note of time into meaning either 'when not yet 30 years' or 'at the moment of attaining the teacher's age of 30 years.' The phrase is an elastic one, and will cover any age from 28 to 32. Reckoned from the Nativity of Christ in B.C. 7–6, the probable limits for the date of the Baptism would thus be A.D. 22–27, a result which must now be tested by its conformity with the direct evidence for this date.

C. For the BAPTISM the Gospels supply a *terminus ad quem* in the synchronism of the passover mentioned next after it with the years of the building of the temple (Jn 2^{20}); and a *terminus a quo* in the synchronism of the beginning of the Baptist's ministry with the years of Tiberius (Lk 3^1).

a. Jn 2^{20} τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἓξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος, say the Jews in argument with our Lord, meaning, not that Herod's temple had taken 46 years from its commencement to its completion at some moment of the past,—for the work was only just complete when the Jewish revolt broke out (Jos. *Ant.* xx. ix. 7),—but that at the time of speaking it 'had been in course of building' 46 years, the aorist being exactly paralleled in the phrase used of the temple of Ezra (Ezr 5^{16} ἀπὸ τότε ἕως τοῦ νῦν ᾠκοδομήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη, 'from that time to this it has been in course of building, and has not been brought to completion'). Herod's temple was begun, according to *BJ* in his 15th, according to *Ant.* in his 18th year (*BJ* I. xxi. 1; *Ant.* XV. xi. 1); and as Jos. in both books summarizes the length of Herod's reign by a double computation from the *de jure* kingship in B.C. 40, and the *de facto* kingship in B.C. 37, an obvious solution of the discrepancy would be to count the 15th year from the later, the 18th from the earlier, of the two starting-points, both reckonings then converging on B.C. 23. But in fact Jos., when he gives a single date, invariably computes it from the *de facto* kingship only. So in *Ant.*—the book which on the hypothesis just mentioned would employ the reckoning from B.C. 40 for the commencement of the temple—the battle of Actium (Sept. B.C. 31) is put in the 7th year of Herod; Augustus' second visit to Syria, which was not earlier than B.C. 21 (for it was 10 years after the first, and that in turn was after Actium), is dated in the 17th year; and the completion of Cæsarea is fixed in the 92nd Olympiad (B.C. 12–8), and in the 28th year (*Ant.* XV. v. 2, vi. 7, XVI. v. 1; *BJ* I. xx. 4). Seeing, then, that the divergence cannot be accounted for as a double reckoning, it must arise from the correction in *Ant.* of an error of *BJ*, so that Josephus' ultimate date is the 18th year from B.C. 37, or in other words B.C. 20–19. The passover of the first year will probably be that of B.C. 19, and the passover of the 46th year that of A.D. 27.

Thus the latest date for the Baptism is the early months of A.D. 27.

b. Lk 3^1 ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος . . . ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάνην. Reckoned from Augustus' death, Aug. 19, A.D. 14, the 15th year of Tiberius would run from Aug. A.D. 28 to Aug. A.D. 29, so that the Baptism of Christ could scarcely fall before A.D. 29. Even if Tiberius' 2nd year be dated from Jan. 1, A.D. 15, so that his 15th corresponds with A.D. 28, matters are hardly mended, for that year, too, would be irreconcilable with the results attained in the first two sections of this article, with the temple chronology just discussed, and with the conclusions which will be established below from a comparison of the length of the Ministry with the date of the Crucifixion. If St. Luke really places the opening of the Baptist's preaching as late as A.D. 28, he must, as in the case of Quirinius, have fallen into error. Writing half a century after the events, and perhaps himself sharing the view which limited the public Ministry of Christ to a single year, he might have deduced the 15th year for the commencement of the Ministry from A.D. 29, the date assigned by very early tradition for its close.

At the same time, it is not quite so easy to suppose him deceived about the beginning of the Ministry as about the census of the Nativity. Not only were the events 30 years nearer his own time, but they were of so much more public a character, that they must have been matter of knowledge in a far wider circle, among the Baptist's disciples—with whom St. Luke's writings seem to show a special acquaintance—as well as among the followers of the Christ. Is it certain, then, what is meant by the 15th year of Tiberius? A modern reader is tempted to transfer to the 1st cent. his own associations with hereditary monarchy, where each ruler's rights and powers come into existence at the moment of his predecessor's demise, neither sooner nor later. The Roman Empire of Augustus was scarcely in fact, certainly not in law, hereditary. The prerogatives of the emperor were due theoretically to the various offices which he held; and in dating events, as on coins and inscriptions, he would recite the number, not of the years of his reign, but of his consulships, his imperatorships, and his years of tribunician power. Clearly, none of these official methods were followed by St. Luke, for Tiberius was never consul more than five times, nor imperator more than eight, while his tribunician power, held permanently as one of the primary factors in the imperial character, was already in its 16th year at the time of Augustus' death. Nor was there yet any

* It is possible that the same source is alluded to in Jos. *Vita*, 1, written at Rome under Domitian, τὴν μὲν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διαδοχήν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὗρον.

stereotyped literary usage upon the point. St. Luke's contemporaries, if Romans, would probably have been employing the old system of dating by the consuls of each year; if Orientals, they might still be using the Olympiads (B.C. 776), the era of Alexander or the Greeks (B.C. 312), the era of Sulla (B.C. 85), or the era of Actium (B.C. 31). So when he himself elected to adopt the still novel reckoning by imperial years, he would find no absolutely fixed tradition as to the moment from which to compute them; and it has lately been pointed out (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 337) that not very long before the probable date of the Gospel, Titus had been associated in the empire with his father Vespasian by the simultaneous reception of the proconsular and tribunician power, together with other *insignia* of imperial rank (July 1, A.D. 71). The conditions of his own day, Ramsay thinks, may have led the evangelist to emphasize the similar elevation of Tiberius, on whom a special enactment had already in Augustus' lifetime conferred a position in the provinces co-ordinate with the elder emperor's, so that provincial custom may have taken that as the starting-point of his reign (Velleius Paterculus, ii. 121; Suetonius, *Tib.* 21; compare Bury, *Students' Roman Empire*, p. 54; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. ed. 3, p. 1159, n. 3). As to the exact year of the law, authorities differ; most of them connect it with the grant of the tribunician power for life in A.D. 13; but there is no necessity to synchronize the two, and Mommsen, on the ground of the context in Velleius, puts it two years earlier, in A.D. 11.

If this solution is possible—and it is not given here for more—the various *data* are brought into complete harmony. The mission of the Baptist in the 15th year of Tiberius, calculated from A.D. 11, will fall in A.D. 25–26; the Baptism of Christ may be assigned to A.D. 26–27; and the first passover of the Ministry, being at the same time the passover of the 46th year of the temple building, will follow in the spring of A.D. 27.

D. The interval between the Baptism and the Crucifixion, or DURATION OF THE MINISTRY.—a. St. Mark's Gospel, the closest representative of the common synoptic tradition, contains few precise indications of time; events are strung together by no more than the vague expressions 'straightway,' 'after not many days,' 'after many days.' The general impression, however, which the synoptic narrative seems calculated to produce, and probably in primitive times did produce, is that the period described was one of no considerable length. In the absence of other *data*, especial importance accrues to two episodes which contain in themselves or their surroundings evidence of the season of the year. Describing the feeding of the 5000, St. Mark adds to the common tradition the descriptive touch that the grass showed the fresh green of early spring (ἐπὶ τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ Mk 6^{39}: cf. Mt 14^{15}, Lk 9^{12}). And the plucking of the ears of corn (Mk 2^{23}=Mt 12^{1}=Lk 6^{1}), the harvest being ripe but not yet cut, will fall, if the ears were barley, at earliest in April, and if wheat, at latest in June; see R. Samuel, quoted by Wetstein on Jn 4^{35}.

Here, then, a spring or early summer in Mk 2 is succeeded by early spring in ch. 6, the lapse of one year intervening; while a second year is postulated by the events of chs. 6^{56}–10^{52}, which include journeys to the districts of Phœnicia, of Upper Galilee, and of Peræa (7^{24} 8^{27} 10^{1}), and shut out the possibility that the miracle of ch. 6 and the passover of the Crucifixion can belong to the same spring; so that, at least if the order is even roughly chronological, a two years' ministry would already underlie the record. And though our earliest authority, Papias, seems to deny just this characteristic to St. Mark, saying that, while the facts were all accurate, the order was not (ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν οὐ μέντοι τάξει, quoted in Eusebius, *HE* iii. 39), yet he probably does not mean by this more than the absence of a framework for the history such as St. Luke supplies by notices of movement towards Jerus., and St. John by notices of Jewish festivals. In any case an investigation of the internal evidence borne by the Gospel itself, though necessarily cursory, and limited to a single section, will best show to what extent it may be allowed or denied to be chronological.

From the opening of the Galilean ministry in Mk 1^{14} the narrative runs continuously, the scene, the actors, the horizon being all Galilean, and Galilean only, as far as 3^{6}. At this point a change takes place, and the larger world of Palestine begins to play a part on the stage. The audience is drawn, not from Galilee only, but from Jerus., Judæa, Idumæa, Peræa, and Phœnicia; the opposition is reinforced by scribes from the capital; the apostles are organized into a body for more systematic evangelization ($3^{8.\ 14.\ 22}$). To this division, under which the first two chapters mark the inchoate stage of the Ministry, the character of the sayings and doings recorded in them fairly corresponds. Five miracles arouse the attention of the populace, and spread the fame of their author (1^{21}–2^{12}), just as five episodes bring out teaching which provokes the criticism, and soon the hostility, of the scribes and Pharisees (2^{1}–3^{6}); the cure of the paralytic with the forgiveness of his sins, where the miracle suggests the teaching, forming the transition from the first half of the section to the second. This presentation of development and progress is an argument for the substantially chronological character of the record, so far at least that an episode of the opening section, such as that of the ears of corn, would *primâ facie* be dated in the actual order of events before an episode so much posterior to the great break in 3^{6} as the feeding of the 5000. With much less hesitation it may be laid down that the miracle of ch. 6 cannot possibly be placed in the same spring as the Crucifixion; so that these three *data*, the late spring of one year, the early spring of another, and the passover time of a third, suggest the testimony of St. Mark's Gospel to at least a two years' Ministry (but see below, p. 410[a]).

On the other hand, it does not follow that the arrangement of events within each section is chronological; rather, the evangelist would certainly seem to have here deserted the principle of temporal order for the principle of grouping. For instance, although his general scheme in 1^{14}–3^{6} is borne out by the natural presumption that some miracles arresting public attention preceded in time the opposition offered to doctrine which might otherwise have passed unnoticed, yet it is hardly likely that all the miracles came first and all the teaching after. That is to say, the probability that the episode of the ears of corn really preceded all events from 3^{6} onward, does not carry with it an equal probability that it preceded also the events of 3^{1-6}, or followed those of 1^{21}–2^{22}. Even if the sections as wholes are in chronological order, the events within each section are obviously massed in groups.

b. St. Luke's account of the Ministry divides itself in the main into two well-marked portions, of which the first (4^{14}–9^{50}) is parallel to the common tradition of the other Synoptists, while the second (9^{51}–19^{28}) is almost entirely peculiar; and with this division corresponds a (seemingly methodical) arrangement of notes of place which serves as a setting for the history.

In the first portion, representing the Galilean ministry of the common tradition, the localities named are, with one exception, and that more apparent than real, exclusively Galilean: 4^{14} Galilee, ^{16} Nazareth, ^{31} Capernaum; 5^{1} Lake of Gennesaret; 7^{1} Capernaum, ^{11} Nain; $8^{2f.}$ Mary is of Magdala, and Joanna is wife of Herod's steward; $^{22.\ 26}$ Lake of Galilee, with its opposite shore. Mention is made, as in St. Mark, of the gathering of hearers from Judæa, Jerus., Tyre and Sidon, and of the fame of Christ's miracles 'in all Judæa and the country round' (5^{17} 6^{17} 7^{17}); but nowhere is our Lord himself removed from Galilee save in the single statement in 4^{44} that he was 'preaching

in the synagogues of Judæa': Ἰουδαίας, ℵ B C L Q R etc.; Γαλιλαίας, *Textus Receptus*. Apologetic interest has detected here an 'undesigned coincidence' with the Judæan ministry in St. John; but the truth is that in this and some other passages St. Luke is using 'Judæa' in the extended sense of 'Palestine,' a term unfamiliar to NT and to the 1st cent. A.D. generally. When St. Luke wrote, the Rom. province, though it then included all Palestine except Upper Galilee, was still known only as Judæa (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 257). Traces of this usage in his writings (side by side with the narrower sense in which Judæa was opposed to Samaria or Galilee) would be Ac 26^{20} 'Damascus, Jerus., all the country of Judæa and the Gentiles'; Ac 10^{37} 'throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee,' and the similar phrase Lk 23^{5} (cf. 6^{17} 7^{17}), in each of which cases 'all Judæa' appears to mean Palestine. The phrase may have been used in 4^{44} as a sort of comprehensive introduction to the Ministry; and though it does not, *totidem verbis*, confine our Lord to Galilee, it does not necessarily take him beyond its borders. The definite indications of the first half of the record are unanimously Galilean.

In sharp contrast with this, the section peculiar to St. Luke opens with the statement about Christ that 'as the days of his assumption were coming to the full, he set his face firmly to go to Jerusalem'; 9^{51} ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ. Again and again the same direction is emphasized in the remaining chapters. He is journeying through cities and villages, teaching and making his way to Jerus. 13^{22}; he passes through the midst of Samaria and Galilee on his journey to Jerus. 17^{11}; he is going up to Jerus. 18^{31}; he is near Jerus. 19^{11}. It is clear that all these chapters, to the mind of the evangelist, represent a conscious working up (though not necessarily a direct journey) towards Jerus., and 'the filling up of the days of his assumption' is a phrase which cannot cover more than a few months at the outside. Nor is there anything to suggest that, the second group of chapters being thus limited in duration, the previous group, which occupy a shorter space in the record, extended over any much longer period. Indeed it is not improbable that St. Luke shared the view, widely spread from very early times, that confined the Ministry to a single year; it is even possible that he himself, like so many of the readers of his Gospel, interpreted in this sense the reference preserved by him to Isaiah's prophecy of the 'acceptable year of the Lord' (Lk 4^{19}=Is 61^{2}).

c. St. John's Gospel distinguishes itself from the other three by its careful enumeration of six notes of time, five of them Jewish festivals, between the Baptism and the Crucifixion; and these precise and detailed recollections of an eyewitness must be allowed decisive weight against the apparently divergent testimony of the third Synoptist, not to say that their very precision may have consciously aimed at a silent correction of impressions erroneously derived from earlier evangelical narratives.

2^{13} καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ Ἰησοῦς. ^{23} ὡς δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ.

4^{35} οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἔτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; ἰδοὺ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐπάρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λευκαί εἰσιν πρὸς θερισμόν.

5^{1} μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτὴ [or ἡ ἑορτή] τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀνέβη Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

6^{4} ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα [or omit τὸ πάσχα] ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

7^{2} ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία.

10^{22} ἐγένετο τότε τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις.

Of these, the first and last two are straightforward statements which need no comment. The second admits of alternative explanations either as harvest-time or as four months before it. To the third attaches, not only a variety of reading between 'the feast' and 'a feast,' but, whichever reading be adopted, a doubt as to the actual feast intended by it. The fourth involves, again, a question of reading, carrying with it the difference of a complete year in the chronology of the Ministry; and as this problem is at once simpler and more momentous than the other two, it will be on all grounds best to begin with it.

(1) Jn 6^{4}. If the words τὸ πάσχα are retained, three passovers are mentioned by St. John (2^{13} 6^{4} 11^{55}), so that the Ministry will extend over at least two years. If the words are excised, 'the feast of the Jews,' which was 'near' at hand, may be identified with the Feast of Tabernacles, described as 'near' in 7^{2}, and the chronology of the Ministry can then be arranged on a single-year basis: $2^{13.\ 23}$ Passover in March or April, 4^{35} harvest in May, 5^{1} Pentecost in May or early June, or Trumpets in September, 6^{4} 7^{2} Tabernacles in October, 10^{22} Dedication in December, 11^{55} Passover again.

This latter reading, in the belief that it brought the Fourth Gospel into harmony both with the Synoptists and with the earliest extra-canonical tradition, was championed first by Browne in his *Ordo Sæclorum* (London, 1844), and afterwards with more hesitation by Hort in an exhaustive note *ad loc.* in Westcott and Hort's *Gr. Test.* (App. pp. 77–81), from which many of the *data* in this article have been drawn. But any *primâ facie* presumption on such grounds in favour of the omission of τὸ πάσχα would be counterbalanced by the consideration that every known MS, whether of the original Gr. or of the VSS, contains the phrase or its rendering; moreover, the evidence of St. Mark is, as it stands, against the single-year Ministry, while the evidence of the Fathers is much more evenly divided than these two writers supposed. Still, the high authority which attaches to all that Hort wrote demands a closer investigation of his arguments. It will be shown that the shorter reading (α) is a phrase unlikely to have been penned by St. John; (β) is unsuitable, as interpreted by Hort, to the context; (γ) is unsupported by the direct witness of more than a single Father.

α. If the words τὸ πάσχα are not genuine, St. John wrote simply ἐγγὺς ἦν ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, and by this he is supposed to have meant the Feast of Tabernacles, as being beyond all others '*the* feast' of the Jews. No doubt both in the OT and as late as the Mishna 'the feast' is used to denote Tabernacles: see Cheyne on Is 30^{29}. But even if Tabernacles retained this pre-eminence,* so that St. John as a Jew could have so used the phrase himself, would he have done it in writing for Gentile Christians? To them Passover and Pentecost were instinct with associations from the Gospel, while Tabernacles spoke only of the Law, and '*the* feast' can only have suggested to them, as the same or a still vaguer phrase suggested in 5^{1} to Irenæus, the Feast of Passover. And the evangelist, who habitually means by 'the Jews' the enemies of Christ, can hardly have been so wedded to Jewish usage as to employ language which would have one meaning for himself and another for his Ephesian disciples.

β. The evidence of context tells the same tale. In the first place, the abundance of the grass (Jn 6^{10} πολύς: χλωρός in Mk 6^{39} of the same occasion) points to spring and not to autumn. Further, 'after these things Jesus was walking in Galilee' (Jn 7^{1} περιεπάτει), and yet on Hort's hypothesis the same feast which was already near in 6^{4} is still only near—ἐγγύς in both cases—in 7^{2}.

γ. The patristic evidence for omission can be reduced from the four witnesses quoted by Browne and Hort—Irenæus, a heretical sect described by Epiphanius and called by him Alogi, Origen, and Cyril of Alexandria—to the single testimony of Origen.

Irenæus brings the Gnostic theory of a one-year Ministry to the test of agreement with St. John's Gospel, where he finds that our Lord went up to Jerus. after the Baptism to three Passovers—the first after the miracle of Cana, the second when

* On the one hand, it is for Passover that Joseph and Mary are said to have gone up yearly to Jerus., Lk 2^{41}; on the other, Cyril Alex., probably from Origen, says on Jn 11^{56} οὐχ ὅτι ἀνάγκη ἦν πάντας συνδραμεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῷ πάσχα ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ σκηνοπηγίᾳ.

he cured the paralytic, the third at the Crucifixion (*Hær.* II. xxii. 3). This Father is so eager, it is urged, to swell the number of Passovers that he includes the unnamed feast of 5^1, and it is impossible that he should have failed to note so clear a case as 6^4 would be, if the word Passover had stood there in his text. But, in fact, Irenæus is professing to quote only the Passovers at which Christ was present, *quoties secundum tempus paschæ Dominus post baptisma ascenderit in Hierusalem*; and with this aim he catalogues minutely the journeys to and fro. He is not professing to exhaust the number of Passovers, for he goes on to argue that the Ministry lasted for ten years or more.

The Alogi, according to Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 22), rejected St. John's Gospel as inconsistent with the rest, for the reason, among others, that instead of one Passover it records the observance of two. While they were about it, says Epiphanius, they might have accentuated the inconsistency by pointing to, not two, but three Passovers in this Gospel. Here the answer is again that St. John does not speak of the 'observance' of more than two Passovers by visits to Jerusalem.

Origen's *Comm. on St. John* is defective for chs. 5–7. But on ch. 4^{35} (tom. xiii. 39, 41), against the view of the Valentinian commentator Heracleon, that the material harvest was four months off, and the season therefore winter, he pleads for the alternative of actual harvest-time from the sequence of the events in the succeeding chapters, where 4^{35} is followed almost at once by the feast of 5^1, and the feast of 5^1 by a mention of the Tabernacles as 'nigh at hand' (6^4 or 7^2?). The argument clearly postulates the absence of any intervening Passover at 6^4; and though it is possible in the loss of the commentary on the verse itself to attribute this to mere oversight, yet the omission of τὸ πάσχα in Origen's text is made more probable by the evidence of his follower Cyril, the fourth and last witness alleged.

Cyril of Alexandria's Commentary, like those of so many later Fathers, is composite; his own contributions are inextricably mixed up with those of his predecessors, notably of Origen. Hence, if Cyril (ed. Pusey, i. 398, 399, 404) both gives the disputed words τὸ πάσχα, not only in the biblical text at the head of the section (a position where, no doubt, scribes were prone to replace the more familiar reading), but in two allusions at an earlier point; and at the same time explains our Lord's removal beyond the Sea of Galilee (Jn 6^1) by his desire to avoid the thronging crowds whom the near approach of the Feast (not of Passover but) of Tabernacles would attract to Jerus.,—the simplest solution of the inconsistency is to suppose that τὸ πάσχα really stood in Cyril's own text, and that the connexion of the Tabernacles with the retreat beyond Tiberias is repeated from Origen.

Thus of Hort's four witnesses the evidence of two, Irenæus and the Alogi, does not really bear on the point raised at all; while the testimony of Cyril, so far as it is adverse to the words, appears to resolve itself into the testimony of Origen. But it is much easier to suppose that Origen in his Commentary either conjecturally emended or altogether passed over a notice that he saw to be irreconcilable with his earlier conception of a single-year Ministry, than that he has alone preserved the apostolic text against the concurrence of all other authorities.

On no ground, external or internal, can the omission of the reference to a Passover in 6^4 be defended as original or genuine. The Fourth Gospel excludes the possibility of anything less than a two-year Ministry. The result is a quite simple chronology for the second half of the Gospel. From 6^4 to 11^{55} the space covered is exactly a year, the autumn Feast of Tabernacles (7^2) and the winter Feast of Dedication (10^{22}) being signalized in the course of it. The earlier chapters (2^{13} to 6^4) present a more complicated problem, the solution of which depends primarily on the meaning to be attached to the notices of the season in 4^{35} and of the feast in 5^1.

(2) Jn 4^{35}. Allusion is here made to two seasons of the year, a period four months from harvest: 'Say ye not, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest?'; and the harvest itself:* 'Behold the fields, for they are white already to harvest.' Of these, only one of course can be meant in the literal sense; and the question is, which? The patristic exegesis of the passage shows that the difficulty was felt from the first. The earliest recorded commentator, the Valentinian Heracleon, 'like the majority, interpreted literally, and said that the material harvest was four months off, but that the harvest of which the Saviour was speaking, the harvest of souls, was ready and ripe.' Origen answers that it was rather the middle or end of harvest-time, for the connexion of the narrative proves that it cannot have been winter. You cannot allow, he says, as much as eight or nine months—April to January—after the passover of ch. 2, for there is nothing in the story to suggest so long a period, and the impression made on the Galileans at that passover was still fresh in their minds when Christ came on to Galilee after leaving Samaria (4^{45}); nor can you allow as much again—January to October—between this episode and the Feast of Tabernacles soon to be mentioned:* Orig. *in Jn.* tom. xiii. 39, 41.

It is not possible at this stage to dismiss either explanation as in itself inadmissible. The words of the verse, especially the ἔτι, '*still* four months,' have, perhaps, a more natural meaning if the harvest was actually four months off. On the other hand, the immediate context, the promise of the water which should quench all thirst, has been thought to suggest a warmer season than January, the discourses in St. John's Gospel being, it is said, always fitted to their external surroundings. On this view it has been supposed that the τετράμηνον is a proverbial phrase for the interval between seed-time and harvest, οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε standing for τὸ λεγόμενον, the regular idiom for a proverb. It is said in answer that no such words are elsewhere preserved; but phrases of similar meaning, emphasizing the interval between preparation and fruition, are common in all languages. It is said also that a strict reckoning would make the interval rather six months than four; but the Rabbis (see Wetstein, *ad loc.*) were accustomed to divide the year into six stages of two months—seed-time, winter, spring, harvest, summer, dog-days—so that four months does actually cover the period between the two. Considering, too, the differences of climate in different parts of Palestine, and the differences of season between barley and wheat harvest, there is nothing improbable in supposing that the interval which can be described as one of six months can be described also as one of four.

Origen has really hit the mark in making the relation of the passage to the general chronological arrangement of the Gospel the determining factor in a date which could otherwise only be left open. This relation involves, in the first place, a discussion of the third and last of the doubtful time-notices in St. John.

(3) Jn 5^1. Alternative readings ἑορτή and ἡ ἑορτή, and alternative explanations of either reading.

ἡ ἑορτή was analyzed in the discussion of Jn 6^4 above, and was found to imply either Passover or Tabernacles, though the very existence of a doubt as to the relative precedence of the two feasts made the use of the phrase without further definition unlikely in itself.

ἑορτή would leave the feast intended quite uncertain. Origen and Epiphanius both argue rightly that the indefiniteness excludes Passover; the former apparently made it Pentecost (as does his follower Cyril, though the text at the head of this section of the Commentary contains the article), the latter gives a choice between Pentecost and Tabernacles (Orig. *in Jn.* tom. xiii. 39; Epiph. *Hær.* li. 21, Dind.).† But just as Tabernacles is important enough to rival the claim of Passover to be meant by the definite ἡ ἑορτή, so equally with Passover it is too important to satisfy the indefinite ἑορτή, which must be referred to one of the less important festivals, Pentecost (May), Trumpets (September), Dedication (December), or Purim (February).

* The first ears of barley harvest would be ready in the most forward districts at the end of March; the most backward wheat would be cut in June. April and May would be the principal harvest months.

* The latter part of the argument is, of course, vitiated by Origen's neglect of the Passover of 6^4; see above.

† The fact that Origen, who certainly did not read the article, uses of the same feast the words περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων . . . πεπραγμένων (tom. xiii. 64), shows how easily in oblique references the article would creep in.

As between the two readings, the article is found in ℵ C L Δ 1-118 33, the Egyp. VSS, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Cyril-text (perhaps, too, Irenæus, since he made the feast a Passover, see above on Jn 6^4); it is omitted by A B D, Origen, Epiph. Chrys. and the *Paschal Chronicle*. The weight of external evidence favours the latter group, for it has not only early but varied attestation; whereas the other is of more homogeneous type, originally purely Alexandrine, and may easily owe its post-Nicene supporters to the influence of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and the theory which he brought into prominence of a three years' Ministry with four Passovers. And when to this is added the suspicious character just shown to attach on internal grounds to ἡ ἑορτή, ἑορτή without the article may confidently claim to represent the text of the evangelist.

Thus the first half of the Gospel gives (1) a passover, $2^{13.\ 23}$; (2) a note of time, either May or January, 4^{35}; (3) an unnamed minor feast, 5^1; (4) a second passover, 6^4. These could be combined in more than one way to fit into a single year: *e.g.* (α) Passover—May—any lesser feast—Passover; or (β) Passover—January—Purim (February)—Passover.

But, *Is the minimum duration of the Ministry which results from St. John's Gospel also the maximum?* Is it to be assumed that if the notes of time in 2^{13}–6^4 can be co-ordinated into a single year, and those of 6^4–11^{55} into a second, no further latitude is possible? This is the crucial question.

A negative answer is implied in Irenæus, the earliest in time, the most trustworthy in position, of all extant patristic authorities (*Hær.* II. xxii. 3-6). The limitation of the Ministry by the Valentinians to a single year he disproves at once from the record of three visits to Jerus. for the passover (see on Jn 6^4 above); but he finds also three other considerations which prove that the total length of the Ministry was far in excess, not only of one, but even of two or three years' duration. (i.) *A priori*: The Lord came to save and sanctify every age, whether of infants, children, boys, youths, or men, and to be at once the perfect example and the perfect master and teacher of all; their example, by passing himself through each of the stages of human life; their teacher, by attaining the age of teaching.* (ii.) *Scriptural*: St. John records (8^{57}) that the Jews asserted that Jesus could not have seen Abraham, because he was still under fifty years old—a phrase implying that he was not far off fifty, at any rate over forty, since to a man between thirty and forty the retort would have been, 'Thou art not yet forty years old.' (iii.) *Traditional*: The elders who gathered round St. John during his long old age in Asia, disciples some of them, of other apostles as well, have all handed this down as the apostolic teaching. Of these arguments the first two do not come to much; but the third does establish a *primâ facie* claim, only to be rebutted by the overwhelming evidence on the other side. Is there, then, no method of explaining, or at least minimizing, this at first sight conclusive appeal to Johannine tradition? In a later passage (v. xxxiii. 3) Irenæus makes a similar appeal to 'the elders who had seen John, the disciple of the Lord,' and embodies their witness to the Lord's teaching about the Millennial times in a passage which he then defines as the written testimony of 'Papias, the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp'; and since Papias' work was primarily a commentary on sayings or oracles of the Lord, it is a legitimate conjecture that if the earlier passage contains a particular exegesis of the text Jn 8^{57}, accompanied by emphasis on the authority of the elders, there, too, the authority and the exegesis are those of Papias, and probably of Papias only. But Papias had no title beyond that of antiquity to the exaggerated deference which Irenæus pays him. A writer so 'feeble-minded' (the phrase is from Eusebius) would have been just the one to press home to its narrowest meaning the *à fortiori* argument, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old,' of the Jewish controversialists; it is even conceivable that he attributed the 'forty and six years' of the literal temple to the human temple of our Lord.

* *I.e.* 40 years; see above on Lk 3^{23}, p. 405a.

But because a theory which extends the length of the Ministry to ten or fifteen years is on all grounds untenable, it does not at once follow that an addition of one year, or even two, to the minimum implied by the recorded passovers would be equally out of court. At the same time, the cumulative effect of the four following considerations seems decisive against even this amount of deviation from the stricter interpretation of St. John's narrative.

α. However widely patristic writers differ from one another in their estimate of the number of passovers mentioned, they all, save Irenæus (*i.e.* Papias?) only, agree in believing that the enumeration, whatever it is, is exhaustive. Origen in his earlier writings appears to have reckoned no more than the two passovers; consequently the Ministry lasted only 'a year and some months' (*de Principiis*, iv. 5). If Eusebius and the Paschal Chronicler find four Passovers in the text, they allot to the Ministry a period of between three years and four. If Jerome, Epiphanius, and Apollinaris speak of three Passovers, they also define the length of the Ministry as two years, or two years and so many days. In itself too much weight must not be attached to this *consensus*, since the natural tendency of chronologers is to make the most of what they find in their authorities, and to build up conclusions even where the *data* are slight and insufficient. In this case, however, the Fathers appear to be doing no violence to the intentions of the evangelist.

β. For if St. John wrote with earlier forms of the Gospel tradition in his mind or before his eyes, and made it one of his objects to supplement their deficiencies by restatement of neglected facts,—as with regard to the Judæan Ministry or the day of the Crucifixion,—it is reasonable to suppose that the numerous notes of time which mark off his narrative into stages are purposely introduced in definite contrast to the looser Synoptic account; and he could only remove the erroneous impression which had perhaps been deduced already from other Gospels as to the length of the Ministry, by substituting in his own Gospel an exact or fairly exact chronology. The proof that St. John mentions so many passovers, and so many only, amounts, then, to a presumptive proof that there were no more to mention.

The two preceding arguments are independent of the particular number of passovers recorded in St. John's Gospel; the two which follow derive their force from the result above established, that three passovers, or a minimum of two years, are there assigned to the Ministry.

γ. An early tradition, dating back certainly to the Gnostics of the 2nd cent., and perhaps to St. Luke himself, limited the Ministry to a single year; every year, therefore, added to the minimum of two years required by St. John makes it more difficult to understand how the error can have had so ancient an origin or so wide a diffusion.

δ. If the apparent narrowness of the framework in which the Synoptic narrative is set paved the way in part for the theory of the single year, an almost equally rapid succession of events is implied by two indications in the Fourth Gospel—indications which, but for the actual enumeration of the feasts, might well have seemed to limit the Ministry to an even shorter duration than two years. Ch 4^{45} 'the Galileans received him, having seen all things that he did at Jerus. at the feast,' refers to 2^{23} 'when he was in Jerus. at the passover at the feast, many believed on his name, beholding the signs which he was doing'; and ch. $7^{21\text{-}23}$ 'One work I did, and ye are all marvelling. . . . I made a man sound every whit on the sabbath day,' reaches back to $5^{1\text{-}9}$. Not only can there have been no visit to Galilee between 2^{23} and 4^{45}, no visit to Jerus. between 5^1 and 7^{21}, but the intervals themselves must have been relatively small; eight or nine months is the outside limit for the former; and since many signs were performed at the first recorded visit to Jerus., the impression of the one miracle which marked the second visit would scarcely stand out with unique distinctness for much more than a similar period. As 7^{21} was spoken at Tabernacles, and a Passover intervenes at 6^4, this is so far an argument for not putting back the visit of 5^1 beyond the previous Purim (February).

The cumulative effect of these considerations warrants the conclusion that while two years *must*, not more than two years *can*, be allowed for the interval from Jn $2^{13.\ 23}$ to Jn 11^{55}; and it now remains only to ask how far the results established from St. John's Gospel agree with the more tentative results deduced from St. Mark's.

a compared with c. St. Mark's Gospel was shown (p. 406), if its order of events can be taken as chronological, to imply, exactly like St. John's, a

two-year Ministry. Its second note of time, the spring of the miracle of the 5000, corresponds exactly to the Passover mentioned as 'nigh' on the same occasion in St. John (Mk 6^{39}=Jn 6^{4}). Its first note, the harvest of the ears of corn (Mk 2^{23}), must, if recorded in its proper place, belong to the months immediately succeeding the passover of Jn 2. It would follow at once that the visit welcomed by the Galileans (Jn 4^{45}), being the first visit to Galilee after Jn 2, must precede Mk 2^{23}; and St. John's note of time in Samaria (Jn 4^{35}) must be placed between the passover and the episode of the ears of corn, *i.e.* at the actual harvest season. Very soon after the passover—room has only to be found for the visit of Nicodemus—perhaps about April 20, since passover in A.D. 27 fell on April 11 or 12, Christ leaves Jerus. with his disciples and makes a stay in the 'land of Judæa' while John was still preaching; but the Baptist's arrest probably followed shortly, and may actually have been the cause of our Lord's removal through Samaria to Galilee, at a time when at least the barley was ripe, say about the middle of May (Jn $3^{22.\ 24}$ 4^{1}, and Westcott, *ad loc.*). 'After the arrest of John, Jesus came into Galilee' is St. Mark's description of the same moment, 1^{14}. So far the chronology is smooth enough; the difficulty is to know whether the six weeks, which is the utmost that can be allowed between the middle of May and the end of wheat harvest, are enough to cover the opening stages of the Galilean Ministry down to the episode of the ears of corn. It has been shown above (p. 406[b]) that within his first section St. Mark certainly groups events by subject-matter rather than by time, so that there is no *à priori* reason against placing the episode of the corn during, or even before, the circuit of the village-towns (κωμοπόλεις, i. 38), which is almost the only distinctively marked occurrence in these chapters. No doubt, however, such a scheme as this would crush the early Galilean Ministry into an uncomfortably narrow space; the double call of the apostles, for instance, is more appropriate if a substantial interval, during which they had returned to their ordinary avocations, elapsed between the return to Galilee in May and the second and final call. But if the harmonization is thought impossible, it is the chronological order of the events in St. Mark, and not the limitation of the Ministry to two years, which must be given up. The corn episode must be transferred to the second year of the Ministry, and placed after the miracle of the Five Thousand.

d. A secure result being thus established from the Gospels for the length of the Ministry, want of space compels the omission of the section on the evidence of antiquity,—evidence the less essential that it is wholly secondary, being based on deductions, some correct, some incorrect, from the Scriptures themselves. Suffice it to say briefly, that among ante-Nicene writers, against the evidence for a single year of the Ptolemæan Valentinians, the *Clementine Homilies* (xvii. 19), Clem. Al. (*Strom.* i. 145, vi. 279), Julius Africanus (Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. pp. 240, 306), Hippolytus' later works (*Paschal Cycle* and *Chronicle*), and Origen's earlier (*in Levit. Hom.* ix. 5, *de Princ.* iv. 5), are to be set, for a two to three years' Ministry, Melito (Routh, *Rel. Sac.* i. p. 121), Heracleon (to judge from his interpreting Jn 4^{35} of winter), Tatian's *Diatessaron*, Hippolytus' *Fourth Book on Daniel*, and Origen (*c. Celsum* ii. 12, *Comm. in Matt.* xxiv. 15, and probably in the lost *Comm. on Is.* xxix. 1). No writer before Eusebius maintains a three to four years' Ministry.

E. THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.—**a.** The Four Gospels.—1. *The dating by officials:* α, the governor; β, the high priest.

α. All the Gospels besides the Acts and Pastoral Epistles name Pilate (Pontius Pilate in Mt 27^{2}, Ac 4^{27}, 1 Ti 6^{13}) as the governor before whom Christ was tried. His tenure of the procuratorship is approximately fixed by Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, iv. 2: (1) he came as successor to Valerius Gratus, whose eleven years, since they fell wholly under Tiberius, must have extended at least to A.D. 25; (2) he left after ten years of office, and was still on his way to Rome when Tiberius died, March A.D. 37, so that he can hardly have reached Palestine before A.D. 27; and as Lk 13^{1} 23^{12} (not to speak of Lk 3^{1}) show that he was not quite newly come at the time of the Crucifixion, the possible passovers for the latter are reduced to nine, A.D. 28–36.

β. As high priest Caiaphas is named by St. Matthew ($26^{3.\ 57}$), and so emphatically by St. John (11^{49} $18^{13.\ 24}$) as to suggest that he is correcting the less technically accurate statement of St. Luke, who includes under the title both Caiaphas and his sometime previously deposed predecessor Annas (3^{2} ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καιάφα; but in Ac 4^{6} Annas to the exclusion of Caiaphas, Ἄννας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Καιάφας). Caiaphas was appointed under Valerius Gratus before Pilate's time. He was deposed by Vitellius, legate of Syria, on the occasion of a visit to Jerus. for the passover, the year of which can be established within certain limits, for (1) his successor Jonathan was deposed by the same Vitellius during another visit for one of the festivals of A.D. 37—probably Pentecost,* since the news of Tiberius' death on March 16 arrived at the same time; at latest, therefore, Caiaphas' deposition was at the passover of A.D. 36, and the Crucifixion at the passover of A.D. 35; (2) the death of Herod Philip in the 20th year of Tiberius, A.D. 33–34, is mentioned by Josephus a page or two after the account of Caiaphas' removal, with the fairly precise indication τότε, 'at that time,' so that, if this order of events is correct, the Passover of A.D. 34 is the *terminus ad quem* for Caiaphas, and that of A.D. 33 for the Crucifixion. See Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, iv. 3–v. 3.

The Crucifixion under Pilate and Caiaphas can hardly then lie outside the years A.D. 28–33.

2. *The dating by the calendar*: α, the day of the week; β, the day of the (Jewish) month.

α. Since the Resurrection admittedly falls on the first day of the week, Sunday, the Crucifixion, which was according to Jewish reckoning on the 'third day' before, took place on a Friday. No proof of this would be needed were it not that it has been strangely suggested (by Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*[2], appendix to ch. vi. p. 348) that the day of the Crucifixion was not Friday but Thursday, on the ground of the prediction that the Son of man was to be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, Mt 12^{40}. But against this view tradition and the NT are equally decisive: (1) The Wednesday and Friday fast is now traced back as far as the *Didache*, 8^{1}. (2) The most common NT phrase for the day of the Resurrection in comparison with the Crucifixion is τῇ τρίτῃ (Gospels eight times, besides 1 Co 15^{4}), which in Gr. never did or could mean anything but 'on the second day,' whether the day after to-morrow or the day before yesterday; cf. Lk 13^{32}, Ac $27^{18.\ 19}$, Ex $19^{10.\ 11}$, 1 Mac 9^{44}. Even the apparently stronger phrases μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (Mk 8^{31}, Mt $27^{63.\ 64}$) and τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας (Mt 12^{40}), mean exactly the same thing; cf. Gn $42^{17.\ 18}$ καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ ἡμέρας τρεῖς· εἶπεν

* If it had been the passover, Josephus would probably have mentioned the fact, as he does on the previous occasion of Caiaphas' deposition. If the passover of A.D. 37 fell on March 20–21, Pentecost was about May 8–9, seven to eight weeks after Tiberius' death.

δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, Est 4[16] μὴ φάγητε μηδὲ πίητε ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, taken up in 5[1] (=15[4] Vulg.) καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ . . . περιεβάλετο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς. (These exx. mostly from Field's admirable note on Mt 16[21]—misprinted [12]—in his *Otium Norvicense*, iii. p. 7.)

β. But the day of the week must be combined with the day of the month before any further results can be attained. On what day, then, of the (Jewish) month did the Crucifixion fall?

The passover was kept at the full moon of Nisan, the first month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year; and the months being lunar and commencing with the new moon, the full moon fell about the 15th. On the 14th, in the afternoon, the paschal lamb was killed, Ex 12[6] explained by Josephus, *BJ* VI. ix. 3, ἀπὸ ἑνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης, and Philo (ed. Mangey, ii. 292) κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἕως ἑσπέρας; it was eaten on the evening of the same natural day, but as the Jewish day began at sunset, that was already Nisan 15. On the 16th the first-fruits of the barley harvest were offered or 'waved' before the Lord (Lv 23[11. 15]; Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 5). The whole feast of unleavened bread lasted seven days, from the 15th to the 21st inclusive.

Whether the Crucifixion fell on the 14th or on the 15th, whether (that is) the passover by a few hours followed it or preceded it, has always been a question. For the present purpose, however, it is only an important one in so far as it may happen that in any one of the possible years Friday might be reconcilable with one but not with the other of the two days. But the observation of the Jewish months often cannot be restored with such absolute certainty that if Friday could be Nisan 14 in any particular year it could not be Nisan 15, or *vice versâ*. Moreover, the arguments on each side (unlike most of the points treated hitherto) are well represented in accessible authorities: see in favour of the 14th—Sanday, *Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, ch. xii., or Westcott, *Introduction to the Gospels*, appendix to ch. vi.: for the 15th—Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 479–482; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, p. xxxi; M'Clellan, *New Testament*, pp. 473–494. No more then need be said here upon the Gospels than that, while *primâ facie* the evidence of St. John tells for the 14th and that of the Synoptists for the 15th, indications are not wanting in the synoptic narrative (*e.g.* the episodes of Simon of Cyrene and of the deposition from the Cross, Mk 15[21. 42. 46]) which confirm the Johannine view. Probably, here as elsewhere St. John in repeatedly implying that the passover was still future (13[1] πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, 13[29] ἀγόρασον ὧν χρείαν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, 18[28] ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν ἀλλὰ φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα) is intending to correct silently a false impression to which other accounts had, or might have, given rise.*

For the decisive evidence of Christian antiquity, reaching back probably to St. Paul himself, in favour of Nisan 14, see below, p. 412.

In which years, then, between the already established limits A.D. 28–33, could Friday have fallen on the 14th—regard being also had to the less probable 15th—of Nisan?

The matter is not so simple as it looks; for it is never possible to be certain which day was reckoned as the new moon or first of any given month, and not always possible to be certain which month was reckoned as the Nisan or first of any given year.

(1) How was the beginning of a Jewish month fixed? Theoretically, no doubt, by simple observation; and since astronomers can calculate the true time of conjunction for any new moon, it is possible, by adding so many hours (not less than about 30) for the crescent to become visible, and by taking the first sunset after that, to know when each month ought to have begun, if the Jewish observations were accurately made. But what was to happen when observation was impossible? Was the new month to be put off as long as every night happened to be cloudy? Were the Jews of the dispersion from Babylon to Rome to be left ignorant on what day the new month was commencing in Jerusalem? Empiric methods must have been qualified by the permanent rules of some sort of calendar. It must at least have been recognised that, the average length of a lunation being 29½ days, no month could be less than 29 or more than 30 days.

The subjoined table (cf. Salmon, *Introd. to NT.* appendix to Lect. xv.; Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, p. 94) gives, first, the *terminus paschalis* or 14th of the paschal moon according to the present Christian calendar; secondly, the beginning of the 14th day, reckoned from the time of the astronomical new moon of Nisan; and thirdly, the fourteenth day, reckoned from the first appearance of the new moon at sunset (it being remembered that the Jewish day began at that hour)—

A.D. 28	Sa. 27 M.	28 M., 2 a.m.	(29–) 30 M.
29	F. 15 A.	15 A., 8 p.m.	(17–) 18 A.
30	Tu. 4 A.	4 A., 8 p.m.	(6–) 7 A.
31	Sa. 24 M.	25 M., 1 a.m.	(26–) 27 M.
32	Sa. 12 A.	11 A., 11 p.m.	(13–) 14 A.
33	W. 1 A.	1 A., 1 p.m.	(2–) 3 A. or (3–) 4 A.

The first and third columns may safely be taken to represent the possible extremes in any year, and it will be seen at once that Friday cannot have fallen on Nisan 14 or 15 in the three years A.D. 28, 31, 32—in each of these the choice lies from Saturday to Monday or Tuesday for the 14th, and from Sunday to Tuesday or Wednesday for the 15th—and must be sought for therefore in one of the remaining years, A.D. 29, 30, 33.

(2) But how is it certain that the full moons just given were those of Nisan rather than of some other month?

Nisan was originally that lunation before the middle of which the first ears of barley harvest were ripe (Dt 16[9], Lv 23[10]); and if, when the previous month Adar ended, the earliest barley was not within a fortnight of being ripe, a 13th month, Veadar, was intercalated. But as with the month, so also for the commencement of each year, a systematic calendar must soon have replaced simple observation, for strangers from the Dispersion could not visit Jerus. for the passover unless they knew beforehand whether a 13th month were to be intercalated or not. Such a method as was wanted for correlating the lunar months with the solar year exists in the still familiar rule that the paschal full moon is that immediately following the spring equinox; and this was certainly in use—nor is there any trace of any rival system of harmonization—before the Christian era.*

But the equinox itself, though the reckoning of it varied only within narrow limits, was not an absolutely fixed point. The computation ultimately accepted by the whole Christian world, that of the Alexandrians of the 4th cent., fixed it on March 21. But Anatolius of Laodicea (see the passage of his κανόνες τοῦ πάσχα, A.D. 277, preserved in Eus. *HE* vii. 32), assigning the first new moon of the first year of his cycle to Phamenoth 26 =a.d. xi kal. Apr.=March 22, says that the sun is then already in the 4th day of the first τμῆμα (or 12th part of his annual course from equinox to equinox), which he therefore placed on March 19. Moreover, according to the same authority, there were those who, disregarding the equinoctial limit, erroneously took for the paschal month what was really not the first month of one year but the last of the preceding—and that against the testimony of the old Jewish authorities, Philo, Josephus, Musæus, and the still earlier Agathobuli and Aristobulus. Who these people were whom he is attacking, Anatolius in the extant fragment does not say; but the evidence of various 4th cent. writers makes it all but certain that they were the Jews of his day. The Encyclical Letter of Constantine at Nicæa dissuades from imitation of the Jewish pascha, celebrated as it is 'twice in one year': the *Apostolic Constitutions* recommend independence of Jewish calculations and careful attention to the equinox, lest the feast should recur 'twice in one year'—*i.e.* once rightly, just after the one spring equinox, and once wrongly, just before the next; and the Paschal Homily of pseudo-Chrysostom (A.D. 387) appeals from the contemporary Jews and their neglect of the equinox to their wise men of antiquity, Philo, Josephus, and others, in terms which seem to be borrowed direct from Anatolius. (Socrates, *HE* i. 9; *Apost. Const.* v. 17; Chrysostom, ed. Bened. viii. Appendix, p. 277; cf., too, Epiphanius, *Hær.* l. 3.)

It is quite likely that this supposed error of the Jews simply meant that they reckoned the equinox earlier than their Christian contemporaries, better equipped in astronomical

* The regular synoptic use of τὸ πάσχα for the supper on the evening of Nisan 13–14 is possibly illustrated by passages in Philo, περὶ τῆς ἑβδομῆς καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν, which seem to distinguish the πάσχα of the 14th from the ἄζυμα of the 15th–21st (ii. 278, 292, 293): *e.g.* (1) τετάρτη δὲ [ἑορτὴ] τῶν διαβατηρίων ἣ καλεῖται πάσχα· πέμπτη δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀστοχούων ἀπαρχή, τὸ ἱερὸν δράγμα· ἕκτη δὲ ἄζυμα. (2) ἄγεται δὲ ἡ πάνδημος θυσία τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός. (3) συνάπτει δὲ τοῖς διαβατηρίοις ἑορτή . . . ἄζυμα. Does St. Mark, ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας (14[1]), imply a consciousness of this distinction? Contrast, however, Mt 26[17], Mk 14[12], Lk 22[1. 7].

* Philo (*op. cit.* ii. 293) connects the title of 'first month' given to Nisan in the OT with the concurrence of the spring equinox as an annual reminder of the beginning of all things; and see below for the catena of Jewish authorities appealed to by Anatolius, who quotes the actual language of 'Aristobulus, one of the Seventy.'

knowledge, had learned to do; with the result that the Jews would be sometimes keeping the passover when the Christians, holding that the equinox was not yet past, waited for the next full moon. In any case the farther back the Church's paschal calculations can be traced, the earlier does the equinox appear to have been set. Anatolius himself put it two days before the Alexandrian reckoning, just as Hippolytus, the first known author of a Christian cycle (A.D. 222), put it a day before Anatolius. And both Jews and Christians of primitive times may quite possibly have reckoned it a day earlier even than the March 18 of Hippolytus.

Now, in the list of the six passovers of A.D. 28–33 there was one year, A.D. 29, in which the new moon of Nisan is placed as late as April 2, 8 p.m., and the 14th as late as April 15–18; but the argument of the last two paragraphs shows that the previous lunation, if its new moon fell in the early hours of March 4 and its 14th on March 17–19, has an equal or superior claim to be considered the month of Nisan. The 14th in this case, if it fell on March 18, would actually be a Friday; and March 18 is really the most probable of the alternatives. It is true that calculation from the *phasis* of the new moon after sunset would make Nisan 1 = March 6, Nisan 14 = March 19. But the caution has already been given that simple observation must have been superseded before A.D. 29 by calendar rules; and one of these rules, which may well go back to our Lord's time, was that Adar never consisted of more than 29 days; Nisan therefore commenced a day sooner in relation to the new moon than if it had followed a month of 30 days, so that in this year Nisan 1 would rather be March 5. Suppose, further, that the equinox was calculated one day earlier than by Hippolytus, two days earlier than by Anatolius, and Nisan 14 = March 18, A.D. 29, satisfies the equinoctial limit also.

Three years then, A.D. 29, 30, 33, satisfy the Gospel evidence for the date of the Crucifixion: and the choice between them must now be made by recourse to other authorities.

b. Tradition outside the Gospels.

1. *The Jewish Date.*—Though the evidence obtained from these supplementary sources deals, as a rule, with Roman or other civil computations, the question as between Nisan 14 and 15 is definitely answered by a continuous chain of tradition from the 1st cent. to the 4th.

St. Paul wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians about passover-time (5[8] ὥστε ἑορτάζωμεν, cf. 16[8]), and paschal symbolism underlies his allusions both to the Crucifixion, 5[7] ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην . . . καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός, and to the Resurrection, 15[20] νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. On Nisan 14 and 16, then, the days of the sacrifice of the passover and of the offering of the first-fruits, St. Paul's Churches appear to have kept the memorials of the Crucifixion and of the Resurrection. In the next century the Quartodecimans, as their name implies, observed Nisan 14, not 15: the theory of the Tübingen school, that what these Johannine Churches observed on the 14th was not the Crucifixion but the Last Supper, is too preposterous to call for refutation. Definite testimony for the 14th, from lost writings of three 'holy Fathers of the Church,' is quoted in the *Paschal Chronicle* (A.D. 641: ed. Ducange, pp. 6, 7). (i.) Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, *c.* A.D. 180, in his περὶ τοῦ πάσχα λόγος accused of ignorance those who connected the 14th, not with the true Lord's passover, the great Sacrifice, but with the Last Supper,* and put the Crucifixion on the 15th, on the supposed authority of St. Matthew's Gospel: a view, he says, which is out of harmony with the law,—apparently because the paschal lamb is an OT type of Christ,—and sets the Gospels at variance with one another, obviously because St. John was admitted to give the quartodeciman date. (ii.) Clement of Alexandria, in a work bearing the same title, contrasted the years before the Ministry, when Christ ate the Jewish passover, with the year of his preaching, when he did not eat it, but suffered on the 14th, being himself the paschal Lamb of God, and rose on the third day [the 16th], on which the Law commanded the priest to offer the sheaf of first-fruits. (iii.) Hippolytus of Portus, in his *De pascha* and *Adv. omnes hæreses* [to be distinguished from the now recovered longer treatise, *Refutatio omnium hæresium*], asserted that Christ ate a supper before the passover, but not the legal passover: οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τὸ Πάσχα τὸ προκεκηρυγμένον καὶ τελειούμενον τῇ ὡρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

Of other early writers Irenæus (IV. x. 1) is hardly clear; but Tertullian (*adv. Jud.* 8)* seems to imply Nisan 14. Africanus is quite unambiguous, πρὸ δὲ τῆς μιᾶς τοῦ πάσχα τὰ περὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα συνέβη (*Chronicon*, fr. 50 *ap.* Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 297). Even as late as the end of the 4th cent. three writers, all specialists on chronology, can still be cited on the same side: Epiphanius, *Hær.* l. 2, ἔδει γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ θύεσθαι; Ps.-Chrysostom (A.D. 387: ed. Bened. viii. App. p. 281), the Crucifixion fulfils the Mosaic ordinance that the lamb should be sacrificed between the evenings on the 14th; Julius Hilarianus (A.D. 397: *de die paschæ et mensis* xv, *ap.* Gallandi, viii. 748), the sacrifice of a lamb from the flock is replaced by the sacrifice of the Lord Christ himself on *luna xiv.* Add to these Anon. in Cramer's *Catena in Mt.* p. 237, and Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 4. 15, the darkness took place ἐν τῇ ιδ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς σελήνης, *quartam decimam ea die lunam*, as well as the *Paschal Chronicle* itself and the σύντομος διήγησις, an Egyptian system incorporated in it (ed. Ducange, pp. 221, 225).

But by this time the opposite view, which first emerges in the 3rd cent.—in the West, Ps.-Cyprian, *Computus de pascha* (A.D. 243: Hartel's *Cyprian*, iii. 248), § 9 *manducavit pascha*, § 21 *passus est luna xv*; in the East, Origen on Mt 26[17] (Delarue, iii. 895), *Iesus celebravit more Iudaico pascha corporaliter . . . quoniam . . . factus est sub lege*—was beginning to be the prevalent one. So certainly Ambrose, *ad epp. Æmiliæ* (*c.* A.D. 386: ed. Bened. ii. 880), Chrysostom (*e.g. Hom. in Mt.* lxxxii. ed. Field, ii. 461, the passover superseded by the Eucharist, τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἑορτῶν αὐτῶν καταλύει ἐφ' ἑτέραν αὐτοὺς μετατιθεὶς τράπεζαν), Proterius of Alexandria, *ad Papam Leonem* (A.D. 444, printed as ep. cxxxiii. in the Ballerini Leo) *xiv luna mensis primi . . . pascha manducans . . . sequenti die xv luna crucifigitur*; and probably Theophilus of Alexandria, *ad Theodosium Imp.* iv. (A.D. 386: Gallandi, vii. 615); for though the Greek has τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταίᾳ, the Latin *decimaquinta* tallies with Ambrose and Proterius, who both appear to be borrowing from Theophilus.

This later view appears to be derived from the use of πάσχα in the Synoptic Gospels: Origen, its most influential supporter, is directly commenting on the text of St. Matthew. On the other hand, none of the earlier witnesses for the 14th, save Apollinaris, the champion of the Johannine Churches of Asia Minor, appeal to St. John's Gospel; rather they represent an independent and

* Strictly, of course, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion were on the same Jewish day; but early Christian usage soon began to use, even for these days of the lunar month, not the Jewish reckoning from sunset to sunset, but the ordinary reckoning from midnight to midnight. Apollinaris distinguishes the two days just in the same way as Clement puts the washing of the feet on the 13th, the Passion on the 14th.

* In favour of the genuineness of chs. 1–8 of this treatise see Fuller *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 827b; Harnack *Gesch. der altchr. Litteratur*, i. 671: against, Burkitt *Old Latin and Itala*, pp 6, 7.

decisive confirmation of it by the living voice of primitive tradition.

2. *The civil year* may be identified either by the consuls or by the regnal years of the emperor; less frequently by reckoning from some one of the special eras in use in the East, such as the Olympiads or the era of Alexander (otherwise called of the Greeks), B.C. 312.

α. The earliest authority who appears to have fixed the Crucifixion by implication to a definite year is the pagan annalist Phlegon, whose 'chronological collection on the Olympiads' ranged from Ol. 1. 1 (B.C. 776) down to the times of Hadrian, A.D. 117–138. A general account of the work is given by the patriarch Photius (*cod.* 97), though even he failed to get beyond the fifth book, or about B.C. 170. Photius summarizes the last chapter which he read, as a sample of the style and contents of the whole, concluding that 'the reader gets regularly bored with the lists of names and of victors in the Olympic contests, and with the excessive and unseasonable details about prodigies and prophecies, which crowd out all real history.' Probably it was this interest in the marvellous which led Phlegon to mention the predictions of Jesus Christ, though his knowledge was so vague that, if Origen's phrase is rightly understood, he confused the personalities (or perhaps only the miracles) of Christ and of St. Peter (*c. Cels.* ii. 14, *συγχυθεὶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πέτρου ὡς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*).

What gives him his interest for the present purpose is that he recorded under Ol. 202. 4 (A.D. 32–33) the darkness which accompanied the Crucifixion; though, since the evidence is at second or even at third hand, it is difficult to disentangle his actual words. (i.) The reference in the middle of a fragment quoted by Syncellus from the *Chronicon* of Julius Africanus (Fr. 50; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 297, 477) is, as Routh has seen, probably an interpolation due to Syncellus' confused recollections of Eusebius. (ii.) The earliest genuine allusions are two in Origen: *c. Cels.* ii. 33, Phlegon recorded in the 13th or 14th book of his *Chronicles* the eclipse under Tiberius and the great earthquakes of that time: *Comm. in Mt.* 134 (Delarue, iii. 922), heathen opponents urge that an eclipse, such as the Gospels mention,* cannot possibly take place at full moon,—Phlegon recorded, indeed, an eclipse under Tiberius, but not an eclipse at full moon. (iii.) But though he did not mention the full moon in so many words, an *Anonymus* in Cramer's *Catena in Mt.* p. 237—followed by pseudo-Origen *in Mt.* (see Routh, *op. cit.* 479)—does assert that he related the eclipse as a marvel, *παραδόξως γεγονότος*, and the Christian writer naturally understood by the 'paradox' the coincidence with the full moon. (iv.) A further restoration of Phlegon is possible from the *Chronicle* of Eusebius as represented in the Armenian version, in Jerome's Latin version, and in the quotations of George Syncellus. 'In the same year as the Crucifixion (*i.e.* Tiberius 19; see below) the following notice occurs in pagan historians: "the sun was eclipsed; an earthquake occurred in Bithynia, and most of Nicæa fell to the ground": still more precisely Phlegon, the celebrated chronologer of the Olympiads, registers in his 13th book, under Ol. 202. 4 [A.D. 32–33], "an eclipse of the sun more striking than any previously on record, for it became night at the sixth hour of the day, so that stars were visible in the heavens; and a great earthquake in Bithynia overthrew most of Nicæa."' Obviously, these two quotations are not independent of one another; the first and more general looks like a summary by some intermediate writer of the same passage from Phlegon which Eusebius then transcribes direct and in full.

That Phlegon was here drawing again on Christian sources, whether the canonical Gospels or not, appears not to have been suspected by Origen or Eusebius, but in face of the mention of the '6th hour' cannot admit of doubt. It does not, however, follow that he borrowed the year also from them; for an annalist, if he has not found a precise date in his authorities, is bound to invent one. If he ascribed the portents of the Crucifixion to the 202nd Olympiad simply, A.D. 29–33, he would not stand in manifest contradiction to the other early evidence. But if he really fixed them particularly to the 4th year, A.D. 33, he is the only witness before Eusebius' time to do so; and in that case the most probable hypothesis is that he knew from his Christian authorities no more (and from the Gospels as they stand he could hardly have learned more) than that the Crucifixion fell in the latter part of Tiberius' reign, and fixed on A.D. 33 because he may have already found reason to select that year for the Bithynian earthquake.

Eusebius, however, found Phlegon's date harmonize admirably with his own theory of the length of the Ministry, and so his *Chronicle* assigns the Baptist's mission (after Lk 3^1) to Tiberius 15, the mission of Christ to Tiberius 16, and the Passion to Tiberius 19 (A.D. 33).† The latter item is guaranteed both by Syncellus, *ἔτους ιθ' τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας*, and by the Armenian; Jerome, no doubt because he allotted to the Ministry only two to three years, and not like Eusebius three to four, substitutes Tiberius 18.

β. Far more important is the tradition—found, it is true, in no extant authority as ancient as Phlegon, but found in so many authorities that the common source must ascend to a remote antiquity—which fixes the Crucifixion in the consulship of the two Gemini, or in the 15th or the 16th year of Tiberius, or in the year 340 of the Greeks.

L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fufius (or Rufius, or Rufus, or Fusius) Geminus were the consuls of A.D. 29. The Seleucid era (era of Alexander, era of the Greeks) commences Sept. B.C. 312, so that its 340th year runs from Sept. A.D. 28 to Sept. A.D. 29. But this same spring of A.D. 29 can be reckoned, according to different methods of calculation, as belonging either to the 15th or 16th year of Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus in Aug. A.D. 14, so that, on the strict reckoning, the passover falling in his 15th year will be that of A.D. 29. But the imperial year might sometimes be adjusted to the calendar year—to which corresponded the consul's tenure of office, Jan. 1 to Dec. 31—by beginning a second imperial year on the first New Year's day of each reign: compare the practice of Trajan and his successors in commencing a 2nd year of *tribunicia potestas* on the annual inauguration day of new tribunes next after their accession (Lightfoot, *Ignatius*[1], ii. 398). In this case the 15th year would be exactly equivalent to A.D. 28, the 16th to A.D. 29. Or again, the example of the chronographers suggests that the converse might be done and the fractional year simply omitted, each emperor's first year beginning on some fixed day: thus, for instance, it will be shown (see below in part ii. of this article, THE APOSTOLIC AGE, under Felix and Festus, p. 418) that Eusebius appears to commence each emperor's 1st year in the Sept. following his accession. Either year then is compatible—but the 15th more normally—with the spring of A.D. 29, under the consulship of the Gemini.*

(i.) Clement of Alexandria, 'With the 15th year of Tiberius and 15th of Augustus, so are completed the 30 years to the Passion; and from the Passion to the destruction of Jerusalem are 42 years 3 months,' *Strom.* i. 147 (Potter, i. 407). (ii.) Origen, perhaps copying Clement, 'If you examine the chronology of the Passion and of the fall of Jerusalem . . . from Tiberius 15 to the razing of the temple, 42 years are completed,' *Hom. in Hierem.* xiv. 13 (*c.* A.D. 245; Delarue, iii. 217), and compare *c. Cels.* iv. 22. (iii.) Tertullian, 'In the 15th year of [Tiberius'] reign Christ suffered'; 'the Passion . . . under Tiberius Cæsar in the consulship of Rubellius Geminus and Rufius [*al.* Fufius] Geminus,' *adv. Jud.* 8 (but the authorship is doubtful). (iv.) Hippolytus, in his early 4th book on Daniel (ed. Bratke, p. 19), gives two irreconcilable data, Tiberius 18 [=A.D. 31, 32] and the consulship of 'Rufus and Rubellio,' the former doubtless his own combination of a three years' Ministry (for he also says that Christ suffered in his 33rd year, *loc. cit.*) with St. Luke's 15 Tiberius, the latter already traditional; and this year, 29 A.D., alone reappears in his other works. His *Chronicle* (*Chronica Minora*, ed. Mommsen, I. i. p. 131) reckons 206 years from the Passion to the 13th of Alexander Severus, A.D. 234–235; his *Paschal Cycle* marks the 32nd year as that of the Passion, and since it was a recurring cycle of 112 years beginning in A.D. 222, the 32nd year will be equivalent to A.D. 253, or 141, or 29. (v.) Julius Africanus, as represented in the Greek of Eusebius' *Demonstratio Evangelica* and *Eclogæ Prophetic*æ, and in that of Syncellus—Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. pp. 301, 302, 304—wrote Tiberius 16, as represented in the Lat. of Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* ix. (Vallarsi, v. 683), Tiberius 15; but since all authorities agree in the equation to Ol. 202. 2 [=A.D. 30, 31], it is practically certain that the 16th is correct. (vi.) Pseudo-Cyprian, *Computus de Pascha*, 20 (A.D. 243: Hartel, iii. 267) places the Passion of Christ in the 31st year of his age, and 16th of Tiberius Cæsar's reign. (vii.) Lactantius, *Div. inst.* IV. X. 18, 'In the 5th of Tiberius, that is, the consulship of the two Gemini'; *Mort. pers.* 2, 'in the consulship of the two Gemini.' (viii.) The Abgar legend as given in Eusebius, *HE* i. 13, dates the Resurrection and the preaching of Thaddæus in the 340th year [*i.e.* of the Greeks: A.D. 28–29]. (ix.) Of one other authority, the apocr. Gospel narrative entitled 'Acts of Pilate,' the value turns entirely on the date of its composition, and on the true reading of its chronology of the Crucifixion; and both these points call for fuller discussion.

Date of the Acts of Pilate. — Tischendorf, the latest editor (*Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. 2, 1876, pp. 312–410), concludes for the beginning of the 2nd cent.; Lipsius, the latest critic (*Die Pilatus-Acten*, 1886, pp. 33, 40), 'not before about the middle of the 4th,' 'probably in the reign of Julian' (A.D. 361–363). Appeal is made to these Acts for the *day* of the Crucifixion by pseudo-Chrysostom (A.D. 387: ed. Bened. viii. App. p. 277); so, too, Epiphanius (A.D. 376: *Hær* l. 1) states that certain of the Quartodecimans commemorated the Passion always on March 25 in deference to these Acts, though he himself had found copies of them where the date given was not March 25 but March 18. Now, if in A.D. 376 these Acts were being claimed as the authoritative sanction for a practice unique in the Christian world, and if there existed already divergent traditions of the text on this very point for which they were cited, they must surely have had at that date a history behind them. So far from having been written under Julian, a presumption is raised that they are earlier than the lost Acts published under

* Mt 27^{45}=Mk 15^{33} simply *σκότος ἐγένετο*; but in Lk 23^{44} the true text appears to add *τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος* with ℵBCL, both Egyptian versions, Origen $^2/_3$ (rather $^3/_4$) and Cyril of Jerusalem $^4/_4$.

† On Eusebius' reckoning of imperial years see immediately below.

* But the 16th year—see below under Africanus and pseudo-Cyprian—may also be a combination of Lk 3^1 (Tib. 15; as giving the beginning, not of the Baptist's ministry only, but of Christ's, with the estimate of one year for the duration of the Ministry to which both these writers adhered. Julius Hilarianus, however (*infra*, p. 414[a]), gives both Tiberius 16 and A.D. 29.

the same title by the apostate Theotecnus (minister of the persecutor Maximin Daza: Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian*, pp. 321–323), who perhaps drew from them the idea of his own forgery. That, as Lipsius has shown, the chronological prologue bears in all the extant authorities clear traces of Eusebius' influence, proves no more than that these Acts, like so many other *apocrypha*, were subject to successive recastings. Nor are the arguments by which Harnack (*Chronologie*, pp. 603–612) reinforces Lipsius at all conclusive. On the other hand, the treatment of the charge ἐκ πορνείας γεγέννηται seems to speak strongly for an early date; for even if Theotecnus revived the scandal, which is possible enough, a Christian counterblast would have used far stronger language than do the extant Acts about the virginity of the Mother of our Lord. The author was not improbably a second-century Palestinian of Ebionite tendencies.

Chronology of the Acts of Pilate.—Tischendorf's text of the prologue translated runs: 'In the 15th year [so with two Greek MSS; two others and one of the two Armenian recensions—see Conybeare's edition, *Studia Biblica*, iv., Oxford, 1896—give '18th'; the Latin, the second Armenian, and apparently the Coptic have '19th'] of the government of Tiberius Cæsar, emperor of the Romans, and of Herod, king of Galilee, in the 19th year of his rule, on the 8th before the kalends of April, which is the 25th of March, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, in the 4th year of the 202nd Olympiad, Joseph Caiaphas being high priest of the Jews.' Undeniably, the references to Tiberius 19, to Herod and his 19th year, to Ol. 202. 4, are derived from Eusebius' *Chronicle*; but these may be due to later revision, and there are other data, the 15th of Tiberius, the two Gemini, the 25th or 18th of March, which are as certainly not Eusebian, though the consulship at least is as constant a factor in the different versions as the year of Herod or the Olympiad. Considering how many vicissitudes befell all early Christian literature, how just the apocryphal Gospels would be picked out to satisfy the demand for sacred books in Diocletian's persecution, how easily each generation (all the more that exuberant fancies were allowed no play upon the canonical records) would embellish such material by aid of the newest lights, it is no unreasonable hypothesis that a 'Eusebian' recension has influenced all existing copies, while two of them still betray in their '15th of Tiberius' a relic of the unrevised document in a point where the redactor has most certainly been at work. On this view no more is original than 'In the 15th year of Tiberius, on the 8th [more probably 15th, see below] before the kalends of April, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, in the high priesthood of Joseph Caiaphas.'

Here, then, are nine ante-Nicene authorities, of whom four ('Tert.', Hipp., Lact., Act.-Pil.) give the consulship of the Gemini, four (Clem., Or., 'Tert.', Act.-Pil.) Tiberius 15, two (Afr., Ps.-Cypr.) Tiberius 16. Five post-Nicene Western authorities on the same side need simply be catalogued: *Liberian Chronicle* (A.D. 354; Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. 253) 'under Tiberius, consuls the two Gemini, March 25'; Julius Hilarianus, *De mundi duratione* xvi., and *De die paschæ et mensis* xv (both A.D. 397; Gallandi, viii. 238, 748), 'Tiberius 16,' but *De mund. dur.* xvii., also '369 years from the Passion to the consulate of Cæsarius and Atticus' [A.D. 397], which clearly cannot mean anything later than A.D. 29; Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica*, ii. 27 (A.D. 401), 'Herod 18, consuls Fufius Geminus and Rubellius Geminus,' where the Herod date must be from Jerome's version (A.D. 378) of Eusebius' *Chronicle*; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* xviii. 54, 'consuls the two Gemini, March 25'; Prosper Tiro, *Chronicon* (A.D. 433: *Chronica Minora*, ed. Mommsen, I. ii. p. 409), distinguishes what *quidam ferunt, i.e.* Jerome's chronology, from the *usitatior traditio* of 'Tiberius 15, consuls the two Gemini.' The Western Church, then, during the century A.D. 350–450, notwithstanding the authority of Jerome's *Chronicle*, still upheld the traditional date for the Crucifixion in A.D. 29.

γ. (i.) Of divergent notices, the earliest after Phlegon—not counting Hippolytus' 18th of Tiberius, since he himself discarded it—is again from a heathen writing, the Acts of Pilate by Theotecnus. Eusebius (*HE* i. 9) thought it enough proof of forgery that they ascribed the Crucifixion to Tiberius' 4th consulship, for this fell in the 7th year only of his reign [A.D. 21], and Pilate did not even reach Judæa till the 12th. But Lipsius (*l.c.* p. 31) points out that Tiberius' next consulship in A.D. 31, though Eusebius reckoned it the 5th, is the 4th in the *Fasti Idatiani* (the common ground-work of the consular lists in Epiphanius and the *Paschal Chronicle*), so that Theotecnus may really have meant, not A.D. 21 but A.D. 31. (ii.) Of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, both in the original and (iii.) in Jerome's version, mention was made in connexion with Phlegon; of its followers there is no need to speak. (iv.) Epiphanius (A.D. 376; *Hær.* li. 22–25) writes out in full a consular list from his date for the Nativity, Jan. B.C. 2, to his date for the Baptism, Nov. A.D. 28.* Beyond this point the Ministry extends over two complete consulships, the one that of the two Gemini, the second that of Rufus and Rubellio, and closes only in the third, that of Vinicius and Longinus Cassius. Obviously intending to come down to March A.D. 31, he has, by the error—gross even for him—of splitting into two the single pair of A.D. 29, Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, named in fact for the Crucifixion the consuls of A.D. 30. It is possible that behind the confusion lies some older authority who reckoned a shorter Ministry with the Passion under Vinicius and Longinus in their real year. (v.) Paulus Orosius (A.D. 417: *Hist.* vii. 4. 13) gives Tiberius 17 for the Crucifixion, presumably reckoning two years as from the Baptism in Tiberius 15.

Summary of Patristic Evidence for the Civil Year.—A review of this witness from Phlegon to Epiphanius, from Tertullian to Augustine and Prosper, sums itself up in two questions: (i.) Is it *à priori* probable that tradition would preserve independent evidence for the date of the Crucifixion? (ii.) If so, do the data suggest that such has actually been the case?

(i.) Patristic evidence for the duration of the Ministry was passed over for want of space, being unnecessary in face of the full testimony of the Gospels, and unhelpful because it is all based ultimately on them; is there cause for thinking that the case would be different here? Yes; for while the date of the Nativity, for instance, was known familiarly to too few, and the length of the Ministry was of too secondary importance, to have given occasion to a constant tradition, the conditions are quite dissimilar and indeed unique in respect to the date of the Passion. Here was to every Christian eye from the first the turning point of the world's evolution; and the Church's confession had always put in the forefront the historical setting 'under Pontius Pilate'—see 1 Ti 6[13] τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, Ign. *Magn.* 11 (with Lightfoot's note) ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Π. Π., and the early Roman Creed, τὸν ἐπὶ Π. Π. σταυρωθέντα. It cannot, then, be considered improbable that a still more definite dating by consuls or by regnal years of the emperor may have been noted while there was yet opportunity, and may have filtered down in oral tradition or lost documents through the obscure generations that intervene, till it could come to light, together with so much else that is beyond question primitive, in the writings of the age of Tertullian.

(ii.) But do the facts bear out what is thus *à priori* not improbable? was there anything in the review of authorities that could claim to be a date of this sort for the Crucifixion? Nothing, clearly, unless it were A.D. 29 (consulship of the Gemini = 15 Tib. = ? 16 Tib.); for if Phlegon's A.D. 32–33 had been traditional, it could not have failed to have reappeared somewhere or other in the ante-Nicene Christian testimony; Hippolytus' (ultimately discarded) 18 Tib. depended simply on a combination of the Johannine chronology of the Ministry with Lk 3[1]; Theotecnus, if he really meant A.D. 31, probably arrived at it by the same process; Eusebius depended jointly on Phlegon and on his own interpretation of St. John; Epiphanius' chronology is, even more than Eusebius', independent of all predecessors. It is easy enough to rid the field of rival theories; the only question is, to what epoch does the evidence for A.D. 29 go back, and how far can it be explained on other hypotheses than that of the survival of an independent and genuine tradition?

The three earliest witnesses for the consulship, the dating that most obviously means A.D. 29, are 'Tertullian,' Hippolytus, and the Acts of Pilate. Of these, Hippolytus, at least, derived it from some pre-existent source, for (not knowing to what year it really belonged) he incorrectly synchronizes it with Tiberius 18. Further, he and Tertullian are independent of one another, since the latter distinguishes the Gemini as Rubellius and Rufius or Fufius, the former (with the Acts of Pilate) erroneously as Rufus and Rubellio. It is hardly possible on the evidence that the common source can be later than A.D. 150, and it may be indefinitely earlier. It is true that Phlegon was apparently ignorant of the tradition, but it need not be supposed that it was universally spread by Hadrian's time, and after all Phlegon was a heathen, and not likely to be conversant with all that was being handed down within the Christian body.

But granting this antiquity, can the year still be accounted for as a mere deduction from the Gospels, in the sense that the consulship is a secondary date developed out of 15 Tiberius (the date for the Passion in Clement and Origen), and that that in turn came from Lk 3[1]? Possibly; yet it is surely not easy to believe that the evangelist's synchronism of the commencement of the Baptist's ministry with a certain year should have been so widely supposed to apply to the whole period, not only before Christ's Baptism, but also as far as his Passion. No doubt the Ptolemæan Valentinians of Irenæus' time (Iren. I. i. 3, iii. 1–3; II. xx. 1, xxi. 1) based calculations on 30 years as the whole Life of Christ, which is really the Gospel reckoning for his age at the commencement of his Ministry; but even they did not leave out of account the period of John's sole ministry.

It appears, then, not indeed certain, but possible and even probable, that a trustworthy Christian tradition does point to A.D. 29 and the consulate of the Gemini as the year of the Crucifixion.

3. A brief review, finally, of the evidence for the *day of the civil month.*

Perhaps the earliest witnesses are Basilidians quoted by Clement (*Strom.* i. 147, ed. Potter, p. 408), who varied between Phamenoth 25, Pharmuthi 25, and Pharmuthi 19 [March 21 April 20, April 14]. To March 25 a larger and weightier group subscribes: in Latin, 'Tert.' *adv. Jud.* 8, *mense Martio temporibus paschæ die viii calendarum Aprilium*; and for *a.d.* viii *kal. Apr.* simply, the Liberian catalogue of A.D. 354, Julius Hilarianus *De die paschæ* xv (Gallandi, viii. 748), Aug. *De civ.*

* He counterbalances his omission of the consuls of A.D. 4, Aelius Catus and Sentius Saturninus, by inserting between for A.D. 6 and 7 the fictitious pair Cæsar and Capito. His consuls for A.D. 13, Flaccus and Silvanus, are only a corrupt form of the real names Plancus and Silius Cæcina.

xviii. 54, and the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*: in Greek, τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων, Hippolytus, *Comm. in Dan.*, ed. Bratke, p. 19 (so, too, the πάθος Χριστοῦ in his paschal tables is attached to this day); *Acta Pilati*, according to the Quarto-decimans in Epiphanius, *Hær.* l. 1, and to pseudo-Chrysostom (ed. Bened. viii. App. p. 277)—most of Tischendorf's Greek MSS, supported by the Latin and Armenian versions add ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰκὰς πέμπτη Μαρτίου: Φαμενὼθ πδ', in the Σύντομος διήγησις incorporated in the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Ducange, pp. 224, 225. For March 23 are three witnesses: Lactantius, *Div. inst.* iv. x. 18, *ante diem decimum kalendarum Aprilium*; persons known to Epiphanius, *l.c.*, τινὲς δὲ τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων; and the Paschal Chronicler (*op. cit.* p. 221), τῇ κγ τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνός. Epiphanius had further seen copies of the *Acta Pilati* which gave March 18, while his own view is decided in favour of yet another date, March 20: *Hær.* l. 1, ἔτι δὲ εὕρομεν ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν [*lege* ἄκτων] Πιλάτου ἐν οἷς σημαίνει πρὸ δεκαπέντε καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸ πάθος γεγενῆσθαι· τάληθῆ δὲ, ὡς ἐκ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας ἐγνωμεν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ δεκατριῶν καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι πατειλήφαμεν; cf. *Hær.* li. 23.

The first reflection suggested by this *catena* is the unanimity with which (apart from some of the Basilidians) Christian antiquity attributed the Crucifixion to a day not later than March 25; the second, that if a confusion between the πάσχα σταυρώσιμον and the πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον be allowed for, the dates, March 23 and 25, March 18 and 20, pair off with and explain one another—*i.e.* if March 25 was understood, not of the Crucifixion but of the Resurrection, March 23 became the day of the Crucifixion; or by a similar but converse process, March 20 might be transferred from the Resurrection (with the Crucifixion on March 18) to the Crucifixion. Thus eliminating the three Basilidian dates as probably mere Gnostic fancies, of the two pairs that alone are left, March 18–20 and 23–25, March 25 (Tertullian, Hippolytus, Acts of Pilate? etc.) has clearly older and better testimony than March 23 (Lactantius, some known to Epiphanius, *Paschal Chronicle*), and March 18 (ἀντίγραφα of Acts of Pilate older than Epiphanius) than March 20 (Epiphanius himself). But these ultimate days, March 18 and 25, are exactly a week apart, and very likely the one is to be explained as a conscious alteration of the other; but which of which?

For that day of the two for which authority is vastly preponderant, March 25, Dr. Salmon in an admirable article on Hippolytus (*Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iii. 92*b*) looks upon that writer's *Paschal Cycle*, published about A.D. 221, as the single source. Hippolytus there (very erroneously) supposes that after each eight years the full moon comes round to the same day of the solar month again; and accepting the traditional date A.D. 29 for the Crucifixion, he naturally assumes that, since the full moon in A.D. 221 did actually fall on March 25, the full moon in A.D. 29, 192 or 8×24 years earlier, must have fallen on the same day. 'Actually this is a week astray, the true day being March 18. We are safe in presuming that whenever March 25 is mentioned as the day of the Passion, the *Cycle* of Hippolytus is the source of the account.' Yet this theory, simple and attractive as it is, hardly satisfies all the elements of the problem. It might be possible to explain the wide acceptance of March 25 in both East and West by the dual position of Hippolytus, a Greek writer on Western soil; but 'Tert.,' *Adv. Judæos*, if genuine, and Hippolytus' own Commentary on Daniel, would still stand in the way of deducing March 25 as the day for the Passion directly from March 25 as the day of the full moon in A.D. 221. For Tertullian's Montanist writings commence about A.D. 200, and his whole literary activity was almost at an end by A.D. 220, so that if the first portion of the *adversus Judæos* is 'certainly Tertullian's, and Tertullian's while still a churchman' (Fuller in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 827*b*), its chronology cannot be due to the *Paschal Cycle* of A.D. 221. In the same way Hippolytus' *Fourth Book on Daniel* 'was apparently written much earlier than the' *Chronicle* and *Paschal Tables* (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. 392); and as it, too, gives March 25 for the Passion (from which also ultimately comes its Dec. 25 for the Nativity, see above, p.[1405a]), a second reason is supplied for pushing back the origin of the tradition of March 25 into the 2nd cent.

Genuine, of course, the tradition cannot be, because, as Salmon says—see also the table given earlier in this article—not the 25th but the 18th was the March full moon in A.D. 29. But this is exactly the day remaining still for discussion, that, namely, which was given in copies Epiphanius had seen of the Acts of Pilate. It is true that even in these Acts March 25 is supported (i.) by all existing MSS and versions; (ii.) by those Quartodecimans who regularly kept the Pascha on March 25 on the authority of the Acts; (iii.) by pseudo-Chrysostom in A.D. 387, who accepts the date as historically true on the same authority. It is possible, therefore, that the 18th is simply an accidental corruption, IE′ instead of H′ before the kalends of April; but it is possible also that it is the genuine reading of the Acts, altered intentionally at some early period, whether because the 25th was already then the more popular date, or because the 18th was increasingly open to the suspicion of falling before the equinox. And if genuine in the Acts, it is a really curious and remarkable confirmation of a possible date for the Crucifixion, Friday Nisan 14 of the year A.D. 29.

Dr. Salmon indeed says (*loc. cit.*) that 'it is obvious that if early trustworthy tradition had preserved the day of the solar year on which our Lord suffered, the Church would not have perplexed herself with calculations of paschal full moons.' But (i.) not all traditions which may in fact be true were necessarily known to be true to the ancients; (ii.) after all, what the Church was aiming at in paschal cycles was a system for calculating beforehand in terms of the solar year a day that was not solar but lunar. As pseudo-Chrysostom lucidly points out, the different *data* of the chronology of the Crucifixion will not converge in ordinary years; the Church could only imitate the season as far as was practicable, combining elements from the solar year (the equinox as a first term *a quo*), from the lunar year (the full moon as a second term *a quo*), and from the week (Friday). But if the day of the solar year had been considered alone, the full moon would necessarily have been thrown over, and the full moon was the one point which all Christians united in treating as essential to a proper paschal celebration.*

It is not unreasonable, then, to hold that the solitary *datum* preserved by Epiphanius does add a slight additional weight to the probability that the Crucifixion should be placed on Friday March 18, A.D. 29.

Conclusion.—To sum up briefly: the separate results of five lines of enquiry harmonize with one another beyond expectation, so that each in turn supplies fresh security to the rest. The Nativity in B.C. 7–6; the age of our Lord at the Baptism 30 years more or less; the Baptism in A.D. 26 (26–27); the duration of the Ministry between two and three years; the Crucifixion in A.D. 29: these five strands, weak no doubt in isolation, become, when woven together, the strong and stable support of a consistent chronology of the Life of Christ.

LITERATURE.—For all the preliminary chronological matter which underlies subjects such as that of this article, Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 2 vols. 1825, is still standard. Of books more especially devoted to the chronology of the life of Christ special mention should perhaps be made of Wieseler, *Chronol. Synops. der Evang.* (Eng. tr. by Venables), and Caspari, *Chronol. u. geog. Einleit.* (E.T. by Evans). The writer of the present article—some points of which had been adumbrated in previous studies of his own, *Patristic evidence and the Gospel Chronology* in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1892, pp. 390–415, and *A Paschal Homily printed in the Works of St. Chrysostom*, in *Studia Biblica*, ii. pp. 130–149, Oxford, 1890—has learnt much, and derived many references in certain parts of his work, from three writers (though with their general conclusions he in each case disagrees): H. Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, London, 1844; Hort on Jn 6[4], in Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament*, 1881, App. pp. 77–81; and R. A. Lipsius, *Die Pilatus-Acten*, Kiel, 1886.

II. THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

The Apostolic Age may be defined, for the purposes of this article, as the period lying between the Crucifixion [A.D. 29, less probably A.D. 30] and the destruction of the temple. Outside these limits lie, no doubt, several of the NT *writings*, for the chronology of which see the articles on them; but NT *history* may fitly be said to close with the great catastrophe of A.D. 70.

These first 40 years of Christian history are roughly conterminous with the labours of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the principal documents concerned are, on the one hand, their Epistles, on the other, the Acts, one half of which book is in effect devoted to each of the two great apostles. But the writings in question do not bear on the face of them any continuous system of notes of time; and the chronology must be based, in the first instance, on such synchronisms as are given, principally in Acts, with Jewish or Roman history, namely—

(1) The reign of Aretas of Damascus (2 Co 11[32], cf. Ac 9[25]).
(2) The reign and death of Herod Agrippa I. (Ac 12[1-23]).
(3) The famine under Claudius (Ac 11[28-30] 12[25]).
(4) The proconsulship of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus (Ac 13[7]).
(5) The expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius (Ac 18[2]).
(6) The proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia (Ac 18[12]).

* The only exceptions to which Dr. Salmon might appeal are as late as the 4th cent.: (i.) the Quartodecimans and Cappadocians, said by Epiphanius, *Hær.* l. 1, always to observe March 25 as their πάσχα; (ii.) the Montanists of Asia Minor, said by pseudo-Chrysostom to observe the 14th, not of a lunar but of the 'Asiatic' solar month beginning on March 24, so that their πάσχα fell always on April 6.

(7) The reign of Herod Agrippa II., and marriage of his sister Drusilla to Felix (Ac 24^{24} 25^{13}–26^{32}).

(8) The procuratorships of Felix and Festus (Ac 21^{38} 23^{24} $24^{10.27}$).

(9) The Days of Unleavened Bread (Ac $20^{6.7}$).

(10) The persecution under Nero.

Two preliminary notes may be offered here.

a. Imperial Chronology.—Augustus died Aug. 19, A.D. 14; Tiberius died March 16, A.D. 37; Gaius Caligula died Jan. 24, A.D. 41; Claudius died Oct. 13, A.D. 54; Nero died June 9, A.D. 68.

b. Authorities for the Period outside NT Writers.—These are principally three: for Jewish affairs, Josephus; for Roman, Tacitus and Suetonius: and as they are occasionally inconsistent with one another, it is important to define their position and opportunities as historians. (i.) Tacitus, born not later and probably not much earlier than A.D. 54, published his latest work, the *Annals*, or history of the empire from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero, at the end of Trajan's reign, *c.* A.D. 115; but the work as now preserved is imperfect, being deficient for the ten years A.D. 37–47, besides two shorter *lacunæ* in A.D. 30 and 66–68. The materials at his command for all at least that passed in Rome were ample, though his anti-imperial tendencies may colour his version of the facts in relation not only to the emperors, but to their ministers or favourites. (ii.) Suetonius, the junior of Tacitus by some 20 years, wrote his *Lives of the Cæsars* (from Julius to Domitian) under Hadrian, probably about A.D. 120. As private secretary to that emperor, he may have had access to additional personal details about the earlier sovereigns, such as distinguish his anecdotal biographies from the more ambitious and more orderly history of Tacitus. (iii.) Josephus, the historian of Judaism, was more strictly a contemporary of the infancy of the Christian Church than Suetonius or even Tacitus. Born in A.D. 37–38 and brought up in Jerus., he left that city for three years' stay among the Essenes, A.D. 53–56, and left Pal. on a mission to Rome in A.D. 63–64. His share in the Jewish revolt—for he commanded in Galilee, and was taken prisoner at Jotapata—did not prevent him from espousing at once the Roman cause, or attaching himself to the fortunes of Vespasian and Titus. Thus his works on the *Jewish War* (written before A.D. 79) and on the *Antiquities* (completed in Domitian's 13th year, A.D. 93–94) are dominated by the distinct purpose of presenting himself and his countrymen in as favourable a light as possible to the Romans. On the other hand, a writer in Rome enjoying imperial patronage, who had spent in Pal. most of the years with whose events this article is concerned, was unusually well placed for ascertaining the facts, and, except where his 'tendency' has to be discounted, his testimony cannot be dismissed off-hand even when confronted with that of Tacitus.

1. *Aretas at Damascus.*—This Aretas (the fourth Aretas in the line of Nabatæan kings, on which dynasty see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 348 ff.) reigned within the rough limits B.C. 9–A.D. 40; the exact dates are unknown, but it is certain (*α*) that he reigned over 47 years, inscriptions being extant of his 48th; (*β*) that he died somewhere between the death of Tiberius—which brought to a close operations begun against him at that emperor's order by the legate of Syria, Vitellius (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 1, 3)—and the middle of the reign of Claudius, when his successor Abias is found waging war on Izates of Adiabene (about A.D. 48; *Ant.* XX. iv. 1). But Damascus did not belong to Nabatæa, and was certainly under direct Roman administration in A.D. 33–34, and in A.D. 62–63, for Damascene coins of these years are extant and bear the heads of Tiberius and Nero respectively, without any such allusion to the local prince as was invariable in the coins of client states. It must have come, then, into the hands of Aretas after A.D. 33–34; if by force, the empire would hardly have suffered the Nabatæan line to reign unmolested till A.D. 106; if by grant, the donor must almost certainly have been, not Tiberius, whose quarrel with Aretas has just been mentioned, but Caligula, who, unlike Tiberius (see the instance of Herod Philip in the next section), encouraged the dependent princelings of the East. [The silence of Tacitus will then admit of easy explanation, the *Annals* being defective throughout Caligula's reign.] In this case, St. Paul's escape from the ethnarch of the city must be placed not earlier than the middle of A.D. 37; in any case not earlier than A.D. 34.

2. *Reign and Death of Herod Agrippa I.*—The tetrarchy of Herod Philip (Lk 3^1) was on his death, about A.D. 33–34, incorporated by Tiberius into the province of Syria, but 'not many days' after the accession of Gaius (March 16, A.D. 37) was conferred with the title of king on Herod Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great, who was then living in Rome; and to this territory the tetrarchy of Antipas was added in A.D. 39–40, and Judæa, Samaria, and Abilene on Claudius' accession, early in A.D. 41. Agrippa reigned altogether, according to *BJ*, three years over the whole kingdom, and three years over the tetrarchies, according to *Ant.*, four years under Gaius,—three over Philip's tetrarchy and the fourth over Antipas' as well,—and three under Claudius over all Pal., the year of his death being 'the 7th of his reign and 54th of his life.' The discrepancy concerns Gaius' reign only (*Ant.*, the later and fuller work, appears the more accurate), and 'three years' under Claudius are common to both accounts. But *Ant.*, as has just been said, also speaks of 'the 7th year,' which (reckoned from the spring of A.D. 37) suggests A.D. 43–44 rather than 44 simply. Against this, however, may be set the evidence of Agrippa's coinage, which apparently goes on to a 9th year;* for even if, as is likely enough, the Jewish kings commenced a fresh year on the 1st of Nisan following their accession,† the 9th year cannot possibly have begun before Nisan 1, A.D. 44, and even then only if the original grant from Caligula preceded Nisan 1, A.D. 37, so that Agrippa's second year may have begun on that day. The coinage reckoning by itself would suggest rather A.D. 45 than 44; Josephus would be compatible with the latter part of A.D. 43; the two in combination are most easily reconciled by a date in A.D. 44 after Nisan (*BJ* II. xi. 6; *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6, vi. 10, vii. 2, XIX. v. 1, viii. 2).

3. *The Famine under Claudius.*—On Agrippa's death Judæa is made again into a procuratorship under Cuspius Fadus. He intervenes in a quarrel between the Jews of Peræa and the city of Philadelphia, seizes and executes the brigand leader Tholomæus, and from that time forward keeps Judæa clear of similar disturbances; then (τότε) enters on a dispute with the authorities at Jerus. over the custody of the high-priestly robes.‡ 'About this time,' κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν, Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates become converts to Judaism; the story and antecedent circumstances are related at length, and it is added that Helena, seeing that their kingdom was at peace and her son envied even by foreigners for the divine protection he enjoyed, desired to go up to the temple at Jerus., while Izates made great preparations of gifts to be offered there. Her arrival was peculiarly well-timed, for famine was raging 'at that moment,' κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον. But Josephus does not say that all this happened under Fadus. On the contrary, having digressed to relate what

* See Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, ed. 2 (1881), p. 130. The ascription of these coins to Herod Agrippa II. is impossible; de Saulcy, however, thinks them Jewish forgeries, and Madden speaks hesitatingly, not having seen the coins themselves. But if the electrotypes may be trusted, the figure is quite certain, and there appears no reason except the chronological difficulty for doubting them.

† See the Gemara of Babylon, Tractate *Rosh-hashanah* or *the New Year*, fol. 2*a*: 'Our rabbis teach that a king who ascends the throne on the 29th Adar has completed a year as soon as he reaches Nisan 1.'

‡ The emperor's answer to the deputation sent to Rome on this subject is dated in the consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus; and if these were, as is generally assumed, *consules suffecti* of A.D. 45, the letter will fall somewhere after the early months of that year. [Older editors read πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν Ἰουλίου, but the latter word is simply a retranslation of *Iulii* in the inferior Latin MSS; Niese omits it, and marks a lacuna.] But to date by other than the *consules ordinarii* would be so unusual, if not unexampled, that (especially in the absence of any other proof of the existence of these particular *suffecti*) the genuineness of the letter must be considered doubtful.

was contemporary with Fadus, namely, the conversion of Helena and Izates, he continues the digression through the long chapters XX. ii. iii. iv., bringing the history of Adiabene down to a point much later even than this visit: and then, after returning to Fadus and recording the revolt and death of Theudas under him, he goes on to say that his successor was Tiberius Alexander, 'in whose time it chanced that the great famine in Judæa occurred in which' Helena acted so generously. After Alexander, of whom nothing further is related except the execution of the sons of Judas the Galilean, Cumanus comes as the new procurator; in the 8th year of Claudius [A.D. 48], Herod king of Chalcis dies. These two last events are reversed in *BJ*: 'after Herod of Chalcis' death Claudius gives his kingdom to the younger Agrippa, and Cumanus succeeds Alexander.' Both accounts, in fact, treat the two changes as practically simultaneous, so that Josephus certainly places Cumanus' arrival in A.D. 48. Thus the whole tenure of both Fadus and Alexander falls within the limits of the years 44–48 A.D.; and since the bulk of the events recorded under the former is considerably the greater, Alexander cannot have arrived before, say, the spring of A.D. 46. This is the *terminus a quo* for Helena's visit; and as Helena had not apparently heard of the famine before she arrived, it is the *terminus a quo* for the famine also, while Josephus' language leaves no doubt that 'the great famine' ran its whole course under the same governor. It is therefore possible that it should be placed, or placed partly, in A.D. 47; it is certain that even the earlier part of the crisis cannot be placed before A.D. 46 (*Ant.* XX. i. 1, 2, ii. 1, 5, v. 1, 2; *BJ* II. xii. 1).

4. *The Proconsulship of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus.*—The name of this governor has been found in a Cypriote inscription ἐπὶ Παύλου [ἀνθ]υπάτου 'in Paulus' proconsulship,' but unfortunately without any synchronism which would fix the year. On the other hand, a dedication to Claudius in the name of the city of Curium in Cyprus by the proconsul L. Annius Bassus, 'in accordance with a decision previously taken by the proconsul Julius Cordus,' is signed 'in the 12th year,' *i.e.* of the emperor, A.D. 52. Cordus' tenure, if, as seems to be implied, he was Bassus' immediate predecessor, will cover the year 51, so that in neither of those two years can place be found for Paulus. (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 425; Boeckh, *CIG* 2632.)

5. *The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius* is recorded in Suetonius (*Claudius* 25), *Iudæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*; but as this writer's method is to group together the events in any one reign of similar character—in this case dealings with the provincials—no suggestion of a date is given at all. Tacitus, whose *Annals*, however, are extant during the last seven years only of Claudius' reign, A.D. 47–54, says nothing of the Jews, though he mentions, under A.D. 52, the expulsion of the astrologers from Italy, a measure at once 'cruel and ineffective.' Orosius, A.D. 417 (*Hist.* VII. vi. 15), is the earliest authority to give a date, Claudius IX. = A.D. 49, quoting it as from Josephus; but, in fact, Josephus is as silent as Tacitus, not about the date only, but about the whole matter. Nor is there any reason to believe that Orosius had access to Josephus direct; the only other reference to him (VII. ix. 7) appears to be repeated from Jerome's *Chronicle*. It must therefore remain uncertain whether or not Orosius' source in this case is trustworthy. [Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 68) supposes that all Orosius' dates for events under Claudius are a year too early (as might easily be the case if, for instance, he was copying a chronicler like Eusebius, whose 1st of Claudius began, not in Jan., but in Sept. A.D. 41; see below, No. 8. *a*), so that this expulsion would then rather belong to A.D. 50.]

6. *The Proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia* must fall after A.D. 44, in which year (Dio Cassius, lx. 24) this province, taken by Tiberius in A.D. 15 into his own hands, and ruled thenceforward by *legati prorætore* (ἀντιστράτηγοι), was restored to the control of the senate, and to administration by proconsuls (ἀνθύπατοι). Further, if Gallio so far shared the disgrace of his famous brother Seneca—who was only recalled in A.D. 49 (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 8) from an exile that had lasted about eight years—that he would have been passed over while it lasted, then the *terminus a quo* is not 44 but 49, or rather, since the proconsuls entered on their provincial governments early in the year, A.D. 50. At the same time, the distinction between the method of appointment to imperial and to senatorian provinces was just this, that the emperor was quite unfettered in his choice, while, in the other case, all ex-holders of offices in Rome, ex-consuls and ex-prætors, succeeded naturally to senatorian governorships; Dio, for instance (*loc. cit.*), describes this very change as one from selection to lot: τὴν δὲ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν αἱρετοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Τιβέριος ἦρξε διδομένας ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ. Still, it is likely enough that candidates obnoxious to the government either did not stand at all, or were unsuccessful by arrangement at the balloting. Gallio, then, entered on office in Achaia certainly not before A.D. 44, and probably not before 49, or even 50.*

7. *The Reign of Herod Agrippa II. and Marriage of Drusilla to Felix.*—This Agrippa, son of Herod Agrippa I., at his father's death was thought too young to succeed; but on the death of another Herod, his uncle, king of Chalcis, in the 8th year of Claudius (A.D. 48), he obtained that principality, from which he was transferred after Claudius had completed his 12th year, *i.e.* about the beginning of A.D. 53, to the two tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, *i.e.* the northern part of Palestine. On this accession to new dignity he bestowed his sister Drusilla in marriage on Azizus of Emesa, a husband whom, not long after, μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον, she deserted for the Roman procurator Felix. Thus, if Josephus' order of events is correct, St. Paul's appearance before Felix and Drusilla, which was after, but not very long after, Pentecost (Ac 20^{16} $24^{1,\ 24}$), cannot fall in A.D. 53, but at earliest in A.D. 54 (*Ant.* XX. v. 2, vii. 1, 2).

8. *a. The Procuratorship of Felix.*—The events which led up to the deposition of the last-mentioned procurator, Cumanus (appointed in A.D. 48), are related in full by Josephus, *Ant.* XX. vi. 1–3, more briefly by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54; the two writers, while consistent in the main about Cumanus, differ seriously in regard to Felix. Both agree that troubles broke out between the Galileans and Samaritans, originating, says Josephus, in an assault on Galileans travelling up to Jerus. for one of the feasts. Both agree that the Roman soldiery intervened; that the quarrel was taken before Quadratus, legate of Syria, who investigated the responsibility of the Roman officials for their conduct in relation to it; and that the ultimate result was the deposition of Cumanus. Both agree further on the date; for Tacitus records the proceedings under A.D. 52, Josephus mentions the recall of Cumanus immediately before the notice of the completion of Claudius' 12th year, Jan. A.D. 53. On the other hand, Josephus, throughout the

* See also Ramsay, *Expositor*, March 1897, p. 206: Seneca addressed his *de Ira* to his brother, not under the adoptive name Gallio, but under the name Novatus; and if it is true that he wrote this treatise after his return from exile, it follows that his brother's adoption, and subsequent appointment to a proconsulship under the name Gallio, must also be not earlier than A.D. 49.

story, speaks of Cumanus as the only governor, whether of Galilee, Samaria, or Judæa. Tacitus gives Cumanus in Galilee and Felix in Samaria co-ordinate jurisdiction; which of them ruled Judæa proper is not said by him in so many words (by his authority perhaps not at all), but he apparently assumes it to be Felix, whom he introduces as *iampridem Iudææ impositus*. Thus in Josephus, Cumanus is the only procurator arraigned before Quadratus, and even he is sent off to the imperial tribunal; in Tacitus, Cumanus and Felix are equally involved; but since Felix was brother to Pallas, the emperor's favourite and minister, the legate, to avoid having to condemn him, puts him on to the commission for the trial of his partner in guilt, who is condemned then and there for the crimes of both.

How are these divergences to be reconciled? The answer is not without a direct bearing on the chronology of St. Paul's life; see below, No. 8. *b*. Let it be conceded, then, to Tacitus, that Felix must have been holding some position in Samaria of sufficient rank to qualify him as one of the *iudices* for Cumanus' trial. So much, indeed, is warranted by Josephus' statement, that the high priest Jonathan was continually urging good government on Felix when procurator, 'lest he himself should incur blame before the populace for having requested his appointment from the emperor' (*Ant.* xx. viii. 5), a request which was more natural if Felix were already known in Palestine. Some of the best modern authorities (Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, Eng. tr. ii. 202; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 313) follow Tacitus further still. But Josephus, after all, is giving a detailed account of the history of his own country during his own lifetime; and to him it must be conceded in turn that Cumanus' rule certainly included Judæa (in the narrower sense) with Jerus., and that Felix was probably only a subordinate of his in Samaria. Prejudice against so near a relation of Pallas made it easy for Tacitus or his authority to project back on to the earlier years of Felix' residence something of the position, and a share of the misdeeds, of his later procuratorship.

A third authority for the dates of Felix' tenure is the *Chronicle* of Eusebius—the Armenian VS, with some MSS of Jerome's tr., placing his arrival in the 11th year of Claudius, the other Lat. MSS in the 10th. [In the Bodleian MS of the Jerome, this note commences in the second of the two lines given to the 10th year, is continued through the two lines of the 11th year, and ends in the first line of the 12th.] But how are these imperial years reckoned?

So much weight is laid by Harnack (*Chronologie*, pp. 233–237) on Eusebius' evidence, that this preliminary difficulty must be disentangled in some detail. Both Harnack himself (*ib.* p. 234) and Lightfoot (*e.g. Biblical Essays*, p. 223, n. 2; but this essay is as old as A.D. 1863) assume a reckoning in the case of each emperor from his own accession-day. But it is in the last degree unlikely that a chronicle, where every year is reckoned continuously from Abraham, should admit in the parallel column of imperial years a system perpetually changing; and if Titus, though he reigned three months of a 3rd year (June 79–Sept. 81 A.D.), or Trajan, though he reigned six months of a 20th year (Jan. 98–Aug. 117 A.D.), are yet allotted only two and nineteen years respectively, it seems clear that, as was to be expected, the imperial years are manipulated into accord with the more fixed arrangement. But two questions still remain.

(i.) Where did Eusebius fix his new year? It is natural to think first of Jan. 1, the commencement of the Roman consular year. But Eusebius was an Eastern, and in the East the year was all but universally commenced about September. The Jewish civil year began in September; the old Attic lunar year in July; the old Macedonian lunar year in October; the calendars of Asia Minor in imperial times used the Macedonian months made into a solar year, commencing Sept. 23; the similar calendar of Syria used the same months in the same way, only that each month was pushed down one place, so that the year presumably began at the end of October; the Alexandrian year on Aug. 29; the era of Alexander or the Greeks was reckoned from Sept. B.C. 312; the Indictions, an invention of Eusebius' own day, were counted, certainly from September, probably from Sept. A.D. 312. The strong presumption that Eusebius would range himself with all this mass of usage is reinforced by his use of the Olympiads as parallel, year by year, to his own years of Abraham, for the Olympiads began in July, and a year that began on Jan. 1 must be out of reckoning with an Olympiad year for either its first or last six months.

(ii.) Granted, then, that each Eusebian year began in the September of a Julian year, can that Julian year be conclusively fixed? Now, the starting-point of the Olympiads is known to be July of the Julian year B.C. 776; if, therefore, a fixed relation is established between Eusebian years of Abraham and Olympiads, a fixed relation between Eusebian and Julian years follows. Unfortunately, the two versions of the *Chronicle* differ by one year as to which year of Abraham is parallel to Ol. 1. 1, the Armenian giving *Ann. Abr.* 1240, Jerome 1241, and so throughout. That Jerome is the more trustworthy is now, through the labours of Hort and Lightfoot, recognised even by scholars who had pinned their faith to the Armenian (so, *e.g.*, Harnack, *Chronologie*, p. 113 ff.); and in this particular case two synchronisms of years of Tiberius with the Olympiads, the one given in the preface to the *Chronicle* (Jerome), and repeated in the *Præp. Evang.* of Eusebius himself (x. 9. 1), the other given in the note on the Crucifixion (both Jerome and the Armenian), clench the proof. In the first case Tib. 15 is said to coincide with Ol. 201, or more fully in the *Præp. Evang.* with Ol. 201. 4. Now, in the *Chronicle* itself Tib. 15 = Abr. 2044 (Jerome and Armenian) = Ol. 201. 4 Jerome, but Ol. 202. 1 Arm. In the second case the date for the Crucifixion is supported by appeal to Phlegon's date, Ol. 202. 4. Now, Tiberius 19 (which is unquestionably Eusebius' date for the Passion, see previous art. p. 413[a]) = Abr. 2048 (Jerome and Arm.) = Ol. 202. 4 Jerome, Ol. 203. 1 Arm. Clearly, then, the parallelism of the columns is right in Jerome, wrong in the Armenian.

It follows from this investigation that, according to Eusebius, Tiberius 1 = Ol. 198. 2 (Jerome) = Sept. A.D. 14 to Sept. A.D. 15; Gaius 1 = Ol. 204. 1 (Jerome) = Sept. 37–Sept. 38 A.D.; Claudius 1 = Ol. 205. 1 (Jerome) = Sept. 41–Sept. 42 A.D.; Nero 1 = Ol. 208. 3 (Jerome) = Sept. 55–Sept. 56 A.D. As the true accession-days of these four emperors were Aug. 19, A.D. 14; Mar. 16, A.D. 37; Jan. 24, A.D. 41; Oct. 13, A.D. 54, an entirely consistent result is obtained, namely, that *Eusebius commences the 1st regnal year of each emperor in the September next after his accession.* When, therefore, he puts the arrival of Felix in Claudius 11, he means not (as Harnack says) Jan. 51 to Jan. 52, but Sept. 51 to Sept. 52, and his evidence, instead of contradicting, comes into line with that of Tacitus and Josephus.

b. The Departure of Felix and Arrival of Festus.—The chronology of so large a period of St. Paul's apostleship can be reckoned without difficulty backwards and forwards from his imprisonment at Cæsarea, that this date of Felix' recall becomes the most important of the series of synchronisms that have been under discussion. Yet there is none about which opinions vary more widely, years so far apart as A.D. 55 and 61 being preferred by different enquirers; what may be called the received chronology (Wieseler, *Chron. des apost. Zeitalters*, pp. 66–99; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, pp. 217–220; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 182, and the bibliography there given) assigning it to A.D. (61 or) 60, but not earlier, while a few older writers, reinforced now by Harnack (*o.c.* p. 233 ff.), push it back to quite the beginning of Nero's reign, A.D. 55 or 56. Blass (*Acta Ap.* pp. 21–24) leaves the question open, but is, on the whole, against the 'received' view; Ramsay (see No. 9, below) modifies the latter by one year, to A.D. 59.

(i.) *Arguments for the later date*, A.D. 60 *or* 61.

α. St. Paul at the time of his arrest, two years before Felix' recall, addresses him as 'for many years past a judge of this nation,' ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ (Ac 24[10. 27]), a phrase which it is said cannot mean less than six or seven years' procuratorship, *i.e.* from 52 to 58 or 59 A.D. But it has just been shown from Tacitus that Felix had been in Samaria before he came into office in Judæa; and since St. Paul's purpose is naturally to press all that could truly be said of Felix' experience, he would not too minutely distinguish between his present position as procurator and his previous position as a subordinate. The ἔτη πολλά are therefore to be reckoned from an indeterminate point previous to A.D. 52, and no certain deduction of any sort can be drawn about them.

β. Josephus, after the mention of Nero's accession, records as all happening under Felix: the death of Azizus, king of Emesa; the succession of Aristobulus in Chalcis, and readjustment of the dominions of the younger Agrippa; the jealousy between Felix and the high priest

Jonathan, and the reign of terror which, after Jonathan's assassination, prevailed at each of the feasts; the appearance of various robber chiefs or impostors, especially a certain Egyptian; and lastly, the 'great quarrel' between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of Cæsarea (*Ant.* XX. viii. 4–8). Now, this long succession of incidents cannot, it is said, be brought within less than five or six years, *i.e.* from Oct. 54, Nero's accession, to 60 A.D., especially as the rising of the Egyptian was already 'before these days' (Ac 21[38]) at the time of St. Paul's arrest, two years from the end of Felix' tenure. But two considerations deprive this line of argument of a good deal of its force.

(1) Josephus naturally groups together all he has to say about Pal. under Felix. That he does this after Nero's accession, means that he conceived, not that the whole state of things described began only then to be true, but at most that the main part of Felix' government, and its most striking events, belonged to the new reign; and this, if Felix' procuratorship began in A.D. 52, could easily be the case so long as it ended not earlier than A.D. 57 or 58. Exact information about the latter date Josephus obviously did not possess, or he would, as in other cases, have given it.

(2) The various events described were not necessarily successive. The political arrangements in Galilee or Chalcis, the growing disorder in Jerus., the risings in Palestine, may all have been in progress at one and the same time. Even the revolt of the Egyptian is not given as the last in order of time of a series of such events, but as the most striking illustration of the deceptions practised on the highly-wrought minds of the populace by miracle-mongers of all sorts; for whereas the rest led their followers off into the wilderness with the promise of signs and wonders, 'a fellow from Egypt about this time,' *κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν*, gave rendezvous for the Mt. of Olives, that from thence he might show how the walls of Jerus. should fall down at his bidding. At the same time, if this rising is to be placed under Nero at all, then St. Paul's arrest cannot fall before Pentecost 55, or rather, if the full natural meaning is to be given to the words *πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν*, before Pentecost 56, and Felix' recall before the summer of 57 or rather 58 A.D.

It appears, then, that the arguments used to support the 'received' date, A.D. 60, will not bear the whole weight placed on them, but that, so far as they go, they do suggest a year not earlier than A.D. 58, or at any rate than 57. The arguments used on the other side must now, in turn, be subjected to examination.

(ii.) *Arguments for an early date*, A.D. 55 or 56.

α. Eusebius' *Chronicle* places Festus' arrival in Nero 2, *i.e.* according to Harnack, in the year Oct. 55–Oct. 56 A.D.; and Eusebius' chronology of the procurators is probably derived from Julius Africanus (A.D. 220), who, whether through the *Jewish kings* of Josephus' contemporary, Justus of Tiberias,* or through personal enquiry (for he lived in Palestine), had excellent opportunities of arriving at the facts. But, again, a twofold answer may be given. (1) In any case Eusebius' true date for Festus is Nero 2=Sept. 56–Sept. 57 A.D., see above, p. 418[b]. (2) It cannot be too often repeated that chroniclers were tempted to invent dates for all undated events of historical interest; and as Festus' connexion with St. Paul would deter a Christian from passing him over without mention, it is possible that Eusebius (or Africanus), if the usual authorities failed him, simply set him exactly midway between his predecessor Felix, A.D. 51–52, and his successor Albinus, A.D. 61–62.

For the last procurator, Gessius Florus, Eusebius gives Nero 10=Sept. 64–Sept. 65 A.D.; this agrees well enough with Josephus' statement that the breaking out of the war—Aug. 66 A.D.—fell in the 12th year of Nero (*i.e.* on Josephus' system Oct. 65–Oct. 66) and 2nd of Florus, *Ant.* XX. xi. 1. For Albinus, the last but one, Eusebius has Nero 7=Sept. 61–Sept. 62 A.D.; and Josephus relates that a certain visionary was brought before Albinus at the Feast of Tabernacles, four years before the war, *i.e.* Oct. 62 A.D., *BJ* VI. v. 3, so that Eusebius' date is at any rate the latest possible, and is very likely correct.

β. Felix on his recall was prosecuted before Nero by the leading Jews of Cæsarea, and 'would certainly have been condemned for his wrong-doings towards the Jews had not his brother Pallas, who at that moment stood very high in Nero's favour, interceded on his behalf,' *Ant.* XX. viii. 9. Now, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 14, 15, Pallas was removed from office not long before Britannicus celebrated his 14th birthday; and Britannicus was born just after his father Claudius' accession, *circa* Feb. 41 A.D. But, again, if Pallas' retirement fell in Jan. 55 A.D., and Felix' trial preceded it, the latter must have fallen in the very first months of Nero's reign, and Festus must have come out as procurator in the summer of A.D. 54 under Claudius, a result which it is hopeless to try and reconcile with the other authorities.

Harnack, *o.c.* p. 238, on the ground of the confusion which besets even the best chronologists through the different methods of reckoning imperial years, conjectures that Tacitus has mistakenly put Britannicus' 14th birthday for his 15th, so that the whole story should be transferred from A.D. 55 to 56. But this is unlikely: in the first place, because Tacitus reckons his years, as a Roman naturally would, by consulships, and not by regnal years of the emperor at all; in the second place, because the detail about Britannicus' age introduces the account of his murder, and that was far too crucial an event to be likely to be misdated. It seems obvious—there is certainly no reason against the view—that Pallas retained sufficient influence in the early years after his retirement to be able to secure immunity for his family. Tacitus expressly says that he stipulated that no inquiry should be made into his conduct in office, a very different attitude to what most fallen ministers had to adopt under the empire. Doubtless, Josephus exaggerates when he speaks of Nero at the date of the trial as *μάλιστα δὴ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων ἐκεῖνον*, but this appears to be only his way of accounting for the acquittal of an oppressor of the Jews.

Stated as a proof for the year A.D. 55 or 56, this argument, too, breaks down; but if restated with a more modest scope, it will be found not without force. It is, in fact, difficult to believe that the Jews would not have gained their case against Felix had Poppæa already acquired that ascendency over Nero which enabled them under the next procuratorship to win their cause in the matter of the temple wall against Festus and Agrippa combined, *Ant.* XX. viii. 11. It is under A.D. 58 that this woman's first introduction to Nero is recorded, but it was not till A.D. 62 that she set the crown to her ambition by marrying him, Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 45, 46, xiv. 60 ff. It was in the same year, 62, that Pallas, who, according to *Ann.* xiv. 65, was too rich and too slow in dying for Nero's avarice, was poisoned. Not improbably, the interest of Claudius' favourite waned with that of Claudius' daughter, so that it was no mere coincidence that the same year saw the murder of Octavia to make room for Poppæa, and the murder of Pallas. Anyhow, considering the respective histories of Pallas and Poppæa, the years 57, 58 (59?) would appear to suit the circumstances of Felix' acquittal better than the years 60, 61.

In the result, then, the arguments for the extreme position on either side have been shown to be equally devoid of conclusive force. But, on the other hand, each set of them, though it does not establish its own case, tends to disprove the opposite. The facts about Pallas and Poppæa, not to speak of the evidence of Eusebius, do not prove that Festus succeeded Felix as early as 55 or 56, but they do seem to exclude a date as late as A.D. 60. Conversely, the account of Felix' procuratorship in Josephus, though it does not show that he was governor as late as 60 or 61, does seem to show that he remained later than A.D. 56. The probabilities, therefore, both sides being considered, concentrate themselves on the intermediate years A.D. 57–59 for Felix' recall (A.D. 55–57 for St. Paul's arrest).

9. *The Days of Unleavened Bread* (Ac 20[6. 7]) in St. Paul's third missionary journey have lately been brought again into notice by Ramsay (*Expositor*, May 1896, p. 336) as a date which 'can be fixed not merely to the year, but to the month and

* Photius, *cod.* 33, read this book, and says that it extended from Moses to the death of the last Jewish prince, Herod Agrippa II., in A.D. 100.

day.' 'The Passover was celebrated and the Days of Unleavened Bread were spent in Philippi. Thereafter the company started for Troas; and their voyage continued into the fifth day. In Troas they stayed seven days; the last complete day that they spent there was a Sunday, and they sailed away early on a Monday morning. Now, on the system common in ancient usage and followed by Luke . . . the seven days in Troas . . . began with a Tuesday and ended with a Monday. Further, the Tuesday of the arrival in Troas must be also counted as the fifth day of the voyage.' 'It follows, therefore, that the party started from Philippi on a Friday. The only question that remains is whether the company started on the first morning after the Days of Unleavened Bread. Considering that the plan was to reach Jerus. by Pentecost, and that time was therefore precious, we need not hesitate as to this point. . . . The slaying of the Passover in that year fell on the afternoon of a Thursday, and the Seven Days of Unleavened Bread continued till the following Thursday. That was the case in A.D. 57, but not in any of the years immediately around it.'

On this thesis three remarks suggest themselves. (i.) The calculation of days from the departure from Troas back to the departure from Philippi, and the inference that the latter was made on the earliest day possible, Nisan 22, are probable, though not absolutely certain. (ii.) The only years considered by Ramsay as open to discussion are A.D. 56-59. But these years, though they include the latest, do not include the earliest possible dates for the end of the 3rd missionary journey and the arrest at Jerusalem, which of course followed this passover at Philippi at the interval of a few weeks. A.D. 55 was even found (see No. 8. *b*, above) to be so far one of the three most likely years, and for security's sake A.D. 54 may be also taken into account. (iii.) The uncertainty which day in any year was really kept as Nisan 14 is always considerable. Most investigators, and Ramsay among them, appear to think that the question is solved by labelling the first evening on which the new moon was visible Nisan 1. But the Jews must before this have modified the method of simple observation by something in the nature of a calendar or cycle (CHRON. OF THE GOSPELS, above, p. 411), and any such cycle no doubt deviated not infrequently from the results of simple observation. Certainly, the days of the *terminus paschalis* or Nisan 14 for these years according to the Alexandrine cycle, which has prevailed in the Christian Church ever since the 4th cent., differ sensibly from those supplied by Lewin's *Fasti Sacri* or Wieseler's *Chronologie* p. 115 (and accepted by Ramsay), being always one day, and sometimes two days, the earlier.*

A.D.	Alexandrine.	Lewin.	Wieseler.
54	Apr. 9, T.	Apr. 10, W.	
55	Mar. 29, Sa.	Mar. 30, Su.	
56	Apr. 17, Sa. (or Mar. 18? Th.)	Mar. 19, F.	Apr. 18, Su.
57	Apr. 5, T.	Apr. 7, Th.	Apr. 7, Th.
58	Mar. 25, Sa.	Mar. 27, M.	Mar. 27, M.
59	Apr. 13, F.	Apr. 15, Su.	Apr. 15, Su.

Now, supposing, as seems a fair estimate, that the Alexandrine date is the earliest possible for each year, and two days later the latest, Nisan 14 may have been a Thursday in any of the three years A.D. 54 (Apr. 11), 56 (Mar. 18), 57 (Apr. 7). What, then, can fairly be claimed for Ramsay's investigation is, that against the other three years, A.D. 55,' 58, 59, a certain presumption of improbability does remain; and with regard to the two later of these three years this result serves to confirm the result attained in the last section. Combining this with the previous enquiry, A.D. 56 and 57 appear the probable alternatives for the year of St. Paul's arrest, A.D. 58 and 59 for the recall of Felix and close of the two years' captivity at Cæsarea.

10. *The Persecution under Nero, and Martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul.*—That the two apostles were martyred on the same day is an erroneous deduction from the common festival on June 29, which is really the day of the common translation of their relics to the safe concealment of the Catacombs during the persecution of Valerian, *Tusco et Basso coss.* (A.D. 258). But that both were martyred at Rome, and both under Nero, has been in effect the constant tradition of the Church; Peter and Paul, with some date under Nero, headed the Roman episcopal list in Julius Africanus (Harnack, *Chronologie*, pp. 124 ff., 171); according to Dionysius of Corinth, they taught together in Italy, and were martyred κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν (ap. Eus. *HE* ii. 25; *c.* A.D. 170); and St. Clement of Rome himself, addressing the Corinthians about A.D. 96, sets before their eyes 'the noble examples of our own generation,' the good apostles, Peter and Paul, and that great multitude of elect which was gathered together with them in divers sufferings and tortures, women being exposed as Danaids and Dirces (1 Clem. v. vi.: συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος). That the 'great multitude' is that of the Neronian martyrs, would be all but certain from the parallel account in Tacitus of the *multitudo ingens* and *addita ludibria* of the Christian victims of Nero (*Ann.* xv. 44); and the whole proof is clenched by the coincidence of Tacitus' mention of the emperor's gardens—*i.e.* the *horti Neroniani* on the Vatican hill—as the scene of the executions, with the statement of the Roman Gaius (ap. Eus. *H.E.* ii. 25; *c.* A.D. 200), that the relics of St. Peter rested on the Vatican as those of St. Paul on the Ostian Way.

But the date of the apostles' martyrdom, if it fell in the Neronian persecution properly so called, can hardly have been far removed from the great fire of Rome in July A.D. 64, since Tacitus says expressly that it was to provide scape-goats to bear his own responsibility for the arson that Nero first devised an attack on the Church. It is true that Suetonius speaks of the punishment of Christians under Nero in general terms and without assigning any particular date: *Nero* 16 (in the middle of a list of things *animadversa severe et coercita*) *afflicti suppliciis Christiani genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ*. But Suet. is not in the habit of giving dates at all; and further it is quite true that the Neronian trials did settle for good the crucial question of the illegality of Christianity, while yet it is clear from Tac. that the violence of the first outbreak stood out as something vastly different in degree if not in kind from the normal condition of occasional martyrdoms which followed. It is true again that Eusebius assigns the apostles' death to the very end of Nero's reign, A.D. 68. But he gives this date to the whole persecution, as the last and worst of all Nero's crimes. As he did not use Latin writers, Tacitus' account was unknown to him, and he has no idea that the persecution had anything to do with the fire at Rome, of which he only speaks in the vaguest terms under Nero 9 (10) ἐμπρησμοὶ γεγόνασι πολλοὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. The actual year he doubtless selected because his (or rather Africanus') chronology of the Popes, calculated back from cent. 3 by the years of their tenure of office, brought the accession of Linus, and therefore the apostles' martyrdom, to A.D. 67-68. What is really important is that he, like Clement, closely associates the two apostles with the rest of the victims of the persecution; and this, taken into connexion with the evidence of Tac. and of Gaius, seems to fix their death to within a year at any rate of the great fire, middle of A.D. 64–middle of 65 [Harnack, *o.c.* p. 240, still more precisely, July A.D. 64; but this is to limit the possibilities unreasonably.]

Probably, modern writers would not have been so reluctant to admit this, if the received chronology had not prolonged St. Paul's first Roman captivity till at least the spring of A.D. 63, so that the two years or less which would intervene before his martyrdom on the dating just suggested would be insufficient to cover what is known or reasonably conjectured about his final missionary journey. But it has been now shown (see Nos. 8. *b*, 9) that not 60, but 58 or 59, is the true date of Festus' arrival in Judæa, and therefore not 63, but 61 or 62, the end of the two years (Ac 28^{30}) of the first Roman captivity. Is there, then, any reason to suppose that the two to four years which intervene in this revised chronology are too few to satisfy the evidence as to St. Paul's movements? Properly perhaps this enquiry belongs to a later stage in the investigation; but as it stands outside the Acts, and establishes the *terminus ad quem*, parallel to the *terminus a quo* of the Crucifixion, for the subject-matter of this article, there is a special advantage in speaking of it at this place.

That St. Paul after his release carried out the

* That the Alexandrine date is always beforehand with the date depending on simple observation will be due to the cycle computators reckoning Nisan 1 from the time of astronomical new moon, not from the time, about 30 hours later, when it first became visible to observers.

desire long before expressed by him (Ro 15^{28}) to go on from Rome to Spain, is made more than probable by the testimony of St. Clement, that the apostle 'preached righteousness to the whole world, and reached the boundary of the West' (*ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών*, *ad Cor.* v.), and of the Muratorian Canon [*c.* A.D. 200], *profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis*. For a journey to districts so untouched, where the very foundations of Christianity would still have to be laid, at least a year must be allowed; and six months more must be added for the preaching on the route through Southern Gaul—Marseilles, Arles, Nimes, Narbonne—if the Γαλατία to which Crescens was sent (2 Ti 4^{10}) was, as Eusebius, *HE* iii. 4, and other Greek Fathers suppose, not the lesser Gaul of Asia Minor, but the greater Gaul of the West.

That St. Paul also revisited the East results from the Pastoral Epistles; and even critics who, like Harnack (*o.c.* p. 239, n. 3), reject these Epistles as a whole, admit that genuine accounts of St. Paul's movements after his release have been incorporated in them. But for the journey to Ephesus and Macedonia (1 Ti 1^{3}), for the evangelization of Crete (Tit 1^{5}), for the final visits to Troas, Miletus, and perhaps Corinth (2 Ti $4^{13.\ 20}$), for the winter at Nicopolis (in Epirus; Tit 3^{12}),* a second eighteen months are required.

Thus three full years, though not necessarily more, appear to have elapsed between St. Paul's departure from and return to Rome; and it follows that if his martyrdom in the first great outbreak of Nero's persecution holds good, of the two alternative years to which his release was narrowed down (No. 9, above), A.D. 61 has an advantage over A.D. 62, and A.D. 56, 58 over A.D. 57, 59 as the years of his arrest at Jerusalem and of his journey as a prisoner to Rome.

So far, then, ten points from Jewish and secular history have been fixed with more or less probability: (1) Aretas in possession of Damascus, certainly not before A.D. 34, probably not before A.D. 37; (2) Herod Agrippa I.'s death, probably in A.D. 44; (3) the famine in Jerusalem, not before A.D. 46; (4) the proconsulate of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus, not in A.D. 51, 52; (5) the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, perhaps in A.D. 49 or 50; (6) the proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia, probably not before A.D. 49 or 50; (7) the marriage of Drusilla with Felix, not before A.D. 54; (8) the appointment of Felix as procurator of Judæa in A.D. 52, and his recall in one of the years A.D. 57–59; (9) of these three years the first seems to be excluded by the note about the days of unleavened bread; (10) and the third seems to be excluded by the calculation of the necessary interval between St. Paul's hearing before Festus and his martyrdom in A.D. 64 (64–65). Thus the crucial date of Festus' arrival seems to be established as A.D. 58, and therefore the close of the Acts after St. Paul's two years' captivity at Rome as A.D. 61; and a sort of framework is erected into which the details to be gathered, first, from the comprehensive history of the Acts, and, secondly, from the fragmentary notices in the Epistles, have now to be inserted.

(*A*) The Acts; second half (chs. 13–28). For the special criticism of this book, see ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. More need not be said here than that Ac is accepted in what follows as containing, on the whole, an accurate and trustworthy picture of events between Pentecost and St. Paul's (first) Roman captivity, A.D. 29–61. The picture is cut up, as it were, into six panels, each labelled with a general summary of progress; and with so careful an artist, the divisions thus outlined are, in the absence of more precise *data*, the natural starting-point of investigation. (i.) *First period*, 1^{1}. The Church in Jerus., and the preaching of St. Peter: summary in 6^{7} 'and the word of God was increasing, and the number of disciples in Jerus. was being greatly multiplied, and a large number of the priests were becoming obedient to the faith.' (ii.) *Second period*, 6^{8}. Extension of the Church through Pal.; the preaching of St. Stephen; troubles with the Jews: summary in 9^{31} 'the Church throughout all Galilee and Judæa and Samaria was having peace, being built up, and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the consolation of the Holy Spirit was being multiplied.' (iii.) *Third period*, 9^{32}. The extension of the Church to Antioch; St. Peter's conversion of Cornelius; further troubles with the Jews: summary in 12^{24} 'and the word of the Lord was increasing and being multiplied.' (iv.) *Fourth period*, 12^{25}. Extension of the Church to Asia Minor; preaching of St. Paul in 'Galatia'; troubles with the Jewish Christians: summary in 16^{5} 'the Churches then were being confirmed in the faith, and were abounding more in number daily.' (v.) *Fifth period*, 16^{6}. Extension of the Church to Europe; St. Paul's missionary work in the great centres, such as Corinth and Ephesus: summary in 19^{20} 'so forcibly was the word of the Lord increasing and prevailing.' (vi.) *Sixth period*, 19^{21}. Extension of the Church to Rome; St. Paul's captivities: summarized in 28^{31} 'proclaiming the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness unhindered.'

Of these six sections the protagonist in the first three is St. Peter, in the last three St. Paul; and the two halves into which the book thus naturally falls make almost equal divisions at the middle of the whole period covered. But the further consideration of the earlier half may best be postponed until the rich chronological material of the later sections has been set in order.

Starting-point of St. Paul's First Missionary Journey (1st M.J., Ac 13^{3}).—The summary which closes the third section of the Acts intervenes between the notices of the death of Herod Agrippa I. (A.D. 44; see No. 2, above), and of the completion of SS. Paul and Barnabas' famine 'ministry' at Jerus.; so that it appears a legitimate inference that between these two events some considerable interval elapsed. Further, as there was no famine before the year A.D. 46 (No. 3, above), the delegates can scarcely have returned earlier to Antioch, unless the Antiochene Church had not merely begun to collect contributions in anticipation, which was natural enough, but had closed their fund before the famine was heard of, which does not seem natural at all. Certainly, if the delegates helped to administer the relief, the year 46 is the earliest possible.

Nor was the start on the 1st M.J. made immediately after their return to Antioch. The description introduced at this point (13^{1}) of the *personnel* of the Antiochene 'prophets and teachers' suggests at least some further period of settled work; and as the journey westwards meant a start either by sea or over the Taurus, it would not be entered upon in the winter months,—indeed it will be assumed in the following discussion as axiomatic that St. Paul's journeys are as far as possible to be placed in the summer (March or April to Nov.), and that during the other months he was in general stationary. Thus the spring of A.D. 47, or more particularly the end of the paschal season (in that year *circa* Mar. 28–Apr. 4), is the earliest starting-point at all probable.

Duration of the First Missionary Journey (Ac 13^{4}–14^{26}).—Crossing to Cyprus the apostles landed at Salamis and passed through the whole island as far as Paphos, preaching in the Jewish synagogues ($13^{5.\ 6}$). The stay in Cyprus can hardly have been less than some months; the results, at any rate, encouraged the Cypriote Barnabas to select it as his share of the communities visited or founded in common ($15^{36.\ 39}$). At earliest, then, in the summer of the same year, A.D. 47, the party crossed to the mainland of Pamphylia; and whether or not Ramsay's attractive conjecture be true, that the 'infirmity of the flesh' was a malarial fever caught there in the lowlands and necessitating an immediate move up into the hills, no stay is recorded anywhere short of Pisidian Antioch (Antioch P.). To the evangelization of this city and of Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, the main efforts of the journey were devoted; and as the return was made by the same route, the three first-named cities were visited twice. The first sojourn in Antioch P. was long enough for the word to be 'spread abroad through the whole district' (13^{49}; cf. the similar but stronger phrase in 19^{10} of the two years)

* That is, if St. Paul's intention to winter there was carried out.

stay at Ephesus). At Iconium a 'long time' was spent (*ἱκανὸν χρόνον*, 14[3]). With Lystra and Derbe the 'surrounding country' was evangelized (14[6. 7]), and at Derbe the disciples made were 'many' (*ἱκανούς*, 14[21]). The return visits were no doubt shorter; but as they included the work of confirming and organizing the new communities (*ἐπιστηρίζοντες, χειροτονήσαντες πρεσβυτέρους*, 14[22. 23]), they cannot well have been hurried. The second stay at Perga, unlike the first, was sufficiently long for the preaching of the word (14[25]: contrast 13[13. 14]). From the Pamphylian coast the voyage homeward was made direct.

Where the indications are expressed in such general language, opinions will differ as to the length of time signified. But as it is certain that no one will estimate the stay in the interior at less than six months, and the hills between Antioch P. and Perga would not have been recrossed in the winter (Dec.–March), the whole absence from Antioch in Syria (Antioch S.) must have prolonged itself beyond a year; indeed the smallest space of time which will reasonably cover the details of the Acts is 18 months. Let it be supposed roughly that the apostles arrived in Cyprus in April and left it in July; that they reached Antioch P. by Aug. 1, Iconium by Nov. 1, spending there the five winter months, down to the paschal season (probably *circa* Mar. 18–25) of A.D. 48, Lystra by April 1, Derbe by May 15, the two latter being far less populous or important cities than the two former; that they began the return journey about July 1, getting down to the Pamphylian lowlands at the beginning of Oct., and back to Antioch S. a month later, say Nov. 1, A.D. 48. It is easy to allow more than this, and Ramsay raises the total from a year and 7 months to 2 years and 3 or 4 months, ending in July A.D. 49 (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* pp. 65–73). But the shorter estimate, if it satisfies St. Luke's language, and it seems to do so, is to be preferred on the ground that it seems unlikely that the apostles on this their first missionary experiment should have separated themselves from their base at Antioch S., which was yet so near them, for as long a period as over 2 years.

Interval between the First and Second Missionary Journey: *the Apostolic Council* (Ac 14[27]–15[35]).—The two apostles after their return from the 1st M.J., and before their visit to Jerus., 'resided' at Antioch S. 'for no short time' (*διέτριβον χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον*, 14[28]); and although it is just possible that the phrase may be meant to cover the whole period up to the starting-point of the 2nd M.J., yet even so the earlier portion itself cannot have been less than the four winter months from Nov. 1, A.D. 48, onwards. For the Council, it may be taken for granted, would not have been held during those months; and indeed since the Twelve were by this time no longer settled at Jerus., the opportunity for the Council must have been found in their assembling for one of the great Jewish feasts. Thus the earliest possible occasion will have been the passover of A.D. 49, *circa* April 5–12. But as Paul and Barnabas are said to have 'passed through Phœnice and Samaria, expounding the conversion of the Gentiles' (15[3]),—and though this does not, of course, imply the same delay as the foundation of new communities, it does exclude the idea of hurried movements,—it is really more likely that they kept their passover at Antioch S., and spent the six weeks following in a leisurely progress towards Jerus., arriving there for the Council at Pentecost (May 24). They may easily have been back again at Antioch S. by the end of June; and as the further stay only amounted to 'certain days' (*ἡμέρας τινάς*, 15[36]), there is no reason why the start for the 2nd M.J. should not have been made in the late summer of the same year, say Sept. 1, A.D. 49, ten months after the return from the previous journey. [On the visit of St. Peter to Antioch, Gal 2[11], see below, p. 424[a].]

Duration of the Second Missionary Journey (Ac 15[36]–18[22]).—That St. Paul should start so late in the year, while it would have been very unnatural when he was breaking new ground in unknown districts, as in the 1st M.J., was natural enough when he was going primarily to revisit existing Churches; the winter would be spent among them, and they would serve in turn for bases from which, in the spring, he might make his way on again to further and more strictly missionary labours. This, in fact, is what St. Paul probably did do on his 2nd M.J. He left Antioch S. by land, 'passing through Syria and Cilicia confirming the Churches' (15[41] *ἐπιστηρίζων*; cf. 14[22] 18[23]), a phrase which certainly implies a good deal more than a night's rest at each place. Thus several Churches, such as, no doubt, that of Tarsus, were 'visited' before he reached the Churches of the 1st M.J. at all. That of these Derbe is first mentioned, and then Lystra (16[1]), follows from the adoption on this occasion of the land route over Taurus, which must have been crossed not later than November. It is not St. Luke's habit to describe anything in much detail but the foundation of new Churches,—contrast, *e.g.*, the first visit to Macedonia (16[12]–17[15]) with the second (20[2]),—so that no deduction can be drawn from his silence as to any events beyond the circumcision of Timothy (16[3]). On the contrary, the interpolation at this point of the fourth period-summary in 16[5], though no doubt primarily intended to emphasize the great step forward into Europe which follows, marks also a beating of time between the old work and the new, and suggests that the one was more than a mere episode on the way to the other; St. Paul must have stayed everywhere long enough to mark the progress going on, the 'daily increase in numbers.' Nor is it at all likely that fresh ground would be broken in the winter months. It can only have been after the passover (March 25–April 1) of A.D. 50 that he concluded at Antioch P. the seven months' 'visitation' of existing Churches, and plunged forward into the unknown.

That the phrase 'Phrygian and Galatian district' (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, 16[6]) or 'Galatian and Phrygian district' (*τὴν Γαλ. χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*, 18[23]) means not two places, but one and the same, follows as well from the inclusion of both under a single article, as from the fact that the names are given in reverse order on the second occasion, though the direction of the journey was the same as on the first, from east to west. St. Paul's object on leaving Antioch P. was naturally the group of famous and populous cities on the western coast. [The Phrygo-Galatic region, if it lay on the route to Ephesus, can have had nothing to do with Galatia in the narrower ethnical sense, which was far away to the N. and N.E.; and this is only one of many arguments which combine to make Ramsay's view that the 'Galatian' Churches are those of Antioch P., Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, all but demonstrably true.] Entrance, however, into the province of Asia was barred by divine intervention; and St. Paul directed his eyes to the next great group of cities, and turned northwards for Bithynia, only to find the same check when he reached the Bithynian border. This time the western direction was left open, and the party skirted Mysia until they touched the coast at a point north of 'Asia,' namely Troas. But as it is implied throughout these verses that no settlement was made for preaching, not more than a month need be allowed between the departure from Antioch P. and the arrival in Europe. The proclamation of the gospel at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa, and Athens must have occupied all the summer of A.D. 50: the stay at the two former towns, at least, was long enough to found flourishing Churches, and the 'three Sabbaths' at the synagogue of Thessalonica (17[2]) represent, no doubt, not the whole of St. Paul's residence, but only the time anterior to the separation of Christians and Jews, cf. 18[6. 7] 19[8. 9]. Ramsay, indeed, allots eleven months to these four places (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* p. 85); but in the absence of any hint at specially lengthy sojourns—contrast 13[49] 14[3] etc.—six weeks at Philippi, two or three months at Thessalonica, and a few weeks each at Berœa and Athens must be considered sufficient. The sea route from Berœa to Athens is likely to have been taken before the autumnal equinox, and the apostle was doubtless eager to get on to his future headquarters, so that the arrival at Corinth may be placed in October A.D. 50. The total stay there of eighteen months (for the *ἡμέρας ἱκανάς* of 18[18] are probably to be included in the *ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ* of 18[11]) will last till April A.D. 52, thus covering two winters and a summer. St. Paul, as might be expected, arrives at the end of one travelling season and leaves at the beginning of another. The departure, if made, as in other cases, immediately after the paschal season (*circa* April 2–9, A.D. 52), would be timed to bring St. Paul (*viâ* Ephesus and Cæsarea, 18[18-22]) to Jerus., as on the 3rd M.J., for the Feast of Pentecost. There the stay was only for the purpose of 'saluting the Church,' and the apostle went on at once to his old home at Antioch S., arriving, say, in June A.D. 52, after an absence of two years and nine months.

Duration of the Third Missionary Journey.—But Antioch was no longer an effective centre for St. Paul's work; it was out of reach of his new Churches in Macedonia and Achaia, while his 'Galatian' Churches would be supervised quite as easily from Ephesus, whither he was pledged to return if he could (18[21]). If advantage was to be taken of the travelling season for the highlands of Asia Minor, no long delay was possible; the farewells at Antioch S. were therefore probably brief (18[23] *ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ ἐξῆλθεν*; contrast the continuous work implied in 11[26] 13[2] 14[28] 15[35]), and a start made on the 3rd M.J. about August A.D. 52.

This time the passage across Asia Minor seems to have been less protracted. Nothing is said of a stay in Cilicia (contr. 15[41]); it is only in the Galatian Churches of the 1st M.J. that St. Paul, as he moved in order from one to another, set himself to 'establish' all the disciples (*διερχόμενος καθεξῆς . . . στηρίζων*, 18[23]). This visitation, and the not very long or difficult journey between Antioch P., the westernmost of these cities, and Ephesus, need not have extended over much more than the remaining months of A.D. 52. Perhaps about the turn of the year, while travelling in the less rugged districts was still feasible, St. Paul reached Ephesus, and entered on a long residence there, certainly of two years, almost certainly of two years and three months—that is, if 19[10] *τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο* refers only to the disputing in the school of Tyrannus, and excludes the three months of the synagogue preaching, 19[8]. It is true that in the case of the stay at Corinth (see just above) the later and fuller calculation is inclusive and not exclusive of the earlier and briefer: for Ephesus, on the contrary, the supplementary evidence of Ac 20[31] *τριετίαν . . . οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην* appears to decide the question in favour of a total length of considerably over two years of residence. The period thus reckoned terminates at earliest in March or April A.D. 55. [A departure not before spring is confirmed by the evidence of the two Corinthian Epistles. 1 Co, written about the paschal season (March 30–April 6 in A.D. 55), announces a plan for leaving Ephesus after Pentecost, for travelling through Macedonia, and perhaps wintering in Corinth (1 Co 5[8] 16[5-8]),—a plan which would provide for a much longer, though less immediate, visit to Corinth than the original intention of going there on the way to Macedonia (cf. 2 Co 1[16] and 1 Co 16[7] *οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἄρτι ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν*). The Ephesian riot may have even precipitated the departure before Pentecost (Ac 20[1]).] At some time, then, in the spring of A.D. 55, St. Paul launches himself on a new cycle of wanderings, intended to include Macedonia, Achaia, Jerus., and Rome (19[21]). [2 Co implies that he had planned to preach at Troas, and stayed there long enough to find an opening, but ultimately hurried on into Macedonia, the sooner to meet Titus and the news from Corinth (2[12. 13]).] Through Macedonia he travelled slowly, visiting as he went the Churches of the 2nd journey, and possibly founding others (20[2] *διελθὼν τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα καὶ παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ*), until he reached Greece proper, or 'Hellas.' There, or

in other words in Corinth, he stayed three months—obviously the winter months of A.D. 55–56, since the return journey brought him to Philippi just in time for the passover (March 18–25 A.D. 56), 20^{6}. This longer route through Macedonia was a sudden substitute, at the time of starting, for the direct voyage to Pal. (20^{3}), and the party had to hurry in consequence if the distance from Philippi to Jerus. was to be covered in the six weeks between the end of the paschal season and Pentecost (20^{16}). A week (six days) was spent at Troas, and another at Tyre, perhaps while waiting for weather or ships; but the journey between these two places was made with only necessary halts, and appears to have occupied not more than a fortnight. The days that remained to spare were spent at Cæsarea (21^{10}), and Jerus. was probably reached just in time for the feast.

St. Paul's Captivities.—At Jerus. St. Paul was arrested (May A.D. 56), and conveyed thence to Cæsarea, where his imprisonment, though not of a rigorous character, had lasted a full two years (*διετίας πληρωθείσης*, 24^{27}) when Porcius Festus succeeded Felix in the middle of A.D. 58. Festus, unlike his predecessor, gave a fairly prompt hearing to the case ($25^{1.\,6.\,13.\,23}$), and late in the summer St. Paul, having appealed to Cæsar, was sent, with other prisoners, in charge of a centurion to Rome. But the voyage was much delayed by contrary winds, and they were still off Crete at a time when the great fast (Tisri 10=*circa* Sept. 15 in A.D. 58) had already gone by—how long gone by St. Luke does not say (27^{9}). Even if the wreck took place as late as the beginning of November, and the three months at Malta (28^{11}) are reckoned to the full, the voyage was continued early in February, before navigation would naturally have begun; but no doubt an official on government business would be more likely than ordinary folk to risk sailing at an unpropitious season. Anyhow, somewhere in the early months of A.D. 59 St. Paul may be believed to have arrived in Rome, and after 'two whole years' (*διετίαν ὅλην*, 28^{30}), *i.e.* in the spring of A.D. 61, the book of the Acts closes, and leaves him still a prisoner; though the mention of the particular period suggests that a different condition of things supervened at the end of it, in which case the release, and visit to Spain, would follow at this point. [See for the rest of St. Paul's life, *supra*, pp. 420b 421a.]

Thus the second portion of the Acts, from the beginning of the 1st M.J. (13^{2}–28^{31}), covers a period of fourteen years, certainly not less, and apparently not more; and if the starting-point was rightly placed in A.D. 47, the fourteen years will come to an end in A.D. 61.

(*B*) The Epistles of St. Paul.

Of these the Pastoral Epistles fall outside the Acts, and have been dealt with already (p. 421a). The two to the Thess. were written in the company of Silas and Timothy, the first not long after leaving Athens, 1 Th 1^{1} $3^{1.\,2.\,6}$, 2 Th 1^{1}; that is to say, during the long stay at Corinth on the 2nd M.J., A.D. 51 (50–52). The two to the Cor. fall, the one just before, the other soon after, the departure from Ephesus for Macedonia, towards the end of the 3rd M.J., A.D. 55 (see above, p. 422b). The Epistle to the Rom. belongs to the winter residence at Corinth, A.D. 55–56 (Ro 16^{1} $15^{23\text{-}26}$=Ac 19^{21}). The Epistles to Philippi, Ephesus, Colossæ, and to Philemon belong in all probability to the Roman imprisonment, A.D. 59–61. But the one Epistle which contains something of a chronology of St. Paul's life (Gal 1^{18}–2^{1}), the one Epistle which would bring together a point in the second half of the Acts with a point in the first, is also, from the absence of allusions to contemporary history, unfortunately the most difficult to date of all the Epistles.

Date of the Galatian Epistle.—(i.) Resemblance of style and subject-matter has generally led critics to assign Gal to the second group of Epistles, with 1, 2 Co and Ro, or even to a particular place in that group, between 2 Co and Ro (so Lightfoot, *Galatians*[5], pp. 44–56), *i.e.* on the chronology above adopted, in the latter part of A.D. 55. But perhaps too much stress has been laid on such resemblances taken alone,—as though St. Paul's history was so strictly uniform that a given topic can only have been handled at a given moment,—and too little on the influence of external circumstances to revive old ideas or call out new ones. Thus the Philippian and Ephesian letters belong to the same period; but the difference of conditions between the 'Asiatic' province and a Romanized community in Macedonia has produced a marked difference of topics and illustrated a marked progress of thought. Conversely, Gal and Ro may grapple with the same problems on the same lines (and yet what an alteration of tone between the two!) without being at all nearly synchronous with one another. The Galatian Epistle must be earlier than the Roman, earlier, that is, than A.D. 56; nothing more can be asserted positively, so far. (ii.) At the other end, the *terminus a quo* for the Epistle is the 1st M.J.; thus, even if addressed, as is probable, to the Churches then founded, it falls after A.D. 48. Further, the phrase in 4^{13} 'because of weakness of the flesh I preached the gospel to you *τὸ πρότερον*,' implies *either* some considerable lapse of years, 'in the old time,' *or* a second visit 'on the former of my two visits.' With the first alternative a date as late as A.D. 53–55 is possible; with the other, the Epistle must fall between the second and third visits, *i.e.* between the spring of A.D. 50 and the autumn of A.D. 52 (*supra*, p. 422).

[Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 189) dates the letter from Antioch S. immediately before the third visit, and finds a reason for this precision in the assertion that so critical a situation must have called of necessity for a prompt personal inspection; but it might be urged with at least equal reason, from Gal 1^{6} *οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε*, that the interval after St. Paul's last visit—whichever that was—had not been a long one.]

Visits to Jerusalem in the Galatian Epistle.—For the date, then, the years A.D. 50–55 remain open; and therefore St. Paul when he wrote had paid according to the Acts either three visits to Jerus.,—Ac $9^{26\text{-}30}$ after the flight from Damascus, Ac 11^{30} 12^{25} the contribution for the famine, *c.* A.D. 46, Ac $15^{4\text{-}30}$ the apostolic Council, A.D. 49,—or four, adding to the three former Ac 18^{22}, the flying visit at the end of the 2nd M.J., A.D. 52. In the Epistle, on the other hand, two visits only are named, the first a fortnight's visit to Cephas (Gal 1^{18}), the second an official visit of the representatives of Gentile to the representatives of Jewish Christianity (Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$). Thus, even if St. Luke's enumeration is exhaustive, St. Paul omits either one or two visits altogether. But if this seems a difficulty, the solution is simple; St. Paul is enumerating, not his visits to Jerus. *per se*, but his visits for intercourse with the elder apostles, *πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους* (Gal 1^{17}), and would necessarily omit any visit when they were absent. What, then, of the occasion when the famine contribution was brought to Jerusalem? If St. Luke mentions only elders or presbyters as the recipients of the bounty (Ac 11^{30}), the natural, though of course not the only possible, explanation is that the elders—that is, the local ministry with St. James the Lord's brother at their head—were by that time the supreme authority. Certain it is that, whether gradually or at some definite moment, the Twelve did separate themselves from the Church at Jerus., and became more completely the missionaries which after all their commission from Christ and their very title of 'apostles' meant them to be. After the persecution of Herod they are never mentioned at Jerus. save during the Council of ch. 15. Doubtless, they returned from time to time, as opportunity offered, to keep the feasts like other Jews; but neither at St. Paul's fourth nor at his fifth visit is there the least hint of their presence. [If the ancient tradition that the apostles, according to divine command, remained at Jerus. for twelve years after the Ascension (*Prædicatio Petri*, ap. Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5; Apollonius ap. Eus. *HE* v. 18: Harnack, *o.c.* p. 243; von Dobschütz, *Texte u. Unters.* xi. 1, pp. 52, 148) substantially represents historic fact, as may well be the case, then A.D. 41 or thereabouts will mark their departure.] Here is ample reason for St. Paul's silence about the visit of Ac 11. 12 and (if the Epistle was written after the summer of A.D. 52) that of Ac 18. Thus the first visit of Gal

corresponds with the first of Ac; the second of Ac is omitted; and the second of Gal answers to the third of Ac (A.D. 49).

[This connexion of Gal 2^{1-10} with Ac 15 is generally accepted, and a strong argument for it is the common atmosphere of crisis which pervades both narratives, told though they are from different points of view. Ramsay, however (*St. Paul*, pp. 153–166), strongly maintains that the second visit of Gal can only be the second of Acts. Some of his points have been answered here by anticipation; some illustrate the *micrologie* which Harnack, not wholly without cause, attributes to him, *e.g.*, that the same visit cannot be said in St. Paul to have been κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, Gal 2^2, in St. Luke to have been by commission from the Church of Antioch, as though the Spirit and the Church never spoke in harmony. Very attractive, however, is the identification of St. Paul's 'emissaries from James' (Gal 2^{12} τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου) with St. Luke's 'emissaries from Judæa' (Ac 15^1 τινὲς κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας), for this would make St. Peter's desertion of the Gentile Christians at Antioch to precede and not to follow his championship of their cause at Jerus., and would be a real point of superiority over the common view that St. Peter and St. James gave a formal pledge of brotherhood, and then violated it. But this identification of the two Judaizing missions from Jerus. to Antioch may be accepted side by side with the ordinary view that Gal $2^{1ff.}$ = Ac 15, *if Gal.* 2^{11-14} *be allowed in order of time to precede Gal* 2^{1-10}. There is nothing like the ἔπειτα of Gal $1^{18.\ 21}$ 2^1 to suggest that the chronological series is continued. On the contrary, St. Paul's argument may perhaps be best paraphrased as follows: 'I have not received my gospel from the elder apostles. I went up to their headquarters at Jerus., not on my conversion, but first at an interval of 3 years, and then at one of 14; the first a private visit, the second an official one, when I treated with them, and was recognized by them, on equal terms. So far from simply submitting to them, I once publicly rebuked their chief on the occasion when he was on my ground at Antioch, and backed out of his own liberal principles under pressure from representatives of James.' If this interpretation be correct, Ramsay has failed indeed to prove his main point, but has shown the way to a subsidiary rearrangement of much importance. The dispute at Antioch may then be placed in the winter (A.D. 48–49) before the Council, at which St. Peter 'employs to others the argument that had convinced himself.']

Date of St. Paul's Conversion.—The second visit of Galatians being thus identified with the Council, the date has already been fixed as in all probability A.D. 49 (above, p. 422[a]); and this visit itself was 'at an interval of 14 years' (διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν, Gal 2^1), while the first visit was '3 years after' the conversion (μετὰ τρία ἔτη, Gal 1^{18}). But are the 14 years of the second visit also to be reckoned from the conversion (11 years, therefore, from the first visit), with Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 382, or from the first visit (17 from the conversion), with Lightfoot, *ad loc.*? The Greek suits either alternative; the argument favours the former, for St. Paul would naturally state the intervals at the highest possible figure. The first of the synchronisms established above (p. 416[a]) gives weight to the same side; when St. Paul came to Jerus. on his first visit, he had just fled from the ethnarch of Aretas at Damascus (2 Co 11^{32} = Ac $9^{25.\ 26}$), and Aretas probably did not become master of Damascus till A.D. 37. But the addition of the 3 to the 14 years would throw back the first visit to A.D. 35–36, probably beyond the time of Aretas, and the conversion to A.D. 32–33, whereas the inclusion of the 3 in the 14 would put the conversion in A.D. 35–36, and the first visit under Aretas in A.D. 38.

(*C*) The first half of the Acts: chs. 1–12.

Thus, from the dates established in the second half of the Acts, it is possible, by means of the Epistles, to argue back to the first half of the Acts and to reach two rough dates for the conversion of St. Paul (Ac $9^{1ff.}$), A.D. 35–36, and for his first visit to Jerus. (Ac 9^{26}), A.D. 38. It remains only to adjust, by the help of these points, the division into periods (see p. 421[b]), which is the single hint at a chronology supplied by St. Luke in the earlier part of his work. St. Paul's conversion apparently followed not very long after St. Stephen's martyrdom, and that, in turn, is the first event recorded in the 2nd section of the Acts (9^1 8^3 6^{7-9}). The first period of relatively undisturbed progress will then end about A.D. 35, having covered six years from A.D. 29. The second period, marking a commencement, but only a commencement, of conflict, begins in A.D. 35, and the last event mentioned in it is St. Paul's first visit to Jerus., A.D. 38; but the peaceful development implied in the summary of this period (9^{31}) justifies, perhaps, the extension of the period as far as A.D. 39–40. The third period ends with the record of advance in 12^{24}, after the death of Herod in A.D. 44, and before St. Paul's second visit (at any rate before its conclusion) at the time of the famine in A.D. 46, and lasts altogether from A.D. 39–40 to, say, A.D. 45. That the chronology here adopted results in a more or less even division of periods—i. from A.D. 29; ii. from A.D. 35; iii. from A.D. 39–40; iv. from A.D. 45–46; v. from A.D. 50; vi. from A.D. 55 (to A.D. 61)—such as St. Luke seems to be contemplating, must be considered a slight step towards its verification. On the other hand, Harnack's chronology, which puts St. Paul's conversion in the same year as the Crucifixion, or, at latest, in the following, allotting even in the latter case no more than about 18 months to Ac 1^1–9^{18}, neglects these period-divisions altogether.

Conclusion.—This article may be concluded by a comparison of the dates here adopted (col. ii.) with schemes preferred by three representative writers—Harnack (col. i.), who throws everything early; Lightfoot (col. iv.), who throws all the latter part late; and Ramsay (col. iii.), who investigates independently, but is nearer to Lightfoot than to Harnack.

	H.		R.	L.
Crucifixion	29 or 30	29	30	[30]
St Paul's conversion	30	35–36	33	34
1st visit to Jerus.	33	38	35–36	37
2nd " "	[44]	46	46	45
1st M.J.	45	47	47	48
Council at Jerus., 2nd M.J.	47	49	50	51
Corinth reached late in	48	50	51	52
4th visit to Jerus., 3rd M.J.	50	52	53	54
Ephesus left	53	55	56	57
5th visit to Jerus., arrest at Pentecost	54	56	57	58
Rome reached early in	57	59	60	61
Acts closes early in	59	61	62	63
St. Peter's martyrdom	64	64–65	80	64
St. Paul's martyrdom	64	64–65	65	67

If these several schemes are brought to the test of agreement with the ten results established on a balance of probabilities in the first half of this article, it follows with regard to each in turn—

1. That certainly Harnack (A.D. 33), and probably Ramsay (A.D. 35–36), put St. Paul's first visit to Jerus., and therefore his flight from Damascus, earlier than it seems that Aretas can have obtained possession of the latter city.

2. That for the death of Herod Agrippa I., A.D. 44 is accepted in all schemes.

3. That Harnack, at least, puts the return from the second or famine visit to Jerus. [A.D. 44?] considerably before the famine can have begun.

4. That no scheme puts the 1st M.J. and visit to Cyprus (A.D. 45, 47, 48) in either of the two years which are impossible for Sergius Paulus' governorship.

5. That all schemes bring St. Paul to Corinth (autumn of A.D. 48, of 50, of 51, of 52) under Claudius; but that if Orosius' date for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome (A.D. 49–50) is correct, then, since Aquila's arrival immediately preceded St. Paul's (Ac 18^2 προσφάτως ἐληλυθότα), Harnack's date is certainly too early; Lightfoot's certainly, and Ramsay's possibly, too late.

6. That all schemes make St. Paul appear before Gallio at Corinth (A.D. 49–50, 51–52, 52–53, 53–54) in a possible year for the latter's proconsulship; but that the earliest of these years, Harnack's, is not a likely one.

7. That, in the same way, Harnack's scheme makes St. Paul appear before Felix and his wife

Drusilla at Cæsarea (A.D. 54), in the earliest possible year of the marriage.

8. That Harnack puts the recall of Felix and arrival of Festus too early (A.D. 56) to suit the evidence of Josephus, just as Lightfoot puts it too late (A.D. 60) to suit the evidence of Tacitus, and that a date equally distant from these two (A.D. 58) is perhaps best of all.

9. That Harnack's year for St. Paul's arrest (A.D. 54), and still more Lightfoot's (A.D. 58), are less easy to reconcile with the chronology of the passover at Philippi than A.D. 56 or 57.

10. That Lightfoot's year, and, to a less extent, Ramsay's year, for the release of St. Paul from the first Roman captivity, are difficult to reconcile with his martyrdom in A.D. 64–65.

The evidence from these synchronisms, taken individually, does not pretend to amount to demonstrative proof; but the whole of Harnack's scheme, and all the latter part of Lightfoot's, appear to contradict them at too many points to be entertained. Of the other two, Ramsay's is perhaps nowhere superior, and at several points inferior, to that of the present article, which is recommended as a consistent and fairly satisfactory harmonization of a good many results which, like the sticks in the faggot, are separately weak, but together strong.

LITERATURE. — The received view depends on Wieseler's *Chronol. d. apost. Zeitalters*, 1848. The English reader may find it expounded in Venables' tr. of Wieseler, in Lewin's *Fasti Sacri*, 1865, or in Lightfoot's *Biblical Essays*, pp. 216–233, posthumously printed from notes of a course of lectures delivered in 1863, but seeming, in essentials, to represent his latest views. Most recent English writers had accepted this chronology without question, until Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895 (see also for some points his *Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893), subjected it to partial re-examination and restatement. His main contention, the identification of the visits of Gal 2[1-10] and Ac 12[25], has not met, and is perhaps not likely to meet, with much acceptance; but in spite of this, and in spite of an unnecessarily dogmatic tone, his contribution to the subject is a real and substantial one, and the present article is very much more indebted to him than to any other writer. German books have in the main acquiesced in Wieseler's results, *e.g.* Schürer's invaluable *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ed. 2, 1886–1890. Some Roman Catholic writers, indeed, clung to the system which throws back the chronology of St. Paul's later life by four or five years behind Wieseler's; and these have been now reinforced by Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, 1895, pp. 21–24, who does not commit himself beyond a trenchant criticism of the received view, and by Harnack, *Chronol. d. altchristl. Litteratur bis Eusebius*, i. 1897, pp. 233–244, whose adhesion is thoroughgoing, though his treatment of the evidence is unequal and unsatisfactory. C. H. TURNER.

CHURCH (ἐκκλησία). — For the history of the word ἐκκλησία and its relation to such Heb. terms as קָהָל and עֵדָה, see art. CONGREGATION.

In the present art. we shall discuss—

I. DEFINITION OF CHURCH IN NT.
II. THE ACTUAL CHURCH.
  (*A*) Conditions of Membership.
  (*B*) The Life of the Church.
    i. The Public Worship.
    ii. Christian Rule of Conduct.
  (*C*) The Single Community. Its Functions and Organization.
  (*D*) The whole Church.
III. THE IDEAL CHURCH.

I. DEFINITION OF THE CHURCH IN NT. — Ἐκκλησία is used in NT of a single community of Christians, or of the sum of the single communities, the whole body of Christians. In the last sense, two points of view are possible, and both are found in NT. We may think of the Church as an 'empiric matter of fact,' *i.e.* as a collection of individuals, the *actual* Church, or we may cease to think of the Church as a noun of multitude and regard it as a single individual entity, the *ideal* Church. The second point of view is closely related to the first. If we ask what is in the minds of the writers in this usage, we find that ultimately they are thinking, not of a single entity, but of a collection of individuals. So when St. Paul says the Church is the 'body' or 'bride' of Christ, he is really expressing under the figure of a single entity, the Church, the relation in which Christ stands to the individual members. There is, however, a real difference between the conception of actual and ideal Church in two respects. (1) The conception of the actual Church regards it as it really is, *i.e.* a body of individuals of various degrees of imperfection; while the *ideal* Church is a body whose members represent the ideal of membership, *i.e.* it is a perfect Church, or at least one free from the negative aspect of evil. (2) The actual Church is composed of the members who are still alive and in the world at the time of speaking; while the conception of the ideal Church does not denote a definite number of members at a definite time, but implies a membership independent of time. The latter is, in fact, an ideal, not an empirical, body. Hence it splits off from the later conception of the 'invisible' Church, *i.e.* the Church as composed of all its members, dead and living; for it refers neither to dead nor living Christians, but to an indefinite body of members belonging to no time, present, past, or future, because it is a timeless ideal conception.

The conception of the Church in NT stands in so close a relation to two other conceptions, viz. the 'people of Israel' and the 'kingdom of God,' that it is necessary here to say something as to the connexion between these ideas.

(*a*) *The Church and the People of Israel.*—The Jewish nation, by the crucifixion of the Messiah, brought down upon themselves their final and irrevocable rejection. Jews were called upon to save themselves from 'this crooked generation' (Ac 2[40]). Since Christ came there was 'none other name under heaven which is given among men wherein we must be saved' (4[12]). It was no longer enough to live after Moses; it was only by accepting the baptism of Christ that the Jew could obtain remission of sins. But at the outset the Christian still remained a Jew. His new profession did not absolve him from the law and the institutions of Moses. So the Church starts as a society *within* the Jewish nation. The distinction is already to hand between the actual Isr. and the true people of God. The believers are the 'remnant' (cf. Ro 11[5]) in the actual Israel, which is the preparation for the restored and perfected Isr. of the prophets. The Christ, who has already once appeared, is waiting for 'Israel' to repent and believe on Him, that He may come again and all things be restored (Ac 3[19-21] 5[31]). All that do not accept Him shall be utterly destroyed from among the people (3[23]). Here, then, we see the Church identified with the *people of Israel*, but distinguished, on the one hand, from the existing Jewish nation, and, on the other, from the restored Isr. of prophecy. The 'second coming' is to see the identification of the actual with the ideal Isr., by the incorporation of those who believe on Christ with the latter, and the destruction of the unbelievers. So in the Messianic age, Church and ideal Isr. and actual Isr. will be one and the same, but at present they are distinguished. It was necessary, however, that this view should be modified when the admission of Gentiles was permitted without demanding circumcision from them. The previous conception of the Church and of the future restored Isr. was confined to the exclusively national ideals of Jewish tradition. It did not travel beyond the 'Israel after the flesh.' In the Pauline conception, however, the Church is still regarded as the chosen folk, but a distinction appears between Isr. 'after the flesh' (1 Co 10[18]) and the 'Isr. of God' (Gal 6[16]). God has taken from the heathen a 'people for his name' (Ac 15[14]), and in this new Isr. 'they are not all Isr. which are of Isr.' (Ro 9[6]). The faithful remnant within Isr., which before was identified with the Church, is now but a small part of it. The 'oracles of God' are no longer entrusted to the Jewish nation, for the Christians have succeeded the Jews as the vehicles of inspiration (Eph 3[5], He 1[1, 2], cf. with 2[3, 4]). The Church, then, stands over against the actual Isr. as a non-Jewish spiritual Israel. In the picture of Ro 11[16-24], the Church is an olive tree in which the patriarchs are the 'root,' the unbelieving Jews are rejected branches, and the Gentiles new branches grafted in from the wild olive. At the same time, to the Jewish and primitive Christian, belief in a restoration of the natural Isr. to the position of a world-subduing kingdom (cf. Ac 1[6]) succeeds the idea of the kingdom of God as Christ Himself conceived it, *i.e.* the universal rule of Christian principles, a cosmopolitan instead of a national conception.

(*b*) *The Church and the Kingdom (of Heaven) of God.*—The fundamental conception underlying the various meanings of the kingdom of God is that of the *Kingship* (βασιλεία) of God or Christ. Βασιλεία in Greek was a word with a wider range of significance than we generally attach to the Eng. word 'kingdom,' and the shades of meaning which it bore determine also the different conceptions of the kingdom of heaven. We have thus (*α*) the abstract sense of βασιλεία, *i.e.* those moral and spiritual qualities which are in consonance with the will of

God. It is thus that St. Paul says, 'the kingdom of God is . . righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost' (Ro 14^{17}); or that Christ compares it to the hid treasure and the pearl of great price (Mt 13^{44-46}); or that He says, 'Seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness' (Mt 6^{33}, Lk 12^{31}). 'The k. of God is within you' (Lk 17^{21}). It is probably also used in this sense in the expressions, 'the glad tidings (or the gospel) of the kingdom' (Mt 4^{23}, Lk 8^{1} etc.), 'to preach the kingdom' (Lk 4^{43}, Ac 20^{25} etc.). (*β*) In a concrete sense the establishing of such a rule considered as an *event*. We have here two points of view from which such an event might be considered. (1) As soon as Christ's teaching found disciples, the kingdom was already established; or if we regard the miraculous power of Christ over nature, we might say with Him, 'if I by the spirit of God cast out devils, then is the k. of God come upon you' (Mt 12^{28}, cf. Lk 11^{20}). From the point of view of the kingdom already established, it is compared to the rapid growth of a mustard tree (Mt $13^{31.32}$), or leaven spreading through meal (*ib.* 33). (2) A future establishment of the kingdom. This idea is especially connected with the second coming of Christ 'with the angels of his power, in flaming fire' (2 Th 1^{8}, cf. *ib.* 5. 8-10), the establishment of the kingdom in power (cf. Mt 3^{2} 6^{10}, Lk 17^{20}, 1 Co 15^{50-54}). A third but rare use is (3) the present rule of God in heaven (2 Ti 4^{18}, cf. Lk $23^{42.43}$, Jn 18^{36}). (*γ*) Βασιλία = sphere of rule, not so much local, as in the prevailing use of 'kingdom,' but in the sense of the society or community over which the rule extends. This meaning has also two variations corresponding to the first two meanings of (*β*). They are (1) the actual society of professing Christians, including good and bad members: so in Parables of the Tares (Mt 13^{24-30}), the Draw-net (*ib.* 47-50), and the Wedding Garment (*ib.* 22^{1-13}), but always with a reference to (2) the blessed society of those who are admitted to the kingdom at the second coming, when it is established with power in its perfection. As the society of the blessed, to be rejected from which is eternal misery, its membership is the reward of faithful service; cf. the expressions, 'Theirs is the k. of heaven' (Mt $5^{3.10}$, cf. Lk 6^{20}), 'to enter into, to inherit the k.' (Mt 5^{20}, Ac 14^{22}, Gal 5^{21}, Col 1^{13}, and many other places).

Of these meanings ἐκκλησία coincides only with the last. It does not *per se* connote any moral or spiritual qualities, *e.g.* we would not say, 'The Church is righteousness and peace and joy,' etc. Nor could we use the word ἐκκλησία of an event. It is properly a *collective* noun, denoting the people of God. Even when it is spoken of ideally or as a person, the fundamental meaning is still that of God's folk.* The 'kingdom of God' is then a very much wider conception than 'Church.' Where the two occur side by side (Mt 16^{18}), the 'kingdom' appears as the future and heavenly counterpart of the Church. The 'bindings' and 'loosings' of the latter shall be counted valid in the former; cf. the words 'on earth' (=Church), 'in heaven' (=kingdom), *ib.* 19 18^{18}, cf. Jn 20^{23}.

II. THE ACTUAL CHURCH is the society of Christians, or a part of it.

(*A*) *Membership.*—The necessary qualifications for membership were repentance of former sins and submission to baptism in the name of Jesus Christ (Ac 2^{38}), which carried with it the demand of faith in Christ. The privileges of membership acquired at baptism were: (1) The Christian became reconciled with God through appropriating to himself Christ's satisfaction for sin (Ro 5^{10} 6^{4-7}, Col $1^{21.22}$). His past life of sin no longer stood against him in his account with God. He was justified. (2) He was sanctified, and henceforth was called 'holy' (ἅγιος), because he belonged to God by the consecration of baptism (1 Co 6^{11}). (3) He received the gift of the Holy Ghost (Ac 2^{38}) as a supernatural power within him. (4) He was admitted to the common life and sacraments of the Christian brotherhood. On his part, in turn, he was bound, so far as he could, to live up to the high standard of that life, 'to put on the new man, which after God hath been created in righteousness and holiness of truth' (Eph 4^{24}).

(*B*) *The Life of the Church.*—The new life, to which the convert was introduced by his baptism, was the practical expression of the relation in which he stood to God as a member of His 'people.' His life was henceforth given up to the service of God. And that service was the worship of God in the public gatherings of worship and in the holiness of his private life. So we may consider the life of the Church under these two aspects: (1) the public worship, (2) the Christian conduct.

* He 12^{23} πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων is not to the point as an instance of a distinctively Christian usage of ἐκκλησία. It is plain from the connexion with πανηγύρει that ἐκκλησία is used here in a quite general meaning, 'assembly,' without reference to its technical Christian significance.

i. *The Public Worship.*

This subject divides itself into two branches: (1) Occasional ceremonies. These were the rites of baptism and ordination. We hear nothing of special forms of service in connexion with marriage or burial. (2) Ordinary services. These were also of two kinds: (*a*) a public (*i.e.* not confined to Christians) service, which was of a didactic ('edification,' 1 Co 14^{26}) and missionary character; (*b*) the 'breaking of the bread,' a private (*i.e.* confined to Christians) act of worship.

(1) Occasional Ceremonies.—(*a*) *Baptism* was the rite by which the convert was formally admitted as a member of the Church (Ac $2^{41.42}$). It was therefore (Mt 28^{19}) to be administered to every Christian without exception. St. Paul always takes it for granted that his hearers have been baptized (*e.g.* Ac 19^{3}, Ro 6^{3}, Col $2^{11.12}$). It is indeed regarded as necessary for salvation that a man should have undergone this ceremony (Jn 3^{5}), which saves the Christian as the ark saved Noah (1 P $3^{20.21}$). At the same time, it is never regarded as a merely mechanical means of salvation, but is contrasted with circumcision by its spiritual significance (Col $2^{11.12}$), and the subjective element (*i.e.* faith and a good conscience) is insisted upon as the necessary accompaniment of the ceremonial act, if the receiver would obtain its advantages (1 P 3^{21}). The ritual of baptism consisted of an immersion of the baptized person in water (Mt 3^{16}, Mk 1^{10}, Ac 8^{38}). The baptizer accompanied the act with the formula 'in the name of Jesus Christ' (Ac 2^{38} 8^{16} 10^{48} 19^{5}, cf. Ja 2^{7}), or more fully 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' (Mt 28^{19}, *Didache* 7). No limitations are expressly mentioned in NT which forbid us to suppose that the right to baptize did not belong to every Christian, but as a matter of fact we find no instances of persons baptizing except those with some sort of recognized position of authority. Our Lord (Jn 4^{2}) and the apostles (Ac 10^{48}, 1 Co 1^{17}) generally avoided baptizing in person, and relegated the duty to helpers and assistants. See BAPTISM.

(*b*) *Ordination.*—Every Christian had a *charisma* (=gift, talent), the nature and degree of which determined his position and duties in the community. But while the *charisma* in most cases is considered as coming direct from the Holy Ghost to the individual at the time of or after his baptism, without any further human agency, in some instances a *charisma* was bestowed through the 'laying on of hands.' The 'laying on of hands' in OT was the symbolic act of conveying a gift (as in blessing Gn 48^{14}, appointing to office Nu 27^{23}) or a curse (as the scapegoat Lv 16^{21}). In the case of our Lord the 'laying on of hands' was especially attached to the miracles of healing (*e.g.* Mt 9^{18}, Mk 5^{23} etc.), and He left to His disciples the power of healing through the same act (Mk 16^{18}). In the apostolic age it is also found in connexion with healing (Ac $9^{12.17}$ 28^{8}). It thus had the significance of a miraculous power. In the passages where it is mentioned as an accompanying or supplementary ceremony to baptism, the miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost attends its employment (cf. Ac 8^{18} διά, *i.e.* the 'laying on of hands' is the instrument by which the Holy Ghost was given in this instance), and is contrasted with the ordinary gift of the Holy Ghost through baptism. So, too, when a man was to be 'set apart' for a particular work, he receives a special 'gift' for its performance through the 'laying on of hands.' This is especially mentioned of the Seven (Ac 6^{6}), the mission of Barnabas and Saul (Ac 13^{3}), and the work of Timothy at Ephesus (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}), and it appears in the Pastoral Epp. as the regular form of ordaining a bishop or deacon (1 Ti 5^{22}). It was accom-

panied by prayer (Ac 6^6 13^3) and fasting (13^3). We find the 'laying on of hands' performed by apostles (Ac 6^6 8^{17} 19^6, 2 Ti 1^6), by an ordinary disciple at the command of the Holy Ghost (Ac $9^{12.\ 17}$), by the prophets and teachers at Antioch under similar circumstances (*ib.* 13^3), by the presbytery at Ephesus (1 Ti 4^{14}).

(2) *The Regular Worship.*—We turn now to the regular services of the early Christian Church. At the first the community met for the purpose of worship daily (Ac 1^{14} 2^{46}), and we find no intimation or allusion that any day was marked with more solemnity than the others. But at a later period the 'first day of the week' is singled out from the rest and observed with especial honour. The first occasion on which we meet with this is in 1 Co 16^2 'upon the first day of the week let each one of you lay by him in store' his contribution to the collection. Then Ac 20^7 we notice the disciples of Troas gathered together on the first day of the week to break bread. By themselves these two instances could not be pressed. But in Rev 1^{10} there is a mention of '*the* Lord's day,' τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, which appears as κυριακὴ κυρίου in the *Didache* 14^1, and as κυριακή simply in Ignatius (*ad Mag.* ix. 1). These all hang together with the fact recorded by all the evangelists that on the first day of the week Christ rose from the dead (Mt 28^1, Mk 16^2, Lk 24^1, Jn 20^1). The resurrection of Christ was the foundation of Christian hope (1 Co $15^{17\text{-}19}$), and therefore the day of the resurrection was *par excellence* the Lord's day (see Ignatius, *loc. cit.*, Ep. Barn. 15), and when it became impracticable for the 'breaking of the bread' to be celebrated daily, it was celebrated with careful regularity on this day (*Did.* 14^1; Pliny, *Epp.* x. 96, 'stato die convenire'). To what precise date this practice goes back in Christian history we cannot say. St. Paul (Ro 14^5) speaks of those who esteem one day above another, and those who esteem every day alike, but he is here probably referring to the Jewish Sabbath. The Jewish Christians themselves observed the Sabbath, and some attempted to force its observance upon the Gentiles (Gal 4^{10}, Col 2^{16}). But the Sabbath and method of its observance are especially distinguished from the **Lord's day** [cf. Ign. *loc. cit.* 'no longer sabbatizing (σαββατίζοντες), but living according to the Lord's day,' and Ep. Barn. *loc. cit.* Sabbaths are not pleasing to God, 'therefore we observe the eighth day for rejoicing']. On the early history of the Christian Sunday, see esp. T. Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, cap. vi.

Of the existence of yearly festivals we have no intimation at all in NT. The Jewish Christians still observed the Jewish feasts (Ac 2^1 20^{16}, 1 Co 16^8). There is no allusion in 1 Co $5^{7.\ 8}$ ('Our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ, wherefore let us keep the feast,' etc.) to the observance of Easter. The context shows that the apostle is not speaking literally. The starting-point of his theme is the comparison of the Church to a 'new lump' from which the old leaven has been purged out. 'We, too,' he says, 'as well as the Jews, have a Passover lamb; therefore let us keep the feast . . . with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.' His imagery is borrowed from the distinctively Jewish passover, but the lesson drawn applies to the whole Christian life, not to any special occasion—ἑορτάζωμεν is rather 'keep festival' than 'keep *the* feast.' It is noticeable, however, that in the later Paschal controversy both parties referred to apostolic usage (see Eus. *HE* v. 23, 24), in view of which we are not justified in drawing an argument from silence against the apostolic foundation of the Easter festival, and the exact date of its institution must be left an open question.

In 1 Co we find that St. Paul presents to us a picture of two kinds of Christian worship. In ch. 14 is described a meeting whose chief aim is mutual edification; in $11^{17\text{-}34}$ one of a very different character and ceremonial, the purpose of which is to 'eat the Lord's Supper' (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον). In the same way two kinds of religious observance are distinguished in the account of the primitive Church (Ac 2^{42}), 'the breaking of bread and the prayers.' It is not quite certain whether ταῖς προσευχαῖς here refers to the public prayers in the temple which the Christians attended (*e.g.* 3^1), or to the meetings of the community; but as the writer is describing the salient elements distinctive of the *Christian* life, the latter has a slight balance in its favour. In any case there is abundant evidence (*e.g.* Ac 1^{14} $2^{4.\ 46.\ 47}$ $4^{24\text{ff.}\ 31}$ etc.) that the Christians at this time held assemblies for worship distinct from the 'breaking of the bread.'

This distinctively Christian worship was not held to take the place of the temple services, which were attended with scrupulous regularity (Ac 3^1). Neither—and this, of course, refers not only to the first days of Christianity—did it take the place of individual private prayer (cf. Ac 10^9 16^{25}, Eph 6^{18}, Ph 1^4).

(*a*) The *public* service.—The purpose of this service was before all things edification, and this not only for those who were already believers, but also for unbelievers. It had, then, a missionary aspect, and for this purpose was made as public and open as possible. At Jerus. it took place especially in the temple as long as this was permitted (Ac 2^{46} 3^{11} 5^{12}), or in some public place (Ac 2^4, cf. ^{6}). Unbelievers were welcome to attend and listen (1 Co 14^{23}). Every Christian had received the Holy Ghost and a 'gift' as the 'manifestation of the Spirit' within him (see 1 Co $12^{7\text{ff.}}$). Whatever was the gift he possessed, he was bound to put it at the service of the community and use it in harmonious working with the whole (*ib.*$^{12\text{ff.}}$). But if we look through the lists of gifts in Ro $12^{6\text{ff.}}$, 1 Co $12^{8\text{ff.}}$ we see that there are some (*e.g.* miracles, healings) which would not qualify their possessors to contribute to the worship of the community. So we find a distinction drawn in 1 P $4^{10.\ 11}$ between the gifts of speaking and the gifts of ministering (διακονεῖν = contributing by personal help or offerings to the common support). To the former it fell to take part in the public worship. St. Paul mentions (1 Co 14^{26}) as constituent elements of this service 'a psalm,' 'a teaching,' 'a revelation,' 'a tongue,' 'an interpretation.' The division is not a rigid one: a 'psalm' might be also a 'tongue' (cf. *ib.*^{15}). Nor is the enumeration exhaustive; prayer is not included, though it formed an integral part of the service (cf. 11^4). We may then, perhaps, divide as follows: (*a*) teaching, (*β*) prayer, (*γ*) praise.

(*α*) *Teaching.*—We are only considering here the place occupied by teaching in the services. We must treat later of the wider question of teaching in general. A discourse formed part of the service in the Jewish synagogue where it was connected with the reading of an appointed portion of the OT Scriptures (Lk $4^{20\text{ff.}}$, Ac 13^{15}; see Vitringa, *de Syn. Vet.* Bk. III. pt. i. c. 5, pt. ii. c. 12; Schürer, *HJP*, § 27). We have several instances of discourses in the Christian services (*e.g.* Ac $20^{7\text{ff.}}$), and there is no doubt the 'teaching' in these assemblies took the form of one or more discourses. But the question of public reading is not quite so obvious. It is, however, on *à priori* grounds quite probable in itself, and is supported by certain supposed allusions in NT. Thus Timothy is told (1 Ti 4^{13}) to 'give heed to reading, to exhortation, and to teaching'; and the writer of the Apoc. alludes to the arrangements for the public reading of his book (Rev 1^3, cf. Col 4^{16}). Somewhat later there arose a separate office called that of the 'reader,' whose duty it was to read in the public services (see Harnack, *Die sog. apost. Kirchenordnung*, 'Texte u. Unt.' Bd. ii. Hft. 5).

(*β*) *Prayer* was made standing (Mk 11^{25}) or kneeling (Ac 20^{36} 21^5) with uplifted hands (1 Ti 2^8). Even if the words of the prayer were uttered by one person only, the prayer was regarded as that of the whole congregation. Thus in Ac $4^{24\text{-}30}$ the prayer is given verbally, but is ascribed to the whole assembly ὑμνοῦμεν ἦραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπον. We must not press this too literally, as if all actually spoke in the words given. It may

mean that they followed it, and by their 'amen' at the end identified themselves with the speaker; or perhaps they repeated his words audibly after him; cf. Ac 20[36] σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς προσηύξατο. All prayer did not, however, consist of definite language. The indistinguishable 'glossolalia' comprised prayer as well as praise (1 Co 14[14]), and such 'prayer with the spirit' was incomprehensible, both to the speaker and to the hearers, unless it were interpreted by one who had the gift of interpreting tongues. The object of the prayers would vary with the occasion. The necessity of the moment supplied the Church with the material for its daily supplications (cf. Ac 12[5]). We find, however, in addition to these occasional topics, injunctions to establish certain prayers as a permanent part of the worship. Such were prayers for the advance of the gospel preaching through the apostle (Ro 15[30], Eph 6[18], Col 4[3], 2 Th 3[1], cf. 1 Th 5[17], He 13[18]); prayers for the civil rulers and all men (1 Ti 2[1]); prayers for erring members (Ja 5[16], 1 Jn 5[16]). But no special form of prayer is laid down to be followed. Of a formulated liturgy of prayer we find as yet no signs, but there are expressions in NT which bear the appearance of more or less stereotyped formulæ. Such are especially (1) the form of salutation, 'Grace to you (and mercy) and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ,' which occurs with variations in the opening of all the Pauline Epp., and also of 1 P, 2 P, 2 Jn, Jude, and Rev: (2) the benedictions, 'The God of peace be with you' (Ro 15[33]), 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you' (*ib.* 16[20]), or the much fuller form, 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all' (2 Co 13[14]). These occur also in similar form at the close of all the Pauline Epp., He, 1 P, and Rev. The form of these opening and concluding prayers is in all cases so much alike, that it may very well represent the prayers of salutation and benediction with which the services were begun and finished, differing verbally in different churches, but agreeing in the main. Their liturgical aspect in NT is heightened by the frequent addition of 'amen' (*e.g.* Ro 15[33], Gal 6[18]). The long prayer with which Clement of Rome concludes his Ep. to the Cor., and the set forms of prayer given in the *Didache* (chs. 9, 10), have a strong affinity with Jewish prayers, which suggests that the Church may have for some time used forms of public prayer borrowed from these sources.

It is remarkable that, except in the Gospels, we hear nothing in NT of the **Lord's Prayer**. It is not quoted at all, nor can we find instances in NT language which can be said to contain any distinct reminiscences of it. But in the *Didache* (ch. 8) the Christian is commanded to repeat the Lord's Prayer three times daily, which proves how universal its use became in the sub-apostolic age.

(γ) *Praise, i.e.* the giving of thanks (εὐχαριστεῖν), the act of blessing (εὐλογεῖν), of praising (αἰνεῖν), or of glorifying (δοξάζειν) God. Like prayer, it could be expressed in ordinary language, or in the 'tongue' (1 Co 14[6]). (See TONGUES.) From its more emotional character, it lent itself more to the latter than was the case with prayer. Examples of praise are to be found in the doxologies which occur with great frequency in the Epistles, *e.g.* Ro 9[5] 16[25], Gal 1[5], Eph 3[20], Ph 4[20], 1 Ti 1[17], 2 Ti 4[18], He 13[21], 1 P 4[11] 5[11], 2 P 3[18], Rev 1[6]. These, again, are given a liturgical form by the 'Amen' which almost invariably follows, but the language is not so stereotyped as in the case of the salutations and benedictions. We see also in sublime outbursts of praise, such as Ro 11[33ff.] or the hymns of the Apoc. (*e.g.* Rev 4[11] 11[17] 15[3] etc.), examples of praise in freer and less stereotyped form than in the doxologies. We perceive in them the most intense religious emotion. Language of so sublime and ecstatic strain easily passed into the form of song. The singing of a 'psalm' or 'hymn' by a member of the congregation was the form which the giving of praise frequently took (Ac 16[25], 1 Co 14[15. 26], Eph 5[19], Col 3[16], Ja 5[13]). Specimens of these extempore hymns are preserved in Lk 1 or in Rev (*loc. cit.*). Possibly, too, in rhythmic passages such as 1 Ti 3[16], Rev 15[3. 4] are preserved fragments of hymns sung by the whole congregation together. As in the case of prayer, the congregation made the ascription of praise a corporate act by saying 'Amen' at the close (1 Co 14[16], Rev 5[14] 19[4]).

The *forms* in which the teaching or prayer or praise might be delivered were three. From the *prophet* it came as a direct revelation from God, with all the force of a verbally inspired message, expressed in ordinary language, and therefore needing no explanation of its meaning. From the *speaker in a tongue* also it came as an 'inspired' utterance (Ac 2[4] 'to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance'), but the language was incomprehensible to the hearers, and to the speaker himself, unless they possessed a further gift, viz. the power to interpret tongues (see 1 Co 14). From the others it did not come as an inspired utterance, but the teacher spoke with greater weight and authority, as one who had received, in a special degree, the 'gift of teaching' from the Holy Ghost. The 'teacher,' by virtue of his gift, ranked higher than the 'speaker in a tongue.' He stood next to the apostles and prophets in the divinely appointed order of the Church (1 Co 12[28]).

To the necessity which St. Paul felt of correcting certain abuses in the Cor. services we are indebted for an interesting picture of these meetings (1 Co 14[26-35]). In their eagerness to exercise the gifts of which they were conscious, the Cor. Christians had made their services scenes of confusion. Members did not wait for one another to finish speaking. If a prophet received a 'revelation,' he stood up at once and delivered it while another was still speaking. Again, both the prophets and the 'speakers in a tongue' had allowed their enthusiasm to lead them to excess. The prophet unconsciously added a subjective element to his message. The 'speaker in a tongue' indulged his zeal without troubling whether the others understood what he meant. To prevent this confusion, the apostle lays down the following checks: (1) Not more than one to speak at a time; each must wait his turn. (2) The one who is speaking to stop if he perceives another waiting to deliver a 'revelation.' (3) The 'speaker in tongues' is not allowed to speak unless an interpreter be present. (4) The 'revelation' of the prophet is to be checked by those who possess the gift of 'discerning spirits' (διάκρισις πνευμάτων, cf. 12[10]). St. Paul does not mention a president in the meetings, and he addresses himself directly to the congregation, as if everything were to be decided at their discretion. But it is almost impossible to suppose that there was no one to direct and manage the gathering, *e.g.* to appoint the time of meeting, to declare the opening and closing of the service, etc. There is no doubt that work of this kind is included in the labour of those 'presidents' described in 1 Th 5[12], though we cannot go the length of saying that ἐν Κυρίῳ is a special allusion to these services.

Women were present at the services, and contributed to the worship (1 Co 11[5], cf. Ac 21[9]). St. Paul directs that they shall keep their heads covered during worship, while the man shall pray with uncovered head (1 Co 11[4. 5]). Both at Corinth (1 Co 14[34]) and at Ephesus (1 Ti 2[11. 12]) he forbids women to take an active part in the services, and the general language in which he speaks shows that he enforced the same rule in all his churches.

(*b*) The '*breaking of bread.*'—The expression ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου in Ac 2[42] refers to something more than an institution of common meals. It is indeed doubtful, in the light of 6[1. 2], whether a system of universal common meals existed at all. But in any case the double repetition of the article ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου would be strange unless the term were technical, and referred to a special breaking of a special bread. And such we find to be the case in 1 Co 10[16], where the expression 'the bread which we break' refers to a religious act, and in 11[20], where the eating of the bread forms part of an act of worship called 'eating the Lord's Supper,' and its significance is to 'proclaim the Lord's death till he come' (*ib.* 26). From the action of Christ at the institution of this sacrament, the technical name by which it became known was 'the breaking of the bread.' The expression occurs sometimes without the article (*e.g.* Ac 20[7], *Didache* 14[1]), where there can be no doubt as to its technical use. In some places (*e.g.* Ac 2[46] 27[35]) it may refer to an ordinary meal. The only other name which is given to it in NT is the **Lord's Supper**, 1 Co 11[20], which refers, however, to the whole meal of which the κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου was the central act. As early, however, as the *Didache* (9[5]) the word εὐχαριστία is used to express the same thing (cf. also Ign. *ad Smyrn.* ch. 7).

By its nature this service was of a much more private character than the other. It was not held in public, with free admission for non-members, but restricted to baptized Christians (*Didache* 9[5] 'Let none eat or drink of your Eucharist save those who are baptized in the name of the Lord'). It was the secrecy with which the Christians shrouded the Eucharist that gave rise to the absurd accusations which were popularly brought against them. At the same time, it seems, when possible, to have been made the occasion of a general meeting of the *whole* Church, rich and poor (Ac 20[7], 1 Co 11[18. 22. 33]).

The 'breaking of bread' originally took place daily (2[46]). In the *Didache*, however, it is enjoined weekly, on the Lord's day (cf. also Ac 20[7], 1 Co 16[2]). It was held in the evening, as on the occasion of its institution (cf. Ac 20[7ff.] and the word δεῖπνον (=evening meal) in 1 Co 11[20. 21]). The whole ceremony was a 'remembrance' of the last supper which Christ ate with His disciples before His death. It was therefore made a common meal, of which the 'breaking of the bread' and the 'drinking of the cup' were a part (cf. 1 Co 11[20ff.], *Didache* 10[1] μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι). To this common meal each brought his share. Chrysostom (*Hom.* 27 *in* 1 *Co* 11, § 1) says that in place of the original community of goods the Christians 'observed common meals on appointed days, and having gathered together after sharing the mysteries, they partook of a common feast, the rich bringing the viands, and the poor, who had nothing, being invited by them, and all feasting together.' The aspect of the meal as an act of love on the part of the rich is supported by the words καταισχύνετε τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας in 1 Co 11[22], which mean the poor generally, not those who have not houses. The common meal was called the 'love-feast' (ἀγάπη, found in NT only in Jude[12]. The right reading in 2 P 2[13] is probably ἀπάταις WH, not ἀγάπαις). Though at first occurring at the same time as the 'breaking of bread,' which formed part of it, the two were afterwards separated, and the Eucharist held in the early morning, while the Agapæ still took place in the evening; so first in Pliny, *Epp.* x. 96. See Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, ii. 312.

St. Paul gives us a picture of this act of worship as it was celebrated in Corinth at the time, which we can supplement by other hints in NT. A discourse preceded it in Ac 20[7. 11], but it is clear that this was not the case in Corinth, for the apostle complains that each one, as he arrived, at once ate up the food he had brought with him, without waiting for the rest (1 Co 11[21. 33]). During the meal came the formal 'breaking of bread' (cf. 1 Co 10[16]), probably with a prayer of thanks (cf. εὐχαριστήσας in the accounts of the institution by Christ, and the prayer of thanks in the *Did.* 9[2]). All present then partook of the bread thus consecrated (1 Co 11[26]). Then perhaps *after* the meal (cf. *ib.* [28] 'after supper') a cup containing wine (this is more probable than Harnack's theory that water was used, cf. Mt 26[29], Mk 14[25], 1 Co 11[21]) was 'blessed' (1 Co 10[16]), and all drank from it (11[26]). The prayers of thanks (εὐχαριστία) by which the bread and wine were consecrated probably varied with the occasion. In the *Didache* (ch. 9) formal prayers are prescribed, but the prophets present are allowed to 'give thanks' (εὐχαριστεῖν) in words of their own choice (ὅσα θέλουσιν), 10[6]. There is some doubt as to whether the bread or the wine came first in the order of service. In Lk 12[17ff.] (WH), 1 Co 10[16], *Did.* 9, the blessing of the cup is placed before that of the bread. In all other places, however, the cup follows the bread, and this has always been the traditional order in the Christian Church.

LITERATURE.—On the early Christian services the following books may be consulted: Rothe, *De Primordiis cultus sacri Christianorum*, 1851; Abeken, *Der Gottesdienst in der alten Kirche*, 1853; Harnack, *Der christl. Gemeindegottesdienst*, 1854; Volz, 'Untersuch. über die Anfänge des christl. Gottesdienstes,' in *SK* vol. i. 1872; Jacoby, 'Die constitutiven Faktoren des apost. Gottesdienstes,' in *JDTh* vol. xviii. 1873; Weizsäcker, 'Die Versammlungen der ältesten Christengemeinden,' in *JDTh* vol. xxi. 1876; Seyerlen, 'Der christl. Cultus im ap. Zeitalter,' in *Zeitsch. für Prakt. Theol.* 1881; H. A. Köstlin, *Gesch. des christl. Gottesdienstes*, 1887; Jülicher, *Zur Gesch. der Abendmahlsfeier in der alten Kirche*, 1892; F. Spitta, *Zur Gesch. u. Litt. des Urchristenthums, Die urchristl. Trad. über Ursprung und Sinn des Abendmahls*, 1893. (For wider literature on Eucharist, see art. LORD'S SUPPER.) The histories of the Apost. age usually contain chapters on this subject. For these see general literature at the end.

ii. *The Christian Rule of Conduct.*

(1) *The Christian in his Private Life.*—By baptism the Christian died to the world, and so the negative, prohibitive, sphere of law had no longer any meaning for him (Ro 6[3], Col 3[5-12], cf. Gal 2[19] 5[24]). His life was consecrated to Christ (Ro 12[1-2]), who is its goal (Ro 14[8], Ph 1[21]), its example (Ph 2[5], 1 P 2[21-24]), and the source of its spiritual strength (Jn 6[48], 2 Co 12[9], Eph 4[16]). His body is the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6[19]), a member of Christ (*ib.* [15]), and therefore personal holiness and purity are his natural condition. The near expectation of the second coming of Christ led to two practical results: (*a*) a holy enthusiasm which buoyed him up under every trial with the consciousness that the present evils were only transitory (Ro 8[18. 23], 2 Co 1[22] 5[4-6], Eph 1[14] 4[30]), and would be succeeded by a glorious future (Ro 6[8], 1 Co 15[53], Col 3[3ff.]). Death itself is welcomed as a quicker realization of this (Ph 1[21]). (*b*) A severe and stern discipline of self. Men waited in hourly expectation of Christ's appearance (1 Th 5[2], 1 Jn 2[18]). It was then no time to give oneself up to feasting. Even marriage and family cares are regarded as competitors against the service of the Lord, which should absorb every thought and feeling (1 Co 7[34. 35]). The Christian must be ever on his guard, watchful and vigilant, fasting (cf. Ac 13[3] 14[23], *Did.* 7[4]–8[1]), ever in arms against temptation (1 Th 5[8], Eph 6[10-17]), and pray without ceasing (1 Th 5[17]). His mind is set on things above, not on things that are upon the earth (Col 3[2]). But as he is on the earth he has to perform his human duties and to bring into all his relations with fellow-men principles in accord with this high and ideal life.

(2) *The Christian and his Fellow-Christians.*—The central principle of Christian ethics is love, the practical expression of faith, πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη (Gal 5[6]). Faith without works is dead, says St. James (2[26]), and St. Paul is at one with him, for above faith he puts love (1 Co 13[13], cf. *ib.*[2]), and love does not exist apart from works of love (cf. 1 Jn 3[18]). Love is the 'end of the charge' (1 Ti 1[5]), the bond of perfection (Col 3[14]). And this love was chiefly exercised towards the fellow-Christian (Gal 6[10]). The name of 'the brethren,' by which the Christians denoted their fellow-believers, was especially significant. It implies descent from a common ancestor, membership in the same family, and was used among the Jews to denote their fellow-countrymen, the 'sons of Israel' (*e.g.* Ex 2[11], Dt 18[15], Ac 2[37] 3[17]). So when applied by Christians to one another it introduced the idea of a tie as strong as that of blood relationship binding them to one another. The love of the brethren (φιλαδελφία, He 13[1]) manifests itself in a spirit of humility, gentleness, and kindness to all (Gal 5[22] etc.), in obedience and gratitude towards the workers and rulers in the Church (1 Co 16[16], 1 Th 5[12], He 13[17]), forbearance of the stronger towards the weaker (Ro 15[1], 1 Co 10[33], 1 Th 5[14]), charity to the poor (Ro 12[8], 1 Ti 6[18], He 13[16], 1 Jn 3[17]), compassion and help to the suffering and helpless (He 13[3], Ja 1[27]), and hospitality to all who need it (Ro 12[13], 1 Ti 5[10], He 13[2], 1 P 4[9]). By the strength of this Christian love is realized the truth of the gospel, that all outward distinctions of rank, nation, and sex are abolished in the common participation of membership in Christ (Gal 3[28], Col 3[11]). At the same time, it is important to remember that even within the Christian community concrete social reforms were not aimed at, except so far as was demanded by the new morality. In the expectation of the second coming, social and political questions were matters of secondary importance. The general principle of St. Paul was that a man should stay in the position in which the 'call' of God was received (1 Co 7[18]), and work truly and honestly in that position (1 Th 4[11], 2 Th 3[10-12]) until the Lord came. So the relations of rich and poor still remain, but are softened by the duty of charity; slavery is not abolished (Eph 6[5-9], Col 3[22]–4[1], 1 Ti 6[2], Philem), but its sting withdrawn by the proclamation of a higher equality; the current view of woman's position is accepted (1 Co 11[3. 7-10], 1 Ti 2[11ff.]), but toned down by the same truth (cf. 1 P 3[7]). In regard to marriage, indeed, new principles were introduced which the laxity of heathen and even Jewish views made necessary on moral grounds. St. Paul (1 Co 7) in view of the second coming discourages the unmarried from seeking marriage, in accordance with his general principle, 'let each man wherein he was called, therein abide with God' (v.[24]). But he condemns those who would forbid marriage on ascetic grounds (1 Ti 4[3]; cf. the same teaching in He 13[4]), and sanctifies the relation of man and wife by comparing it with that of Christ and His Church (Eph 5[32]). The reform which Christianity introduced was the sacred inviolability which it gave to the marriage bond by forbidding divorce (Mt 19[9], 1 Co 7[39]). The question of remarriage, after the death of one party, is somewhat doubtful. The injunction as to bishops and deacons (1 Ti 3[2. 12], Tit 1[6]) that they should be the husbands of one wife, and to widows (1 Ti 5[9]) that they should have had one husband, were interpreted in the 2nd cent. as prohibitions against a second marriage. But this remarriage is recommended in the case of younger widows (1 Ti 5[14], cf. 1 Co 7[39]), which leaves the question doubtful. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that the apostle would speak in such moderate language if he were referring to bigamy.

The natural result of this nobler conception of marriage was to quicken the sense of natural affection between husband and wife, parent and child (Eph 5[22]–6[4], Col 3[18-21] etc.), and to establish those beautiful family relations which distinguish the Christian home.

The chief difficulty in the way of mutual intercourse within the Church was the traditional exclusiveness which the Jewish Christian brought with him into the Church. The exact relation of Jew and Gentile Christians was one of the most perplexing problems of the apostolic age. St. Paul held with regard to his own relation to the law that, in the abstract, belief in Christ

made him free (*e.g.* he says of himself, 'not being myself under [the principle of] law,' 1 Co 9[20]). But he rated far above this abstract claim to freedom, the love which he owed to his 'brethren in the flesh,' and so to the Jew he became as a Jew, and observed the commands of the law (*e.g.* Ac 18[18] 20[16] 21[26] 28[17]), although he recognized that a man could be saved, not by the works of the law, but only by faith; cf. Gal 2[16]. As regards the Gentile, however, the apostle of the Gentiles fought for the freedom which he thought the Jew should abstain from claiming. His position, that the Gentile should be free from circumcision and the law, was confirmed by the conference at Jerus., and at the same time the further question of daily intercourse between Jew and Gentile was also settled. It was assumed, as a matter of course, that the two should mix freely and without restraint; but to lessen the offence which this intercourse would give to Jewish instincts, the Gentile was required to abstain from things offered to idols, from blood, and from things strangled. (These prohibitions were possibly conceived as 'concrete indications of a pure and true religion,' and only indirectly as concessions to Judaism as they were specially reverenced by Jews. This explains the perplexing addition 'and from fornication.' See Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 68–73.) Thus was established a *modus vivendi* for those communities in which Jew and Gentile converts were to be found together. It is too much to assume from Ja 2[2] that in such communities the Jews had their separate 'synagogue,' and lived apart. The author is writing from the standpoint of things as they were in his own church, *i.e.* where the community included only Jews who had formed themselves into a synagogue congregation. The incidents related in Gal 2[11-14] presuppose a close and daily intercourse (especially in the way of meals) between the Jewish and Gentile communities. If St. Paul condemned so strongly in this instance a reaction to the exclusiveness from which a break had been made, it is certain that he would not have encouraged the establishment of such a system in any of his own churches. We are therefore confident that in all Pauline churches the Jews, like the apostle, and even St. Peter himself (cf. Ac 10[48] 11[3]), did not refuse to mix with the Gentiles, even if to some extent the two did fall into separate congregations. And intercourse of any kind implied a mutual give-and-take. The Jew resigned his instinctive and traditional hatred of the Gentile and lived as a Gentile (ἐθνικῶς ζῇν, Gal 2[14]). The Gentile had to subordinate his γνῶσις to the principle of love (1 Co 8[1]), that he might give no cause of stumbling to Jews. And there were grades between the pure Jew and the pure Gentile. The 'proselyte of the gate' on becoming a Christian naturally felt an instinctive sense of obligation towards the whole or parts of the law. St. Paul has in his mind, not only Jews, but the class of σεβόμενοι in Ro 14[5]. And Ro 14[1. 2], 1 Co 8[1-13] 10[23-33] must be understood generally without exclusive reference to Jew or proselyte.

In the mixture of religions from which Christianity drew converts, there were many scruples, serious enough to those in whom they were ingrained from childhood, but which might draw a smile of contempt from the man of 'knowledge.' St. Paul's line of teaching is that their observance or non-observance is accidental, but that the principle of love, which enjoins respect and forbearance towards them, is essential (see Ro 14[15-17], 1 Co 8[13]).

(3) *The Christian and the World.*—The earliest persecutions proceeded, not from the Romans, but from the Jews, either publicly, where they were allowed a measure of local authority (*e.g.* Ac 4[1-22] 5[17ff.] 9[1. 2], 2 Co 11[24]), or in the way of private maltreatment. The Jews succeeded in some instances in raising Gentile mobs against their enemies (*e.g.* Ac 9[23ff.] 13[50] 14[2]). On rarer occasions the hatred of the Gentiles was aroused by personal losses occasioned through Christian teaching (Ac 16[19ff.] 19[24ff.]). But the Roman government and its responsible representatives neither originated nor supported these persecutions. Its attitude was one of indifference (*e.g.* Gallio in Ac 18[17]) or active protection (cf. Pilate's attitude Mt 27[18-24], the authorities at Thessalonica Ac 17[9], Ephesus 19[35ff.], Jerus. 21[32] 23[17ff.]). The Jewish accusation, that the Christians were rebelling against the Romans and setting up another king, was never regarded seriously by the government (cf. Lk 23[2], Jn 18[33], Ac 17[7]). On occasions of tumult, indeed, Christians were apprehended as the apparent causes of disturbance, and treated with the rough-and-ready method of Roman provincial justice (Ac 16[22] 22[24]); but this was a universal practice, and not confined to Christians. The period of official persecution did not begin till Nero opened it in 64. So the Church looked to the Roman government as a protector rather than a persecutor (cf. 2 Th 2[7]). Those especially who were fortunate enough to possess the Roman citizenship found it a great safeguard against injustice (Ac 16[37] 22[25] 25[10-11]). These facts prepare us for the attitude of favour observed by Christian teachers towards the civil authorities, although they do not wholly account for it, since the principles upon which civil obedience is enjoined are independent of personal like or dislike. 'The powers that be are ordained of God,' says St. Paul (Ro 13[1]). The Christians are exhorted to obey and respect them as the representatives of divine justice (Ro 13[1-6], Tit 3[1], 1 P 2[13-17]), to pray for them (1 Ti 2[2]), to pay them tribute as their due (Lk 20[25], Ro 13[6. 7]).

From Pliny's letter to Trajan (*Epp.* x. 96) we find that the government regarded the Christian communities as clubs (*hetæriæ*), and the Christians acquiesced in this official definition of their position.

As regards the social and industrial world around them, the Christians did not cut themselves off from their former ties to a greater extent than was necessary. The regulation of St. Paul was, that each should remain as he was until the Lord came. So the believing husband or wife is not to leave an unbelieving spouse (1 Co 7[12ff.], cf. 1 P 3[1]). If the unbeliever depart, the believer is, however, not under bondage to follow. But this applies only to marriages contracted before the conversion of the one party. When this is not the case the believer is enjoined not to marry with an unbeliever (1 Co 7[39] 'she is free to marry whom she will only in the Lord,' *i.e.* a Christian husband, cf. 2 Co 6[14]). On the same grounds the slave is advised not to seek his freedom (1 Co 7[21]), but to do his duty to an unbelieving master as to a believer. We hear of Christians, too, carrying on their former professions, *e.g.* physician (Col 4[14]), tentmakers (Ac 18[3]), soldiers (Ac 10[1], Ph 1[13]), public officers (Ac 16[33], Ro 16[23]), purple dyers (Ac 16[14]), lawyer (Tit 3[13]), and as traders generally (Ja 4[13]).

A difficult question was the extent to which a Christian should join in heathen social gatherings. There was a danger in so doing, not only because of the actual immorality connected with them (1 P 4[3. 4]), but also on the grounds of the ordinances against eating meat sacrificed to idols. St. Paul does not wish to cut his congregations entirely off from their former connexions (*e.g.* 1 Co 5[10]). He does not forbid them to accept an invitation to dine with a heathen (1 Co 10[27]), but leaves it to the individual judgment, 'if ye are disposed.' In regard to the scruple against εἰδωλόθυτα, he recommends the Christian to eat what is given without question; but if the fact be forced upon him that it is an εἰδωλόθυτον, to refuse it for the sake of conscience and example (1 Co 10[27. 28]). We find that some of the advanced liberal party at Corinth even attended the feasts in heathen temples. This St. Paul forbids, not only as 'sinning against the brethren and wounding their conscience when it is weak' (1 Co 8[12]), but also on the deeper ground that, in the interpretation put upon it, it is really an act of idolatry (*ib.* 10[15ff.]). At a later period it was made a general ground of complaint against the Christian that he held aloof from social gatherings (1 P 4[4]),

In his contact with unbelievers the Christian had to remember that the law of love extends to all men, although it found a greater outlet for its expression in the relation of Christian to Christian (Mt 5[44-48], Ro 12[20], Tit 3[2]). The same principles of honesty and charity were, accordingly, to be observed also towards 'them which are without' (Ro 12[17], Gal 6[10], Col 4[5], Ph 4[5], 1 Th 3[12] 4[12]), even towards the persecutor (Ro 12[14]), that thus the believers, by their life and conduct, might appeal to and touch the best conscience of the heathen world (1 Ti 3[7], 1 P 2[12]).

(*C*) *The single Community.*—The first centre of the Christian community immediately after the ascension of Christ, was the upper room in a house. Hither they returned immediately after parting from Christ to wait 'steadfastly in prayer' for the coming of the promised Holy Ghost (Ac 1[13-15]). Thus the Christian community was in its origin a house-congregation; and when it outgrew the limits of a single house, it did not form a 'synagogue' (such as those, *e.g.*, in Ac 6[9]), but spread as a number of house-congregations (cf. κατ'

οἶκον, *ib.* 2[46] 5[42]). For their general assemblies and their missionary preaching the disciples were able to meet in the temple or its precincts (5[12. 20. 42]), but for their private worship they were divided into groups, the centre of each being the household of a convert, who was able and willing to provide the necessary accommodation in his house. Thus the Church presented the aspect of a number of household groups. The same principle of division was established in other places besides Jerus., as Christianity spread farther. It appears, *e.g.*, at Thessalonica (Ac 17[7]), Troas (20[8]), Ephesus (20[20]), Corinth (1 Co 16[15]), Colossæ (Philem [2]), Laodicæa (Col 4[15]), and in Rome (assuming that Ro 16[3-16] is an integral part of the Epistle: see vv.[5. 14. 15] τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφούς). These house-congregations also bear the name of ἐκκλησία (*e.g.* Ro 16[5], 1 Co 16[19], Col 4[15], Philem [2]). The condition of the household in ancient society favoured this feature. The master of the house was its lord, and his conversion was generally followed by that of his family and dependants (*e.g.* Ac 10[24. 48] 16[33] 18[8], 1 Co 1[16]). In this way the nucleus was at once formed for a house-congregation, and doubtless isolated converts attached themselves to the church in the house of a wealthier convert. The only passage in NT which seems to imply the existence of a church, *i.e.* a building set apart for purposes of worship, is Ja 2[2] 'if there come into your synagogue,' etc. In this passage we have a picture of a Christian place of worship, with seats of honour like the πρωτοκαθεδρίαι in Jewish synagogues. Apparently, then, by the time this Ep. was written, the Jewish Christians of Jerus. (for the writer speaks from the standpoint of the conditions in his own church) had formed themselves into a synagogue and built a place of meeting (cf. Ac 6[9] 9[2]). The 'school of Tyrannus,' in which St. Paul taught at Ephesus (Ac 19[9]), was, however, not of this kind. It did not supersede the house-congregations (20[20], 1 Co 16[19]), but was used, as the context shows (v.[10]), for the missionary preaching, which had hitherto taken place in the Jewish synagogues.

The city-church was composed of a number of these house-churches, and it grew by the addition of new congregations. The first household which had received the apostle generally became the centre of these smaller groups. To its members, the first-fruits (ἀπαρχή) of the city, a special respect was due (1 Co 16[15. 16]). It had been the home of the apostle during his visit, and, in consequence, the centre of guidance and direction. In some cases the prominence of some other member caused the centre of the community to shift from the original household; *e.g.* the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, was at first the centre of church life in Jerus. (Ac 12[12]), but later (Ac 21[18]) James' house appears as the official place of meeting. The whole community met together on occasions of necessity either at this central house or some other convenient place (*e.g.* Ac 15[30] 21[18], 1 Co 5[4], 1 Th 5[27], Col 4[16]). Thus, apparently, Gaius received the community in his house when they assembled to meet their apostle and founder (Ro 16[23]). The same community met on occasions for common worship (1 Co 14[23]), though their numbers do not allow us to suppose that this could always have been the case. For the purpose of worship the house must have been the unit. But for the purpose of direction and administration the unit was not the house- but the city-congregation (cf. Ac 11[29] 13[1] 20[28]). So the apostle directs his letters to the church of the city, *e.g.* at Corinth (1 Co 1[1. 2]), because the city-church and not the house-church was the primary unit in the regulation of affairs.

The Organization of the Community.—The writer of Ac sums up the distinctive elements of the new Christian life in the words (2[42]) προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς (WH), 'abiding in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, in the breaking of the bread and the prayers.' The words go by pairs, the 'breaking of the bread' and 'the prayers' making up the common worship of the community, while the 'teaching' and the 'fellowship' cover the ground of their common life. No community can exist without organization, least of all a community in which are combined a religion and a common life. But before passing on to ask what was the nature of this organization, we must first see what was the nature of the work to be done. This will be found to group itself under four main heads: (1) The instruction of converts, (2) the collection and administration of the common funds, (3) general administration and direction, (4) discipline.

(1) *Instruction.*—When we remember how slowly the disciples assimilated the teaching of their Master, and what patient and careful labour it needed to perfect their faith, we shall realize the work which was involved in the instruction of new converts when the numbers of the Church were counted by thousands. And if this is true with regard to Jews, how much greater must have been the labour when the community included pure Gentiles, who had scarcely any knowledge of Jewish scriptures, and lacked the sound foundation of Jewish monotheism. The labour of 'watering' was not less than the toil of 'planting.' The instruction cannot have been confined to the discourse of the services, or the teaching of the apostle in person or by letter. Such a knowledge of the OT as St. Paul presupposes in Gentile converts (*e.g.* Ro 7[1], 1 Co 6[16] 9[13] 10[1ff.], Gal 4[21ff.]) could only be the fruit of long and systematic instruction. This was the main work of men like Aquila and Apollos. There was a special 'gift' of 'teaching,' and a special class of men in the Christian Church who were called 'teachers' from the exercise of this gift. Of the content of this teaching we can only say on *à priori* grounds that it must have embraced the historical facts on which Christianity is based, together with their doctrinal significance, and the practical rule of life directly grounded on the doctrine. A systematic instruction in the OT writings must have been necessary for Gentiles to understand the very frequent allusions to them and interpretations of them which occur in the Pauline Epp. (*e.g.* Ro 9[6ff.], 1 Co 10[1-11], 2 Co 3[7-15], Gal 4[21-31], cf. also 2 Ti 3[16]). This last passage shows how the doctrinal and hortatory elements are inextricably interwoven with instruction in a narrower sense. St. Paul's Epp. also are a good example of the same. The historical facts of OT and of Christ's life are regarded as facts of doctrinal significance (*e.g.* Gal 4[21-31]), and from doctrinal truths practical injunctions are drawn as their consequences (cf. the 'therefore' in 1 Co 15[58], Eph 4[17], Col 3[5. 12]).

The instruction proceeded on the Jewish method of repeated oral teaching (cf. the word κατηχέω, Lk 1[4], Ac 18[25], 1 Co 14[19], Gal 6[6]). In NT a convert was baptized as soon as he declared his belief in Christ (Ac 2[41] and often), but later the practice arose of deferring baptism until the convert had been instructed in the rudiments of the faith, and during this period he was called a 'catechumen' (κατηχούμενος). The content of the teaching had for its kernel first and foremost *sayings of the Lord* which were remembered and treasured up by those who had known Him (cf. 1 Co 7[10. 12. 25] 9[14] 11[23] 14[37], 1 Th 4[2], 1 Ti 5[18]). These floating sayings were at an early date collected into a book of the 'oracles of the Lord' (Papias ap. Eus. iii. 39), which was one of the main sources of the Gospels of Mt and Lk. To these sayings of Christ were added the divinely inspired teaching of the apostles and prophets. So there arose gradually a fixed body of teaching bearing the stamp of Christ's authority (1 Ti 6[3], 2 Jn [9]) or the apostolic approval (Gal 1[6-9], 1 Th 4[1. 2], 2 Th 2[15], 2 Ti 1[13] 2[2] 3[14], Tit 1[9]). The danger arising from the free activity of the 'teacher' was thus lessened by this firm and unalterable foundation of 'tradition,' παράδοσις, the faith handed on from one to another (2 Th 2[15] 3[6], Ro 6[17], 1 Co 15[3] 11[23], Lk 1[2]), and guarded by each as a sacred deposit (παραθήκη, 1 Ti 6[20], 2 Ti 1[14] 2[2]). This accredited teaching is also expressed by phrases such as τύπος διδαχῆς (Ro 6[17]), ὑποτύπωσις ὑγιαινόντων λόγων (2 Ti 1[13], cf. 2[2]), οἱ λόγοι τῆς πίστεως (1 Ti 4[6]). The especial frequency of such expressions in the Pastoral Epp. illustrates the more stereotyped form which this teaching assumed when death and imprisonment were removing the apostles from personal contact with their churches. The frequent recurrence of isolated dicta with the introduction πιστὸς ὁ λόγος (1 Ti 1[15] 3[1] 4[9], 2 Ti 2[11], Tit 3[8]), shows that such sayings were highly valued and carefully preserved. Finally, after the death of the apostles we have a specimen of the way in which their teachings were collected, in a work which has been preserved to us under the title 'The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles' (*Did.* 1[1]).

(2) *The Management of Common Funds.*—(*a*) *Sources of the common revenue.*—In the early days of enthusiasm nothing but the surrender of all private property would satisfy the eagerness of the converts (Ac 2[45] 4[34]). Those who had possessions sold them and laid the money at the apostles' feet as a contribution

to the common fund. This condition of things was, however, the result of purely voluntary action in each individual case, and is not to be confused with a compulsory community of goods (4^{32} 5^{4}). It was probably not universal; thus, *e.g.*, we find Mary the mother of Mark in possession of a private house (12^{12}), and Tabitha at Joppa renowned for her many alms-deeds (9^{36}), which implies that she did not hand over all her property to the Church at the time of her conversion. It differed in degree only from a later condition of things in which poor and rich were to be seen in the church (*e.g.* 1 Co 11^{22}, Eph 6^{9}, Col 4^{1}, 1 Ti 6^{17}, Ja 2^{2}). It was a voluntary *almsgiving* (Ac 4^{35}), but collective and organized instead of being individual and sporadic. The sole source of the Church's revenue remained always the voluntary offerings of the congregation. Under the head of such voluntary offerings we must include the contributions of food brought by the rich to the Agapæ (implied in 1 Co 11$^{21.\ 22}$), the furnishing of the necessary accessories (*e.g.* seats, lights, etc.) for the public worship, which was probably undertaken by the owner of the house in which the services were held, the exercise of private hospitality on behalf of the Church towards visitors from other Churches (cf. 1 Ti 3^{2} 'given to hospitality,' 5^{10} 'if she hath used hospitality to strangers, if she hath washed the feet of the saints'), and the practice of private charity (Ac 9^{36}, 1 Ti 5^{16}). (*b*) *The expenses.*—The money thus offered to the community was spent mainly in the support of the poor and helpless in the Church. Part of this charity was permanent and regular (*e.g.* the support of widows, Ac 6^{1}, 1 Ti 5$^{3ff.}$, except so far as they were provided for by private charity, 1 Ti 5^{16}, Ja 1^{27}; the support of the poor generally, Ac 2^{45} 4^{35}), and part extraordinary and occasional (*e.g.* the offerings sent to the poor brethren in Judæa, Ac 11^{29} 24^{17}, Ro 15$^{25-27.\ 31}$, 1 Co 16$^{1ff.}$, 2 Co 8–9, Gal 2^{10}). Another source of expenditure was the support of the ministers of the gospel. The labourer was worthy of his hire. They who proclaimed the gospel had the right to live of the gospel (cf. 1 Co 9$^{4-14}$, Gal 6^{6}, 1 Ti 5^{18}, 1 P 5^{2}). St. Paul remarks that he was an exception in this respect (1 Co 9^{4}), and resigned what was his right in order to avoid offence (2 Co 11$^{7ff.}$ 12$^{13ff.}$, 1 Th 2^{6}, 2 Th 3^{8}). From the Philippians alone did he receive any help (2 Co 11^{9}, Ph 4$^{10ff.}$). In the *Didache* (11–13) order is given to receive and lodge the prophet, and send him on his way with food enough to last him until the evening, but no money gifts are allowed. The resident prophets are to receive the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oxen. We see from this that the burden of supporting these officers fell on certain individuals rather than on the community as a whole, and so came only in a limited degree from public funds. To these charges we must add also the indefinite administrative expenses which would inevitably be incurred from time to time in the management of affairs. See further on this subject ALMS, COMMUNION.

(3) *General Administration and Direction.*—Under this head we must include all such work as the arrangement of times for the services and other common meetings, the ordering of the services, and the management of the thousand and one details involved in the general direction of the common affairs. To this class of duties St. Paul would add the task of arbitrating in the case of disputes among brethren (1 Co 6^{5}) to avoid the scandal of Christian attacking Christian before the public law courts.

(4) *The Enforcing of Discipline.*—To the apostles (Mt 16$^{18.\ 19}$, Jn 20$^{22.\ 23}$) and to the Church as a whole (Mt 18^{18}) Christ solemnly committed the power which He Himself possessed (Mt 9^{6} etc.) of remitting or retaining sins. These words laid on the Church the duty of enforcing discipline, of pronouncing punishment upon the sinner, or declaring his forgiveness when the punishment had been followed by repentance. Punishment and forgiveness were dealt out in the name and in the person of Christ (1 Co 5^{4}, 2 Co 2^{10}). This was, then, no arbitrary exercise of authority, but rested upon the guarantee that the decision coincided with the will of God in the matter. The disciplinary power thus belonging to the Church was in practice only exercised against sins which were a public offence to the community. It was only when an act of sinfulness became public, and therefore a scandal to the community, that the Church felt itself called upon to take cognisance of the matter. The searching out of private offences was no part of the common discipline, nor was the system of public confession yet instituted for such offences. Christians are encouraged to confess their sins to one another (Ja 5^{16}), that they may receive the benefit of others' prayers for their forgiveness (cf. *ib.* ^{15}, 1 Jn 5^{16}). From this last passage we see that there are 'sins unto death' which cannot thus find forgiveness (cf. Mk 3^{29}, Lk 12^{10}). But above all, the Christian must settle his sins with God by confession to Him and prayer for pardon (1 Jn 1^{9}), and the punishment for sin comes direct from heaven (1 Co 11^{30}) as well as through the Church. Taking cognisance, then, only of these public offences, public punishment was administered in proportion to the wrong. The lightest punishment was simple reproof. This could be administered by any Christian to a fellow-Christian (Mt 18^{15}, 1 Th 5^{14}). It assumed an official form when the rebuke was publicly administered by a person of recognized authority (1 Ti 5^{20}, Gal 2^{11}) or by the community. In case of obstinacy on the part of the sinner, or of more serious faults, the offender might be expelled from the community, and its members forbidden to speak, or eat, or have any communication with him (Ro 16^{17}, 1 Co 5$^{2.\ 11.\ 13}$, 2 Jn ^{10}). Finally, when the sin was particularly grievous the same sentence of excommunication might be accompanied with the miraculous infliction of a physical punishment (Ac 5$^{1-10}$ 8^{24}, 1 Co 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{20}), or with the imprecation of a curse (ἀνάθεμα) on the offender (1 Co 16^{22}, Gal 1^{8}). Christ Himself directed that in the case of brother wronging brother the injured person shall (1) reprove the wrong-doer in private; (2) if that fails, it is to be followed by formal reproof in the presence of witnesses; (3) in case he still refuses to repair the wrong, the matter is to be reported to the Church, by whom the offender shall be excommunicated, 'be to thee as the Gentile and the publican' (Mt 18$^{15-17}$). The object of the punishment is always reformatory and not retributory. This is the case even with the most severe sentences (1 Co 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{20}). Their purpose is not destruction, but repentance, and repentance is followed by forgiveness on the part of the injured community (2 Co 2$^{5-10}$, Gal 6^{1}, Jude 22. 23). During the time that the ban of the community is upon him the offender is not to be regarded as an enemy, but pitied as an erring brother (2 Th 3^{15}).

Under the four heads of teaching, administration of funds, direction, and discipline, we have summarized the work to be done in the government of the community. Now the question arises, In whose hands did this work lie? The problem here is wider than that of the right to take part in the public worship. There the right of speech was limited only by the nature and degree of the 'gift' received by the individual. All did not possess the higher gifts (1 Co 12$^{29.\ 31}$) of prophecy and teaching, or even the lower gift of tongues (*ib.* ^{30}). Some there were who, without being unbelievers, did not possess the special gifts which fitted a man to take part in the services (the 'unlearned' of 14$^{23.\ 24}$, cf. *ib.* ^{38}, Ja 1^{5}). He who had not a 'gift' of speaking (1 P 4$^{10.\ 11}$) was not called upon to speak. In a case, then, where the number of those qualified to take part in the service was so indefinite, we cannot press the 'each one' of 1 Co 14^{26} to mean 'every one.' There were other gifts of ministration (see Ro 12$^{6ff.}$, 1 Co 12$^{8ff.}$, and cf. 1 Co 7^{7}) besides those of the word; every Christian had received his gift according to the will of the Giver (1 Co 12^{7}, Eph 4^{7}), and each exercised it in its appropriate sphere. But though the number of those qualified to speak in the services was limited, the limit was quite indefinite as far as human recognition was concerned. How far was this so in regard to teaching and general administration?

At the head of all stand the *apostles*. This term is not confined to the Twelve. The two are expressly distinguished in 1 Co 15^{5} 'then to the twelve,' *ib.*^{7} 'then to all the apostles,' and others besides the Twelve are called apostles (Ro 16^{7}, 1 Co 9$^{1.\ 6}$, Gal 1^{19}). The conditions of apostleship were to have 'seen the Lord' and to have done missionary work (1 Co 9$^{1.\ 2}$). The superiority of the apostle's authority rested on this personal contact with Christ (cf. Ac 1^{21}), and for this reason he was of higher rank than the prophet. He received his authority from the Lord (2 Co 10^{8} 13^{10}). His teaching was irrefutable because it came to him from the Lord (1 Co 11^{23}, Gal 1^{12}). The apostles then occupied the first rank in the Church (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}). There was no branch of government in which they had not the supreme right to command. In teaching their doctrine is the norm of truth (Gal 1$^{8.\ 9}$). They lay down directions in all matters affecting the religious and social life of the community: they pronounce punishments (1 Co 5^{5}), and forgive 'in the person of Christ' (2 Co 2^{7}).

Next to the apostles come the *prophets*, who constitute the second order in the Church (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}). We find them, like the apostles, claiming and exercising an authority in every department of church direction, *e.g.* teaching (Ac 15^{32}, 1 Co 14$^{25.\ 31}$, cf. *Didache* 11), general direction (Ac 8^{29} 9$^{10ff.}$ 13$^{1ff.}$, 1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}, cf. Ignatius, *ad Philad.* 7; *Didache* 11).

These two classes of Church rulers (apostles, prophets) stand entirely above all others in the sole possession of a divine *revelation* (ἀποκάλυψις). Their command was more than human, because they spoke not of themselves, but as the direct mouthpieces of the Holy Ghost. To them have been revealed the mysteries of the gospel (cf. Gal 1^{12} 'the gospel . . . came to me through revelation

of Jesus Christ,' Eph 3^5 'which, *i.e.* the mystery of Christ . . . hath now been revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit,' cf. 1 Co 13^2). Accordingly, in whatever department of the Church's government they issue their injunctions, they speak *in the Spirit* (ἐν πνεύματι, *i.e.* under the power of the Spirit, Eph 3^5, Rev 1^{10} 4^2, cf. Ac 21^4). The Holy Ghost resided in every Christian as a power of supernatural strength; but He resided in the apostles and prophets as a revealer of God's will and purpose. The words and actions of apostles and prophets are often spoken of as the *words and actions of the Holy Ghost Himself* (*e.g.* Ac 13^2, cf.^{4} 15^{28} $20^{23.\ 28}$ 21^{11}, 1 Ti 4^1, cf. Ignatius, *ad Philad.* 7). They represent, therefore, the pure theocracy in the same way as the prophets of OT, and in the same way their authority stood above all other as the direct rule of God. In the matter of government they were the only possessors of what we should call a supernatural gift, and therefore in a pre-eminent degree had the right to rule. (The other supernatural gifts, *e.g.* tongues, interpretations of tongues, working of miracles, gifts of healing, 1 Co $12^{28ff.\ 28}$, are not gifts connected with government, and need not be considered here.) In making this division, 'supernatural' and 'natural' gifts, we are, indeed, guilty of drawing a distinction which was not present to the minds of the first Christians. To them every gift was supernatural, because it was the manifestation of the Holy Ghost in the individual. But it is a distinction which exists in the nature of things; and when the Christians regarded *revelation* as the paramount source of authority, they were unconsciously drawing a distinction between 'supernatural' and 'natural' government.

We see, then, that in the apostles and prophets rested an authority which was supreme, because it was based on revelation. Here we have the fundamental principle of NT church government, viz. direct divine rule of the Holy Ghost as expressing itself through its human mouthpieces the recipients of revelation. But the question we have now to consider is, To what extent was this principle carried out in practice? Did the apostles and prophets monopolize *all* the direction of the Church? If we look at the early chapters of Ac, we shall see that this was at first the case. Not only the general supervision, but also the executive work in all its details, falls upon the apostles (cf. 2^{42} $4^{35.\ 37}$ 5^2). But when the work grew too large for them, a division of labour became necessary, and this led to the appointment of officers called 'the Seven,' whose work was to receive the offerings and attend to the 'daily ministration' of alms to the needy (6^3). Here we see the delegation of a definite department of administration. While retaining their supremacy, the apostles surrender the actual daily working of this department to a new class of officers, who were not necessarily apostles or prophets, but appointed by popular election (*ib.* $3.\ 5$). We hear nothing further of this office after the persecution by which one of its holders lost his life, and the rest were driven away from Jerus. (8^1). When the community is reassembled, the 'presbyters' appear in connexion with the administration of funds (11^{30}). This class of persons is mentioned without introduction, and indeed government by elders was so familiar to Jews, that it is highly probable that from the first the 'heads of families' had held a recognized position of influence. Later we find these same persons forming with the apostles a committee of general management with the widest powers. The great question of Gentile circumcision was first threshed out by them (15^6; v.^{12} πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος does not necessarily imply the whole community), and their decision put before the whole Church for approval (v.^{22}). Then the letter embodying this decision is drawn up by the committee of apostles and elders (v.^{23}; the reading πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἀδέλφους is now generally abandoned). At their next appearance we find them in a similar position of authority ($21^{18ff.}$). The government of the Church at Jerus. appears in the hands of a body of presbyters with James at their head. We cannot avoid seeing here an imitation of the synagogal government among the Jews. We find with them also a body of elders who manage the affairs of the synagogue (Lk 7^3). We may notice in this connexion that the Jewish Christians call their place of worship a synagogue (Ja 2^2). Government by elders was a tradition among Jews (Nu 11^{24}, Jg 8^{14}, 1 S 16^4) which had not declined, as with the Greeks and Romans, but was still active (cf. Mt 21^{23}, Ac $4^{5.\ 23}$ 6^{12} etc.; Schürer, *HJP* § 27). When we find the term, then, used as the name of the governing body in Jerus., it is almost certain that it had a technical meaning. The 'elders' were not merely the 'old men,' but those among the old men who were selected to manage the affairs of the community. How, or on what principle, they were selected at Jerus. we do not know. But we find the presbyteral organization in other Christian communities also,—Paul and Barnabas introduced it into the Churches founded on the first missionary journey (Ac 14^{23}), — and in this case they appointed the officers at their own discretion.* Whether St. Paul continued this practice in all his Churches is at least doubtful. He speaks of those in the Church at Thessalonica who 'labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you' (1 Th 5^{12}); but we cannot prove, except by the analogy of other Churches, that these were not prophets. Writing to the Corinthian Church (1 Co 12^{28}), but speaking of the Church as a whole, he mentions 'helps' (ἀντιλήψεις) and 'governments' (κυβερνήσεις) in a list of gifts and workers. The names are vague, which suggests that he is using general terms to describe officers bearing different titles in different places. But he has already mentioned in his list 'apostles' and 'prophets,' so that he is *thinking of persons distinct from these.* This is important, because he is here describing a divinely appointed (ἔθετο ὁ θεός) arrangement, *i.e.* one which in its outlines he understood to be universal. In Ro 12^3 he mentions ὁ προϊστάμενος, but he is here speaking of 'gifts,' some of them common to all Christians, not of officers, and the same men may have combined the gifts, cf. the list of gifts in 1 Co $12^{8ff.}$. He includes, *e.g.*, 'giving' (ὁ μεταδιδούς), 'pitying' (ὁ ἐλεῶν). We find, however, another list of officers in Eph 4^{11}, where the division is apostles, prophets, evangelists,† shepherds, and teachers. From the Gr. τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους we see that he is referring to one class of persons only, and the

* The idea of popular election had become by no means an essential element in the meaning of χειροτονεῖν in later Greek. It is still seen in some instances, *e.g.* 2 Co 8^{19}, Jos. *Ant.* VII. xi. 1, but has quite disappeared in many others, *e.g.* Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiii. 9, τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένον βασιλέα. It is immaterial to our present purpose whether πρεσβυτέρους is here the name of the officers created or of the persons from whom they were chosen, but it would be a singularly abrupt way of speaking to say, 'They appointed elders for them' (*i.e.* to be rulers), χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους. In a somewhat similar passage, Tit 1^5 ἵνα . . . καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, it would be just possible that πρεσβυτέρους represents the class from which selection is made, because καθιστάναι (= to set down in a place) had a more technical meaning 'to put into office'; but even here the omission would be strange. With χειροτονέω, which had a vaguer meaning, 'to appoint,' the omission would be still more remarkable.

† The evangelist was a wandering missionary working on new ground (Ac 21^8; Eus. *HE* ii. 3, iii. 37), and not concerned with the organization of Churches already established. In 2 Ti 4^5 the word is used in a general (=preacher of the gospel) and not in a special sense. The application to the writers of Gospels is much later.

general language (πολμην is never used as the name of an officer, but to describe his position and work, cf. Ac 20[28], 1 P 5[2], Jude [12]) shows that he is thinking of functions which were universal, while the persons performing them perhaps bore different names. We find, however, presbyters at Ephesus (Ac 20[17]), whom St. Paul calls ἐπισκόπους, 'overseers' or bishops (v.[28]). The letter to the Philippians, written some years later than the events described in Ac 20, is addressed to 'the saints . . . at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons.' This is the first certain mention of these officers, for ἐπισκόπους in Ac 20[28] has probably only a general sense 'overseers,' and it is by no means certain that διάκονος in Ro 16[1] is used technically (cf. *ib.* 15[8] 12[7]), while identifications of the Seven with the deacons, though as early as 2nd cent., are only conjectural (see DEACON). In the Pastoral Epp. (1 Ti 3[1-13]) the bishops and deacons appear as the two local officers. (For the relation of presbyters to bishops, see BISHOP.) We see from these letters that it was the desire of the writer to establish a uniform organization of bishops and deacons (cf. Tit 1[5]), such as we find as an accomplished fact in the next generation (cf. the Ep. of Clement of Rome to the Cor., esp. chs. 42, 44). Amongst the Jewish Churches we find the presbyteral organization still in force (Ja 5[14]); so, too, in 1 P 5[1ff.]. We see, then, in the local Churches of the apostolic age various stages of organization, tending towards the end of that period to assume a uniform aspect. In the earlier history we find the greatest contrasts in this respect. In the Church of Jerus. we see a highly developed organization with well-marked distinctions of rulers and ruled. But if we turn to the Corinthian Church of the same time, the state of things there presented to us implies organization of a most rudimentary type. In the proud consciousness of 'knowledge' (cf. 1 Co 1[7] 8[1] 14[26]) the individual member placed too great reliance on his own judgment. The result was a forwardness and independence of action on the part of the individual in his private life and in the meetings for public worship (*e.g.* 8[10] 14[20-36]), which indicates the absence of firm central control and obedience to authority. The apostle has to teach them that love is better than knowledge or any other gift (8[1] 13), that gifts are to be exercised for the benefit of the whole, each in its place and measure (12[12ff.]). We have not, then, to deal with an iron uniformity of local organization, but with a variety of degrees. We can trace in the Pauline Epp. the following stages in the growth of organization. (*a*) At the outset the idea of *ruling* does not appear. Earnest believers come forward and, according as their gifts permit them, volunteer their services in the work of carrying out the necessary arrangements for the community, in the way of teaching, collecting, and distributing the public alms, etc. The incentive is not the desire to rule, for as yet no position of command is attached to the work, but a purely disinterested labour of love. They 'set themselves to minister to the saints,' εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς (1 Co 16[15], cf. Ac 16[15. 40] 18[25. 26. 28], Ro 16 *passim*, Ph 2[30] 4[2], 1 P 4[10]). (*b*) Those who thus volunteered were *accepted* by the apostle in the first instance. They worked under him in the task of constructing the new community. What would be, then, more natural than that in departing he should leave them in charge with instructions how to carry on the work? We cannot suppose that he went away without leaving anyone to superintend the affairs of the infant Church. Such persons are those to whom he alludes as 'presiding in the Lord,' προϊστάμενοι ἐν Κυρίῳ, 1 Th 5[12], for whom he claims the respect and gratitude due to those who have laboured for the common good. Here we have a status, unofficial indeed, but recognized by the community and the apostle. Compare the position of Stephanas at Corinth (1 Co 16[15]). (*c*) This position becomes gradually of a more definite and official character. The work of ruling gravitates more exclusively to these presidents, and the appointment becomes more definitely regarded as an appointment. In the Churches of the first missionary journey such a well-marked and definite official position followed after the lapse of, at most, a few months from the first preaching. At Thessalonica (1 Th 5[12. 13]) such a definite position is perhaps not yet established, but there are persons possessed of a recognized authority to preside and admonish. In Corinth the indefiniteness of authoritative rule, suggested by 1 Co 16[15. 16], is quite supported by the condition of things described in the Epistle, of which we have already spoken. Then in the later Epp. (Phil. and the Pastoral Epp.) we see the gradual tendency to a uniform organization of presbyter-bishops (cf. Ac 20[28] at Ephesus also) and deacons establishing itself in all the Pauline Churches. Later, as we know from the earliest Christian writings, outside NT, which have come down to us, this organization of bishops and deacons became more and more universal. Among Jewish Christians, where previous writers had spoken only of presbyters, *e.g.* Ja 5[14], 1 P 5[1ff.] (with perhaps a hint at the name bishop in 2[25]), Rev 4[4], *et sœpe*, we find in the *Didache* the Pauline system of bishops and deacons in full exercise (*Did.* 14[1ff.]). Among Gentile Churches Clement of Rome (*Ep. ad Cor.* 42, 44) supposes it to be universal. The single bishop as the centre of all authority in the community appears first at Antioch and in the Asiatic Churches of the Ignatian Epistles.*

Over against the authority of these local officers, which did not extend beyond the single community, stands the universal authority of the apostles and prophets, who constitute the foundation of the whole Church (Eph 2[20]), whose sphere of action is not limited to the single Church (cf. Ac 11[27] 21[10], *Did.* 11), though they might settle down for some length of time in one place (*e.g.* Ac 13[1] 18[11] 15[10], *Did.* 13). What was the practical relation of these two authorities in the actual working of affairs in the community?

It will be useful, first, to compare the two in regard to the method of their appointment. Every Christian possessed one or more 'gifts' of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 7[7]). These gifts were of many kinds, including all the mental, moral, and spiritual endowments of the Christian. Thus we find 'mercy,' 'almsgiving' (Ro 12[8]), 'faith' (Ro 12[3. 5], 1 Co 12[9]), 'wisdom,' 'knowledge' (1 Co 12[8]). They are the manifestations of the Spirit in the individual (*ib.* 12[7]). Every one possessing a gift is called to exercise it for the benefit of the community. Every one, therefore, is a minister to the community in his branch of service: 'each one as he has received a gift, ministering it towards one another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God' (1 P 4[10]). According, then, to the ideal of the Christian Church, there would have been no appointed officers, but each Christian would have performed his proper part of the work according to the 'gift' or 'gifts' granted to him. In the same way as the Christian was 'called' by the grace of God to be a believer, so he was 'called' by the gift of God to perform certain functions within the community. Among these gifts was that of 'prophecy.' He who possessed, then, the gift of 'prophecy' was 'called' to be an apostle or prophet. (For distinc-

* It is not probable that the 'angel' of these Churches in the Apoc. (1[20] 2[1. 8. 12. 18] 3[1. 7. 14]) is meant to be a single episcopus. The messages are given (see the language throughout) *directly* to the Churches, not through an intermediate representative.

tion of apostle and prophet see separate articles. The apostle's authority ranked higher because of his personal contact with the Lord.) So St. Paul speaks of himself, 'Paul, called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God' (1 Co 1^1). He insists strongly on the direct nature of that call, 'an apostle, not from men, nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father' (Gal 1^1, cf. Ac 20^{24}, 'the ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus'). These facts show that he does not consider the events of Ac $13^{1ff.}$, but those of his conversion, as the occasion of his appointment to the apostolate. The appointment of Matthias is not to be taken as typical. In the first place, the appointment was for a definite position, *i.e.* to fill up the number of twelve apostles; secondly, the descent of the Holy Ghost had not yet taken place, and the method of determining by 'charisma' was not yet possible. So the method here adopted (*i.e.* popular election, followed by the final selection by lot between the two thus chosen) is extraordinary.

Like the apostle, the prophet was a prophet because he possessed the gift of 'prophecy.' The Holy Spirit divideth 'to each one severally even as he will' (1 Co 12^{11}). It follows, then, that the prophet, like the apostle, received his appointment by a subjective 'call,' *i.e.* he exercised his authority without reference to human appointment or permission. St. Paul gives instructions to Timothy about the appointment of bishops and deacons, but says nothing of prophets. The *Didache* also gives instructions to elect bishops and deacons, but is equally silent as to prophets. Nor is this surprising, for the prophet was not an officer, but the exerciser of a spiritual gift. There could be no more question of electing him than of electing those who should speak with tongues. St. Paul's language in 1 Co 14 (*e.g.* ^{24} 'if *all* prophesy,' ^{37} 'if any *thinketh* himself to be a prophet or spiritual,' ^{39} '*desire* earnestly to prophesy') would be perplexing if those only were prophets who were appointed to the *office* of prophet. It presupposes that the number of prophets is not fixed, but indefinite. But, on the other hand, the 'gift' might on occasions be regarded as coming through 'ordination.' We find instances in which men were appointed to carry out a special work through a prophecy put in the mouth of others, *e.g.* Paul and Barnabas, Ac 13^2 (but, as we said above, Paul did not regard this as an appointment to the *apostolate*); also Timothy (1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}). In the case of the latter the 'gift' is described as coming to him 'through prophecy, with the laying on of hands by the presbytery' (4^{14}), or through the laying on of the apostle's hands (2 Ti 1^6). We have here a solemn transmission of gifts by the 'laying on of hands' (cf. Ac 8^{18} 19^6), which illustrates the absence of strict uniformity so characteristic of the first age of the Church. Absolutely fixed rules did not yet exist in either way; but, apparently like the possessor of any other 'gift,' the prophet, ordinarily, was neither appointed nor ordained to office, but the bearer of a 'revelation,' of which he was subjectively conscious.

But with the appointment of those who were to manage the daily affairs of the community it was different. The early condition of things in which this work was performed by the chance individual in the voluntary exercise of his gift, led (as in Corinth) to disorder. For the management of everyday administration, it was necessary, in the nature of things, that definitely recognized persons should undertake the work. The 'subjective' appointment was found to be impracticable and productive of confusion, unless confirmed by an objective recognition. And so, somewhat in the manner described above, the voluntary worker became an officer, since, from the moment that his appointment was determined by the community, or an apostle, or his delegate, organization had begun, and an office was created. The actual machinery of appointment varies considerably in NT. We find a system of popular election in the appointment of the Seven (Ac 6^5), of Barnabas and Saul to carry alms to Jerusalem (Ac 11^{30}), and of the officers appointed by the Churches of Macedonia and Corinth to take the collection to Jerusalem (2 Co 8^{19}, 1 Co 16^3). Presbyters (bishops) and deacons are appointed by the apostle (Ac 14^{23}) or his delegate (1 Ti 3^{1-13} 5^{22}, Tit 1^{5-9}, Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 42).* In the *Didache* we find a system of popular election for bishops and deacons. These appointed officers have this in common with the apostles and prophets, that they are appointed *because* they have already shown themselves qualified for the work, *i.e.* because they have the necessary 'gifts,' and the will to exercise them (cf. 1 Ti $3^{6.10}$, *Did.* 15^1). The Seven were especially selected because they were 'of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom.' Those to whom St. Paul gives a semi-official position by enjoining the community to pay respect to them, had already shown their ability for the position. Clement of Rome, *Ep. ad Cor.* 42, says the apostle 'appointed their first-fruits as bishops and deacons after testing them with the Spirit' (*δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι*) or, in other words, by first making certain that they really possessed the necessary gifts. When he speaks of the appointment of first converts to be bishops and deacons as a uniform practice of the apostles, his language is more universal than the evidence of NT warrants. This may have been occasionally true (*e.g.* Ro 16^5, 1 Co 16^{15}), but not necessarily universal.

In the significance of the word 'office' we find the keynote of the relation between the prophetic authority and that of the officers in actual practice. Theoretically, the sphere of 'revelation' covered every branch of work; in practice, the actual details of the daily management fell upon the 'officers,' while the superior authority of revelation appeared in occasional direction on great questions (*e.g.* Ac $13^{1ff.}$), or negatively in checking an abuse. Another fact is here brought before us. The apostles and prophets were largely an itinerant order. They belonged to the whole Church, not to any particular Church. Only occasionally did they settle in a particular place for any length of time. It was, then, impossible for them to carry on the daily administration of a Church in all its details. In no case does this come out more clearly than with regard to the collection and distribution of alms. This department was the first to be separated from the original centralization of all work in the hands of the apostles and put into the hands of 'officers.' Later we find it in the hands of 'presbyters' at Jerusalem (Ac 11^{30}). In Galatia (1 Co 16^1), Achaia (*ib.*, 2 Co 8. 9), Macedonia (2 Co 8^{19}), the apostle gives general instructions about the collection for the poor brethren of Judæa, but the carrying out is left to local workers. In 1 Ti $3^{3.8}$, Tit 1^7 the qualification for the office of bishops and deacons, that they should not be 'lovers of money,' 'greedy of filthy lucre,' suggests that dealing with public moneys formed a part of their duties. In Clem. Rom. *Ep. ad Cor.* 44, they are spoken of as those who 'offer the gifts,' *τοὺς . . . προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα*. The management of finance constituted in later times also one of the most important of the bishop's duties.† In the same way as the manage-

* We have here a double aspect, according as the person who appointed proceeded on a 'revelation' or his own discretion. Thus, on the one hand, St. Paul speaks of the presbyters of Ephesus as those 'whom the Holy Ghost had appointed bishops'; on the other, he gives Timothy and Titus directions as to the character of those whom they are to select for office (1 Ti 3^{1-13}, Tit 1^{5-9}), and exhorts Timothy not to proceed with too great haste in this matter (1 Ti 5^{22}), both of which suggest that he has in view a system of appointment by their human discretion, not one in which the proper persons were denoted by a revelation.

† Sohm (*Kirchenrecht*, i. 73 ff.) assigns to the prophet this function of collection and distribution on the strength of *Did.* 13^3 'The first-fruits shall be brought to the prophets.' But this passage is treating of the support of prophets and teachers by the community, not of financial management. It directs that if there are no prophets in the community, these first-fruits are to be given to the poor. And there is no other passage in which the *prophets as such* appear undertaking these duties. Occasional injunctions given by the prophet as a 'revelation' (*e.g. Did.* $11^{9.12}$) are different from permanent management. Still less is Sohm's case proved from *Did.* 15^1 *χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.* The *γάρ* in this passage is most naturally referred back to *ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου*; this is the main thought which *πραεῖς, ἀφιλαργύρους*, and *δεδοκιμασμένους* describe more exactly. But if the

ment of finance, the daily administration of discipline fell upon the local officers (cf. 1 Th 5^{12}), as well as all those general duties included in presidency.

The exact division of labour between the 'prophetic' and the local rulers naturally varied with the strength and efficiency of the local organization. In Jerus., where the local organization was very strong, the work of the prophet sinks into the background. There were prophets at Jerus. (cf. Ac 11^{27}), and their voice was heard on great occasions (*e.g. ib.* 15^{28} 'it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us'), but the presbyters are more prominent in the administration of affairs. In Corinth, where the local organization was lax to a degree, St. Paul finds it necessary to issue commands on the arrangement of a variety of matters connected with their private life and assemblies for worship, which, in a more organized community, would have been determined by the local officers. Another feature which would affect the relation of apostle and prophet to the local community, is the possibility that, in cases where the prophet was settled in a place, he was also a local ruler, *i.e.* not *quâ* prophet, but appointed in the regular way; *e.g.* Judas and Silas, who were chief men among the brethren (Ac 15^{22}), appear also as prophets (*ib.* [32]). In general, the direct rule by revelation appears as initiative in great steps (*e.g.* Ac 8^{29} 9^{10} $10^{10ff.}$ 13^{2} 16^{6} etc.).

Growth of the local Ministry.—The closing days of the apostolic age witnessed a rapid advance in the importance of the local officers. The immense growth of the Church made the personal supervision of the apostle more and more intermittent, and naturally threw more initiative on the bishops. Again, certain dangers developed themselves in regard to prophecy. There had always been a risk that the prophet should introduce a subjective element into the message as it was revealed to him. But this was not all. There arose false apostles (2 Co 11^{13}) and false prophets (Mt 24^{11}, Mk 13^{22}, 1 Jn 4^{1}, Rev 16^{13}). Against these dangers there existed a special gift called the discernment of spirits (1 Co 12^{10}). In Thessalonica (1 Th 5^{19-21}) and Corinth (1 Co 14^{29}) St. Paul found it necessary to remind the Christians to exercise discrimination in regard to the prophet's message. He lays down also (1 Co 12^{3}) an objective criterion by which the false prophet may be detected (cf. 1 Jn $4^{1ff.}$, Rev 2^{2} 19^{10}). The great rise of false prophets in later days necessarily weakened the authority of the prophet, and this, again, tended to strengthen the bishops. There are three directions in which this increased authority developed.

(1) *Teaching.*—Of course the apostles and prophets were also teachers. Teaching was one of their main functions. But, exactly as in the case of other local administration, the daily burden of drilling new converts probably did not fall on them. Their teaching was occasional. On whom, then, fell the duty of regular teaching? The existence of a regular class of persons called 'teachers' answers the question for us. These were persons possessing in an eminent degree the 'gift' of teaching (Ro 12^{7}, 1 Co 12^{8}), *i.e.* a power of grasping and imparting the truths of the Christian religion. They were not, like the apostles and prophets, guided by direct revelations, but they counted, next to these, as the third order in the Church (1 Co 12^{28}). They appear, too, in the *Didache*, as *wandering* ministers, possessing authority in all Churches, and not confined to any one single Church. Again, they were not appointed to an office of teaching, but became teachers by the voluntary exercise of their 'gift' (cf. Ja 3^{1}, 1 Co 4^{15}). They appear, then, as a middle stage between the prophetic order and the local administrators, connected with the former by their voluntary exercise of an authority extending over the whole Church, but having, in common with the latter, no claim to a 'revelation.' Teachers, in fact, represent (except that they were not confined to the single Church) the position of the local ruler, before it became transformed, by appointment, into an office. Their right to teach lay in their possession of the gift, and submission to them was the result of a voluntary respect. But every Christian was in some degree a teacher, because every Christian had the responsibility of edifying his brethren (cf. Col 3^{16}). And the local ruler was, from the very nature of his position, a teacher in a higher degree (cf. 1 Th 5^{12}). With the growth of the tendency, already described, of incorporating the apostolic teaching into an approved body of tradition, the work of handing on this sacred 'deposit' became part of the bishop's duty. Timothy is enjoined to select faithful men, and instruct them carefully in this apostolic teaching (2 Ti 2^{2}). At the same time, the voluntary teacher, who was teaching on his own lines, became discredited, in a similar manner as the prophet, by the rise of false teachers (1 Ti 4^{1} 6^{3} etc.). Everything tended, therefore, to throw extra weight upon these accredited teachers, and diminish the authority of the others. But in 1 Ti 3^{2}, Tit 1^{9} St. Paul expresses the desire that the bishops shall be persons who possess, in an eminent degree, the 'gift' of teaching: in 1 Ti 5^{17} he orders that elders who 'labour in the word and in teaching' (*i.e.* who are also teachers) shall be especially honoured (cf. Eph 4^{11} *τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους*, *i.e.* local officers of administration and teaching). Finally, he regards these rulers as the special guardians of the faith, the supporters of true and destroyers of false doctrine (Ac 20^{28-31}, Tit 1^{9-11}, cf. He 13^{17}). Thus, on the one hand, the voluntary teacher was tending to become merged into the official bishop; and, on the other, the bishop was acquiring an authoritative right to teach. In the *Didache* the teacher still appears by the side of the prophet, but nothing is said of him separately, which shows that his importance was of the nature of a survival rather than active. The bishops and deacons, however, are spoken of as *also* performing the service of the prophets and teachers (15^{1}). Thus we see in the *Didache* that what St. Paul desired had come to pass, viz. the bishops were all teachers.

(2) *Spiritual Functions.*—The 'ruler' had at first no exclusive right within the assemblies for worship except that he presided. The right of the 'word' belonged to every one who possessed a gift of speaking, and this was possessed in an eminent degree by the 'prophets,' who were regarded with a higher respect than any other possessors of 'gifts of speaking.' Now, when we turn to the *Didache* (chs. 9. 10) we find a fixed liturgy prescribed for the Eucharist, with formal prayers for the consecration of the cup and the breaking of the bread, and, at the close of the service, the whole is followed by the injunction, 'But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will,' *τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσι.* The contrast *τοῖς δὲ προφήταις*, *κ.τ.λ.*, implies that the *fixed* formula of prayer was uttered, not by a 'prophet,' but by a bishop in his absence, or in addition to the free 'giving of thanks.' This prominence of the bishop in *spiritual* functions, which he shared with the 'prophet' and 'teacher,' is alluded to in the sentence already quoted (*Did.* 15^{1}), 'For they *also* perform for you the service of the prophets and teachers.' There were cases in which no 'prophet' or 'teacher' was present in the community (*Did.*

γάρ refers to *ἀφιλαργύρους*, this implies no more with regard to the prophet than is said in ch. 11, viz. that the prophet must not demand monetary payment.

13[3]), and in their absence functions which were mainly entrusted to them fell upon the bishops and deacons. This applies, not only to spiritual, but also to other functions.

The advance of bishops and deacons to something approaching an exclusive right to certain ministerial acts seems to have arisen somewhat as follows. In certain cases there were actions to be performed on behalf of the community which it was more convenient to carry out by means of a few representatives than by the whole body. This was, *e.g.*, especially the case with the 'laying on of hands' at ordination. These acts were then naturally transferred to the acknowledged representatives of the assembly (the presbytery, 1 Ti 4[14]). In the same way James (5[14]) directs that if any one is ill and desires the help of others' prayers for his physical and spiritual healing, he shall send for the 'presbyters' of the Church; not that the presbyters possess any exclusive privilege in this respect, for it is as 'believers' and 'just men' (vv.[15-17]) that their prayers are potent, but because they are the natural representatives of the Church. In the Apoc. it is the elders who lead in the heavenly worship (4[10] 5[14] 11[16. 18] 19[4]), and present the prayers of the saints on behalf of the Church (5[8]).

(3) *Discipline.*—As the apostles one by one died or were hindered by imprisonment, etc., from personal communication with their Churches, and the position of the prophets and teachers began to decline, it was inevitable that the bishops and deacons, who were absorbing teaching and spiritual functions, should increase their powers of discipline. If we may argue from natural causes and the analogy of the Jewish elders, it will appear extremely probable that the presbyter from the first had enjoyed a recognized authority in matters of daily discipline. The maintenance of discipline was indeed part of the duty of every Christian, because every 'gift' entitled the possessor to admonish and exhort. It belonged to the prophet or teacher in a special way, because these were gifted in a special degree, and to the elder through the respect due to old age. But the Pastoral Epistles mark the appearance of a *public* discipline to be exercised by the bishops. This is the significance of the direction that the bishop is to be 'no striker, but gentle, not contentious' (1 Ti 3[3], cf. Tit 1[7]). We see here a foundation laid for the establishment of public discipline, with its authority residing in the hands of the bishops.

LITERATURE.—For further details on the separate officers see the artt. on APOSTLE, BISHOP, DEACON, PROPHET, TEACHER. On the question of Church organization the following may be consulted:—Rothe, *Die Anfänge d. christl. Kirche*, 1837; Baur, *Ueber den Urspr. d. Episkopats*, 1838; Ritschl, *Die Ensteh. d. altkathol. Kirche*, 1857; Lightfoot, 'The Christian Ministry,' in *Comm. on Philipp.* 1868 (also in *Dissert. on Ap. Age*, 1892); Beyschlag, *Die christl. Gemeindeverfassung im Zeitalter des N.T.*, 1876; Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, 1880; Kühl, *Die Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoralbriefen*, 1885; Löning, *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 1888; Lefroy, *The Christian Ministry*, 1890; Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, 1ter Band, *Die gesch. Grundlagen*, 1892 (reviewed by E. Köhler in *ThL.*, No. 24, 1892); Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893; Gore, *The Ministry of the Church*, 1893; Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 1893: Cramer, *Die Fortdauer der Geistesgaben in der alten Kirche*; Réville, *Les origines de l'Episcopat.*, 1894; Hupfeld, *Die apost. Urgemeinde nach der Ap. Gesch.* 1894; Kahl, *Lehrsystem des Kirchenrechts u. der Kirchenpolitik*, 1te Hälfte, 1894; also the Histories of the Apostolic Age given at the end.*

(*D*) *The whole Church.*—Every baptized believer is a member of the Church. The Church universal is therefore the company of all the believers, 'all that call upon the name of the Lord Jesus in every place' (1 Co 1[2]), *i.e.* the sum of all the single Churches. Christ prayed for the unity of His future believers (Jn 17[20. 21]), that they might be one, cf. Jn 10[16] 'Other sheep have I which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and they shall become one flock, one shepherd.' And under the training of His apostles the local communities, wherever situated, regarded themselves as members of one body. Each was a Church of God (1 Co 1[2], 1 Th 2[14], 2 Th 1[4]) in Jesus Christ (Ro 16[16], Gal 1[22]). All believers are 'brethren' and fellow-saints without respect of nation or rank. On this feature of the Christian teaching St. Paul dwells most strongly, both as regards the individual Christians (*e.g.* 1 Co 12) and the individual communities (*e.g.* Eph 2[20-22] 4[3. 12. 16]). What, then, were the grounds on which this consciousness of unity were based?

1. Strongest of all was the identity of relation between all believers and the Persons of the Holy Trinity (Eph 4[4]). By baptism all entered into a corporate society (Ac 2[41], Gal 3[27]), and that society is the 'body of Christ' (1 Co 12[13]). Faith has cleansed all from their former sins, has reconciled all to God, united all to Christ, and procured for each the presence of the Holy Ghost and His gifts within him. Every Christian has been called with the same calling to the same faith, enters by the same baptism into unity with the same Christ, receives the gifts of the same Spirit, owns the same Lord, worships the same God the Father, and is filled with the same hopes (Eph 4[3-5]). This is far more than a mere unity of belief: it is the consciousness of a common spiritual power (Eph 1[19]) working mightily and manifestly in each one. Hand in hand with it follows its practical result in

2. *Participation of a common Life.*—The adoption of Christianity, which snapped so many of the old social ties both for Jew and for heathen, at the same time opened to the convert conditions and precepts of life for the most part new to ancient ideals. The hatred of the Jews and the contempt of the Gentiles, which drove the Christians into one another's arms, at the same time accentuated the division which separated them from the rest of the world. Common unpopularity made them feel their own unity. This affected primarily the single community, but in a lesser degree the whole Church. Within the community the persecuted Christians found an ideal of conduct which drew them together with the ties of brotherhood (ἀδελφοί). The first Christian community started with the principles of a family life, and when the practical conditions of these early days died out, the idea of the 'household of faith' still remained active. It expressed itself in the common worship and in the common daily life which we have described above. The sketch of that life, as we have given it, is in many respects an ideal. It is drawn not only from the statements, but also from the injunctions of NT, and therefore we must not suppose that it was always faithfully carried out. In fact, complaints of failings, and even cases of serious wickedness (esp. 1 Co 5[1ff.]), prove that it was not so. But it was an authoritative ideal, and an ideal the acceptance of which implied a great separation from the heathen world, and was therefore one of the most potent factors in confirming the consciousness of Christian unity.

We have described the basis of Christian unity under the two headings of a common belief and a common life. It remains to see how this was strengthened by more personal means. These were (*a*) *a common government.* To its founder a Church naturally looked for guidance in the creation of its first institutions. But beyond its respect to the founder was the universal respect due to the prophet, and above all to the apostle. And the latter stood at the head of the Church government because he had derived his teaching from the Lord

* While this article is in the press, another very important contribution to the literature of the subject has appeared in Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*, 1897.

directly. We have, then, in the apostolic government of the Church the rule of a united band which traced its authority back to Christ. In spite of differences due to individual character and scope of work, the apostolic teaching agreed in its main outlines, so that the Church can be said to have been under the government of one common principle. (*b*) *The intercourse between Churches.* There exists no higher proof of the facilities afforded by the Roman government for travel and intercourse, than the evidence to be seen in NT of the close relations which the early Churches kept up with one another. (See esp. on this subject Th. Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche.*) This intercourse was kept up mainly by those who were travelling for the Church or on private business. Amongst the first class, of course, the apostles stand out most prominently, but only second to the extent of their journeyings comes that of their helpers and attendants. The prophets, too, were great travellers (*e.g.* Ac 11^{27} etc.). As conspicuous examples of the extent of private travels we may point to the wanderings of Aquila and Priscilla, whom we find first in Italy (Ac 18^{2}), then in succession at Corinth (*ib.*), Ephesus (18^{18}, 1 Co 16^{19}), Rome (?) (Ro 16^{3}), Ephesus (2 Ti 4^{19}); or those of Onesiphorus (2 Ti $1^{17.\ 18}$); or the journeys involved in the collection and delivery of the Gentile collection for the poor of Judæa (*e.g.* Ac 11^{30}, 1 Co 16^{3}, 2 Co $8^{18.\ 19}$), and the carriage of the apostles' letters. And besides the wanderings of official or well-known Christians, it must be remembered that there was a constant stream of other Christians moving from place to place on private business, who attached themselves to the community, and found in it a welcome and hospitality until they passed on farther (cf. *Did.* 12; 1 Ti 5^{10}, He 13^{2}). Intercourse by letter was also very frequent. A fruitful cause of this correspondence was the practice of furnishing travellers with letters of recommendation (*σιστατικαὶ ἐπιστολαί*; cf. Ac 18^{27}, 2 Co 3^{1}). We have instances of other correspondence in the letter of the Jerusalem Church to that of Antioch (Ac 15^{23}), and the letter of the Roman to the Corinthian Church (Clem. Rom. *Ep. ad Cor.*).

How far, then, did all this lead to the establishment of one organic unity, or of a higher unity of organization than the city-Church? We find, indeed, in a sense, an organic unity embracing the whole Church in the earliest period. In the Church of Jerus., and esp. in the apostles, is to be seen a centralization of government stretching over all the existing Church, viz. Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and the district around Antioch, *i.e.* Syria and Cilicia (cf. Ac 8^{14} 9^{32} $11^{1.\ 2.\ 22}$). This condition of things continued nominally until the time of the conference at Jerus. (Ac $15^{2ff.}$). But St. Paul's visit to Jerus. on this occasion (which must be taken as identical with that described in Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$), beyond establishing the freedom of the Gentiles from circumcision, led to a further very important result. Now that a purely Gentile Church was possible, St. Paul saw that not only the separation of distance, but also in a greater degree the vast difference of life and thought, between the Pal. Jew and the ordinary Greek or Roman, made it impolitic that the centralization of power in the Church of Jerus. should continue. And the 'pillar' apostles, after convincing themselves of his authority and ability, resigned to him the care of the Gentiles, while they contented themselves with the management of the Jewish Churches (Gal $2^{6\text{-}9}$). The partition of authority here described was not regarded by either side as a rigid separation of spheres. The main work of the Apostle of the Gentiles was with Gentiles, while that of the pillar apostles was with Jews. Thus it was the practice of St. Paul to preach to the Jews first when breaking up new ground (see Ac 13–end, *passim*), and he occasionally, though very rarely, addressed himself to Jews in his epistles (*e.g.* Ro 2^{17}). Again we find St. Peter active at Antioch (Gal 2^{11}), Corinth (?) (1 Co 1^{12}), and Rome. St. James addressed his Epistle to the Jews of the Dispersion, 1^{1}; and 1 P is addressed, not only to Jews, but also to Gentiles throughout Asia Minor (cf. 1^{1} 4^{3}) at a time when St. Paul was probably still living. Nor was the separation accompanied by any bitterness in the relations between the two parties. The pillar apostles gave to St. Paul and Barnabas the 'right hand of fellowship.' These promised in turn to remember the poor of Judæa, and we know that the promise was faithfully kept. St. Paul always speaks with deep affection and respect of the Judæan Christians (*e.g.* 1 Th 2^{14}, Ro 15^{27}). The momentary break with St. Peter (Gal 2^{11}), and the efforts of some to exaggerate and prolong its effects (1 Co 1^{12} 3^{22}), did not impede his recognition of the deeper truth, that all differences found their unity in Christ (3^{11}).

Within these two great divisions, each of which had something of an organic unity in its common rule, resulting to a large extent in common practice (*e.g.* 1 Co 11^{16} 14^{33}), appear smaller divisions, according to the Roman provinces. Such are the Churches of Judæa (Gal 1^{22}, 1 Th 2^{14}), Galatia (Gal 1^{2}, 1 Co 16^{1}), Macedonia (2 Co 8^{1}), Achaia (Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co 1^{1} 9^{2}), Asia (1 Co 16^{19}), Syria and Cilicia (Ac $15^{23.\ 41}$). This grouping was also something more than a mere form of speech. The Churches of Galatia (1 Co 16^{1}), Macedonia (2 Co 8^{19}), and Achaia (1 Co 16^{3}, 2 Co 8–9) each formed a separate whole for the purposes of gathering and delivering to Jerus. the collection for the poor of Judæa. Officers were appointed by each province to act for and represent the province in this respect (1 Co 16^{3}, 2 Co $8^{19.\ 23}$). St. Paul particularly notes the close and affectionate relationship which bound together the Macedonian Churches (1 Th 4^{10}).

These provincial Churches (it is to be noted that *ἐκκλησία* is never used of the Church of a province, but always *ἐκκλησίαι*, 'the Churches') had their natural centre in the capital city (*e.g.* Corinth, 2 Co 1^{1}; Ephesus, Ac 19^{10}; cf. Rev 2^{1} where it comes first in the list of the seven Churches). At a later period these districts were in some cases temporarily put under the authority of an apostolic delegate, *e.g.* Timothy in Asia (1 Ti 1^{3}), Titus in Crete (Tit 1^{5}). At the end of the apostolic age we find the Churches of Asia under the guidance of St. John (Rev 1^{4}).

The extent of the apostolic Church included Palestine, Phœnicia (Ac 15^{3}), Syria (the region around Antioch), Asia Minor (1 P 1^{1}), Macedonia, Achaia, Illyricum (Ro 15^{19}, 2 Ti 4^{10}), Italy (Ac 28^{14}), Crete, and Cyprus. Thus much we know from certain evidence in NT. But there were doubtless many other Churches which are not mentioned, and which, nevertheless, were founded before the close of the NT period. It is quite probable that St. Paul himself preached in Spain (cf. Ro $15^{24.\ 28}$; Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 5; Murat. Fragment, l. 38). The Church of Alexandria ascribed its foundation to St. Mark (Eus. *HE* ii. 16, 24; Epiph. *Hær.* li. 6; Jer. *de vir. illust.* 8; Nicephorus, *HE* ii. 43; *Acta Barnabæ*). And without setting any value on the traditions (*e.g.* in Eus. *HE* i. 13, iii. 1) current in the later Church, we may well refrain from drawing any arguments from the silence of NT in this respect.

III. The Ideal Church.—So far as we have proceeded hitherto, we have considered the word *ἐκκλησία* always in the sense of the Christian body in its actual state of imperfection. We come now to a conception of the Church in which the *empirical*

idea disappears and an ideal Church appears, still capable of progress, indeed, in some of the similes under which it is depicted (*e.g.* Eph 4^{16}), but free from all the negative elements of evil. From one point of view, every Christian can be regarded as perfect. He was washed by baptism from every stain (cf. 1 Co 6^{11}, He 10^{14}, 1 Jn 3^{9}), and from henceforth is holy (ἅγιος). The Christians are 'the saints' (οἱ ἅγιοι). So the distinction of the ideal from the actual body of Christians was a thought which lay near at hand. It is the actual Church to which reproof and blame are addressed; the ideal which 'shall judge the world,' 1 Co 6^{2}. It is the actual Church upon the foundation of which some build badly and some well (1 Co 3^{10-15}), the 'great house' in which some are 'vessels unto honour' and some 'vessels unto dishonour' (2 Ti 2^{20}); it is the ideal which is a 'holy temple of God' (ναός = shrine) (1 Co 3^{17}), sanctified and cleansed by 'the washing of water with the word . . . a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing . . . holy and without blemish' (Eph $5^{26.\ 27}$). The metaphors under which the ideal Church is spoken of, and its relation to Christ expressed, are of three kinds—(*a*) the Church as a building, (*b*) the Church as a body (σῶμα), (*c*) the Church as a bride.

(1) *The Church as a Building.*—This very natural comparison is, according to St. Matt., as old as the time of Christ Himself (Mt 16^{18} 'On this rock I will build my Church'). St. Paul (1 Co 3^{10-15}) compares the growth of the Corinthian community with that of a building, of which he himself laid the foundation, and upon which others are building. He then (still referring primarily to the Corinthian community) passes directly in v.^{16} to the idea of the finished building, 'Ye are a temple of God.' The word used for 'temple,' ναός, means properly an inner shrine or sanctuary, and St. Paul evidently has in his mind the Holy of Holies in the temple at Jerusalem where 'the Lord sitteth upon the cherubims' (2 K 19^{15}), as the Holy Ghost has His shrine in the ἐκκλησία (cf. 2 Co 6^{16}, and for the same thought in regard to the individual believer 1 Co 6^{19}). Then follows in the Ephesian Ep. the conception of the whole Church as a 'holy temple,' a 'habitation of God' in which the individual Christians or communities are the parts, each fitting into his proper place and the whole held together by Christ, the chief cornerstone (Eph 2^{20-22}). Here, where the thought is that in Christ Jew and Gentile are made one building by the breaking down of the 'middle wall of partition' (v.^{14}), Christ is the cornerstone and the apostles and prophets the foundation. But in 1 Co 3^{10}, where the thought is the building up of the community, Christ is the foundation, and the apostles, etc., the builders.

(2) *The Church as a Body* (σῶμα).—The idea of the Christian unity in Christ seems to have suggested the comparison of the society to a human body, in which the individuals are members, each performing, according to his 'gift,' his proper function, and accepting his proper position (Ro 12^{5}). Then comes the identification of this Christian body with the body of Christ (1 Co $12^{12.\ 27}$, cf. 6^{15}, Jn $15^{1ff.}$), a conception which culminates in the idea of the believers all partaking in the one body of Christ in the Eucharist (1 Co 10^{17}, Jn $6^{51ff.}$). Not until the later Epp. is the ἐκκλησία called outright the 'body of Christ' (Eph 1^{23} 4^{12} 5^{23}, Col $1^{18.\ 24}$ 2^{19}). In the earlier Epp. it is the vaguer 'we,' 'you,' *i.e.* primarily the community to which the apostle is writing, although the secondary idea of the whole Church was probably also present to his mind (Ro 12^{5}, 1 Co $12^{13.\ 27}$, cf. 6^{15}). In this relation Christ is sometimes identified with the whole body (1 Co $12^{13.\ 27}$), but in the later Epp. He is called the Head, as the guardian and director (Eph $5^{23.\ 24}$), as the source of its life, filling it with His fulness (Eph 1^{23}), as the centre of its unity and the cause of its growth (Eph 4^{15}, Col 2^{19}). These last two passages represent the actual Church as growing gradually to this ideal perfection.

(3) *The Church as a Bride.*—We have to do here, not only with an ideal conception, but also with the further step of a personification. The comparison of the single community to a virgin is found first in 2 Co 11^{2} 'I espoused you to one husband that I might present you as a pure virgin to Christ.' Here the idea of Christ as the bridegroom is also present. The expressions ἡ συνεκλεκτή (1 P 5^{13}), ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ ἀδελφή (2 Jn ^{13}), ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία (*ib.*^{1}), are also applied to single communities. But the application of this personification to the whole Church as the Bride of Christ is a step beyond these. We are here, says St. Paul (Eph 5^{32}), face to face with a great mystery. Man and wife become one flesh, so that a man should love his wife as his own body. The Church is the Bride of Christ; the two are one body, just as man and wife are one body; and as Christ loved the Church and gave Himself up for it, so the husband should love his wife. We see here how closely connected is this conception with that of the Church as the *body* of Christ. The union of the two ideas is seen also in the relation of the individual Christian to Christ (1 Co $6^{15ff.}$). As man and wife become one flesh, so he who cleaveth to Christ (the expression ὁ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ is parallel to ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ) becomes one 'spirit' (πνεῦμα) with Him, and belongs to His (spiritual) body,—'your bodies are members (μέλη) of Christ.' The idea of the Church as bride is found also in the imagery of the Apocalypse. The marriage table is spread (Rev 19^{7}), the bride is arrayed in fine linen, 'which is the righteous acts of the saints' (*ib.*^{8}). In c. 20 the powers of evil are bound or destroyed, and the New Jerusalem comes down out of heaven as a 'bride adorned for her husband' (21^{2}); 'she is the Bride, the wife of the Lamb' (*ib.*^{9}. cf. 22^{17}).

SUMMARY.—Such were the life and teaching of the Church in NT times. If we compare them with that of the succeeding age, two features stand out as specially characteristic of the earlier period. The first is the much more vivid consciousness of the power and presence of God in His Church. The apostles, who were daily with them, had all been in close contact with the Lord, and most of them during a period of some years. The risen Lord was to them a living memory, and they imparted to the Church the force of that memory in all its freshness. The power of the Holy Ghost also was a fact of which men were more directly conscious in themselves than at any other time. Never have the central truths of Christianity—the position of Christ and the significance of His death—been more powerfully realized, and at no time has the Christian life in its practice been more closely connected with, and derived from, that belief. To the fixed apostolic tradition of doctrine and life all succeeding ages have looked as their authority. But in the strongest contrast with this fixedness of doctrine and moral life, stands the freedom from formal conditions in questions outside these. Thus, if we turn to the organization we notice the informal way in which offices grew up, and the comparative absence (until the close of the period) of a fixed division of labour. It is characteristic also of the time, that most of the technical terms are used also in a general sense, *e.g.* πρεσβύτερος, διάκονος (διακονία, διακονέω) διδάσκαλος. Or, if we turn to the worship, we are struck by the freedom of speech, the absence of exclusive ministerial rights, of a formal liturgy and fixed ritual, except in the case of baptism, laying on of hands, and the Eucharist. In the transition period immediately following the apostolic age came the fixing of organization with its clear-cut division of labour, and the stereotyping of liturgies and ritual. And along with these developments came, at once their cause and their effect, the decline of the prophet and prophecy.

GENERAL LITERATURE ON CHURCH.—The Church Histories of the Apostolic age; esp Neander, *Hist. of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church* (Eng.), 1851; Thiersch, *Hist. of Christian Church in Ap. Age* (Eng.), 1852; Baur, *Church Hist. of the First Three Centuries* (Eng.), 1879; Renan, *Origines du Christianisme*, 1883; Schaff, *Hist. of Ap. Age*, 1886; Lechler, *Ap. Age* (Eng.), 1886; Pressensé, *Le siècle apostolique*, 1889; Möller, *Ch. Hist.* (Eng.), 1892; Weizsäcker, *Ap. Age* (Eng.), 1895. Further, Köstlin, *Das Wesen der Kirche nach Lehre und Gesch. des NT*, 1872; Seeberg, *Der Begriff der christlichen Kirche*, 1887; Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng.), 1894.

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CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.—Our knowledge of Church government in the apostolic age comes almost entirely from the NT. We can glean something from Clement and the *Teaching*; but with Ignatius we are already in a new age, and later writers are too full of later ideas to help us much. Besides this, things were in a fluid and transitional state, complicated on one side by the indefinite authority held in reserve by the apostles, on the other by the ministry of gifts, which was crossed, but not yet displaced, by the local ministry of office.

The general development is clear, though its later stages may fall outside NT times. The apostles were of necessity the first rulers of the Church; then were added gradually divers local and unlocal rulers; then the unlocal died out, and the local settled down into the three permanent

orders of bishops, elders, and deacons. The chief disputed questions are of the origin of the local ministry, of its relation to the other, and of the time and manner in which it settled down.

Twice over St. Paul gives something like a list of the chief persons of the Church. In 1 Co 12[28] he counts up 'first, apostles; second, prophets; third, teachers; then powers; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.' A few years later (Eph 4[11]) his list of gifts for the work of service (*διακονία*) is 'some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers.' At the head, then, of both lists is the **Apostle.** The apostles were not limited to the Eleven, or to the number twelve. Whether our Lord ever recognized Matthias or not, Paul and Barnabas (*e.g.* 1 Co 9[5]) were certainly apostles, and we may safely add (Gal 1[19]) James the Lord's brother. There are traces of others, and the old disciples Andronicus and Junias (Ro 16[7]) even seem to be called 'notable' apostles. On the other hand, Timothy is tacitly (2 Co 1[1]) excluded. The apostle's qualification was first and foremost to have seen (Ac 1[22], 1 Co 9[1. 2]) the risen Lord, and to have been sent out by Him; secondly, to have wrought (2 Co 12[12]) 'the apostle's signs.' His work was to bear witness of the things he had seen and heard (*e.g.* Ac 1[8])—in short, to preach; and this implied the founding and general care of Churches, though not their ordinary administration. St. Paul interferes only with gross errors or with corporate disorder; and he does not advise the Corinthians on further questions without hinting that they might have settled them for themselves. His mission was (1 Co 1[17]) simply to preach, so that he had no local ties, but moved from city to city, sometimes working for a while from a centre, but more commonly moving about.

Next to the apostle comes the **Prophet.** He, too, sustained the Church, and shared with him (Eph 2[20] 3[5]) the revelation of the mystery. He spoke 'in the Spirit' words of warning, of comfort, or it might be of prediction. His work was universal like the apostle's, but he was not like him an eye-witness of the resurrection, so that he needed not to have 'seen the Lord.' Nor did 'the care of all the Churches' rest on him. His office, so far as we know, was purely spiritual, and there is nowhere any hint that he took a share in the administration of the Churches. Women, too, might prophesy, like Philip's daughters (Ac 21[9]) at Cæsarea, or the mystic Jezebel (Rev 2[20]) at Thyatira. Yet even in the apostolic age we see the beginnings (1 Th 5[20]) of discredit, and false prophets flourishing (2 P, Jude). After the prophet comes a group of preachers, followed in 1 Co 12[28] by special 'gifts of healings, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.'

It will be seen that the lists have to do with a ministry of special gifts, and leave no place for an ordinary local ministry of office, unless it comes in under 'helps and governments,' or 'pastors and teachers.' Any such ministry must therefore have been subordinate to the other: yet there is ample proof that one existed from a very early time. We have (1) the appointment of the Seven in Ac 6: (2) elders at Jerusalem in 44, in 50, and again in 58; mentioned by James and Peter; appointed by Paul and Barnabas in every Church about 48; at Ephesus in 58: (3) bishops and deacons at Philippi in 63; Phœbe a deaconess at Cenchreæ in 58. Also (4) in the Pastoral Epistles, Timothy and Titus are in charge of four distinct orders of bishops (or elders), deacons, deaconesses (1 Ti 3[11] *γυναῖκας*, not *τὰς γυναῖκας*, cannot be the wives of deacons), and widows. This great development, which some think points to a much later date, seems fairly accounted for by the vigorous growth of Church life and the need of organization which must have been felt near the end of the apostolic age. To complete our statement of the evidence, we may add (5) the *νεώτεροι* who carried out Ananias (Ac 5[6]), though the tacit contrast with *πρεσβύτεροι* is clearly one of age, not of office, for we note that *νεανίσκοι* buried Sapphira; (6) the prominent position of James at Jerus. in 44 (Ac 12[17]), in 50, and in 58; and (7) of Timothy and Titus at Ephesus and in Crete; (8) the indefinite *προϊστάμενοι* of 1 Th 5[12] and the equally indefinite rulers (*ἡγούμενοι*) of an unknown Church (He 13[7. 17]) of Heb. Christians shortly before 70; and (9) the angels of the seven Churches in Asia.

Our questions may be conveniently grouped round the later orders of bishops, elders, and deacons—taken, however, in reverse order.

i. DEACONS.—The traditional view, that the choice of the Seven in Ac 6 is the formal institution of a permanent order of deacons, does not seem unassailable. The opinion of Irenæus, Cyprian, and later writers is not decisive on a question of this kind; and the vague word *διακονία* (used too in the context of the apostles themselves) is more than balanced by the avoidance of the word *deacon* in the Ac (*e.g.* 21[8] *Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά*). If we add that the Seven seem to rank next in the Church to the apostles, we may be tempted to see in them (if they are a permanent office at all) the elders whom we find at Jerus. in precisely this position from 44 onward. In this case we are thrown back on the Philippian Church in 63 for the first mention of deacons. As, however, Phœbe (Ro 16[1]) was deaconess at Cenchreæ in 58, there were probably deacons before this at Corinth, though there is no trace of them in St. Paul's Epistles to that Church.

ii. ELDERS.—We first find elders at Jerus. (Ac 11[30]) receiving the offerings from Barnabas and Saul in 44. They are joined (15[6]) with the apostles at the Conference in 50, and with James in 58 (21[18]). As Paul and Barnabas appoint elders (14[23]) in every city on their first missionary journey, we may infer that Churches generally had elders, though there is no other express mention of them before 1 Peter and the Pastoral Epistles, unless we adopt an early date for Ja 5[14], where, however, it is not certain that the word is official.

The difference of name between elders and bishops may point to some difference of origin or function; but in NT (and Clement) the terms are more or less equivalent. Thus the elders of Ephesus are reminded (Ac 20[28]) that they are bishops. So, too, we find sundry bishops in the single Church of Philippi. In the Pastoral Epistles, Timothy appoints bishops and deacons, Titus elders and deacons, though (1 Ti 5[17]) Timothy also has elders under him. The qualifications also of a bishop as laid down for Timothy are practically those of the elder as described to Titus, and equally point to ministerial duties in contrast to what we call episcopal. Though the elder's proper duty is to 'rule' (1 Ti 5[17]), he does it subject to Timothy, much as a modern elder rules subject to his bishop.

iii. BISHOPS.—Is there any trace of an order of bishops in NT? The *name* of a bishop, as we have seen, is applied to elders; but are there permanent local officials, each ruling singly the elders of his own city? This is the definition of the bishop when he first appears distinct from his elders; and if we find this, we find a bishop, whatever he may be called. The instances commonly given are James the Lord's brother at Jerus., Timothy and Titus in Ephesus and Crete, and the angels of the seven Churches. The plural rulers (He 13[7. 17]) of a single Church are hardly worth mention. Now, James was clearly the leading man of the Church at Jerusalem. His strictness of life and his near

relation to the Lord (a more important matter with Easterns than with us) must have given him enormous influence. But influence is one thing, office is another. No doubt he had very much of a bishop's position, and his success at Jerus. may have suggested imitation elsewhere; but there is nothing recorded of him which requires us to believe that he held any definite local office. The case of Timothy and Titus is a stronger one, for we know that they appointed and governed elders like a modern bishop. But this is work which must be done in every Church, so that a man who does it is not necessarily a bishop. Neither Timothy nor Titus is a permanent official, and Titus is not connected with any particular city. They are rather temporary vicars-apostolic, sent on special missions to Ephesus and Crete. The letters by which we know them are (2 Ti 4^9, Tit 3^{12}) letters of recall; and there is no serious evidence that they ever saw Ephesus and Crete again. Titus is last heard of (2 Ti 4^{10}) in Dalmatia, Timothy from the writer to the Hebrews (13^{23}), a work which there is no reason to connect with Ephesus. There remain the angels of the seven Churches; and it would be very bold to take these for literal bishops. In addition to the general presumption from the symbolic character of the Apoc., there is the particular argument that 'the woman Jezebel' at Thyatira (Rev 2^{20}—the reading *τὴν γυναῖκά σου* would make her the angel's wife) can hardly be taken literally. Moreover, these angels are praised and blamed for the doings of their Churches in a way no literal bishop justly can be. It is safer to take them as personifications of the Churches.

Our general conclusion is, that while we find deacons and elders (or bishops in NT sense) in the apostolic age, there is no clear trace of bishops (in the later sense), or of any apostolic ordinance that every Church was to have its bishop. This conclusion is fully confirmed by Clement and Ignatius. If Corinth had had a bishop in Clement's time, or been remarkable or blameworthy in having no bishop, we should scarcely have failed to hear of it in a letter called forth by the unjust deposition of certain elders. Instead of this, it seems clear that the elders at Corinth had no authority of any sort over them to compose their quarrels. Ignatius certainly uses the most emphatic language in urging obedience to the bishop; but the greater his emphasis the more significant is the absence of any appeal (*Trall.* 7 is not one) to any institution of an *order* of bishops by the apostles. The absence of an argument which would have rendered all the rest superfluous, seems nothing less than an admission that he knew of no such institution.

Nevertheless, his earnestness implies apostolic sanction. Episcopacy must have originated before the apostles had all passed away; and its early strength in Asia cannot well be explained without some encouragement from St. John. But it must have been at first local and partial, and due perhaps to more causes than one. On one side, the need of firmer government after the apostles and prophets died out, would often tend to raise the chairman of the elders into something like a bishop's position; on the other, vicars-apostolic of the type of Timothy might occasionally be left stranded by the apostle's death, and if they remained at their post would settle down into genuine bishops. See also Hort, *Christian Ecclesia* (1897), published too late for use in this article,

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CHURCHES, ROBBERS OF, is the misleading rendering in AV Ac 19^{37} of the word *ἱερόσυλοι* (applying the word 'churches' in the wider old Eng. sense to pagan temples), while in RV the rendering is 'robbers of temples'; but both are unsatisfactory. The secretary of the city (*γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως*) of Ephesus points out to the riotous assembly in the theatre that St. Paul and his friends are not guilty of sacrilege, the category of crime under which it was natural for St. Paul's accusers to bring his action. After the word *ἀσέβεια* had been appropriated to translate the Rom. legal term *læsa majestas* 'treason,' *ἱεροσυλία* was the natural rendering for the Lat. *sacrilegium*; and here for emphasis the speaker uses the double term *οὔτε ἱεροσύλους οὔτε βλασφημοῦντας τὴν θεάν*, which implies 'guilty neither in act nor in language of disrespect to the established religion of our city.'

In 2 Mac 4^{42} the epithet 'church-robber' (AV, 'author of the sacrilege' RV) is applied to Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus the high priest, who perished in a riot (B.C. 170) provoked by the theft of sacred vessels committed by his brother and himself.

LITERATURE.—Neumann, *Der röm. Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*, i. pp. 14, 17; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp 260, 401.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CHURCHES, SEVEN.—See REVELATION.

CHURL.—'The Saxons made three degrees of free-men; to wit—an earl, a thane, and a churl'—Risdon (1630). And soon 'churl' and 'churlish' were applied to any boorish person. In this sense churlish is used of Nabal, 1 S 25^3, and of Nicanor 2 Mac 14^{30}. But 'churlish' as applied to Nabal being popularly taken in the sense of niggardly, helped to give the meaning of niggard, miser, to 'churl.' In this sense alone churl occurs, Is $32^{5.7}$, though the Heb. (נָבָל, בְּלִי) probably means crafty (so RVm) or fraudulent (Vulg.). J. HASTINGS.

CHUSI (Χούς B, Χουσεί A).—Jth 7^{18} mentioned with Ekrebel (*'Akrabeh*) is possibly *Kûzah*, 5 miles S. of Shechem and 5 miles W. of 'Akrabeh. See *SWP* vol, ii. sh. xiv. C. R. CONDER.

CHUZA (Χουζᾶς, Amer. RV **Chuzas**).—The steward (*ἐπίτροπος*) of Herod Antipas. His wife JOANNA (which see) was one of the women who ministered to our Lord and His disciples (Lk 8^3).

CICCAR (כִּכָּר), 'round.'—A name for the middle broader part of the Jordan Valley (so Buhl, *Pal.* 112; cf. Driver on Dt 34^3), Gn $13^{10.12}$ $19^{17.25.28.29}$, Dt 34^3, 2 S 18^{23}, 1 K 7^{46}, 2 Ch 4^{17}, Ezk 47^8. See PALESTINE. The term is also, perhaps, used of the neighbourhood of Jerus. in a later age, Neh 3^{22} 12^{28} (AV 'plain,' 'plain country').

CIELED, CIELING.—This is the spelling of the Camb. ed. of AV of 1629, the ed. of 1611 having *sieled* and *sieling* in all the passages. Amer. RV prefers the mod. *ceiled, ceiling*. Wright (*Bible Word Book*^{2}, p. 134) identifies the word with *seel*, to close a hawk's eyes, and quotes—

> 'But when we in our viciousness grow hard,
> O misery on't!—the wise gods seel our eyes.
> Shaks. *Ant. and Cleop.* III. xiii. 112.
>
> 'Come, seeling night,
> Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day.'
> *Macbeth*, III. ii. 46.

But Skeat (*Etymol. Dict.*^{2} *s.v.*) denies the identification or connexion. *Ciel*, he holds, is from *cælum*, 'heaven,' 'sky,' and has no connexion with *sill, seal*, or *seel*. Its meaning, therefore, is 'a canopy'; then, as vb., 'to canopy' or 'cover'; and the only meaning in AV, as in mod. Eng., viz. to cover with timber or plaster, *i.e.* wainscot, is a later derivation. The Heb. always means 'to cover.' In Dt 33^{21} AVm gives 'cieled' (text, 'seated,' RV 'reserved,' the Heb. being *sâphan* 'to panel' [see Driver's note and *Add.* in *Deut*^{2} *ad loc.*], tr^d 'ciel' in Jer 22^{14}, Hag 1^4). The 'cieling' (only 1 K 6^{15}, Ezk 41^{16m}) is any part cieled, walls

as well as roof, the roof indeed being formerly distinguished as 'the upper cieling.'

J. HASTINGS.

CILICIA (Κιλικία), a country in the S.E. corner of Asia Minor, on the coast, adjoining Syria, always closely connected with Syria in manners, religion, and nationality, and generally more closely united with Syria than with Asia Minor in political and in Byzantine ecclesiastical arrangement. It was commonly divided into two territories—(1) on the W. (reaching as far as Pamphylia), Cilicia Tracheia (*Aspera*), a land of lofty and rugged mountains, drained by the considerable river Calycadnus; (2) on the E., Cilicia Pedias (*Campestris*), a low-lying and very fertile plain between the sea and the mountain ranges Taurus and Amanus. The entire double country is summed up as C. in Ac 27^{5}, a geographical description of the lands touching the Cyprian Sea. But elsewhere it is clear that only the civilized and peaceful C. Pedias (in other words, the part subject to Roman rule) is intended when C. is mentioned in NT, whereas C. Tracheia was inhabited by fierce and dangerous tribes, loosely ruled by king Archelaus of Cappadocia from B.C. 20 to A.D. 17, and by king Antiochus of Commagene from A.D. 37 to 74. C. Pedias had been Roman territory from B.C. 103; and, after many changing arrangements for its administration, it was merged by Augustus in the great joint province Syria-Cilicia-Phœnice probably in B.C. 27; and this system probably lasted through the 1st cent. after Christ (though temporary variations may possibly have occurred). Hence Syria and C. are mentioned together in such a way as to imply close connexion in Gal 1^{21}, Ac $15^{23.41}$; the combined Rom. province is there meant, over which the influence of Christianity spread from the two centres, Tarsus in C. and, above all, Antioch in Syria. The close connexion of C. with Syria arose from two causes—(1) C. communicates with it by a very easy pass, the 'Syrian Gates' (*Pylæ Syriæ*, Beilan, summit level 1980 ft.), whereas the passes crossing Taurus into Lycaonia and Cappadocia are all difficult, incomparably the best being the 'Cilician Gates' (*Pylæ Ciliciæ*, Gulek Boghaz, summit level 4300 ft.); (2) C. Pedias was long separated from Roman territory on the W. and N. by a great extent of independent country, while it adjoined Rom. Syria. C. has been identified wrongly with the Tarshish which is so often mentioned in OT (Gn 10^{4} etc.), by some modern scholars, following Jos. *Ant.* (I. vi. 1), who says that C. was originally called Θαρσός.

That a large Jewish population existed in C. is evident from Ac 6^{6}; and it is rather strange that Cilician Jews are not mentioned in Ac 2^{9-11}. The existence of Jewish colonists in the Seleucid cities of C. would be in itself highly probable, for they were always the most faithful and trusted adherents of the Seleucid kings in their foreign settlements; and the Cilician Jews are alluded to by Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 36 (ii. p. 587, Mang.). St. Paul had the rights of a citizen of Tarsus (which see), as he mentions in Ac 21^{39}; these rights must have been inherited, and they imply, beyond doubt, that there was a colony of Jews forming part of the Tarsian State. An interesting memorial of the religious influence exerted by the Jews in C. is attested by the society of Sabbatistai, mentioned in an inscription, probably dating about the time of Christ, which was found near Elaioussa and Korykos (see Canon Hicks in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1891, pp. 234–236); this society was evidently an association of non-Jews in the practice of rites modelled, in part at least, on Judaistic ceremonial.

LITERATURE.—Cilicia is very slightly described in Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* (*Römische Geschichte*, vol. v.) ch. viii. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp. 379–392; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. Asia Minor*, pp. 361–387; Bent and Hicks in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1890, pp. 231–254, 1891, pp. 206–273; Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped. in Asia Minor*, pp. 1–125; Langlois, *Explor. Archéol. de la Cilicie* (1857), and *Voyage dans la Cilicie* (1860); Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (1879); Kotschy, *Reise in den cilicischen Taurus über Tarsus* (1858); Barker, *Cilicia and its Governors* (1853); Ritter, *Kleinasien* (1859), ii. pp. 56–235; Heberdey and Wilhelm in *Denkschriften der Akademie*, Wien, 1896.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CINNAMON (קִנָּמוֹן *kinnâmôn*, κιννάμωμον, *cinnamomum*). — The identity of name makes it impossible to mistake the substance intended. It was early known to the Hebrews, as it entered into the composition of the holy anointing oil (Ex 30^{23}). It is represented as being used to perfume a bed (Pr 7^{17}). The Oriental women use musk for a similar purpose. Like other tropical plants, it seems to have been cultivated in the botanical gardens of Solomon (Ca 4^{14}). It is the product of *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*, Nees, a plant of the Laurel family, indigenous in Ceylon and other E. India islands, and in China. The tree attains a height of 30 ft., and has panicled clusters of white blossoms, and ovate, acute leaves. The cinnamon is the inner bark, separated from the outer, and dried in the sun, in the shape of cylindrical rolls. The best oil is obtained by boiling the ripe fruit. In Rev 18^{13} it is enumerated among the merchandise of the Great Babylon.

G. E. POST.

CIRCLE.—In AV c. means the *vault* of heaven. It occurs Is 40^{22} 'It is he that sitteth upon the c. of the earth,' *i.e.* the c. overarching the earth (חוּג, also in Job 22^{14}, AV and RV 'circuit,' RVm 'vault'; Pr 8^{27} AV 'compass,' RV 'circle'); and Wis 13^{2} 'the c. of the stars' (κύκλος ἄστρων, RV 'circling stars,' RVm 'c. of stars').

J. HASTINGS.

CIRCUIT occurs 4 times in AV, 1 S 7^{16} (a late and doubtful passage acc. to which Samuel went on circuit [סָבַב] to various high-places), Job 22^{14} חוּג RVm and Amer. RV 'vault,' *i.e.* the vault of heaven), Ps 19^{6} (תְּקוּפָה, of the sun's course in the heavens), Ec 1^{6} (סְבִיב, of the circuits of the wind). Besides retaining these instances, RV substitutes 'made [make] a circuit' for AV 'fetch a compass' in 2 S 5^{23} (where for MT תָּסֹב read with Driver and Budde סֹב), 2 K 3^{9}, Ac 28^{13} (περιελθόντες, RVm 'cast loose,' following WH περιελόντες). See COMPASS.

J. A. SELBIE.

CIRCUMCISION (מוּלָה Ex 4^{26}, περιτομή Jn 7^{22} etc.). —The cutting off of the foreskin, an initiation rite or religious ceremony among many races, such as the Jews, Arabians, and Colchians in Asia, the Egyptians, Mandingos, Gallas, Falashas, Abyssinians, and some Bantu tribes in Africa, the Otaheitans, Tonga Islanders, and some Melanesians in Polynesia, certain New South Wales tribes in Australia, and the Athabascans, Nahuatl, Aztecs, and certain Amazonian tribes in America.

In Egypt its practice dates back at least to the 14th cent. B.C., and probably much farther. The circumcising of two children is represented on the wall of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. The record of the invasion of Egypt by Mediterranean tribes in the time of Merenptah states that as the Aquashua (supposed to be Achaians) were circumcised, their dead were not mutilated by the Egyptians, except by cutting off a hand (Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 19).

Like other mutilations, such as tattooing, cutting off a finger-joint, filing or chiselling out of teeth, the operation may be a tribal mark. In all these there is the twofold idea of a sacrifice to the tribal god, and the marking of his followers so that they may be known by him and by each other. The sacrifice is a representative one, a part given for the re-

demption of the rest. Stade (*ZAW*, 1886) has collected a number of notices from many peoples, from which he infers that circumcision is not so much a mark of membership in a tribe as *initiation into manhood* and acquirement of the full rights of citizenship.

However originated, the rite is said to have been appointed by God as the token of the covenant between Him and Abraham, shortly after Abraham's sojourn in Egypt. It was ordained to be performed on himself, on his descendants and slaves, as well as on strangers joining themselves to the Heb. nation (Gn 17^{12} etc. Ex 12^{48} both P), to signify their participation in the benefits of the covenant and their acceptance of its obligations. It was practised by the Jews during their captivity in Egypt (Jos 5^5 D^2), but discontinued in the wilderness. Even Moses neglected to circumcise his son (Ex 4^{24} JE). On this occasion Zipporah recognized the cause of God's displeasure, and removed the reproach by operating (Ex 4^{25}). She thus showed her acquaintance with the ceremony; and as she called Moses on this account a *ḥathan* of blood, which may mean one brought into a family by a blood-rite, it has been conjectured that the Jews received the rite from the Midianites. There is, however, no evidence that this was so, and it is contrary to the whole weight of tradition. As women were not permitted by the Rabbins to circumcise, the case of Zipporah is explained away in the Tosephta on Ex 4 as meaning that she caused Moses to operate.

The characteristic of Hebrew circumcision is its being performed *in infancy*. Wellhausen (*Hist.* 340) sees in Ex 4^{25} the substitution of this for the older and more severe operation in youth or manhood. (See the same writer's *Skizzen*, iii. 154, 215; and cf. Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.* i. 167 ff.; Cheyne, art. 'Circumcision' in *Encyc. Brit.*[9])

On the arrival of the Jews in Canaan the rite was renewed at Gilgal (Jos 5^3), the operation being performed at a place named *Gib'ath ha'ărâlôth*, or 'the hill of the fore-skins,' with flint knives, which, according to the Sept. addition to Jos 24^{31}, were buried with Joshua. Although the ceremony is scarcely again mentioned in the historical part of OT, yet it was probably observed continuously, and there is no real ground for the statement made by the Rabbins (*Yalkut* on Jos), that on the separation of the two kingdoms circumcision was forbidden in Ephraim. The Midrash on La 1^9 conjectures that the priests were uncircumcised in the days of Zedekiah (see 1 Mac 1^{15}); but this is doubtful.

Abraham was circumcised at the age of 99, and, according to *Pirke R. Eliezer*, the anniversary of the ceremony is the great Day of Atonement. Ishmael was circumcised at 13, and among Islamite nations it is performed at some age between 6 and 16, as soon as the child can pronounce the religious formulæ. It is not enjoined in the Koran, but, according to the Arabian tradition, the Prophet declared it to be meritorious, though not an obligatory rite.

As Isaac was circumcised on the eighth day, so that period was named in the institution (Gn 17^{12}), and is observed as the proper date by the Jews to this day. The child is named at the ceremony in memory of the change in Abraham's name (Lk 2^{21}). At the present day the rite is performed either in the house of the parents or in the synagogue, and either by the father or by a *Mohel* or circumciser, who is usually a surgeon, and must be a Jew of unblemished character, who is not paid for his services. In former times the Rabbins preferred flint or glass knives, but now steel is almost invariably used. Blood must be shed in the operation, and the inner layer must be torn with the thumb-nail; this supplemental operation is called *pĕrî'ah*, and is said to have been introduced by Joshua. The *pĕrî'ah* is peculiar to the Jewish mode of operating. In former days the flow of blood was encouraged by suction, and the bleeding stopped by wine, with which the Mohel's mouth is filled; but these practices, called by the Jews *Mĕẓîzah*, are not now adopted in many places, where the operation is performed with antiseptic precautions. Chloroform may be used if the Mohel think it necessary.

The night before the rite the parents keep watch, a survival of the precautions formerly adopted to prevent the child being stolen by Lilith, the devil's mother; they are visited by their friends; and all the little children of the community are gathered together, and the teacher reads the *Shema* or verses from Dt 6^{4-9} 11^{13-21} and Nu 15^{37-41}. On the day of the operation the child is carried to the door of the room by a lady, who is called the Baalath Berith, and is taken by a godfather or *sandek*, called also Baal Berith, who sits in a chair, beside which is a vacant seat dedicated to the prophet Elijah, in memorial of his jealousy for the maintenance of the covenant of which this rite is the token. The Mohel sets this chair apart with prayer, asking that the example of Elijah, the messenger of the covenant, may sustain him in his task. Prayers, according to a set form, are recited in Heb. by him, and the child's name is given, then the father and by-standers join in the recitation of formulæ. After the operation a blessing is invoked by the Mohel, and the event is celebrated by feasting in the parents' house. The prayers for the occasion are set forth in the works of Bergson, Asher, Brecher, and Auerbach. The portion cut off is either burned or buried in accordance with ancient rabbinical directions.

After the defeat of Haman's plot, many are said to have been circumcised 'for fear of the Jews' (Est 8^{17} LXX). Circumcision was also imposed by Hyrcanus upon the Idumæans (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1). Occasionally Gentiles submitted to it. Elagabalus, Antoninus, and the two sons of Ptolemy Epiphanes (Midrash *Bereshith*) were circumcised; but in the Justinian Code the performance of the operation on a Rom. citizen was prohibited on pain of death (i. 9. 10). Antiochus Epiphanes also prohibited the rite, and many Jews were tortured and put to death on this account (1 Mac 1^{48}, 2 Mac 6^{10}). Similar prohibitions were issued by Hadrian and Constantius, as well as by the Spanish Inquisition in later years.

In apostolic times the Judaizing section of the Church wished to enforce circumcision on Gentile converts; and in order to avoid contention, St. Paul circumcised Timothy as he was a Jew by his mother's side (Ac 16^3). He refused to perform the rite on Titus (Gal 2^3), and argues in the Ep. to the Rom. (4^{10}) that Abraham was as yet uncircumcised when God made His covenant with him. On this subject the Council of Jerusalem gave a final decision adverse to the Judaizers (Ac 15^{23-29}). In some of the Ethiopian and Abyssinian Churches, however, the operation was continued, being the persistence of a pre-Christian ethnic practice. In the 12th cent. a short-lived Christian sect of *circumcisi* arose in Italy (Schrökh, *Christl. Kirchengesch.* xxix. 655).

Among the Jewish teachers circumcision was regarded as an operation of purification, and the word foreskin has come to be synonymous with obstinacy and imperfection. The rite was regarded as a token in the flesh of the effect of Divine grace in the heart, hence the phrases used in Dt 30^6. Philo speaks of it as a symbolic inculcation of purity of heart, and having the advantage of promoting cleanliness, fruitfulness, and avoidance of disease. Jeremiah ($9^{25.\ 26}$ RV) recognized that the outward rite and the inward grace do not always go together, and he groups together Egypt, Judah, and Edom as races which, though circumcised in the flesh, are uncircumcised in heart.

St. Paul also contrasts strongly the circumcision in the flesh and the purification of the spirit (Ro $2^{28.29}$), and hence in Ph 3^{2} he calls the fleshly circumcision *κατατομή*, or **Concision**, a paronomasia, probably indicating, as Theophylact suggests, that those who insist on the fleshly circumcision are endeavouring to cut in sunder the Church of Christ.

LITERATURE.—Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 1896, p. 343; Letourneau, *Bulletin Soc. Anthrop.*, Paris, 1893; and Zaborowski, *ibid.* 1894; Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*; Curr, *The Australian Race*; The Karnak monument is figured by Chabas, *Revue Archéol.* 1861, p. 298; Autenrieth, *Ueber den Ursprung der Beschneidung*, Tübingen, 1829; Collin, *Die Beschneidung*, Leipzig, 1842; Bergson, *Die Beschneidung*, Berlin, 1844; Salomon, *Die Beschneidung*, Brunswick, 1844; Brecher, *Die Beschneidung*, Vienna, 1845; Steinschneider, *Ueber die Beschneidung der Araber*, Vienna, 1845; Asher, *The Jewish Rite of Circumcision*, London, 1873. For operations for decircumcision see Celsus, *de Arte Med.* vii. 25, and other authors cited in Groddeck, *de Judæis præput. attrah.*, Leipzig, 1699, and Lossius, *de Epispasmo Judaico*, Jena, 1665. See also Philo, edit. Mangey, ii. 211; Cohen, *Diss. sur la circoncision*, Paris, 1816; Terquem, *Die Beschneidung*, etc., edited by Heymann, Magdeburg, 1844; Meiners, in *Commentationes Soc. Reg.*, Göttingen, xiv. 207. For Circumcision of Elagabalus, etc., see Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, Taylor's transl. p. 532; Jost, *Gesch. der Isr.* ii. 78.

A. MACALISTER.

CISTERN (בּוֹר, *λάκκος*, *cisterna*, *lacus*).—A tank for the collection and storage of rain-water, or, occasionally, of spring-water brought from a distance by a CONDUIT. It was always covered, and so distinguished from the POOL (בְּרֵכָה, *κολυμβήθρα*, *piscina*), which was a reservoir open to the air.

Cisterns must always have been necessary in Pal., where there are large areas ill supplied with natural springs, a long dry summer, and a small annual rainfall. They were required not only for domestic purposes, but for ceremonial ablutions, irrigation, the watering of animals, and the convenience of travellers. The cisterns in Pal. vary in size and character, and may be classified as follows: **1.** Cisterns wholly excavated in the rock. These are the most ancient, and the oldest form is probably the bottle-shaped tank, with a long neck or shaft, which is common in Jerus., the Hauran, and elsewhere. Small rectangular tanks, with draw-holes, are found by the wayside and in vineyards. At Jerus. there are some very large cisterns, and in these the roofs are supported by rude rock-pillars. The finest example is the 'Great Sea' in the Haram esh-Sherif, which has several rock-pillars, and is estimated to hold 3,000,000 gallons. It derived its supply partly from surface drainage and partly from water brought by a conduit from Solomon's Pools, near Bethlehem. **2.** Rock-hewn tanks with vaulted roofs are found in many localities. A few of these may possibly be as old as the 3rd cent. B.C. **3.** Cisterns of masonry built in the soil are found everywhere. Some of them are of large size, and have vaulted roofs, supported by pillars arranged in parallel rows. They are of all ages, from the Rom. occupation to the present day. Most of the cisterns have their sides and floors coated with cement, which is often very hard and durable. All have one or more openings in their roofs, through which water is drawn to the surface; and many have a flight of steps leading to the floor, partly to facilitate cleansing operations. The rain-water, which falls on the flat roofs of the houses and the paved court-yards, is conveyed to the cisterns by surface gutters and pipes, and carries with it many impurities. This renders periodical cleaning necessary, as the water would otherwise become foul, full of animal life, and dangerous to health. Much of the fever and sickness so prevalent in Pal. is due to the neglected state of the cisterns.

Jer 2^{13} alludes to the rock-hewn cisterns of Jerus., and it would appear from 2 K 18^{31} that every house in the city had its own cistern for the collection of rain-water (cf. Pr 5^{15}, Is 36^{16}). One of the great works of Simon, son of Onias, was to cover the large cistern of the temple with plates of brass (Sir 50^{3}). When a cistern was empty it formed a convenient prison. It was into one of the roadside cisterns (AV 'pit'), which had become dry, that Joseph was cast by his brethren (Gn $37^{20.22.24}$); and it was into a cistern in the court of the guard, near the temple, in which the muddy deposit was still soft, that Jeremiah was let down with cords (Jer $38^{6ff.}$). The custom of confining prisoners in an empty cistern is alluded to in Zec 9^{11}; and it may be noted that the word בּוֹר 'cistern' is used for the dungeon in which Joseph was confined in Egypt (Gn 40^{15} 41^{14}). In Ec 12^{6} there is an allusion to the wheel used in drawing water from a cistern. Jos. mentions the rock-hewn cisterns at Masada (*Ant.* XIV. xiv. 6; *BJ* VII. viii. 3) and at Machærus (*BJ* VII. vi. 2), and describes those constructed in the towers of the walls of Jerus. for the collection of rain-water. In the smaller towers the cisterns were above the apartments, but in the tower Hippicus the cistern was on the solid masonry, and the apartments were built above it (*BJ* V. iv. 3, 4).

C. W. WILSON.

CITHERN.—See MUSIC.

CITIZENSHIP.—So RV for *πολιτεία*, Ac 22^{28}, instead of the vague AV rendering 'freedom.' Here Claudius Lysias says that he had obtained his c. by purchase, possibly from the wife or the freedman of the Emperor Claudius whose name he bore. Cf. Dio Cass. lx. 17, where, however, it is said that the price of the franchise had fallen to a mere trifle. But the interest of civic privileges in NT lies in their importance in the career of St. Paul. Rom. citizenship was one of the special qualifications of the 'chosen vessel,' and it is a chief purpose of St. Luke (in Ac) to exhibit the apostle as a citizen who, though a Christian, receives for the most part courtesy and justice from the Rom. officials. His citizenship, however, was double, of Tarsus and of Rome. That the former did not carry with it the latter, we know from independent sources; hence a comparison of Ac 21^{39} with 22^{27}, by which the separateness of Tarsian and Rom. citizenship is made evident, furnishes proof of the accuracy of the narrative. Tarsus was not a 'colonia' or 'municipium,' but an 'urbs libera,' Plin. *NH* v. 27 (22), that is to say, a city within a Rom. province, yet enjoying self-government (Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* i. 349–353). St. Paul's citizenship of Tarsus was of no substantial advantage outside that city. But his Rom. citizenship availed throughout the Rom. world, including, besides private rights, (1) exemption from all degrading punishments, *e.g.* scourging and crucifixion; (2) right of appeal to the emperor after sentence in all cases; (3) right to be sent to Rome for trial before the emperor if charged with a capital offence (cf. Plin. *Epp.* x. 96; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 278). These rights, at least (1) and (3), are illustrated by Ac 16^{37} 22^{25-29} 25^{11}. But there is nothing to show whether he possessed the full citizenship, including the public rights of voting and qualification for office. It was by birth that St. Paul had become a 'Roman.' The word citizen is not used in describing his status. Ῥωμαῖος alone is enough (cf. 'cive di quella Roma onde Cristo è Romano,' Dante, *Purg.* xxxii. 101–2). There were several ways in which St. Paul's father or ancestor might have obtained citizenship. The most probable are by manumission (cf. Philo, *Leg. ad G.* § 23), or as a reward of merit bestowed by the emperor (cf. case of Jos. *Vit.* 76), or by purchase, in which case the contrast implied in Ac 22^{28} would have had less force. The large number of Jews in Asia Minor who were Rom. citizens appears from the decrees quoted in Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x.

Lastly, the metaphorical use of the words citizen and citizenship requires notice. This use is closely

connected with Plato's conception of the heavenly city (*Rep.* ix. 592 B), and with later Stoic thought. It appears in Ph 3[20], where for 'conversation' we should substitute 'commonwealth' (RVm). See parallels given by Lightfoot, *in loc.* Saints on earth are to live as worthy citizens of the heavenly commonwealth (Ph 1[27] RVm). The conception of the Church, not as a kingdom subjugating the world, but as a commonwealth gradually extending its citizenship to other lands and alien tribes (cf. Eph 2[12] and Ps 87), and thus making them fellow-citizens with the saints (Eph 2[19]), ran parallel with the extension of Rom. citizenship which was going on at the time, and was to culminate in the inclusion of all Rom. subjects by the edict of Caracalla (A.D. 212). The preference for 'Civitas Dei' over 'Regnum Dei,' as the aspect of the Church and of its goal, was, however, also due to OT influence. The picture of the restored Jerus. in Is 60–62 combined easily with the Platonic 'pattern' of a heavenly city, and it is this combination in varying proportions which we have before us in He 11, 12, and 13, in the 'Jerusalem which is above' of Gal 4[26], and, perhaps, in Rev 21.

It is worth noticing that it is only in the writings of St. Luke, thorough Greek as he was, that the word 'citizen' occurs, Lk 15[15] 19[14] (add RV reading in a LXX quotation in He 8[11]).

LITERATURE.—For the historical question, in addition to the authorities cited, see Deyling, *Obss. Sacræ*, iii. 40, *De S. Pauli Romana civitate* (very full); Winer, *RWB*, art. 'Bürgerrecht' (many reff.); Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 30 (very brief); Wendt's ed. of Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte* on Ac 16[37].

E. R. BERNARD.

CITY (עִיר, πόλις).—**1.** *Origin.*—The Oriental city owed nothing to organized manufacture, and was only in a few instances, such as Arvad, Sidon, Tyre, and Joppa, dependent upon maritime trade. It was a creation of agriculture, which was an outcome of the pastoral life. As the country settled down to the cultivation of the soil, the peasantry found themselves in constant danger from the wandering tribes of the desert, who often sent their flocks among the standing crops, and carried off the cattle and grain. The necessity of protecting life and property from such enemies was the chief factor in the creation of the village, out of which in turn grew the city. These would naturally be found near those who could protect them, or in grain-growing districts, or in positions of natural strength and in possession of a sufficient water-supply. Hence the village or town was often named from the local well (**Beer-, En-**), the hill on which it was built (**Gibeah-**), or its sanctity as 'a high place' (**Baal-**), or became distinguished by the name of its ruling family, or of some conspicuous house (**Beth-**).

2. *Development.*—The city grew out of the village, as the village owed its origin to the house. The expansion was on the same lines as that of the nation from the tribe, and the tribe from the family. Looking, therefore, to these ultimate factors, we find that each house had its ba'al or lord, and under him the family was an independent organism, seeking its own livelihood and welfare. An act of hospitality to a stranger gave him the sacred privileges of the family guild, and the sanctity of the guest became the right of later citizenship. The gradual slackening of this bond is given in the Arab. proverb, 'My brother and I against my cousin, my cousin and I against the stranger.'

These two facts of *authority* and *combination* made up the aristocratic and democratic elements of the village and city. It might be under the protection of a feudal lord living in a fortress around which the city clustered, or near which it was built; or it might depend entirely upon its own wall and the courage and fidelity of its inhabitants. The agricultural life of Palestine knew nothing of separate farmsteads dotting the landscape. The peasants had to retire for the night to the village, like the sheep to the fold. It was customary for the smaller villages to recognize the motherhood or superior protection of a large city. Thus the inhabitants of Laish looked to Zidon the Great (Jg 18[28]), and at the present day every inhabitant of Syria is considered to belong to Esh-Shâm (Damascus). Hence the expression 'cities and their villages,' 'cities and their daughters,' in Nu 21[25] 32[42], Jos 15 and 19. The feudal lords or the superior cities, in return for protection offered against nomad invasions and other dangers, received payment in service and produce (see TAXES). The service rendered by the peasant to his superior was originally of the nature of a son's obedience to the father's command, and passed eventually into *corvée* labour.*

3. *Characteristics.*—The chief feature of an Oriental city was its wall. This gave it the right to be so named (Lv 25[30f.]), though in later times the title turned upon the ecclesiastical distinction of having ten men of leisure and suitability for the services of the synagogue. The wall had one or more gates, which were closed from sunset to sunrise; hence the explanation of their remaining open where there is no night (Rev 21[25]). All within the wall were of one mind, pledged to obey the laws of the city, and seek the welfare of its inhabitants. The newspaper office and court of tribunal were found at the city gate by which strangers entered and the inhabitants went out to their daily occupation in the fields. Domestic news circulated around the fountain while the women waited their turn to fill the water-jar. The bank was represented by the seat of the money-changer, while our modern factories of organized labour appeared as special streets allocated to special trades. This last arrangement was due to the different artisan guilds, in which the son usually followed the occupation of his father; it was also of fiscal convenience in the collection of taxes through a recognized and responsible head. On occasions of general taxation, each man, wherever he might be living and working, was reckoned as still belonging to the city of his birth. Thus Joseph went up from Nazareth to Bethlehem, the city of his family (Lk 2[4]).

In an Oriental city each house had its own inviolability, its power to admit and exclude. The passer-by in the narrow street could know nothing of what was going on within those dead walls, with their windows and balconies all opening on the central court. He was as much outside as the dog at his feet. It is probable that the streets of Oriental towns have always by preference been narrow, sufficient for the foot passenger and baggage-animal, and affording shelter from the sun to the merchants and tradesmen. Such are the streets of Hebron and Zidon; and in Damascus the 'street called straight' (Ac 9[11]), once a broad Roman carriage-way, with a foot-path on each side of the stately colonnade, now shows a return to the Oriental type.

Again, each quarter of a large city might have its own homogeneousness. At the present day the distinction is generally a religious one, as Christian, Jewish, Moslem; or of race, as Western and Oriental. In Damascus, for example, the ringing of an alarm bell in the Greek church can cause the gates of the Christian quarter to be closed, and the district in a few minutes to assume the character of a fortress.

* Any payment made from time to time by the Emîr or Sheikh was of the undefined nature of a gratuity, the term for which in Arabic, *fuḍ-in-Na'amah*, is the equivalent of St. Paul's '*exceeding riches of grace.*'

Then, lastly, the entire city, with its massive girdling wall, had the attitude both of friendly enclosure and hostile exclusion.

DAMASCUS CITY-GATE—ENTRANCE TO STRAIGHT STREET.

The chief meanings of an Oriental city are thus found to be *Safety, Society, Service.* Thus we read in Ps 107[7] of 'a city to dwell in,' 'a city of habitations,' around which men 'sow fields' (vv.[4. 36. 37]). Abraham, dwelling in his black movable tent, journeyed by faith towards a fair city 'which hath foundations' (He 11[10]). In Rev 21. 22 these various features appear as borrowed from the green earth in the glorified vision of the Holy City. There the tabernacle of God is with men; the city has its wall and gates; as an extended family-house it has 'foundations' like the special corner-stone; it is a place of safety into which the nations bring their glory and honour; it has its own fountain-head supply of water, and abundant means of sustaining life; there the servants serve their Lord; and all who are hostile to its order and interests shall in no wise enter into it. (See CITIZENSHIP, ELDER, GOVERNMENT, PALESTINE, REFUGE (CITIES OF), and cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 124 ff.) G. M. MACKIE.

CITY OF DAVID.—See JERUSALEM. **CITY OF SALT.**—See SALT CITY. **CITY OF WATERS** and **CITY ROYAL.**—See RABBAH.

CLASPS.—RV for AV TACHES (wh. see).

CLAUDIA (Κλαυδία).—A Christian lady at Rome, who, with Eubulus, Pudens, and Linus, was on intimate terms of friendship with St. Paul and Timothy at the time of St. Paul's second imprisonment (2 Ti 4[21]). The name suggests a connexion with the imperial household, but whether as a member of the gens Claudia or as a slave there is nothing to decide. Tradition treats her as the mother or, less probably, the sister of Linus (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46, Λίνος ὁ Κλαυδίας); she may also have become wife of Pudens, if they are to be identified with Claudius Pudens and Claudia Quinctilla, whose inscription to the memory of their infant child has been found between Rome and Ostia (*CIL* vi. 15,066). Another very ingenious but precarious conjecture identifies her with Claudia Rufina, wife of Martial's friend, Aulus Pudens (Martial, *Epigr.* iv. 13, xi. 53). On this theory she would be of British origin, a lady of high character and cultivation, and the mother of three sons; perhaps the daughter of the British king Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, who had taken the name of Rufina from Pomponia, the wife of Aulus Plautus, the Roman commander in Britain, and had come to Rome in her train (T. Williams, *Claudia and Pudens*, Llandovery, 1848; E. H. Plumptre in Ellicott, *N.T. Comm.* ii. p. 185; but against the theory, Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, Clem. i. pp. 29 and 76-79). W. LOCK.

CLAUDIUS (Κλαύδιος), the name by which the fourth emperor of Rome is commonly known. Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus was the son of Nero Claudius Drusus and of Antonia, whose mother, Octavia, was a sister of the emperor Augustus. Born at Lyons on 1st August, B.C. 10, he was of weak health and apparently feeble intellect (see the opinion of Augustus as given in Suet. *Claud.* 4, and the excuse of C. himself in Suet. *Claud.* 38); consequently he was kept in retirement, without being allowed to hold any but unimportant offices, until the reign of Gaius, while the honours conferred upon him by the latter would scarcely seem to have been seriously meant. His time was occupied in historical and literary studies, as well as in less creditable occupations (Suet. *Claud.* 33. 41–42), until the prætorian guards, by a freak which disappointed all previous expectations (cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 18. 7), raised him to the principate on 24th Jan. A.D. 41—a position which he occupied until he was murdered by his wife Agrippina, on 12th Oct. 54.

Recent inquiry has conclusively shown that the government of the Roman Empire under Claudius compares not unfavourably with that of the other early emperors. It is pointed out that C., although originally appointed through military influence at a time when the restoration of the republic was being seriously discussed, managed to conciliate the Senate and to obtain a permanent reputation as a constitutional 'princeps'; while, at the same time, considerable advances were made under his rule towards concentrating power more completely in the hands of imperial officers. The views of C. on the citizenship (see the speech quoted in Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, ii. 208) show him to have been very different from the colourless figure to which traditional historians, following exclusively one side of the picture drawn by Tacitus and Suetonius, have reduced him. It might, however, be argued that the present reaction in his favour is going too far. He allowed his wives, Messalina and Agrippina, whether through their influence over him, or even without his knowledge, to interfere with the course of justice, and to do incalculable harm in Rome; he entrusted power to subordinates in a way which (in spite of the just remarks of Bury, *Student's Rom. Emp.* 244) shows him to have been but a weak ruler; and it is probable that C. should be considered to have had good intentions in certain respects, but to have been, for most practical purposes, powerless; while the effects of his reign, for good or evil, will have to be mainly set down to the credit of his leading freedmen, over whom he had proverbially little control (cf. Seneca, *Ludus de morte Claudii*, vi. 2).

For the events mentioned in NT which fall in the reign of Claudius, see CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The emperor is twice mentioned by name:—

(1) In Ac 11[28] the prophecy by Agabus of a famine 'over the whole world' is said to have been fulfilled 'in the time of C.' Meyer and others protest against interpreting these words of any other famine than that to which Josephus refers (*Ant.* XX. ii. 5, v. 2) as occurring under Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. Wieseler (*Chron. apost. Zeit.* p. 159), though puzzled by the allusion

in *Ant.* III. xv. 3 to the high priest Ishmael, fixes the date of this famine, with considerable probability, at A.D. 45, adding that it may well have lasted for more than one year. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this famine is the one referred to in Ac 11[28]. At the same time it must be noted that famines seem to have been unusually prevalent during the reign of C. (see, for instance, Dio, lx. 11; Eus. *Chron.* ii. p. 152, ed. Sch.; Suet. *Claud.* 18, 'assiduæ sterilitates'); the person of C. was in danger from this cause (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43), and the emperor became so sensitive on the point as to allow a dream, which was interpreted as foretelling dearth, to bring about the ruin of two Rom. knights (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 4). The carelessness of Gaius as regards the corn supply (Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* xviii. 5; Dio, lix. 17. 2) caused great difficulties to C. on his accession, and very vigorous measures were at once taken by the latter, and continued throughout his reign (Suet. *Claud.* xviii. 20; cf. Lehmann, *Claudius*, p. 135). When it was noticed that, in spite of these special precautions, famines were a characteristic of the time of C., it is not hard to see how the prophecy may have come to be regarded as amply fulfilled, even if taken in the widest sense.

(2) St. Paul met at Corinth two Jews, Aquila and his wife Priscilla, who had come thither 'because C. had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome' (Ac 18[2]). Suetonius says (*Claud.* 25) that C. 'Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes expulit.' Dio (LX. vi. 6), perhaps correcting Suet., asserts that the Jews, whose numbers were so great as to make expulsion difficult, were not indeed expelled, but only forbidden to assemble together. The general policy of C. towards the Jews was favourable, as is shown by the two edicts, one relating to Alexandria, the other to the whole empire (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. v. 2, 3; cf. the edict of Petronius in XIX. vi. 3), which granted to them religious toleration, exemption from the hated military service, and some measure of self-government. But we are expressly told that he was influenced by his personal feeling towards Herod Agrippa I. (id. *ib.* XX. i. 1; cf. XIX. v. 2), to whom the emperor was indebted at the time of his accession (XIX. iv. 5). Not only did Agrippa receive 'consular honours' and such extensions of territory as to make his dominions coincide with those of Herod the Great, but his brother was given 'prætorian rank,' the rule over Chalcis, and, subsequently, certain other districts, as well as the oversight of the temple (Dio, LX. viii.; Jos. *Ant.* XX. vii. 1, i. 3), while his son is described as having great influence at court (Jos. *Ant.* XX. i. 2; cf. VI. iii.). Anger has accordingly shown that the edict of Ac 18[2] must be put during the years when Agrippa II. was absent from Rome. As he remained in the capital till A.D. 50 (Wieseler, p. 67 n., 124), and had returned before the end of 52 (Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 3), these limits may be regarded as reasonably certain; but the attempt of Wieseler (pp. 125–8) to fix the date absolutely by a comparison with Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52. 3, though interesting and ingenious, is hardly convincing. It is no doubt true that the Jews often practised magic (*e.g.* Ac 8[9]), and Jews and magicians are often mentioned together, but they are, as Wieseler admits, clearly distinct, and Tacitus does not mention the Jews at all in this connexion.

LITERATURE.—Lehmann, *Claudius und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1877 (pp. 1–60 give an account of the original authorities); Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*, vol. ii.; Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* ch. xi. (Eng. tr.); Wieseler, *Chronol. d. apost. Zeitalt.*; Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte* (on Ac *ll.cc.*, where references to modern works are given).

P. V. M. BENECKE.

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS (Κλαύδιος Λυσίας), the military tribune of the Roman cohort in Jerus., who is mentioned in Ac 21–23. Hearing that all Jerus. was in confusion, he came down with soldiers and centurions to investigate the cause of the uproar, and bound St. Paul with two chains. As the 'sicarii' had recently become very prominent in Judæa (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 5, 6), and were especially in evidence during the great festivals (id. *BJ* II. xiii. 3, 4), he imagined, the season being Pentecost, that St. Paul was an Egyptian who had recently led out 4000 'assassins' into the wilderness (Ac 21[38]), and who is described by Jos. (*BJ* II. xiii. 5) as having had 30,000 associates in all. On discovering his mistake, L. allowed St. Paul to address the people from the castle stairs; but the mention of the Gentiles renewed the disturbance, so that the tribune was obliged to bring him into the castle, and was only prevented from examining him by scourging through receiving the news that he was a Rom. citizen, and therefore by the *Lex Porcia* exempt from such treatment. L. next arranged an interview between St. Paul and the Jewish Council, but a dispute between the Sadducees and Pharisees was the only result; subsequently he learned that a conspiracy had been formed with the object of killing St. Paul, so he sent him to Cæsarea by night under an escort of 200 foot-soldiers, 70 horsemen, and 200 'spearmen' (δεξιολάβοι, see Meyer on Ac 23[23]). The letter given in Ac 23[26-30] as written by L. to the procurator Felix on this occasion has been considered by some eminent critics to be an invention by the historian. The letter would almost certainly have been written in Latin, and the word τύπος (v.[25]) would seem to imply that only the general sense is given. But it must be noticed that in v.[27] L. represents himself as having rescued St. Paul because he discovered him to be a Roman, a falsification and inconsistency with Ac 23[25-27] of which the author of Ac, had he been inventing, would not have been guilty (see, on opposite sides, Wendt and Nösgen on Ac 23[27]). The admission of L. that he had gained Rom. citizenship 'for a large sum' (implying his incredulity that a native of Tarsus should be a citizen and yet apparently so poor) illustrates the 'avarice of the Claudian times,' and the traffic in honours by Messalina and the imperial freedmen, partly due, no doubt, to a desire to replenish the treasury, partly to even more questionable motives, on which Dio Cassius indignantly comments (lx. 17. 6). See CITIZENSHIP.

P. V. M. BENECKE.

CLAW.—In older Eng. c. was used for an animal's *hoof*, and for any of the parts into which a cloven hoof is divided. So in Dt 14[6] AV we read, 'And every beast that parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft into two claws, . . . that ye shall eat' (RV 'and hath the hoof cloven in two'); and in Zec 11[16] 'he shall eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their claws in pieces' (RV 'hoofs'). The Heb. is *parṣah*, the ordinary word for 'hoof,' in both passages. Cf. Lovell (1661): 'With claws like a Cow; but quadrifide.' The bird's c. is mentioned only Dn 4[33] 'his [Nebuchadrezzar's] nails like birds' *claws*' (no word in Heb., 'nails' [טִפְרִין] being understood).

J. HASTINGS.

CLAY, (טִיט, חֹמֶר, πηλός).—This word is frequently used in the Bible either in a literal or a metaphorical sense, in which latter it is parallel with 'dust' (comp. Gn 2[7] and Is 64[8]). Clay is widely distributed over the surface of nearly all countries, especially in valleys, and from the earliest times of the human race was used both for the construction of buildings and habitations and for the manufacture of pottery and works of art. It is a mixture of decomposed minerals of various kinds, and hence is exceedingly variable in com-

position. Alumina, silica, and potash are the principal constituents; but along with these may be variable quantities of lime, magnesia, and iron, which give variety both to the quality and colour. Hence various kinds of clay are suited for different uses in the arts.

1. As a building material, clay has been used from the earliest ages. Ancient Babylon, as described by Herodotus, and verified by modern discovery, was built altogether of brick, either baked in kilns or dried in the sun; and amongst the other remains is the great quadrilateral pile of brickwork,—known as Babil, the Gate of God, corrupted by the Jews to 'Babel,'*—which might well have been supposed to be the 'Tower of Babel' described in Gn 11^{3-7}, but that the inscriptions found thereon, by Sir Henry Rawlinson, show it to have been the famous Tower of the Seven Planets built by Nebuchadrezzar II. (B.C. 604–562). Of similar materials was built, in the main, the capital of Assyria, though blocks of limestone, alabaster, and other materials were also employed. The clay used in Nineveh was derived from the alluvia of the Tigris.† The brickmaking in Lower Egypt of the time of the Exodus is still carried on, the clay used being derived from the silt of the Nile; and bricks in the British Museum, inscribed with the names of Tahutmes I., B.C. 1700, and Ramses II., B.C. 1400, show straw mixed with the clay in order to bind it together as described in OT (Ex 1^{14} 5^{7}). Most of the villages both in Lower Egypt and in the Nile Valley are built of sun-dried clay; bricks of clay were also largely used in the construction of ancient Troy.‡

2. The use of clay for pottery was coeval with its use for building purposes. Remains of jars, vases, bowls, and other vessels are found amongst the most ancient ruins of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. The potter's wheel was commonly employed in such works, and is often referred to in the Bible; but of all the purposes for which clay was employed in very ancient times, none was more interesting than its use for imprinting letters of cuneiform characters on tablets which have been discovered in immense numbers amongst the ruins of Assyria and Babylonia;§ they were either in the form of bricks or cylinders of clay, baked after the inscription had been impressed.‖ Amongst the inscriptions is the story of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, deciphered by the late George Smith of the British Museum:¶ of only less interest are the Tel el-Amarna tablets in Egypt, one of which has been discovered by Bliss amongst the ruins at Tell el-Hesy in Southern Palestine (supposed to be Lachish, one of the five Amorite cities, Jos 10^{5}), and dating as far back as B.C. 1480.** E. HULL.

CLEAN (see also UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS).—**1.** The orig. meaning of the word is *clear*, free from impurity, as applied to glass, gold, and the like, as Wyclif's tr. of Rev 21^{18} 'The citee it silf was of cleene gold, lijk to cleene glas.' Whence it is used of the transparent *purity* of white garments, Rev $19^{8.\ 14}$ 'fine linen, c. and white' (*καθαρός*, RV 'pure'). And then it is applied to anything that is *not dirty* (its modern use), as Pr 14^{4} 'Where no oxen are, the crib is c.' (בַּר); Is 30^{24} 'c. provender' (חָמִיץ, *salted*, RV 'savoury'); Zec $3^{5\ bis}$ Amer. RV 'a c. mitre' (טָהוֹר, AV and RV 'fair'); Mt 27^{59} 'a c. linen cloth' (*καθαρός*).

* Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* ii. 521, ed. 1879.
† Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains, passim* (1849)
‡ Schliemann, *Troja*, ch. i. *et seq.* (1884).
§ Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. ch. iv.
‖ Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 185 (ed. 1849).
¶ Smith, *Chaldæan account of Genesis.*
** Sayce, *RP*, N. Ser. ii. iii. iv. and v.; *PEFSt*, 1892–93. The Tel el-Amarna tablets have been translated by Winckler (1896).

2. Before passing from its physical uses we may notice an early application in the sense of *complete*, still retained in such a phrase as 'a c. sweep.' The only example of the *adj.* is Lv 23^{22} 'thou shalt not make c. riddance of the corners of thy field when thou reapest' (RV 'shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field'). But the *adv.* is more frequent, Jos 3^{17} 'all the people were passed c. over Jordan' (תַּמּוּ לַעֲבוֹר *were finished crossing*), so $4^{1.\ 11}$, Ps 77^{8} 'Is his mercy c. gone for ever?' Jl 1^{7} 'he hath made it c. bare'; Zec 11^{17} 'his arm shall be c. dried up'; Wis 2^{12} 'he is c. contrary to our doings' (*ἐναντιοῦται*); 2 P 2^{18} 'those that were c. escaped' (TR *ὄντως ἀποφυγόντας*, edd. *ὀλίγως ἀποφεύγοντας*, RV 'those who are just escaping'); and Ezk 37^{11} RV 'we are c. cut off' (AV 'cut off for our parts'). Cf. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* III. i. 13 'Excommunication neither shutteth out from the mystical, nor clean from the visible Church.'

3. At a very early period the word passed into the language of religion to designate (1) that which *does not ceremonially defile*, whether (*a*) beasts, as Gn 7^{2} 'of every c. beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens'; Dt 14^{11} 'Of all c. birds ye shall eat'; or (*b*) places, as Lv 4^{12} 6^{11} 'without the camp unto a c. place'; or (*c*) things, as Is 66^{20} 'the children of Israel shall bring an offering in a c. vessel'; Ezk 36^{25} 'I will sprinkle c. water upon you'; Lk 11^{41} 'all things are c. unto you' (where the ethical [see 4] closely approaches); and Ro 14^{20} RV 'All things indeed are c.' (*καθαρός*, AV 'pure'); (2) persons who *are not ceremonially defiled*, as Lv 7^{19} 'all that be (RV 'every one that is') c. shall eat thereof'; 1 S 20^{26} 'Something hath befallen him, he is not c.; surely he is not c.'; Ezk 36^{25} (see above) 'ye shall be c.' (passing into 4).

4. Closely related to this ceremonial use is the *ethical*, and quite as old. In passages like Ezk 36^{25} Lk 11^{41}, and esp. Jn $13^{10\ bis.\ 11}$ 15^{3} we see the one passing into the other; in others the ethically stands out from the ceremonially religious meaning. Take first of all some passages where the Heb. is the usual vb. (*ṭâhêr*) or adj. (*ṭâhôr*) used for ceremonial cleanness: Ps 19^{9} 'The fear of the LORD is c.' (that is, the religion of J" is morally undefiled, in contrast to heathen religions; cf. Ps 12^{6} 'the words of the LORD are pure words,' where the Heb. is the same, a word freq. applied to 'pure' gold); Lv 16^{30} 'from all your sins shall ye be c.'; Gn 35^{2} 'Put away the strange gods that are among you, and be c., and change your garments'; Ps 51^{7} 'purge me with hyssop, and I shall be c.'; 51^{10} 'Create in me a clean heart.' Next, where the Heb. is *bar*, that is, 'clean' because cleansed, 'bright' because polished (as a p. arrow, Is 49^{2}); Ps 73^{1} 'such as are of c. heart'; Job 11^{4} 'I am c. in thine eyes'; cf. Is 52^{11} 'be ye c. that bear the vessels of the LORD' (בָּרַר). Finally, where the Heb. is *zâkhâh* or *zâkhak*, 'be c.,' *zak*, 'c.,' always in a moral sense, Job 15^{14} 'What is man that he should be c.?'; 9^{30} 'If I wash myself with snow water, and make my hands never so c.'; 15^{15} 'the heavens are not c. in his sight'; 33^{9} 'I am c., without transgression'; Pr 16^{2} 'all the ways of a man are c. in his own eyes.'

5. In Ac 18^{6} 'Your blood be upon your own heads; I am c.,' the sense is guiltless, a very rare meaning for this word. Skene (1609) says, 'Gif he be made quit, and cleane: all his gudes salbe restored to him.' See under CLEAR.

J. HASTINGS.

CLEAR, CLEARNESS.—The orig. meanings of these words (from Lat. *clarus*) are 'bright,' 'brilliant,' 'manifest,' 'famous.' But the Eng. words early adopted the moral sense of 'pure,' 'guiltless,' partly through the natural association of these ideas, and partly through confusion with the native words *clean, cleanness*. **1.** Of the orig.

meanings, we find in AV (in add. to the mod. sense of 'manifest') (*a*) *Brightness*, 2 S 23[4] 'By c. shining after rain'; Am 8[9] 'I will darken the earth in the c. day'; Zec 14[6] 'the light shall not be c.' (RV 'with brightness'); Is 18[4] 'like a c. heat upon herbs' (צָחַר, RV 'like c. heat in sunshine'); Rev 22[1] 'c. as crystal' (λαμπρός, RV 'bright'); 21[11] 'c. as crystal (κρυσταλλίζων): so with 'clearness,' Ex 24[10] 'as it were the body of heaven in his c.' (RV 'the very heaven for c.'); 2 Es 2[21] 'let the blind man come into the sight of my c.' (RV 'glory'); (*b*) *Brilliance*, Job 11[17] 'thine age (RV 'thy life') shall be clearer than the noonday' (קוּם, RVm 'arise above'). Cf. Wyclif's tr. of Wis 6[13] 'Wisdom is cler' (λαμπρός, AV 'glorious,' RV 'radiant'). A thing is bright often because it is unspotted, whence the transition is easy to moral spotlessness. We see the transition taking place in Ca 6[10] 'fair as the moon, c. as the sun' (בָּר); and Rev 21[18] 'the city was pure gold, like unto c. glass' (καθαρός, RV 'pure'). 2. *Purity, innocence*, Ps 51[4] 'that thou mightest be . . . c. when thou judgest' (זָכָה); Gn 24[8. 41 bis] 'thou shalt be c. from my oath' (נִקָּה); Sus[46] 'I am c. from the blood of this woman' (ἀθῷος); 2 Co 7[11] 'ye have approved yourselves to be c. in this matter' (ἁγνός). In this sense only is the verb used, Ex 34[7] 'that will by no means c.' [the guilty]=Nu 14[18]; Gn 44[16] 'how shall we c. ourselves?' (הִצְטַדָּק); 2 Co 7[11] 'what clearing of yourselves' (ἀπολογία). And in this sense there is a solitary instance of the use of 'clearly,' Job 33[3] 'my lips shall utter knowledge c.' (בָּרוּר, RV 'speak sincerely'), with which cf. Tillotson (1694), 'Deal clearly and impartially with yourselves.'

J. HASTINGS.

CLEAVE, CLEFT, CLIFF, CLIFT.—There are two verbs 'to cleave' distinct in origin and meaning. (1) *Cleave*, to split asunder, *clave*, *cloven*. (2) *Cleave*, to adhere, cling, *cleaved*, *cleaved*. But the one has affected the other so as to cause some confusion. Thus c.=to split, has also a past ptcp. *cleft*, Mic 1[4] 'the valleys shall be cleft'; and c.= to stick, has the quite irregular past tense *clave*, more common in AV than any other form of either verb. **Clift**, meaning a fissure or crevice, is a word of distinct origin from either verb. It occurs in AV Ex 33[22] 'I will put thee in a clift of the rock'; and Is 57[5] 'under the clifts of the rocks.' In other places where it occurs in mod. edd. of AV it is spelt **cleft** (and RV so spells it in these passages) through confusion with the verb *cleave*, 'to split.' Thus Ca 2[14], Jer 49[16], Ob [3], Is 2[21] (RV 'caverns'), Am 6[11]. In Dt 14[6] 'Every beast that parteth the hoof, and cleaveth the cleft into two claws' (lit. 'cleaveth the cleft of the two hoofs'), the word 'cleft' no doubt means the division of the hoof, but it is formed directly from 'cleave' in imitation of the Heb. (cf. Lv 11[3] שֹׁסַע שֶׁסַע פַּרְסָה), the division or toe of the hoof being properly represented by 'claws.' This word 'clift' has been further confused with **cliff**, a steep face of rock; whence in Job 30[6] it is spelt 'cliff' in mod. edd. of AV (1611 'clifts,' RV 'clefts'). The word 'cliff' itself occurs once, 2 Ch 20[16] 'they come up by the c. of Ziz (צִיץ, RV 'ascent').

J. HASTINGS.

CLEMENT (Κλήμης), a fellow-labourer with St. Paul at Philippi (Ph 4[3]). It was commonly held in the early Church that this C. is to be identified with Clemens Romanus, one of the first bishops of Rome, who wrote the well-known *Epistle to the Church of Corinth* (cf. Orig. *In Joan.* i. 29; Eus. *HE* iii. 4). But, though in the absence of fuller information it is impossible to say for certain, there are serious difficulties both as to place and time in accepting this view. Thus we hear of St. Paul's fellow-labourer in connexion only with Philippi, while the other C. is associated with Rome. Nor is it likely that the former can have lived till A.D. 110, that is, about 50 years after the date of the Philippian Epistle, and before which date we cannot well place the death of the Rom. bishop. Again, as proving the commonness of the name, it has been pointed out that Tacitus alone mentions five Clements (*Ann.* i. 23, ii. 39, xv. 73; *Hist.* i. 86, iv. 68). (See Lightfoot on Ph 4[3], and detached note p. 166; and the same writer's *St. Clement of Rome.*) G. MILLIGAN.

CLEOPAS (Κλεόπας).—Only Lk 24[18]; whether to be identified with Clopas of Jn 19[25] and Alphæus of Mt 10[3] etc., see ALPHÆUS and BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

CLEOPATRA (Κλεοπάτρα, 'sprung from a famous father'). — A female name of great antiquity (Apollod. ii. 1. 5; *Il.* ix. 556), and very common in the families of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ.

1. A daughter of Antiochus the Great. In B.C. 193 she was married to Ptolemy Epiphanes, with the taxes of Cœle-Syria and Pal. as her dowry (Jerome *ad Dan.* 11[17]; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1; App. *Syr.* 5; Liv. xxxvii. 3; Polyb. xxviii. 17). After her husband's death she ruled with vigour as regent for her son until her own death, in B.C. 173.

2. A daughter of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Epiphanes. She married in B.C. 173 her own brother Ptolemy Philometor (Ad. Est 11[1]), and afterwards her second brother Ptolemy Physcon (Liv. xlv. 13; *Epit.* 59; Justin, xxxviii. 8). She greatly favoured the Jews in Egypt (Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 5), and encouraged Onias IV. in the erection of the temple at Leontopolis (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 2).

3. A daughter of Cleopatra and Ptolemy Philometor. In B.C. 150 she was given in marriage by her father to Alexander Balas (1 Mac 10[57, 58]; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 1). When Balas was driven into Arabia she became (B.C. 146) at her father's bidding the wife of his rival, Demetrius Nikator (1 Mac 11[12]; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 7; Liv. *Epit.* 52). Whilst Demetrius was detained in captivity amongst the Parthians, she married (B.C. 140) his brother, Antiochus Sidetes (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 1). Sidetes died in B.C. 128; but when Demetrius, after his restoration, sought help from Cleopatra, she refused to see him, and possibly instigated his murder (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 3; Justin, xxxix. 1; App. *Syr.* 68; Liv. *Epit.* 60). Her son, Antiochus Grypus, became king through her influence; but, being detected in treason, she was compelled to take poison in B.C. 120 (Justin, xxxix. 2).

4. A native of Jerus., and wife of Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 3). She was the mother of Philip, tetrarch of Ituræa (Lk 3[1]).

R. W. MOSS.

CLOKE, so in both AV and RV instead of mod. cloak (מְעִיל *mĕ'il*, שִׂמְלָה *simlah*, etc.; ἱμάτιον, στολή, etc., Arab. *jubbeh*, *abâ'*, etc.).—The cloke was the ordinary upper garment worn over the coat (*kĕthôneth*). The two occur together in Mt 5[40], Lk 6[29]. The prominent meanings in these different terms are those of spaciousness, length, ornament, envelopment. Hence they are used to represent clothing in general, and translated 'apparel,' 'garment,' 'raiment,' 'vesture,' and metaphorically as the cloke of zeal (Is 59[17]) or the robe of righteousness (Is 61[10]). In size and material it varied according to age and sex, the class and occupation of the wearer: as shepherd, tradesman, priest, prince. In shape it might be sewn up to have the surplice form of the robe of the ephod (Ex 39[23]), or be worn loose and open, like a Geneva gown or Spanish cloak. It was the 'garment' not to be kept as a forfeited pledge (Ex 22[26], Dt 24[13]), the 'garment' of Joseph in Potiphar's house (Gn 39[12]). It is the equivalent of 'mantle,' 'robe,' as

the robe that Jonathan gave to David (1 S 18[4]), Saul's cut robe (1 S 24[4]), Samuel's robe (1 S 28[14]), *the 'best robe'* of the parable (Lk 15[22]). The cloke of 2 Ti 4[13] (φελόνης) may have been a light mantle like a cashmere dust-cloak, in which the books and parchments were wrapped. The use of cloke in 1 Th 2[5] (πρόφασις), 1 P 2[16] (ἐπικάλυμμα) is general for *covering, excuse.* See DRESS, under *mĕ'îl.*

G. M. MACKIE.

CLOPAS (AV **Cleophas**) is named only in Jn 19[25] Μαριὰμ ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ. As to his identity see ALPHÆUS and BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

CLOSE in the sense of *secret* occurs Lk 9[36] 'they kept it c., and told no man' (ἐσίγησαν, RV 'they held their peace'). Cf. Pref. to 1611, 'How shall they understand that which is kept close in an unknown tongue?' The 'close places' of 2 S 22[46] = Ps 18[45] are castles or holds, places shut in with high walls, and so deemed safe. Cf. More (1529), 'al close religious houses.' J. HASTINGS.

CLOSET (from Lat. *claudere*, through Fr. *closet*, dim. of *clos*, 'an *enclosed* space').—Any private apartment, as Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. ii. 134—

> 'But here's a parchment with the seal of Cæsar;
> I found it in his closet, 'tis his will;'

Hamlet, II. i. 77—

> 'As I was sewing in my closet.'

The king's private secretary was called 'clerk of the closet.' Closet occurs Jl 2[16] (חֻפָּה fr. חָפָה 'to cover,' prob. of the bridal tent, used also of the bridegroom's c., Ps 19[5]); Mt 6[6], Lk 12[3] (RV 'inner chamber.' Gr. ταμεῖον, properly 'a storeroom,' as in Lk 12[24]: 'store-chambers,' says Plummer *in loc.*, 'are commonly *inner*-chambers, secret rooms, esp. in the East, where outer walls are so easily dug through'). See HOUSE. J. HASTINGS.

CLOTH, CLOTHING.—See DRESS.

CLOTHED UPON in 2 Co 5[2, 4] has been chosen to express the force of the ἐπί in ἐπενδύομαι (only here in NT), to put on something in addition to what is already on. In Jn 21[7] Peter 'girt his coat (ἐπενδύτης) about him,' without which he was 'naked,' that is, had on only the light undergarment, perhaps only the loin cloth. See DRESS.

J. HASTINGS.

CLOUD (עָנָן *'ânân*; νέφος).—Much of the precious and beautiful thought of the Bible is written on the clouds, and in the sky of Syria this writing of religious symbolism and moral teaching is as readable to-day as the inscriptions engraved on Assyrian brick or Egyptian granite. Though the Hebrews had various names for clouds, it is probable that their knowledge of the weather, like that of the modern Syrians, was confined to such general and obvious points as the direction of the wind and the deeper flame of the evening sky. This indifference is partly due to the uniformity of the climate, with its recognized season of rainfall from Oct. to April, and of sunshine from May to Sept. Forecasting the changes of the weather would also be difficult on account of their suddenness in that narrow land of mountains and valleys, with a desert on one side and the sea on the other. Except to the fishermen of Galilee, and the husbandmen at the time of sowing, the interpretation of the signs of the sky was a matter of small importance. Further, the Moslems, who generally preserve most of the ancient piety of the land, disapprove of criticising the weather, as savouring of irreverence. Any pointed reference to the weather or inquiry about it usually finds a Syrian surprised and unprepared for comment, as it is a matter out of the usual round of his salutations.

Such attention to the clouds is in fact not held in high repute: as the Arab proverb says, 'The man who will not work becomes an astrologer.'

I. CLOUDS AS AN INDICATION OF RAIN.—**1.** *'A cloud rising in the West'* (Lk 12[54]).—The rainy quarters are W. and S.W. Hence Gehazi was told (1 K 18[44]) to look toward the sea for the first sign of rain. He saw what is still often seen at the end of Sept., when the dry summer season is about to end in the early rain, namely, a small cloud of cool ashy-grey colour rising over the glittering horizon. It is the first token that a strong steady S.W. wind has set in, and will carry everything before it. In a few hours the sky becomes a course of swiftly moving black clouds, which congregate in dense masses on the mountains, and before long the storm breaks with a grand prelude of thunder peals and incessant flashes of lightning. **2.** *'Clouds of the latter rain'* (Pr 16[15]).—Such is the king's favour. This refers to the light showers in March and April. These do not affect the deep roots of the fruit trees, which depend on the more continuous winter rains, but they refresh the ripening fields of barley and wheat, delaying the harvest, and causing the ears to mature into a heavier crop in May and June. **3.** *'Clouds of dew in the heat of harvest'* (Is 18[4]). — The season is here the autumn harvest of fruits, when unusual moisture in the sky, or a wandering shower, is an unwelcome phenomenon, causing withering heat in the vineyards and feverish symptoms among the people (see, however, Del. *ad loc.*). **4.** *'Heat by the shadow of a cloud'* (Is 25[5]).—This is most likely an allusion to the prostrating wind from the Syrian desert, S. and S.E., which covers the sky with hot sand-clouds (Sirocco, from Arab. *shirk*, East). It is this that gives the 'sky of brass' (Dt 28[23]), and the 'cloud without water' (Jude v.[12]).

II. CLOUDS AS A SYMBOL OF THE TRANSITORY. —It is a common phenomenon of the Syrian sky to see a cloud, borne eastward by the sea-breeze, suddenly and mysteriously dissolve as it encounters the hot dry air of the inland district. The cloud is something that melts and leaves no vestige of its existence. The artistic appreciation of landscape did not exist in ancient times: the thought had not been expressed that the floating clouds can lend their state and grace of motion to those who live in communion with them. The eye was occupied with moral issues. Thus the cloud becomes a text on life's brevity (Job 7[9]). Such was prosperity (Job 30[15]). In the same way, it represents the deep reality of forgiveness (Is 44[22]). Such evanescence is the special peculiarity of *the morning cloud*, which appears at sunrise in the valleys and melts away an hour afterwards. It was the moral emblem and historical epitome of Ephraim and Judah (Hos 6[4]). Its companions were the chaff of the threshing-floor and the smoke of the chimney (Hos 13[3]).

III. CLOUDS AS A COVERING. — In this connexion the meaning passes from the screening of the sun's rays (Ezk 32[7]), to imply shadow, obscurity, and oblivion. Job prays that a cloud may rest upon the day of his birth (Job 3[5]). Again (Job 38[9]) we have the majestic metaphor of the cloud as the swaddling-clothes of the new-born world. The union of power and humility in the king, 'when mercy seasons justice,' is likened to the bright benediction of *a morning without clouds* in springtime (2 S 23[4]).

IV. CLOUDS AS THE DWELLING-PLACE OF THE ETERNAL.—The highest stratum of cloud-imagery was reached when, in addition to what was merely high and wonderful and mysterious in nature, clouds came to be recognized as a means of revelation the vesture of the divine presence, and the vehicle of the divine purpose. 'The bow in the

cloud' (Gn 9^{14}) was so far in the line of the old astrology, which saw a divine meaning in the heavens. The cloud (*ʿânân*) seems here to mean the whole circle of the sky: hence *mĕʿônēn*, soothsayer; cf. Arab. *falâk* 'sky,' *falaki* 'astrologer.' Throughout the Bible the cloud often appears as the indication and emblem of God's presence, power, and protection. He keeps the rain-clouds suspended (Job 26^{8}). He numbers, balances, commands them, and has a purpose in their mysterious spreadings and motions (Job 36^{29} 37^{16} 38^{37}, Ps 78^{23}). The cloud of His presence settled upon the mount, and left there the light of His commandments. In this form His presence crowned the preparations of the sanctuary, rested upon it when it rested, led its marches in the wilderness, and reappeared in the completed temple (Ex 13^{21} 40^{34}, 1 K 8^{10}). Clouds are the chariot of God (Ps 104^{3}, Is 19^{1}, Ezk 10^{4}), and the dust of His feet (Nah 1^{3}). The same emblem of intercepted light, partial knowledge, and hidden glory appears in NT, where a cloud closes the story of the Incarnation (Ac 1^{9}), and clouds are the heralds of the Second Advent (Rev 1^{7}). See also PILLAR.

G. M. MACKIE.

CLOUT.—As subst. Jer $38^{11.\ 12}$ 'So Ebed-melech took thence old cast clouts and old rotten rags, and . . . said unto Jeremiah, Put now these old cast clouts and rotten rags under thine armholes under the cords.' As vb. Jos 9^{5} 'old shoes and clouted upon their feet' (Amer. RV 'patched'). Cf. Shaks. 2 *Henry VI.* IV. ii. 195—

> 'Spare none but such as go in clouted shoon;'

and Latimer, *Serm.* p. 110, 'Paul yea, and Peter too, had more skill in mending an old net, and in clouting an old tent, than to teach lawyers what diligence they should use in the expedition of matters.' The word is Celtic, and came in early, but Wyclif, in Jos 9^{5}, has 'sowid with patchis.'

J. HASTINGS.

CLUB (Job 41^{29} RV).—The 'club' was a common weapon among shepherds. See HAND-STAVES and also under DART (Heb. *shebheṭ*).

The rod, sceptre, or club of iron (*shebheṭ barzel*, Ps 2^{9}) was carried by kings, as seen in the Assyr. reliefs in the Kouyunjik Gallery, B.M., esp. the figure of Assur-naẓir-pal. Cf. Is 10^{5} 'Ho Assyrian, the rod (*shebheṭ*) of mine anger.'

W. E. BARNES.

CNIDUS (Κνίδος), a city of Caria, a Dorian colony, was situated at the extremity of a narrow peninsula which juts far out towards the W. into the Ægean Sea. In this situation it was the dividing point between the western and southern coast of Asia Minor. Hence a coasting voyage westward along the southern coast of Asia Minor came to an end off C.; and from thence the ship had to begin a new period and method in its course towards Rome (Ac 27^{7}). The city was situated partly on the peninsula, partly on a small island off the peninsula on its south side; the island was connected with the mainland by a causeway in ancient times, and is now joined to it by a sandy isthmus. There were two excellent harbours at C., one of which could be closed by a chain. Like Chios (which see), C. had the rank of a free city. It contained Jewish inhabitants as early as the 2nd cent. (1 Mac 15^{23}; see CARIA, DELOS).

LITERATURE.—Newton, *Hist. of Discov. at Halicarnassus, Cnidus*, etc., and *Travels and Discov. in the Levant*, supersedes all older descriptions.

W. M. RAMSAY.

COAL (גֶּחָלֶת, פֶּחָם, רִצְפָּה, שְׁחוֹר; ἄνθραξ, ἀνθρακιά).—The variety, esp. in OT, of the words rendered 'coal' in AV makes it advisable to consider them separately, first of all. For philological details the lexicons must be consulted.

1. *Gaḥeleth* (LXX uniformly ἄνθραξ, Vulg. *pruna, carbo, scintilla*) is the most frequently used, occurring seventeen times. It designates *glowing fuel, live embers*, and is sometimes found in the full expressions 'coals of fire,' or 'burning coals of fire.' Its special meaning is well seen in Pr 26^{21} (RV *embers*), where it evidently denotes burning, as contrasted with fresh unburnt fuel (see *Peḥam* below). In Pr 6^{28}, Is 44^{19} 47^{14}, Ezk 24^{11} it is used of a fire in reference to such ordinary effects as burning, baking, warming, boiling. In 2 S 14^{7} it describes figuratively the life of a family as embodied in the last surviving member of its line (Vulg. *scintilla*). In 2 S $22^{9.\ 13}$ and the parallel Ps $18^{8.\ 12}$, and also in Ezk 1^{13} 10^{2} 'coals of fire' are associated with the manifestation of God, the reference being to lightning, or to the elemental fires from which lightning is supposed to proceed. *Gaḥeleth* occurs in Job 41^{21} in a metaphor (similar to that in Ps 18 above) descriptive of the fiery breath of leviathan. In Ps 120^{4} we find 'coals of broom' (רְתָמִים, *genista monosperma*, not JUNIPER, which see) used to denote either the punishment of the false tongue's speech, or its devouring character, the embers of the plant in question being known to retain their heat for a specially long time. In Ps 140^{10} 'coals of fire' form one of the punishments of the wicked, as also in the famous figure of retribution by kindness in Pr 25^{22}, repeated in NT Ro 12^{20}.

2. *Peḥam* (LXX ἐσχάρα, ἄνθραξ; Vulg. *carbo, pruna*) occurs three, perhaps four, times. In the passage referred to above (Pr 26^{21}) it clearly means unburnt coals put on live embers. In Is 44^{12} 54^{16}, however, the reference is to the live coals used in smiths' work. In Ps 11^{6}, if the conjectural reading פַּחֲמֵי (for פַּחִים) be correct, we have 'coals of fire' (so AVm) rained on the wicked, along with brimstone, instead of the less congruous 'snares, fire,' etc.

3. *Riẓpah* is found twice, in the phrases 'a cake baken on the coals' (1 K 19^{6}), and 'a live coal . . . from off the altar' (Is 6^{6}). It is probable that in both cases the word means a hot stone (RVm). In the latter, LXX has ἄνθραξ and Vulg. *calculus*, while in the former both VSS are less literal (LXX ἐγκρυφίας ὀλυρίτης, Vulg. *subcinericius panis*), with a general allusion to the process of BAKING (which see).

4. *Reshepḥ* is twice rendered 'coal' in AV, Ca 8^{6} (LXX περίπτερον, Vulg. *lampas*, RV 'flash'), Hab 3^{5} (LXX omits the subject in clause *b*, Vulg. *diabolus*, AVm 'burning diseases,' RV 'fiery bolts'). The word occurs elsewhere in OT (Dt 32^{24}, Job 5^{7}, Ps 76^{3} 78^{48}), and means 'a pointed, darting flame.' In Dt and Hab it seems to denote 'the fiery bolts by which J″ was imagined to produce pestilence or fever' (Driver). In connexion with this it is suggestive that *Reshepḥ* appears to have been the name of a Phœn. fire-god. He is referred to as an Asiatic deity in inscriptions found in Egypt and elsewhere, particularly in certain bilingual (Gr. and Phœn.) ones in Cyprus, where he is identified with Apollo. (For this point see the note in Driver, *Deut.* pp. 367, 368, and the authorities there given.)

5. *Shĕḥor* is tr. 'coal' in La 4^{8}. The literal meaning of the word is 'blackness' (RVm).

6. ἄνθραξ (tr. 'carbuncle' To 13^{14}, Sir 32^{5}) means 'coal' in Sir 8^{10} (ἄνθρακας ἀμαρτωλοῦ), Ro 12^{20} (from Pr 25^{22}). ἀνθρακιά is found in Sir 11^{32}, 4 Mac 9^{20}, Jn 18^{18} 21^{9}.

'Coal' therefore is, strictly speaking, a correct rendering only of *gaḥeleth* and *peḥam* and their Gr. equivalents. *Gaḥeleth* may denote the glowing embers of any kind of fuel (wood, bones, etc., Ezk 24^{11}), but by it and *peḥam*, apart from their poetic and figurative use, we are generally to understand charcoal, which is a common article of fuel in the E., and in the preparation of which the forests of Pal., as well as those of other districts, are rapidly

disappearing. The subject of fuel will be more fully dealt with under FIRE.

True mineral coal has not been found in Pal. proper, where the geological formation as a whole is recent. The rocks of the carboniferous period, if they exist, are not near the surface. Two strata of this age, however, have been recognized. They are those known as the Desert Sandstone and the Wâdy Nasb limestone, but they are not accompanied by any coal. Coal of an inferior quality has been found at Sidon, and coal-mining was also carried on for a time in Lebanon, but was abandoned after some 12,000 tons had been extracted (Conder, *Tent Work in Pal.* ii. 326. For the geology of Pal. see Hull, *Survey of W. Pal.* and the literature there mentioned, pp. 5, 6). JAMES PATRICK.

COAST (Lat. *costa*, rib, side) is now confined to the sea-shore, but formerly was used of the side of any person, place, or thing, and in AV is freq. used for the border or neighbourhood of any place, inland or other. Thus Mt 2[16] 'Herod . . . sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof.'

'It would be unreasonable,' says Lightfoot (*On a Fresh Revision*[2], p. 194), 'to expect the English reader to understand that when St. Paul passes "through the *upper coasts*" (τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη) on his way to Ephesus (Ac 19[1]), he does in fact traverse the high land which lies in the *interior* of Asia Minor. Again, in the gospels, when he reads of our Lord visiting "the *coasts* of Tyre and Sidon" (Mt 15[21], Mk 7[31]), he naturally thinks of the sea-board, knowing these to be maritime cities, whereas the word in one passage stands for μέρη "parts," and in the other for ὅρια "borders," and the circumstances suggest rather the eastern than the western frontier of the region. And perhaps also his notions of the geography of Pal. may be utterly confused by reading that Capernaum is situated "upon the sea-coast" (Mt 4[13]).' J. HASTINGS.

COAT (כְּתֹנֶת *kĕthôneth*, χιτών), made of cotton, linen, fine wool, and probably silk. The garment of home-life and ordinary work, worn under the cloak and over the undershirt, or sheet (סָדִין), and sometimes instead of it, drawn tightly round the waist by belt or girdle, in shape like a dressing-gown or cassock (see DRESS, under *kĕthôneth*). It is the coat of Joseph (Gn 37[3]), of the priests (Ex 28[4], Lv 8[13]), of women's dress (Ca 5[3]), of Christ (Jn 19[23]), of the disciples (Mt 5[40], Lk 6[29]). Coat is translated 'garment' in 2 S 13[18. 19], Ezr 2[69], Neh 7[70], Jude 23; 'clothes' in Mk 14[63]; 'robe' in Is 22[21]. The coat of 1 S 2[19], the annual present to Samuel, was a woollen cloak (*mĕ'îl*); that of Jn 21[7], *fisher's c.* (ἐπενδύτης), would be a large cloak for covering in public and protection at night, the fisherman merely wearing a large apron or waist-cloth when busy with the net. The coat of Dn 3[21], RV *hosen* (סַרְבָּל, Arab. *sirwâl*), was the skirt-trousers of Persian costume.

Coat of Mail.—See BRIGANDINE and BREASTPLATE. G. M. MACKIE.

COCK (ἀλέκτωρ, *alector*, *gallus*).—The domestic fowl may be the bird mentioned 1 K 4[23], בַּרְבָּרִים *barburîm*, and translated in AV and RV *fatted fowls*. It is not unlikely that Solomon, who had commerce with the far E., and imported peacocks and apes from Ophir (1 K 10[22]), might have brought barnyard fowls from the same direction. The original stock of these fowls is usually supposed to be indigenous in farther India and China. *Gallus giganteus*, of Malacca, seems to be the feral state of some of the larger tame breeds, and *G. bankiva*, of Java, which is regarded by many as specifically the same as *G. ferrugineus*, the *jungle fowl*, is supposed to be the parent of our ordinary poultry. In India, poultry have been domesticated from the earliest times. But no representation of them is found on the Egyptian monuments. Pindar mentions the cock, and Homer names a man Ἀλέκτωρ, the word for a cock. Aristophanes calls it a Persian bird. It may have been introduced into Pal. before it came to Greece. Nevertheless, unless in this doubtful passage, it is not mentioned in OT. Commentators have tried various other renderings of *barburîm*, as *swans*, *guinea fowls*, *geese*, *capons*, and *fatted fish*. But these are pure conjectures.

The Romans were very much given to raising fowls, both for food and for cock-fighting. The Mishna states that cocks were not allowed in Jerus., for fear of polluting the holy things. But there is rabbinic evidence that the Jews kept fowls. The Romans and other foreigners also kept them.

The cock is mentioned in NT in connexion with Peter's denial of Christ (Mt 26[34. 74] etc.). **Cock-crowing** (Mk 13[35]) refers to the habit of crowing before the dawn. This is the second cock-crowing (Mk 14[30]), the first being at midnight, but less certain or less heard than the second. Hence the other evangelists speak of the crowing of the cock without specifying that it was to be a second one (Mt 26[34], Lk 22[34], Jn 13[38]). In point of fact, cocks crow somewhat irregularly at intervals in the night. The hen is alluded to (Lk 13[34]) with reference to her motherly care of her brood, with which the Saviour compares his solicitude for Jerusalem. G. E. POST.

COCKATRICE.—See SERPENT.

COCK-CROWING (ἀλεκτοροφωνία, Mk 13[35]).—See COCK, TIME.

COCKER.—Sir 30[9] 'C. thy child, and he shall make thee afraid,' that is 'pamper' (Gr. τιθηνέω, *nurse*, *suckle*). Cf. Shaks. *King John* v. i. 70—

> 'Shall a beardless boy,
> A cocker'd silken wanton, brave our fields?'

and Hull (1611) 'No creatures more cocker their young than the Asse and the Ape.' The word is not found earlier than the 15th cent. Its origin is obscure. J. HASTINGS.

COCKLE (בָּאְשָׁה *bo'shâh*, βάτος, *spina*).—The last word of the second member of a parallelism (Job 31[40]), 'instead of wheat let thistles grow, and instead of barley, cockle.' The signification of the parallel word חוֹחַ *hôaḥ* is general, *brier* or *bramble*. Therefore this word should be general. And as the first is harmful, the second should be the same. The root of the word is בָּאַשׁ='stink,' hence the marginal renderings, AV *stinking weeds*, RV *noisome weeds*, suit the case well. There is no want of such in the Holy Land. There are a number of ill-smelling *goose weeds*, *Solanum nigrum*, L., *Datura Stramonium*, L. (the *stink-weed* par excellence), *D. Metel*, L., and several fetid *arums*, and *henbane*, and *mandrake*. Neglected fields are overrun by the host of thorny and unsavoury weeds which afflict the farmer in all parts of Pal. and Syria. Some have thought that *bo'shâh* means *ergot* or *smut* or *bunt*, and others *tares*. There is, however, no ground for this.

A word from the same root, בְּאֻשִׁים *bĕ'ûshîm* (Is 5[2. 4]), is tr. in AV and RV *wild grapes*. The context and the etymology are against this rendering. The terrible judgment pronounced against the vineyard (vv.[5. 6]) might seem unjust if the product were simply inferior. The contrast must be as sharp as in v.[7]—between *judgment* and *oppression*, between *righteousness* and the *cry of the oppressed*. We should therefore look for some ill-smelling fruit, having some resemblance to a grape, and occurring in vineyards. Such plants are *Solanum nigrum*, L., and its congeners *S. miniatum*, Berb., and *S. villosum*, Lam., called in Arab. *'inab-edh-dhîb*, *wolf's grapes*. They are of

a heavy narcotic odour, and poisonous, and grow commonly in the vineyards. Celsius supposes *aconite*; but the latter is not found south of Amanus, and hence would not be known to the readers of Isaiah. It is perhaps better to regard *bĕ'ûshîm* as *stinking fruits* in general, and *bo'shâh* as *stinking weeds*. G. E. POST.

CODEX.—See ℵ, A, B, C, D; also TEXT.

CŒLE-SYRIA (Κοίλη Συρία, 'hollow Syria') was the name given under the Seleucids to the valley between the Lebanons (Polyb. i. 3; Dionysius, *Perieg.* 899, 900), and this restricted meaning is retained in 1 Es 4^{48}. The same restriction appears in Am 1^5, where, however, 'the valley of Aven' (which see) cannot be certainly identified with Cœle-Syria. 'The valley of Lebanon' (Jos 11^{17} 12^7) denotes the same district. Strabo (xvi. 2) confines the term to this valley in describing the boundaries of the separate parts of Syria; but he also uses it more widely as covering the whole of אֲרָם־דַּמֶּשֶׂק or 'Syria of Damascus.' Theophrastus, too (*Hist. plant.* ii. 6. 2; see also ii. 6. 8), extends the name to the valley of the Lower Jordan, and in ii. 6. 5 to the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. Under the later Seleucidæ it almost loses geogr. limitations altogether, and becomes a convenient name for a political division of the empire, the central valley always being included, but the boundaries being extended or contracted with every change in the relative influence of the local governors. For some time Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria include between them the whole of the southern part of the Seleucid kingdom, and the latter term covers the entire district E. and S. of Lebanon. The term is so used in 1 Es $2^{17.\ 24.\ 27}$ 6^{29} 7^1 8^{67}, 2 Mac 3^5 4^4 8^8 10^{11}; and the relation between the two provinces is so close that a single governor generally suffices for both. In 1 Mac 10^{69} the settlement of Jewish affairs is entrusted almost as a matter of course to the governor of Cœle-Syria, and in 2 Mac $3^{8.\ 9}$ Jerus. is expressly represented as within that province. In later times Jos. (*Ant.* XIV. iv. 5) wrote of the province as stretching from the Euphrates to Egypt; and within it were the Phil. coast towns of Raphia (Jos. *Wars*, IV. xi. 5; Polyb. v. 80) and Joppa (Diodor. xix. 59). But he generally confines the term to the districts E. of the Jordan, including Moab and Ammon (*Ant.* I. xi. 5; Ptol. v. 15), and admitting Scythopolis (Bethshan) because of its connexion with the Decapolis (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 2). He mentions also specifically Gadara (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 3) as in the province, whilst the evidence of coins places within it also the neighbouring towns of Abila and Philadelphia (Rabbah); and Stephen of Byzantium adds Dium, Gerasa, and Philoteria (Polyb. v. 70). Strictly, therefore, the term does not cover Judæa and Samaria, but was made to do so when it was wished to assert or enforce Syrian claims to those districts. In Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 1–4, in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, the fiscal system and prob. the entire administration of C. are distinct from those of Judæa and Samaria. In the civil wars between the sons of Antiochus Grypus (B.C. 95–83), C., with Damascus prob. as its capital, was the name of a trans-Jordanic kingdom, separate from that of Syria proper. In B.C. 47 Herod was appointed by Sextus Cæsar (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. ix. 5; *Wars*, I. x. 8), and again by Cassius in B.C. 43 (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xi. 4; *Wars*, I. xi. 4), military governor of C.; but on neither of these occasions did his appointment carry the exercise of any authority within Judæa. R. W. MOSS.

COFFER occurs only in 1 S $6^{8.\ 11.\ 15}$, and the Heb. term (אָרוֹן, LXX θέμα), of which it is the tr^n, is also found nowhere else. From the fact that in the above passages the word has the article, some have inferred that an *'argâz* was an appendage to every cart (*'ăghâlah*), but this is not necessary (Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* p. 43 f.). The *'argâz* appears to have been a small chest which *contained* (?) the golden figures sent by the Philistines as a guilt-offering. (Cf., however, the LXX, and see Wellhausen and Budde on the text of the passage.) J. A. SELBIE.

COFFIN.—See BURIAL.

COGITATION (Dn 7^{28}, Wis 12^{10}, Sir 17^5).—Not the action of thinking, but the thought itself. Cf. Hobbes 1628) 'Being terrified with the cogitation, that not any of those which had been formerly sent had ever returned.' J. HASTINGS.

COIN.—See MONEY.

COL-HOZEH (כָּל־חֹזֶה 'seeing all').—A Judahite in time of Nehemiah (Neh 3^{15} 11^5).

COLIUS (A Κώλιος, B Κῶνος), 1 Es 9^{28}.—See CALITAS, KELAIAH.

COLLAR.—**1.** The collars of Jg 8^{26} (נְטִיפוֹת) are golden ear-drops, RV *pendants*. **2.** The ref. in Job 30^{18} is to the collar-band (פִּי) of the undergarment or coat (*kĕthôneth*). In v.^{17} the symptoms of high fever are pierced bones and gnawing pains; hence in v.^{18} the complaint that his large outer-garment or cloak (לְבוּשִׁי), in which he vainly tried to sleep, had become so completely soaked through with the fever-sweats that it clung around him like the collar of his coat. It is frequently assumed that the reference is to Job's emaciated condition, which causes his outer garment to cling to him like the neck of the close-fitting inner tunic. Davidson suggests that the idea may be that through Job's writhing under his pains his clothes are twisted tightly about him. Dillmann finds a reference to the unnatural swelling of Job's body by elephantiasis, till his garment becomes tight like a collar. G. M. MACKIE.

COLLECTION occurs in AV of 2 Ch $24^{6.\ 9}$ as tr^n of מַשָּׂאת (*mas'êth*), and in 1 Co 16^1 as tr^n of λογία (*logia*, a ἀπ'. λεγ.) [all]. In OT the reference is to the tax prescribed in Ex $30^{12.\ 16}$ (P), and RV more suitably tr^s 'tax.' The NT reference is to the collection made by St. Paul in the Gentile Churches for the poor at Jerusalem. RV retains the word and also substitutes 'collections' in v.^{3} for AV 'gatherings' (where the same Gr. word occurs in the plur. λογίαι). See COMMUNION 3, TRIBUTE-MONEY. J. A. SELBIE.

COLLEGE (מִשְׁנֶה; LXX 2 K 22^{14} μασενά; 2 Ch 34^{22} μαασαναλ; Zeph 1^{10} ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας; Vulg. *in secunda*). — This word properly denotes the 'second quarter' of the city; RV 'the second quarter,' m. '*Heb.* Mishneh'—comp. AVm 'in the second part'; in 2 Ch 34^{22} AVm. gives also 'the school.' From Zeph 1^{10}, where the term occurs again (AV 'the second'), it appears that this quarter of Jerusalem was not far from the Fish-gate, which lay on the north or north-west of the city (Neh 3^3 12^{39}). It was perhaps first enclosed within the walls in the time of Manasseh (2 Ch 33^{14}). Probably the 'second quarter' lay to the west of the temple-mount, in the hollow between this and the northern portion of the western hill, the modern Sion. It would thus occupy the upper end of the Tyropœan Valley (comp. Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 5).

The Targ. Jonathan on 2 K 22^{14} renders by בֵּית אוּלְפָנָא, *i.e.* 'house of instruction.' This Jewish tradition is clearly the origin of the rendering 'college'

in the AV. It is doubtless due to the influence of the post-biblical Heb. word *Mishna*, which, meaning originally 'repetition,' δευτέρωσις, came to signify the doctrine of the law, and especially the oral law. H. A. WHITE.

COLLOP.—A collop is a slice of meat, but in Job 15[27] 'he . . maketh collops of fat on his flanks,' it is used in the now obsolete sense (except in dialects) of 'a thick fold of flesh on the body as evidence of a well-fed condition.' Cf. Fuller, *Worthies*, i. 166, 'Fat folk (whose collops stick to their sides) are generally lazy.' J. HASTINGS.

COLONY.—Colony (Κολωνία, a literal transcript of the well-known Latin designation) occurs in NT only at Ac 16[12], where it is applied to Philippi. The Roman colonies belonged to three periods and classes: (1) those of the earlier republic before 100 B.C.—the burgess and Latin colonies, which served as curb-fortresses and influential centres of Roman authority in conquered or annexed territory; (2) those of the Gracchan times — the agrarian colonies, provided as an outlet for the starving and clamorous proletariat of the capital; and (3) those of the Civil wars and the Empire, termed military colonies, intended for the reception and settlement of soldiers disbanded at the end of their service or at the close of war. While in the former classes the colony was initiated by a formal law (*lex*), and carried out by a commission (generally of three), the later, or military colony, was established simply by the *imperator*, in the exercise of his *imperium*, nominating a legate to give effect to his will. To this latter class Philippi belonged. It had already received (as we learn from Strabo, vii. fr. 41) something of this character after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the adjoining plain in the year 42 B.C.; but its full organization as a colony was the work of Augustus, who, having to provide for his soldiers after the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), gifted to them (as we learn from Dio Cassius, li. 4) cities and lands in Italy which had belonged to partisans of Antonius, and transferred most of the inhabitants thereby dispossessed to other quarters, esp. to Dyrrhachium and Philippi. The latter thenceforth bore, in inscriptions and on coins, the name *Colonia Aug. Jul. Philippi* or *Philippensis*. The community thus constituted possessed (Dig. 50, tit. 15, sec. 8) the privileged position known to jurists as that of the *ius Italicum*, which apparently carried, in addition to the right of freedom (*libertas*), and that of exemption from poll-tax and tribute (*immunitas*), the right of holding the soil in full ownership under the forms of Roman law (*ex iure Quiritium*). (On the development of the Roman colonial system, see Marquardt, *Handb.* iv. 427 ff., on the military colonies, pp. 449–56; and on Philippi in particular, Mommsen, *CIL* III. i. p. 120.)

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

COLOSSÆ (Κολοσσαί) was an ancient city of Phrygia (very important in early history, dwindling in the later centuries as Laodicea waxed greater), overhanging the river Lycus (a tributary of the Mæander) on the upper part of its course. It was distant only about ten miles from Laodicea and thirteen from Hierapolis; and hence the three cities formed a single sphere of missionary labour for Epaphras, an inhabitant of C. (Col 4[12. 13]). Churches were formed in these three cities at a very early period, partly by the work of Epaphras, but also through the work of Timothy, who had evidently come into personal relations with C. (Col 1[1]), and probably of other preachers. In Rev 1[11] 3[14] the single Church of Laodicea must be taken as representative of the Churches of the whole Lycus valley. Paul himself had not been at Laodicea or at C. (Col 2[1]). C., like Laodicea (which see), stood on the most important route of commerce and intercourse in the eastern part of the Rom. Empire; it was therefore a place where new ideas and new thoughts were always likely to be simmering, and the new religion seems to have developed there with feverish rapidity, and not in a direction that satisfied St. Paul. During his first imprisonment in Rome, the report which was brought to him by Epaphras of the religious views and practices in C. called forth an Epistle, in which he rebuked the tendency of the Colossians to stray from the straight path under the influence partly of Judaism (observance of Sabbaths, etc., Col 2[16]; circumcision hinted at, 2[11]), and partly of a species of theosophic speculation, which sought to find demonic or angelic powers intermediate between the supreme unapproachable God and human beings,—a kind of speculation springing from an attempt to express the ideas of Christianity in the terms and forms of the philosophic and religious thought current in Phrygia and in Asia generally. The Judaic elements in this Colossian development of Christianity show that Jewish teachers had visited it, and that Jewish religion and thought had influenced the population; and from the position of the city such influence is natural, and Jewish traders had probably settled in it for commercial purposes (especially trade in the beautiful wool of the peculiar colour called *Colossinus*, perhaps dark purple). There is, however, no evidence that an actual settlement of Jews at C. as colonists by any of the Seleucid kings ever occurred (as is probable or certain at Laodicea, Tarsus, etc., which see); for such a settlement was considered as a re-foundation, and was usually accompanied by change of name. Again, the semi-Gnostic style of Colossian speculation revealed to us by the Epistle shows that the Lycus valley was the seat of some philosophic activity, which had doubtless its centre at Laodicea (which see), but extended to the other cities. The same kind of speculation long clung to the valley, as Theodoret mentions in the 5th century; and in the 9th and 10th centuries Michael, the leader of the host of angels, was worshipped as the great saint of C. (and of its later representative Chonæ), and a legend was told of his appearance to save the city from a great inundation. C. disappeared from history during the 7th or 8th cent., being too much exposed to the terrible raids of the Saracens; and it was succeeded by Chonæ (now called Chonas), a fortress about three miles farther south, in a lofty situation, with an impregnable castle upon the steep slope of Mount Cadmus (summit 8013 ft.). In 787 Bishop Dositheus took his title from C., but had his actual home in Chonæ (ἐπίσκοπος Κολοσσῶν ἤτοι Χωνῶν); but in 870 and 879 Samuel was bishop (afterwards archbishop) of Chonæ, and C. had been practically forgotten.

Colossæ is a grecized form of a Phrygian word (modified to give an apparent meaning in Greek, as if connected with κολοσσός); and the native form was more like Κολασσαί (cf. Abbott on Col 1[2]). Hence the ethnic Κολασσαεύς occurs in the (not original) title of the Epistle, and in several Byzantine lists of bishops. Κολοσσηνός is the invariable ethnic on coins.

LITERATURE.—The exact site of C. was first determined by Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i. p. 508; Arundel and other travellers had previously visited the modern Chonas, and believed it to be C. The situation and history of C. and Chonæ are very fully described in Ramsay, *Cities and Bishopric of Phrygia*, chs. i. and vi., and *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* ch. xix.

W. M. RAMSAY.

COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—This Epistle forms one of a closely connected group of three. It is linked on the one hand to the little letter to Philemon by the group of personal salutations

common to the two, and on the other to the Ep. to 'the Ephesians' by a remarkable and intricate community of contents, by the fact that the two letters are entrusted to the same messenger (4^7, cf. Eph 6^{21}), and probably by an express reference in the Colossians to the sister Epistle under the title of 'the Ep. from Laodicea' in 4^{16}.

I. Authorship and Date.—The various questions which have been raised during the present cent. with respect to the authorship of this group of Epp., and the particular stage in St. Paul's first imprisonment (assuming them to have been written by him) to which they may be most suitably assigned, can be best dealt with in connexion with the Ep. to the Ephes. (which see). For the present it will be enough to say (1) that the admitted differences in language, style, and, to a certain extent, in doctrine, between this group of Epp. and those of the central period, 1 and 2 Co, Gal, Ro, are by no means sufficient to establish a diversity of authorship; and (2) that two facts, (*a*) the conversion of Onesimus, who, as far as we know, could hardly have had access to St. Paul in Cæsarea, and (*b*) the remarkable development in the doctrine of the Ecclesia, which marks Eph, make it on the whole most probable that the whole group was written from Rome shortly before the outbreak of the Neronian persecution.

II. Destination.—The situation of Colossæ and the chief elements in its population have already been described (see Colossæ). It will be enough here to notice that whatever may have been the proportion of resident Jews in the place, St. Paul treats the Church throughout as specifically a Gentile Church (1^{27}). It is this fact which brings them within his sphere of influence, and explains the tone in which he addresses them. The difficult and obscure references in 2^{14} *τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν*, and in 2^8 *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, both of which must refer chiefly, if not exclusively, to the law of Moses, are not really inconsistent with this. Language of fundamentally the same import occurs in Gal 3^{23} 4^3, esp. 4^9 (*πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεῦσαι θέλετε*). Before the coming of Christ the only way by which a Gentile could enjoy the privileges of the covenant people was by accepting circumcision and submitting to all the ordinances of the law.

St. Paul's language in the Epistle leaves no doubt that the Church at Colossæ had not been directly founded by him, and that he was personally unknown to the bulk of its members, though individuals among them, such as Philemon, may have met him during his long stay at Ephesus, and have owed their conversion to him.

Ramsay's interpretation of *τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη* (Ac 19^1) would make it probable that St. Paul had not, even on his third missionary journey, traversed the valley of the Lycus. But in any case there is no hint of the existence of a Christian Church in that locality at the time of that journey, and still less of any evangelistic activity of St. Paul's there, and so, by whatever road St. Paul reached Ephesus, there is nothing in Ac inconsistent with the obvious meaning of the Epistle.

III. Object and Contents.—The object of this Ep. is to bring before the Colossians a true ideal of Christian life and practice, based on a true conception of the relation of Christ to the universe and to the Church. It was occasioned by the appearance in Colossæ of a form of false teaching, which, under the garb of a 'philosophy' (2^8), was enticing men back to the trammels of an outward asceticism. The practices to which reference is made ($2^{16f.}$) are in some cases, perhaps in all, distinctively Jewish. And it is probable that they were put forward as the gateway to a higher state of purification than that which was accessible to the ordinary believer. It is uncertain to what extent these practices were connected with any definitely formulated metaphysical or cosmological theories. The term 'philosophy,' as Hort has shown (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 120 ff.), does not necessarily imply more than an ethical system. Yet the Colossians were in danger, actual or prospective ($2^{3.4}$), of doctrinal error respecting the Person of Christ. And some of St. Paul's language regarding Christ's relation to 'the principalities and powers' (1^{16} 2^{10}) would gain in point if we might suppose that a speculative justification of the 'worship of angels' had already been put forward, involving expressly 'either a limitation of His nature to the human sphere, or at most a counting of Him among the angels.' On the other hand, substantially similar language occurs in Eph 1^{21}, where there is no necessity to postulate any polemic reference. And it is hard to believe that St. Paul would have contented himself with this indirect method of attack, if the error had already taken such definite shape. In any case there seems no sufficient ground for postulating a specifically Gnostic or Oriental (non-Jewish) influence on the Church at Colossæ. Above all, the later Valentinian usage of *πλήρωμα* throws back no light on the meaning of the term in the cardinal passages in which it occurs in Col 1^{19} 2^9 and Eph 1^{23} 3^{19} 4^{13}.

The key to the positive teaching of the Ep. is certainly to be found in the conception of the Person and the Work of Christ which it unfolds. Over against the false philosophy, and as the assurance of the perfect satisfaction of the genuine human need of assistance in the attainment of truth to which that philosophy appealed, St. Paul sets the thought of Christ as the Image of the Invisible God (1^{15}), the perfect manifestation in human form of the Eternal Truth, 'the Mystery of God' (2^2), in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Did men aspire after a new ideal of moral development? Their aspirations were not in vain, because the fulness of the divine perfections had found a permanent embodiment and home in One who had taken our nature upon Him, and borne and bears a human form (2^9, cf. 1^{19}). Did they quail before the material forces of this world's potentates that were arrayed against them, or lose their hold of the inherent dignity that belonged to them, as men in the presence of the countless multitudes of the hosts of heaven? There was no power in the universe but from Him. And He had revealed upon the Cross the impotence of all the powers that had set themselves in array to thwart His purposes (2^{15}). The evil from which they were longing to get free clung so close that it might seem almost an integral part of their being; and they were willing to submit to any discipline that would set them free. In the death of Christ they could attain to the reality of that deliverance from the corruption of their nature which had been foreshadowed by circumcision (2^{11}), as they realized the newness of life which was theirs by union with His resurrection.

The following analysis may help to bring out the sequence of thought, and to show how this central conception is interwoven with the whole of the Epistle.

A. The opening section, after the salutation (vv.1. 2), is devoted to an elaborately expanded thanksgiving ($^{3-24}$). St. Paul singles out for special mention the fruitfulness of the knowledge of the truth among the Colossians as witnessed by their evangelist Epaphras ($^{3-8}$), and prays for a further development, springing from the same source, to take practical effect in walking worthily of the Lord, as they give thanks to the Father for their deliverance from the power of darkness into the kingdom of the Son of His love ($^{9-15}$). This reference to the Son leads to a full, though condensed, statement of the office of the Son—

(*a*) In relation to the universe as the source and goal, and the present principle of coherence for all creation ($^{15-17}$), and

(*b*) In relation to the Church as being, now in His risen state,

not only the permanent home of all the divine perfections, but also the source of an all-embracing reconciliation by His death (1$^{19-20}$),—a reconciliation the power of which the Colossians had already experienced, and which would not fail of its final consummation if they continued as they had begun, faithful adherents of the world-wide gospel, of which St. Paul was in a special sense the minister.

B. This personal reference forms the starting-point of the second section of the Ep. (1$^{24-2.5}$), in which St. Paul introduces himself to his correspondents, explaining his unique position in relation to the consummation of the divine revelation, and his efforts to bring the hearts of all men under the full power of its influence (1$^{24-2.8}$). This will help them to understand the interest that he takes in them and in their neighbours, even though they had never met in the flesh, and also the ground for his prayer for their enlightenment (2$^{1-3}$). This section closes with a brief warning against some plausible deceiver, coupled with a renewed assurance of his close sympathy with them, and his joy in their constancy (2$^{4.5}$).

C. He passes now to a series of special exhortations and warnings, which occupy two chapters (2^{6}–4^{6}), and fall into five subdivisions.

(*a*) The first of these (2$^{6-19}$) is in its main purpose an exhortation to retain their hold on and to develop into all its practical consequences the personal relation to Christ which the gospel had made known to them. As this was the point on which the Colossians had most to fear from false teachers, the exhortation (2$^{6.7}$) is accompanied by an explicit warning (2^{8}), and a careful statement of the grounds on which the Christian who grasps the true conception of the Person of Christ is assured of a complete moral development, and receives, by union in baptism with the death and resurrection of Christ, the reality of that separation from his evil nature which had been foreshadowed by circumcision (2$^{9-15}$). In the light of this thought, the attractiveness of outward observances for the attainment of purity and the necessity for angelic mediation disappear (2$^{16-19}$).

(*b*) In the second subdivision (2^{20}–3^{4}) union with the death of Christ is shown to be a deliverance from formal and material restrictions, and union with His resurrection determines the true sphere of Christian thought and life.

(*c*) The third subdivision develops the same thought in its present practical application to moral effort, with relation (1) to the appetites and passions (the members on the earth) which need to be done to death, and the evil habits which must be stripped off (3$^{5-11}$); and (2) to the new graces which the Christian must seek to acquire (3$^{12-14}$), and the new principles by which he should regulate his practice (3$^{15-17}$).

(*d*) The fourth subdivision (3^{18}–4^{1}) applies the new principle to the fundamental relations of family life, husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants.

(*e*) The last subdivision (4$^{2-6}$) contains an exhortation to perseverance in prayer, and to discretion in their relations with the heathen world.

D. The letter closes with a commendation of the messengers, Tychicus and Onesimus, by whose hands it was sent (4$^{7-9}$), and a group of personal salutations (4$^{10-16}$).

IV. INTEGRITY.—Now, if this be a true account of the connexion between the different parts of the letter, there is little room left for questioning the substantial integrity of the document as it has come down to us,—least of all for any such theory as that of Holtzmann, even in the modified form proposed by von Söden, which requires us to believe that its most characteristic christological passages have been added by an interpolator. The letter must clearly be accepted or rejected as a whole. Holtzmann's theory no doubt deserves all the respect which is due to honest and scholarly workmanship. But it has failed to find support even in the land in which it was produced. And after Sanday's criticism of it in Smith's *DB*^{2} no useful end would be served by a detailed examination of it here.

There remains, however, the subordinate question of the integrity of the *text*. And here it is by no means so easy to speak with confidence. In one or two cases, notably in 2^{18} and ^{23}, it is difficult, if not impossible, to accept any of the attested readings. We are therefore forced to accept Hort's conclusion (App. p. 127), that 'this Epistle, and more especially its second chapter, appears to have been ill preserved in ancient times.' And it may well be, as Sanday has suggested, that some of the harshnesses which have led to suspicion of interpolation may be due to primitive corruptions in the transmitted text.

LITERATURE.—Of Eng. Comm. the most complete is that of Lightfoot, whose conclusions should, however, be carefully checked by reference to the sections in *Judaistic Christianity*, in which Hort examines minutely into the characteristics of the false teaching prevalent at Colossæ. Other commentaries:—Barry, J. Ll. Davies, H. C. G. Moule, Maclaren, T. K. Abbott, and (German) De Wette, Ewald, Lange, Meyer. See also Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 683; von Soden (in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1895, pp. 320 ff., 497 ff., 672 ff.); Holtzmann, *Krit. d. Eph. u. Kolosserbriefe*; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Age*, i. 218, ii. 240 ff., 383, 391, and refer to the Literature at end of EPHESIANS.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

COLOUR is used in the sense of 'pretence' or 'pretext,' Ac 27^{30} 'under c. as though they would have cast anchors' (*μελλόντων ἐκτείνειν*), and 2 Mac 3^{8} 'under a c. of visiting the cities' (*τῇ ἐμφάσει ὡς ἐφοδεύσων*). Cf. Greene (1592) 'You carry your pack but for a coulour, to shadow your other villainies.'

J. HASTINGS.

COLOURS.—In his *Juventus Mundi* (p. 540) Gladstone sums up the main conclusions of his investigations into the sense of colour in Homer (cf. *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, iii. 457 ff.):—'1. His perceptions of colour, considered as light decomposed, though highly poetical, are also very indeterminate. 2. His perceptions of light not decomposed as varying between light and dark, white and black, are most vivid and effective. 3. Accordingly, his descriptions of colour generally tend a good deal to range themselves in a scale (so to speak) of degrees rather than of kinds of light.' Very much the same may be said of the colour-sense among the Hebrews. Even in Mesopotamia the colours used in the painting and enamelling of walls were only some five or six in number, and were used for effects of brilliance rather than of actual representation of natural coloured objects (Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, vol. ii. p. 295). Among the Hebrews the pictorial arts seem to have been at first unknown, and later were discouraged on religious grounds. Dyeing was the only art connected with colours known to them before the time of Ezekiel, and even here the *result* rather than the *process* was familiar. Consequently, the references to colour in the oldest literature are very simple. In the Song of Deborah (Jg 5^{30}) dyed stuffs and embroideries (of various colours) are mentioned without any further distinction. In the Song of the Bow (2 S 1^{24}), 'scarlet' raiment is the gift of the king. In the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew Hist.' (JE), the only colours mentioned are black (Gn 30$^{32ff.}$), white (Gn 49^{12}), scarlet (Gn 38$^{28.30}$), red (Gn 25^{25}), and grey (Gn 44^{29}). All these are used of natural objects. Later, the dyed wares of Phœnicia were introduced and largely used among the Hebrews, whose acquaintance with colours was thus enlarged, though at no time was it very precise in its nature or extensive in its comprehension.

In like manner the *symbolism* of colours in OT and NT is very simple. It may be classed as (*a*) literary, (*b*) apocalyptic, (*c*) ritual.

(*a*) Illustrations of the first use will be found under the individual colours. It is to be found in the literature of most nations, especially in poetical language.

(*b*) The apocalyptic use of colour as symbol is found in a simple form in Zec, in a more developed in Dn, and in its most complete form in the Apocalypse.

(*c*) In matters pertaining to ritual (esp. in the tabernacle), colours are frequently used, but it has not yet been satisfactorily shown that they were used symbolically, or that they were other than the most brilliant colours procurable when the descriptions were given. They are only thus mentioned in P and Ch. In Alexandria, however, in the 1st cent. they were all interpreted symbolically by Philo, who says (*de Vita Mos.* iii. 6) that they represent the elements—fine flax (white), the earth; purple, water; hyacinth

(blue), air; scarlet, fire (so also Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 7).

BLACK is used in OT only of natural objects. (1) שְׁחֹר of hair Lv 13[26], Ca 5[11], horses Zec 6[2. 6], skin that is burnt with the sun Ca 1[5], and that peels off in disease Job 30[30]. (2) חוּם is used of sheep only Gn 30[32f. 35], and is rendered in LXX by *φαιός*, a word denoting the greyness of twilight, or any mixture of black and white. In v.[40] it is an interpolation. (3) The verb קָדַר (originally 'to be dirty, foul') is used of the darkened sky Jer 4[28], 1 K 18[45], and from its original meaning comes to signify mourning Jer 8[21] 14[2], Ezk 31[15], Mal 3[14]. It is also used of the dark colour of ice-covered water Job 6[16]. In Pr 7[9] 'blackness of night' is literally as in RVm 'pupil of eye of night.' In Ep. Jer (v.[21]) faces are blackened (*μεμελανωμένοι*) by smoke. In NT *μέλας* is used of hair Mt 5[36], of horses Rev 6[5], and especially of ink 2 Co 3[3] etc.; *γνόφος* for the darkness of night He 12[18] (cf. Dt 4[11]), and *ζόφος* for the darkness of the nether world 2 P 2[4] (cf. Homer, *Il.* xxi. 56). It is used symbolically for affliction and death Zec 6[2-6] ('famine in consequence of a siege,' cf. Hitzig-Steiner's *Comm.*), La 4[8], and as above for 'mourning' generally Mal 3[14].

BLUE (תְּכֵלֶת, LXX *ὑάκινθος*, *ὁλοπόρφυρος* only in Nu 4[7], cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII. iii. 13). In NT there is no mention of this colour. In Assyr. the word *ta-kil-tu* occurs in several inscriptions (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.* p. 706). This colour seems to have been a violet-purple as distinguished from אַרְגָּמָן (see PURPLE), but even in early times there was great indefiniteness in its use (cf. Talm. Bab. *Menachoth* 44[a], and for use of *ὑάκινθος* and *hyacinthus* in classical writers see Kitto, *Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit.*[3] i. 40 f.). It was obtained from a shell-fish found on the Phœn. coast attached to the rocks. The Targ. pseudo-Jonathan to Dt 33[19] calls it חִלְזוֹן, and this is usually identified with *Helix ianthina*. (For other purple-producing shell-fish see PURPLE.) Blue was used often with purple (see below) and scarlet (see SCARLET) in the curtains of the tabernacle (Ex 26[1]), the veil of the ark (26[31]), the screen of the tent-door (26[36]), the screen of the gates of the court (27[16]), parts connected with the ephod (28), the mitre (28[37]), and the girdle (39[29]) of the priest, also in the coverings of the table of shewbread, the candlesticks, the golden altar, and the vessels of the sanctuary (Nu 4). A cord of blue was to be put on the fringes or tassels of the Israelites' garments (Nu 15[38]). In the veil, before the holiest place in Solomon's temple, blue was inwrought with purple and crimson according to the Chronicler (2 Ch 3[14]). It was also used in the clothing of idols (Jer 10[9]). In Ezk it is the colour of the clothing of young Assyr. nobles (23[6]), and in his description of the luxury of Tyre, awnings of blue and purple were their coverings on ships; and bales of blue and broidered work were among their merchandise (27[7. 24]). Hangings of white and blue cloth figure in the palace of Ahasuerus (Est 1[6]), and royal apparel is of blue and white (Est 8[15]). In Pr 20[30] the AV 'blueness of a wound' is correctly given in RV as 'stripes that wound.'

CRIMSON is identical with scarlet. It occurs in RV only in Is 1[18] as tr. of תּוֹלַע (see SCARLET), and in 2 Ch 2[7. 14] 3[14] for כַּרְמִיל, which seems to be a Persian word, from كِرْم 'a worm,' and thus equivalent to תּוֹלַעַת (cf. Ges-Buhl.). See separate art.

GREEN (in Heb. various derivatives of the root ירק, cf. Assyr. *arāḳu*, 'to be pale' [Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.* p. 243]. Gr. χλωρός).—It is used exclusively of vegetation Gn 1[30] 9[3], Mk 6[39], Rev 8[7] 9[4] etc. **Greenish**, יְרַקְרַק, that is, inclining to yellow, is used of the plague of leprosy in skin or garment Lv 13[49] 14[37]. The same word is used of gold Ps 68[13] (RV 'yellow'). In the many other passages where the word 'green' occurs in RV, the Heb. equivalent contains no reference to colour.

GREY is used only of 'grey hair,' Heb. שֵׂיבָה Gn 44[29] etc.

PURPLE (LXX and NT *πορφύρα*, *πυρφυροῦς*, Heb. אַרְגָּמָן, Aram. אַרְגְּוָנָא, Assyr. *Argamannu*, Del. *Assyr. Hwb.* p. 129).—This was a precious dye of a red-purple colour obtained from the shell-fish *Murex trunculus*, near Tyre, and *Murex brandaris* on the shores of Taranto and the Peloponnesus. The Phœnicians seem to have long monopolized the sale (and perhaps the preparation) of it, not only on their own coasts, but on those of the 'isles of Elishah' (acc. to Targ. on Gn 10[4]=Italy, more probably=Greece, Ἑλλάς; cf. Smend's *Comm.*), Ezk 27[7], and in the manufactories of Syria (Ezk 27[16]). In later times the dye was sold (and manufactured?) in Asia (Ac 16[14]), and in Pliny's time in the islands on the N. coast of Africa and Madeira (*HN* ix. 36, vi. 36; cf. Strabo, 835). For other methods of preparing purple see Vitruvius, vii. 13, 14. Purple was used—generally in combination with blue and scarlet—in the curtains and veils of the tabernacle, in certain parts of the priests' dress and ornaments, and alone in the cloth spread on the altar (Ex 26–28. 35. 39, Nu 4[13], cf. Sir 45[10]), also in Solomon's temple (see BLUE). It was especially the colour used in the raiment and trappings of royalty. The kings of Midian wore purple raiment (Jg 8[26]), so did the royal courtiers of Persia (Est 8[15]), of Babylon (Dn 5[7-16. 29]), and of Syria (2 Mac 4[38]). The fittings of Solomon's palanquin (Ca 3[10]) and the cords in the hangings of the palace of Ahasuerus (Est 1[6]) were of purple; and the absence of this colour from the dress of the all-powerful Romans was noted with surprise (1 Mac 8[14]). Purple is thus the sign of royalty and nobility (Pr 31[22], Rev 17[4] 18[12. 16]), and hence it is used in the dressing of idols (Jer 10[9], Ep. Jer[12]). A purple robe was put on our Lord in mockery before his crucifixion (Mk 15[17] [*πορφύραν*], Jn 19[2] [*ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν*], but Mt 27[28] reads 'scarlet' [*χλαμύδα κοκκίνην*]). In Ca 7[5] the brilliance of the hair is compared with that of purple (see Graetz, *Comm.*).

RED (אָדֹם and אַרְמוֹנִי; for other words see below, LXX and NT *πυῤῥός*, *πυῤῥάκης*, *πυῤῥιζων*. In Assyr. the root *adm* is used for dark-red as of blood [Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.* p. 26]).—This colour is in most passages used of natural objects, as of pottage Gn 25[30], a heifer Nu 19[2], water discoloured 2 K 3[22], wine Pr 23[31] (cf. RVm to Ps 75[8], Heb. חֶמֶר), horses Zec 1[8] 6[2], Rev 6[4], the face red with weeping Job 16[16] (RVm), and the sky Mt 16[2. 3]. But it was also artificially produced (Flinders Petrie says that red-dyed leather was made in Egypt before B.C. 3000). Rams' skins dyed red were used for the covering of the tent of the tabernacle Ex 25[5] 35[7. 23] 36[19] 39[24] (see TABERNACLE). Garments dyed red are mentioned in Is 63[2]. In Nah 2[3] the words 'made red' mean dyed red according to *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade, but 'lit up by the sun' (cf. 1 Mac 6[39]) according to Hitzig-Steiner's *Comm.* In Gn 49[12] the word translated 'red' means 'dull' (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* to חַכְלִילִי, and Assyr. *akālu*), and in Est 1[6] 'red' is either 'porphyry' (RVm, cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* to פַּטְּט) or malachite (Ryssel's *Commentary*). In one passage (Wis 13[14], see VERMILION) it is the RV rendering of *ἐρυθήνας*.

A lighter shade of the same colour is expressed by the word **reddish** (אַרְכֻּבֹת), used of leprous spots on the flesh Lv 13, or on the wall of a house Lv 14[37].

SCARLET (תּוֹלַע, תּוֹלָעַת, שָׁנִי, and very commonly תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי, LXX and NT *κόκκινος*. See also CRIMSON).—תּוֹלַע denotes the source of the colour, שָׁנִי the brilliance of it (cf. Pliny, *HN* xxxiii. 40, 'Cocci nitor'; Martial, x. 76, '*cocco* mulio *fulget*'). It is an artificial colour

obtained from the female of an insect (*Coccus ilicis*) which is found attached to a species of oak, and forms a berry-like protuberance about the size of a cherry-stone. It was found chiefly in Palestine, Asia Minor, and South Europe. The poor of Spain at the time of Pliny paid half their tribute by means of this insect (*HN* xvi. 12). In OT scarlet is used chiefly of thread (Gn $38^{28.30}$, Jos $2^{18.21}$), cloth (Nu 4^{8}, 2 S 1^{24}), and wool (He 9^{19}). In the coverings of the tabernacle it was used sometimes alone Nu 4^{8}, oftener with purple and blue Ex $26^{1.31}$ etc. So also in the dress of the priests Ex 28^{6} etc., cf. Sir 45^{11}. In ordinary life scarlet clothing was a sign of prosperity 2 S 1^{24}, Pr 31^{21}, La 4^{5}. Its brilliance made it a source of attraction Jer 4^{30}, and led to the figurative use for what was glaring Is 1^{18}. Once only it is used of a natural object, when the lips are compared to a thread of scarlet Ca 4^{3}.

SORREL (שֹׂרֵק) occurs once of horses in Zec 1^{8}, where LXX translates by *ψαρός*, 'dappled grey,' cf. 6^{3} (LXX).

VERMILION (Heb. שָׁשׁ, Gr. *μίλτος* [but *ἐν γραφίδι* in Ezk]).—A pigment used among the Assyrians (for reff. see Smith, *DB* i. 623). Rooms were painted with it Jer 22^{14}, images of the Chaldæans are portrayed on a wall with it in a description in Ezk 23^{14}, and wooden idols are smeared with it in Wis 13^{14}. The Vulg. translates by *sinopide* in Jer, *coloribus* in Ezk, and *rubrica* in Wis. Virgil (*Ecl.* x. 26 f.) and Pliny (*HN* xxxv. 45, cf. xxxiii. 36) describe Roman images of deities thus adorned.

WHITE.—In OT the most usual word employed is לָבָן, LXX *λευκός*. It is used of such objects as snow Is 1^{18}, milk Gn 49^{12}, manna Ex 16^{31}, horses Zec 1^{8} $6^{3.6}$, and leprous hair Lv 13. Lebanon seems to have received its name either from the white snow on its summits or the limestone of which it was composed (see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 103). In Ca 5^{10} the word צַח 'white' (RV) denotes dazzling, and in Dn 7^{9} a late word חִוָּר is used of raiment. The same root is used in the word translated 'white bread' Gn 40^{16}. In NT *λευκός* is used of natural objects and of linen, but chiefly as the symbol of purity or innocence and holiness, as in the Transfiguration, or of angels Jn 20^{12}, etc., the saints Rev 6^{11}, or the throne of God Rev 20^{11}, or of victory Rev 6^{2} $19^{11.14}$ (cf. Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 537 f.).

YELLOW (צְהֹב, *ξανθίζουσα*) is used in OT only of the hair in leprous sores Lv $13^{30.32.36}$ (but see **Greenish**). In Est 1^{6} the word דַּר tr^{d} 'yellow' in RV, 'alabaster' in RVm, probably means 'pearl' or 'mother-of-pearl' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Ges-Buhl under דַּר).

In addition to the words denoting specific colours, there are a few used in OT to indicate a mixture, generally of black and white. The chief of these are: 1. **Speckled** נָקוֹד, literally dotted or spotted, used of sheep and goats, Gn 30. 31. In Jer 12^{9} it is used of birds and is a tr. of צָבוּעַ, lit. 'dyed.' 2. **Spotted** טָלוּא, *i.e.* covered with patches, Gn 30. The same Heb. word is used in Ezk 16^{16} of high places, and is translated in RV 'decked with divers colours.' 3. **Ringstraked** עָקוֹד, marked with rings or bands Gn 30. 31. 4. **Grisled** בָּרוֹד, marked with white spots resembling hail, used of he-goats Gn $31^{10.12}$, of horses Zec $6^{3.6}$.

In Jg 5^{30} the word צְבָעִים is tr. 'of divers colours' in RV, or 'dyed garments' in RVm (cf. also under **Speckled**). The word רִקְמָה is tr. 'of divers colours' in 1 Ch 29^{2}, of precious stones, similarly in Ezk 17^{3} of feathers. In other places it is generally translated 'broidered work.' It is derived from a root which, according to Fleischer, originally meant to make a thing many-coloured by engraving, drawing, writing, or broidering.

G. W. THATCHER.

COLT is not applied in the Bible to the young horse, but to the young ass, and once (Gn 32^{15}) to the young camel. Outside the Bible it is not applied to the young of any animal but the horse. See ASS.

J. HASTINGS.

COME.—**1.** *Come about, i.e.* 'come round,' either lit. 2 Ch 13^{13} 'Jeroboam caused an ambushment to c. about behind them' (סֹבֵב); or fig. 1 S 1^{20} 'when the time was c. about' (לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים *on the return of the days*). **2.** *Come again, i.e.* 'come back' (see AGAIN), as Jg 15^{19} 'when he had drunk, his spirit came a. and he revived' (שׁוּב). **3.** *Come at,* (1) 'come near,' 'reach,' Dn 6^{24} 'the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den'; Lk 8^{19} 'they could not c. at him for the crowd'; (2) 'come near,' 'touch,' Nu 6^{6} 'he shall c. at no dead body' (RV 'c. near to'); (3) so as to have sexual intercourse, Ex 19^{15} 'c. not at your wives' (RV 'c. not near a woman'). **4.** *Come by,* 'come near,' esp. so as to get hold of, Ac 27^{16} 'we had much work to c. by the boat' (RV, 'we were able, with difficulty, to secure the boat'): cf. Pref. to AV 'Translation it is . . . that removeth the cover of the well, that we may c. by the water'; and Shaks. *Two Gent. of Ver.* III. i. 125—

> 'Love is like a child,
> That longs for everything that he can come by.'

5. *Come in,* 'enter upon,' 'begin,' Ro 11^{25} 'until the fulness of the Gentiles be c. in' (*εἰσέρχομαι*). Cf. Shaks. 2 *Henry IV.* v. iii. 52—

> 'Now comes in the sweet of the night.

For the phrase 'He that should come' (*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, RV 'he that cometh') see JESUS CHRIST, and MESSIAH. And for the **Second Coming** see PAROUSIA.

J. HASTINGS.

COMELY, COMELINESS.—These words, now slightly archaic in any sense, are quite obsol. in the sense of *moral* fitness or beauty, a meaning which they have a few times in EV, as Ps 33^{1} 'praise is c. for the upright.' Dr. Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.*) thinks the earliest meaning of 'comely' may have been 'delicately fashioned,' so that we may compare Jer 6^{2} 'the c. and delicate one, the daughter of Zion.' But the usage of AV (foll. by RV) gives us: (1) *Befitting,* Ec 5^{18} 'it is good and c. for one to eat and to drink and to enjoy the good of all his labour'; 1 Co 11^{13} 'is it c. that a woman pray unto God uncovered?' (*πρέπει*, RV 'is it seemly?'). (2) *Pleasing to the eye,* because befitting, Job 41^{12} 'his c. proportion' (Amer. RV 'goodly frame'); Ezk 27^{10} 'they set forth thy comeliness' (הָדָר). Then (3) *handsome, beautiful, majestic* (the distinction 'might be rather called comely than beautiful' being quite modern), Ca 6^{4} 'Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, c. as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners'; Is 53^{2} 'he hath no form nor comeliness.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMFORT (נֶחָמָה, תַּנְחֻמִים, *παράκλησις* *).—The state of relief from trouble, or the means of solace. In OT the evils to which the consolations of God are most characteristically opposed are the calamities of the chosen people, while in NT the divine comfort is mainly represented as enabling the individual Christian to endure, and even to rejoice under, the natural ills of human life and the persecutions to which the faithful are subjected. As the sources of comfort

* In AV, *παράκλησις* is tr. '**consolation**' in Lk 2^{25} 6^{24}, Ac 4^{36} 15^{31} (m. 'exhortation'), Ro 15^{5}, 2 Co $1^{5.6.7}$ 7^{4} 7^{7}, Ph 2^{1}, 2 Th 2^{16}, Philem 7, He 6^{18}; 'comfort' in Ac 9^{31}, Ro 15^{4}, 2 Co $1^{3.4}$ $7^{4.13}$; 'exhortation' in Ac 13^{15}, Ro 12^{8}, 1 Co 14^{3}, 2 Co 8^{17}, 1 Th 2^{3}, 1 Ti 4^{13}, He 12^{5} 13^{22}; and 'intreaty' in 2 Co 8^{4}. RV changes 'consolation' into 'comfort,' except in Lk 2^{25} 6^{24}, Ac 15^{31}, He 6^{18} (encouragement), Ac 4^{36} ('exhortation,' m. 'consolation'), and, except in 1 Co 14^{3}, keeps 'exhortation' where AV has it (Ro 12^{8} 'exhorting').

are mentioned the word of God (Ps 119[50]), the loving-kindness of God (Ps 119[76]), the Holy Ghost (Ac 9[31]), the fellowship and sympathy of Christ (2 Co 1[5], Ph 2[1]), God the Father (2 Co 1[3]). The OT comfort of the individual is, in the main, hope in the eventual manifestation of the retributive justice of God; of the nation, the prophetic promise of the deliverance, purification, and exaltation of Israel. The NT doctrine specially emphasizes as comfort (*a*) under sorrow for sin, that it works repentance (2 Co 7[10]); (*b*) under affliction, that it is a paternal discipline, a token of the divine love, designed to purify the character of the sufferer (He 12), and to qualify for ministration (2 Co 1[4]); while, generally, it contrasts the present sufferings, as temporary and light, with the future joys of the redeemed, as eternal and weighty (2 Co 4[17]). The divine comforts are strong (He 6[18]), all-embracing (2 Co 1[3]), and everlasting (2 Th 2[16]). See PARACLETE.

W. P. PATERSON.

COMFORTER.—See PARACLETE.

COMING OF CHRIST.—See PAROUSIA.

COMMANDMENT.—The distinction bet. 'command,' the order of a *secular* authority, and 'commandment,' a *divine* charge, is modern. In older Eng. we find, *e.g.*, Rogers (1642) saying, 'As Papists have done with the second Command'; and in AV 'commandment' is freely used for the orders of a king or other secular power. Thus, Est 2[20] 'Esther did the commandment of Mordecai'; Mt 15[9] 'teaching for doctrines the commandments of men' (*ἐντάλματα*, RV 'precepts'); Ac 25[23] 'at Festus' commandment Paul was brought forth' (RV 'at the command of Festus'). *To give commandment* is an archaic phrase often used for the simple vb. 'to command,' and even '*to give in commandment*' Ex 34[32] (צִוָּה). The vb. to **command** is itself used in many obsol. constructions. Besides the mod. use to command one to do a thing, or a thing to be done, we find 'c. to do' without the person, Ac 5[34] 'Gamaliel . . . c[ed] to put the men forth.' Sometimes the pers. only is mentioned, as Gn 18[19] 'he will c. his children and his household after him'; sometimes the thing only, as Ps 133[3] 'there the LORD c[ed] the blessing'; or the pers. and thing without the infin. as 1 S 21[2] 'the king hath c[ed] me a business.' The subst. 'command' occurs once in AV, Job 39[27] 'Doth the eagle mount up at thy c.?' and only one earlier occurrence is found in Eng. literature, Shaks. *Two Gent.* IV. iii. 5—

'One that attends your Ladyship's command.'

For the **Ten Commandments** see DECALOGUE.

J. HASTINGS.

COMMEND, COMMENDATION.—To c. is now to approve of, speak well of, and in this sense it is used in AV, as Gn 12[15] 'The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and c[ed] her before Pharaoh' (הָלַל RV 'praised'); Pr 12[8] 'A man shall be c[ed] acc. to his wisdom' (הָלַל); Ec 8[15] 'I c[ed] mirth' (שִׁבַּח); Lk 16[8] 'the Lord c[ed] the unjust steward' (*ἐπαινέω*). But in older Eng. 'c.' also signified (1) to present a person or thing to another as worthy of approval (mod. *recommend*): thus, Ro 16[1] 'I c. unto you Phœbe, our sister' (*συνίστημι*.* So 3[5] 5[8], 2 Co 3[1] 4[2] 5[12] 10[12. 18 *bis*] 12[11]); 1 Co 8[8] 'meat c[eth] us not to God' (*παρίστημι*). In this sense is **commendation** used, 2 Co 3[1*bis*] [all], 'epistles of c.' (2) To entrust, Lk 23[46] 'Father, into thy hands I c. my spirit,' and Ac 14[23] 20[32] (all *παρατίθημι*). Cf. Shaks. *Henry VIII.* v. i. 17—

'I love you;
And durst commend a secret to your ear.'

J. HASTINGS.

* On the meanings of this verb see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 3[5], where, as in 5[8], the meaning is rather 'prove,' 'establish.'

COMMENTARY.—Thus RV translates *midhrâsh* (מִדְרָשׁ, AV 'story') in the only passages in which that word is found, 2 Ch 13[22] 24[27].

'The term *Midrash*,' says Driver (*LOT*[5] 497), 'is common in post-Bibl. literature. *Darash* is "to search out," "investigate," "explore"; as applied to Scripture, to discover or develop a thought not apparent on the surface,—for instance, the hidden meaning of a word, or the particulars implied by an allusion (*e.g.* what Abraham did in Ur of the Chaldees, what Eldad and Medad said when they prophesied, the circumstances of Moses' death, etc.). The Midrash may be defined as an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story (Tobit and Susanna are thus *Midrashim*).'

The two Midrashim of OT are (1) 'The Midrash of the Prophet Iddo' (2 Ch 13[22]), and (2) 'The Midrash of the Book of Kings' (24[27]). They were probably didactic developments of the historical narratives we possess, making use of these narratives to emphasize some religious truth; but nothing is known of them beyond their titles. See under CHRONICLES.

J. HASTINGS.

COMMERCE.—See TRADE.

COMMON.—1. Following the Gr. (*κοινός*), c. is used in NT in two chief senses. 1. That is 'c.' which is shared by all, as Ac 2[44] 4[32] 'they had all things c.'; Tit 1[4] 'Titus, mine own son after the c. faith'; Jude[3] 'the common salvation.' 2. That which is common to all is distinguished from that which is peculiar to the few; whence the application to the religious practices of the heathen in contrast with those of the Jews; or of the ordinary people, 'the people of the land' (עַם הָאָרֶץ), in contrast with those of the Pharisees—*i.e.* ceremonially *unclean*. Thus Ac 10[14. 15] 'But Peter said, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is c. or unclean.* And the voice spake unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed (*ἐκαθάρισε*), that call not thou c.' (*σὺ μὴ κοίνου*, RV 'make not thou c.'). In this sense c. is twice (1 S 21[4. 5]) the tr. of Heb. *ḥôl* (never tr[d] by *κοινός* however in LXX, but always by *βέβηλος*), elsewhere rendered in AV 'unholy' (Lv 10[10]) or 'profane' (Ezk 22[26] 42[20] 44[23] 48[15] [all]), but by RV always 'common.'

2. In Lv 4[27] we find the expression 'the c. people.' The Heb. (עַם הָאָרֶץ, *'am hâ'âreẓ*) is lit. 'the people of the land,' and is so tr[d] Gn 23[7] (where it describes the Hittites), 2 K 11[18. 19] 16[15] 21[24], Jer 1[18], Ezk 7[27]. The phrase was chosen by the Pharisees to describe the people dwelling in the Holy Land who were not Ḥaberim. See under PHARISEES, and consult the foll. literature on the subject—

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 8. 22 ff.; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* iii. 251; Graetz, *Hist. of Jews* ii. 152, 367, iii. 114; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah* i. 85, 230; Chwolson, *Das letzte Passahmahl Christi* p. 73 n; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 497 ff.; Friedländer, *Zur Entstehungsgesch. des Christenthums*, ch. i.

3. For 'common hall' Mt 27[27] see PRÆTORIUM. In Ac 5[18], 'the c. prison,' c. is used in the old sense of *public*. This is after Wyclif, who tr. Vulg. *in custodia publica*, 'in comun kepyng' (1388 'in the comyn warde'). Cf. *Eng. Gilds* (1467), 391, 'That no citezen be putt in comyn prisone, but in one of the chambers of the halle benethforth'; Coverdale's tr. of Ac 17[22] 'Paul stode on the myddes of the comon place'; Latimer's *Serm.* p. 326, 'I told you the diversity of prayer, namely, of the common prayer, and the private'; and 'the Book of Common Prayer.' See PRISON.

J. HASTINGS.

* RV gives 'c. and unclean,' reading *κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον* with edd., instead of TR *κ. ἢ ἀκ.* Nevertheless *κοινός* and *ἀκάθαρτος* have the same meaning. The classical passage is Mk 7[2], *κοιναῖς χερσί, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀνίπτοις*, 'with defiled (AVm, RVm 'common'), that is, unwashen, hands.' With which cf. vv.[18. 19], where Jesus says, 'whatsoever from without goeth into the man, it cannot defile him' (*αὐτὸν κοινῶσαι*, lit. 'make him c.'); and St. Mark adds the comment, '[this he said], making all meats clean' (*καθαρίζων*). See Page on Ac 10[14].

COMMUNE. — In its earliest use 'commune' (which had the same origin as 'common') signified to make common property, to share. This may be either by *giving*, as Wyclif's tr. of Ph 4[14] 'Ye han don wel, comunynge to my tribulacioun'; or by *receiving*, as his tr. of 2 Jn [11] 'He that saith to him, Heyl, comuneth with his yuele werkis.' Being by and by restricted to *speech*, it meant sometimes simply 'talk to,' as Gn 42[24] '[Joseph] returned to them again, and communed with them' (וַיְדַבֵּר אֲלֵהֶם, RV 'and spake to them'). But generally the sense of both giving and receiving is present, either with others, as Lk 6[11] 'they communed one with another what they might do to Jesus' (διαλαλέω); or with oneself, as Ps 4[4] 'c. with your own heart upon your bed, and be still'—a meaning which Dr. Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.*) describes as 'now only literary, devotional, and poetic.' In 1 S 25[39] (AV 'And David sent and communed with Abigail') the Heb. (וַיְדַבֵּר בְּ) is lit. 'spake *concerning* A.,' and has the special meaning of 'asked in marriage,' as in Ca 8[8] (same Heb.) AV and RV 'the day when she shall be *spoken for*.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMMUNICATE.—Like *commune* (wh. see), to c. is to make common property, either more particularly by *giving*, as Gal 2[2] 'I c[ed] unto them that gospel' (ἀνατίθεμαι, RV 'laid before them'); Ro 12[13] RV 'c[ing] to the necessities of the saints' (AV 'distributing'); He 13[16] 'to do good and to c. forget not': or by *receiving*, as Ph 4[14] 'ye did c. with my affliction' (RV 'had fellowship with'). Cf. Fenton (1579) 'Cæsar the Dictator, of whom you beare the surname, and communicate in his fortunes.' But generally by giving and receiving equally, as Ph 4[15] 'no church c[ed] with me as concerning giving and receiving' (RV 'had fellowship with me'). **Communication** is generally *conversation*,* as 2 K 9[11] 'Ye know the man, and his c.' (RV 'what his talk was'); Col 3[8] 'filthy c. out of your mouth' (αἰσχρολογία, RV 'shameful speaking').

In 1 Co 15[33] 'evil c[s] corrupt good manners,' RV takes the Gr. (ὁμιλίαι κακαί) in the sense of 'evil company,' Amer. RV 'evil companionships.' This is a new tr., Vulg. having 'colloquia mala'; Wyclif, 'yuel spechis'; Tindale, 'malicious speakinges'; Cranmer, 'evil wordes'; the Geneva, 'evil speakinges'; the Rheims and AV 'evil communications.' And it is not certain that it is a correct tr[n]. The vb. ὁμιλέω occurs in NT only in the sense of 'speak with' (as in LXX, Jos. and mod. Greek—see Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek* p. 155), and ὁμιλία, which occurs only here, may well have the same meaning—a meaning towards which it tends more and more in later Greek. In eccles. usage it is the sermon (*homily*) of the Christian preacher.

J. HASTINGS.

COMMUNION.—The word κοινωνία is variously rendered in the English Bible by 'communion,' 'fellowship,' 'contribution,' 'distribution.' It is used in relation to the Christian Society to express the idea of the fellowship in which it is united, and the acts of fellowship in which the idea is realized. Its general NT use deserves to be considered as introductory to its specific application to the Eucharist, or Holy Communion (see LORD'S SUPPER).

The corresponding verb κοινωνεῖν has two senses: (1) 'to have a share in,' (2) 'to give a share to'; so that we are prepared for a twofold meaning of κοινωνία: (1) 'fellowship' as recognized and enjoyed, (2) 'fellowship' as manifested in acts which give it expression. Four passages, or groups of passages, deserve special examination.

1. 2 Co 13[14] 'The fellowship of the Holy Spirit'; Ph 2[1] 'If there be any fellowship of the Spirit.' The first of these passages is one of the few in which, as in the Baptismal formula (Mt 28[19]), the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are brought into emphatic juxtaposition: 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.' The order is remarkable. It is explained, however, when we observe that we have here an expansion of the final salutation with which St. Paul regularly closes his epistles. Thus in 2 Th 3[17. 18] we read: 'The greeting of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: thus I write: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.' It was his invariable habit to take the pen from his amanuensis at the close and write a parting salutation as his sign-manual. This was always a prayer that 'grace' might be with his readers; the word was characteristic of his teaching, and it always occurs, even in the briefest form of the closing salutation.

To understand the enlarged form of this salutation in 2 Co, we must recall the circumstances of the Corinthian Church. Party divisions were distracting it: all its manifold troubles St. Paul traces to this root. Unity must be restored: this is the first injunction of the first epistle (1 Co 1[10]), and the last injunction of the second (2 Co 13[11]). His remedy for disunion was his doctrine of the One Body, which he brought to bear on their sin of fornication, their difficulty about idol-meats, their jealousy as to spiritual gifts, their profanation of the Lord's Supper. The second epistle opens with an outburst of relief at their return to obedience. Yet at the close he shows that his fears are still alive. What will he find when he comes? 'Strife, jealousy, wraths, factions, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults?' If so, he warns them that he will not spare. He closes with exhortations to unity and peace, and promises the presence of 'the God of love and peace.' Then his final salutation runs at first in its accustomed form, 'the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ'; but it is expanded to meet the occasion and its needs: 'the God of love' suggests the addition 'the love of God'; and the true sense of membership which the One Spirit gives to the One Body is prayed for in the words 'the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.' It is clear, then, that the genitive here is subjective and not objective; and this is confirmed by the parallel clauses. 'The grace' which is 'of the Lord Jesus,' and 'the love' which is 'of God,' are parallel with 'the fellowship' which is 'of the Holy Spirit.'

The meaning in this place seems to decide the otherwise doubtful sense of Ph 2[1] 'if there be any fellowship of the Spirit.' Here, again, the context speaks of love and unity. So that it is most natural to interpret the phrase in both places of the sense of unity, membership or fellowship, which it is the peculiar work of the Holy Spirit to preserve in the Christian Church.

2. Ac 2[42] 'They continued steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers.' This is the first description given us of the newly-baptized converts after Pentecost, when they numbered already about 3000. It is expanded in the next verses, in which two at least of its phrases are almost verbally repeated: 'the breaking of bread' is represented by 'breaking bread house by house,' and 'the fellowship' or 'communion' (κοινωνία) is echoed in the words, 'all they that believed together held all things common' (κοινά).

Thus 'the fellowship' seems to refer to the unity of recognized membership, the 'community,' in which the first brethren lived together. The words 'they held all things common' are illustrated by the statement that they sold their goods, and distributed to all 'according as any had need.' No systematic plan of relief for the poorer brethren is implied: the wealthier were moved to supply their needs as they occurred, in a way that must have been reckless had they not looked for a speedy return of Christ. The method was incom-

* In Mt 5[37], Lk 24[17], Eph 4[29] the Gr. is simply λόγος, word, speech.

patible with the higher organization of the Body; but it was a striking exemplification of the new spirit of fellowship, the sense of common interest, the realization of oneness. This oneness is again emphasized in $4^{32ff.}$: 'Of the whole company of them that believed there was one heart and soul: and not one said that any of his possessions was his own; but they held all things common . . . nor was there any in need among them: for as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things sold and laid them at the feet of the apostles; and distribution was made to each, according as any had need.' Then follows the account of Barnabas, who thus disposed of his estate; and of Ananias and his wife, who sold a possession and offered a part of the price as the whole. St. Peter makes it plain that Ananias need not have parted with his property at all. It was his own, and in his own power. His offence lay, not in niggardliness, but in deceit. This makes it evident that 'community of goods' was not a part of the apostolic teaching; nor is this the meaning of the term κοινωνία. The reference to laying the price at the feet of the apostles shows that indiscriminate almsgiving was quickly yielding place to a central fund for common relief. The events of ch. 6 indicate that a common table for the poorer members was one method of their relief, and so one sign of 'the fellowship' which characterized the Body. This 'daily ministration' led to difficulties which imperilled the sense of unity itself, and so necessitated a more developed organization of the Body.

Turning back to Ac 2^{42}, we now see that the words 'the breaking of bread and the prayers' are not to be regarded as an explanatory clause exhausting the meaning of the phrase 'the fellowship,' which precedes them. We have four phrases, which fall into two groups: (1) 'the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship,' (2) 'the breaking of the bread and the prayers.' The 'breaking of bread' took place in the homes of the brethren; 'the prayers' are perhaps those which they offered in the temple (cf. 2^{46} and 3^{1}). The 'fellowship' was exemplified, no doubt, in these acts; but it was wider than any of its special manifestations: it was the unity and membership in which the whole Body was constituted and maintained.

3. The third group of passages needing special investigation is that in which the word κοινωνία is used in the limited sense of the '**contribution**' or 'distribution' of alms. As a general duty this is enforced in Ro 12^{13}, He 13^{16}, 1 Ti 6^{18}, in each of which places the radical meaning of the word employed is that of 'fellowship.' Each act of Christian almsgiving was a witness to the central principle of fellowship in the Christian Society. Most conspicuously is this the case with the great **collection** for 'the poor saints at Jerusalem,' upon which St. Paul expended so much labour and anxiety. He regarded this as of supreme importance, as the external pledge of the living fellowship of the whole Christian Church. He insisted on carrying it in person, even though he was aware that the visit to Jerusalem endangered his liberty and his life. The Gentiles had enjoyed fellowship with the spiritual blessings of the Jews: it was but right that they should offer a return of fellowship such as was in their power (κοινωνίαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι, Ro 15^{26}, cf. 2 Co 8^{4} 9^{13}). The stress which the apostle lays on this collection is only explained when we regard it as the emblem and the instrument of the corporate fellowship of the locally scattered Christian Society.

4. We come, lastly, to the passage (1 Co $10^{16.\ 17}$) in which the word is used in connexion with the Holy Eucharist. To understand this passage, the whole section, commencing at 8^{1}, 'Concerning meats offered to idols,' needs to be studied continuously. The more immediate context begins with 9^{24}. Just as not all who run receive the victor's crown, so in the history of the Chosen People not all who had spiritual privileges were saved thereby. These privileges are described in metaphors borrowed from the Christian Sacraments. They were all 'baptized into Moses,' as when the Cloud overshadowed them, and when they passed through the Sea: 'spiritual food' and 'spiritual drink' they all partook of, namely, the Manna and the Water from the Rock; the Rock was the Messiah. These words are of importance as showing incidentally that St. Paul, like St. John, thought of the Eucharist as 'spiritual food and drink,' although this is not the side of it on which he ordinarily insists. The idolatry into which the Israelites fell in spite of their spiritual privileges is the starting-point of the warning of 10^{14}. From two sides the apostle has approached the danger of idolatry—the idolatry of the Gentiles of his own day, the idolatry of Israel in the past. Worship, whether true or false, implies a fellowship. The Christian fellowship must be recognized and vindicated from contamination.

'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not κοινωνία of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not κοινωνία of the body of Christ? because one bread, one body, we the many are, for all of us partake (μετέχομεν) of the one bread.' What is the meaning of κοινωνία here? The AV renders 'the communion of'; the RV 'a communion of,' with the marg. alternative 'a participation in.' In the Greek the word, being a predicate, does not take the article; but in English the definite article is in such cases usually supplied; so that in this respect syntax makes no demand for altering the AV. Secondly, as to the word itself. It is no doubt tempting to take it in the simple sense of 'partaking of'; but this loses the force of its derivation from κοινός, which implies jointness, or community of some kind. In this very place St. Paul expresses mere 'partaking' by μετέχειν, not κοινωνεῖν. Fellowship is the ruling idea of the word, and we must not lose sight of it. In regard to the second of the clauses, the apostle himself interprets his meaning to us. The single loaf, broken and distributed and eaten, linked all who partook of it into unity. 'We are one loaf, one body, many though we be; for of the one loaf we all partake.' Thus the loaf was nothing less than 'fellowship with the Body of the Christ.'

This interpretation is borne out by the apostle's next words: You are God's new Israel — Israel after the Spirit; look at Israel after the flesh: they bring their sacrifices to the temple, they eat of them, and thereby they are in fellowship with the altar. Then, recurring to the Gentile sacrifices, he points out that to partake of them is to be in fellowship with the demons to whom they are offered. He contrasts 'the cup of the Lord' and 'the cup of the demons,' 'the table of the Lord' (*i.e.* the Bread) and 'the table of the demons' (*i.e.* the idol-meats). 'I would not have you to enter into fellowship with the demons (κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι).' It is in sharp contrast with such a conception as this that St. Paul declares that to partake of the Eucharistic Cup is to be in fellowship with the Blood of Christ, and to partake of the Eucharistic Bread is to be in fellowship with the Body of Christ. Thus interpreting St. Paul by himself, we see once more the side of the truth on which he peculiarly insisted: fellowship in the New Covenant made by the Death of Christ; fellowship in the Body of Christ, that

living corporate unity of which, to his view, Christ is at once the Head and, in a deeper, fuller sense, the Whole (1 Co 12[12], Eph 4[13]).

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

COMPANY was formerly used with more freedom than now, 'a great c.' being loosely employed where we should say 'a great number,' or 'a great crowd.' Thus 2 Ch 20[12] 'this great c. that cometh against us' (*hâmôn*, crowd); Ac 6[7] 'a great c. of the priests were obedient to the faith' (ὄχλος; so Lk 5[29] 6[17] 9[38] 11[27] 12[13], Jn 6[5]); Lk 23[27] 'there followed him a great c. of people' (πλῆθος, RV 'multitude'); and He 12[22] 'an innumerable c. of angels' (μυριάς, RV 'innum. hosts'). Even when the Heb. is a military term, as *maḥăneh*, camp (Gn 32[8bis 21] 50[9], 1 K 5[15], 1 Ch 9[18]), *ḥayîl*, force, army (2 Ch 9[1]), *gĕdhûdh*, troop (1 S 30[15bis 23], 2 K 5[2]), *ṣābhā'*, host (Ps 68[11] 'great was the c. of those that published it,' RV 'the women that publish the tidings are a great host'), the meaning is quite indefinite.

In Ps 68[30] the word *ḥayyâh* has been taken by AV in the sense of 'c.' ('Rebuke the c. of spearmen'), after Ibn Ezra, Calvin, etc.; but there is no absolutely certain instance of this meaning of the word (see Driver, *Notes on Sam.*, on 1 S 18[18], 2 S 23[13], and *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*), and RV returns to the tr. of Vulg. 'Increpa feras arundinis,' and Wyclif 'Blame thou the wielde beestis of the reheed,' giving 'Rebuke the wild beast of the reeds,' the reference then being to the crocodile or hippopotamus of the Nile as symbolical of the power of Egypt.

Ca 6[13] AV renders 'What will ye see in the Shulamite? As it were the c. of two armies,' this time following Wyclif ('What schalt thou se in the Sunamyte, no but cumpenyes of oostis?'), who takes the 'nisi choros castrorum' of Vulg. in that sense, which is the sense given by most of the VSS and Jewish commentators. But RV takes the Heb. *mĕḥôlâh* in its invariable meaning of 'dance' and *maḥănâyim* as a proper name, 'Why will ye look upon the Shulammite, as upon the dance of Mahanaim?'

The vb. 'to c. together' is used in Apocr. (Sus 1[54. 57. 58]) in the sense of 'to cohabit.' In NT 'to c. with' is simply to associate with; 1 Co 5[9] 'I wrote unto you in an epistle not to c. with fornicators' (RV 'to have no c.'); Ac 1[21] 'these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMPASS (*cum* together, *passus* step, hence 'a route that comes together or joins itself'—Skeat) is used both as subst. and as vb. **1.** As subst. c. = (*a*) a 'circle,' 'sphere,' the vault of heaven (Is 40[22], see CIRCLE), or the horizon, Pr 8[27] 'he set a c. upon the face of the depth' (חוּג, RV 'circle'); (*b*) instrument for making a circle, Is 44[13] 'the carpenter . . . marketh it [the image] out with the c.' (מְחוּגָה, RV 'the compasses'); (*c*) circumference, margin round, Ex 27[5] 38[4] (כָּרְכֹּב), 1 K 7[35] (סָבִיב); (*d*) the space within a circle, range, limit, 1 Es 1[53] 'within the c. of their holy temple' (περικύκλῳ, RV 'round about their holy temple'), 1 Mac 14[48] 'within the c. of the sanctuary' (περίβολος, RV 'precinct'). The phrase *fetch a c.* is 'make a circuit' or 'go round about,' Heb. סָבַב, Nu 34[5], Jos 15[3], 2 S 5[23], 2 K 3[9]; Gr. περιέρχομαι, Ac 28[13] 'from thence we fetched a c., and came to Rhegium' (RV 'made a circuit'). **2.** As verb the meaning is either (*a*) make a circle round, surround, or (*b*) make a circuit round, go round. Thus (*a*) 1 S 23[26] 'Saul and his men c[ed] David and his men round about to take them'; Lk 21[20] 'When ye shall see Jerus. c[ed] with armies'; 2 S 22[6] = Ps 18[5] 'the sorrows of hell c[ed] me about' (סָבַב, RV 'the cords of Sheol were round about me'); Ps 139[3] 'Thou c[est] my path and my lying down' (זָרָה, RV 'searchest out'); Jer 31[22] 'A woman shall c. a man' (*i.e.* prob. as protector, cf. Dt 32[10], Ps 32[10]). And (*b*) Dt 2[1] 'we c[ed] mount Seir many days'; Jos 6[11] 'so the ark of the LORD c[ed] the city, going about it once'; Jer 31[39] 'the measuring line . . . shall c. about to Goah' (סָבַב, RV 'shall turn about unto Goah'); Mt 23[15] 'ye c. sea and land to make one proselyte.'

J. HASTINGS.

COMPASSION OR PITY.—These words have become entirely synonymous, and, with two exceptions, they are so employed in AV. But in 1 P 3[8] and He 10[34], *compassion* retains its original meaning of *sympathy*, being used to tr. respectively συμπαθής (see RVm) and συμπαθεῖν.

With these exceptions the words are used indifferently both in AV and RV of the OT to translate the Heb. verbs חָמַל and רָחַם (and adj. and subst. from latter). The second of them is frequently rendered 'have mercy.' The plural רַחֲמִים (Gr. σπλάγχνα) is also tr. 'bowels.' 'Pity' tr. also חוּס, חָנַן (usually = 'to be gracious'), חָסָד (once Job 6[14]), and נוּד (once Ps 69[20] marg. 'lament'). The equivalents in the LXX are οἰκτείρειν, with the cognates οἰκτιρμός, οἰκτίρμων, ἐλεεῖν, and φείδεσθαι, used indifferently. In Ezk 24[21] 'that which your soul *pitieth*' (marg. 'pity of your soul') is equivalent to 'object of affection' (cf. v.[25]). There is a play upon words in the Hebrew.

In NT *to be moved with c.* tr. σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, while ἐλεεῖν is twice represented by *have c.* (Mt 18[33], Ro 9[15] quoted from Ex 33[19] LXX). In the former of these passages, on its repetition, ἐλεεῖν is rendered *have pity*. With this exception *pity* only appears in NT in 1 P 3[8], where *pitiful* tr. εὔσπλαγχνος, and in Ja 5[11], where 'the Lord is very *pitiful* and of tender mercy' represents the common Heb. formula רַחוּם וְחַנּוּן (Ex 34[6] etc.).

C. is in the Bible a Divine as well as a human quality. But its attribution to God has raised certain questions among theologians.

The relation between *pity* and *grace* (ἵλεως and χάρις) is one of these. In the Divine mind, it is said, and in the order of our salvation *pity* precedes *grace*, but in the order of the manifestation of God's purposes of salvation the grace must go before the pity (Trench, *N.T. Synonyms*, p. 205).

Another point was raised by the Manichæans, who objected that to call God *compassionate* was to make Him capable of suffering. The Latin *misericors* lent itself to such a perversion of truth, and Augustine brushes it aside as a mere pretence of logomachy (*De Civ. Dei*, ix. 5; *De Div. Quæst.* ii. 2; *Lib. de mor. Eccl. Cath.* 27). See the question also discussed in Aquinas (*Summa Quæst.* xxi. art. iii.). It is not God, but only Nature, that is pitiless; only the stars that 'would as soon look down on a Gethsemane as an Eden.' We may be thankful that the OT exulted in speaking of the compassion of God for human misery and human sin, and that the NT tells how the Divine pity went forth in the fulness of time, incarnate in the Son, to seek and to save that which was lost.

With their sense of the pity that was in the heart of God, the prophets could not do other than impress on the Hebrews the duty of pity for each other. Religion without kindness was unmeaning (Hos 6[6]). It became a proverb that he who pitied the poor lent to the Lord (Pr 19[17]). 'To him that is afflicted,' said Job, 'pity should be showed from his friend' (6[14]). The fatherless and widow were to be to man, as they were to God, special objects of compassion (Ps 146[9], cf. Ja 1[27]),

But in regard to foreigners Heb. morality was that common to all the ancients. There is no trace in OT of compassion towards a beaten foe. The solitary stranger who might be 'in their gates' was respected, but for aliens generally pity did not exist. 'Thine eye shall have no pity on them' (Dt 7[16]) was the law of Israel in regard to enemies. It needed the revelation of NT, the parable of the good Samaritan, and the example of Christ's 'compassion for the multitude' to create the modern idea of general benevolence. The OT religious and ethical standard on the subject is presented in the verse 'Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his *brother*' (Zec 7[9]).

A. S. AGLEN.

COMPEL.—This verb was sometimes used without any threatening or thought of force, simply in the sense of 'urge successfully.' It is doubtful if it is so used now. Hence we may misunderstand 1 S 28[23], where it is said that Saul's servants, together with the woman of Endor, 'c[ed] him to eat' (יִפְצְרוּ־בוֹ, in 2 S 13[25. 27] tr[d] 'pressed him'); and esp. Lk 14[23] 'c. them to come in, that my house may

be filled' (*ἀναγκάζω*, RV 'constrain'); cf. Earl Rivers (1477), 'Whiche grace . . . hath compelled me to sette a parte alle ingratitude.' Robertson (*Charles V.* III. xi. 335) says, 'As they could not persuade they tried to compel men to believe'—and this passage in St. Luke was quoted as their authority; but neither the Gr. nor the Eng. sanctions more than 'urging': cf. RV even of Ac 26[11] 'I strove to make them blaspheme,' where Gr. and AV are the same as in Lk 14[23].

In Mt 5[41] 'Whosoever shall c. thee to go a mile,' 27[32] 'him they c^ed to bear his cross,' and Mk 15[21] 'they c. one Simon a Cyrenian . . . to bear his cross,' the Gr. vb. (*ἀγγαρεύω*) has the technical meaning of pressing into the king's service (RVm always 'impress'). The word is of Pers. origin, the *ἄγγαροι* being the public couriers of the kings of Persia, who had authority to press into their service in any emergency whatever horses or men they met. The word was adopted also into Latin *angariare*, and is used by Vulg. in passages named above.
J. HASTINGS.

COMPOUND.—Ex 30[25] 'an ointment compound after the art of the apothecary'='compounded,' as RV. Compound is the orig. and only accurate form of the ptcp., the verb being *componen* in middle Eng., from Lat. *componere*.
J. HASTINGS.

COMPREHEND.—C. is used lit.=hold together, contain, in Is 40[12] 'and c^ed the dust of the earth in a measure'; and in the same sense, but fig., in Ro 13[9] 'it is briefly c^ed in the saying' (RV 'summed up in this word'). See APPREHEND.
J. HASTINGS.

CONANIAH (כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ).—**1.** A Levite who had charge of the tithes and offerings in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31[12. 13], AV **Cononiah**). **2.** A chief of the Levites in Josiah's reign (2 Ch 35[9]). On the form of the word see Kittel, *ad loc.* in Haupt.
J. A. SELBIE.

CONCEIT.—A c. is something conceived, a thought, as Sir 27[6] 'The fruit declareth if the tree have been dressed; so is the utterance of a c. in the heart of man' (*ἐνθύμημα*, RV 'thought'); 20[13] AVm 'pleasant conceits' (*χάριτες*, AV 'graces,' RV 'pleasantries'); Pr 18[11] (RV 'imagination'); Ro 1[25] 12[16] 'wise in your own conceits' (*παρ' ἑαυτοῖς*, TR). Though c. is found very early in the sense of *self-conceit*, that is not its meaning in any of the foregoing passages. In Ro 1[25] 12[16] 'conceits' is due to Tindale and Coverdale ('consaytes'), but they probably meant simply 'opinions,' the word used in 12[16] by Tindale, Cranmer, and Geneva. (The plu. 'conceits' is used of more than one person). But in Pr 26[5. 12. 16] 28[11] ('wise in his own c.'; Heb. עַיִן *'ayin*, 'eye') the meaning is no doubt the same as in mod. usage. In Wis 8[11] c. is used in the obsol. sense of 'power of conceiving,' 'mental capacity,' 'I shall be found of a quick c. in judgment'; cf. Shaks. *As You Like It*, v. ii. 48, 'I know you are a gentleman of good conceit'; and *Lucrece*, 701—

> 'O deeper sin than bottomless conceit
> Can comprehend in still imagination.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONCERT.—See CONSORT.

CONCISION.—See CIRCUMCISION.

CONCLUDE.—**1.** In the sense of 'shut up,' 'enclose,' mod. *include*, Ro 11[32] 'God hath c^ed them all in unbelief,' and Gal 3[22] 'the Scripture hath c^ed all under sin' (RV 'shut up,' Gr. *συγκλείω*, used lit. in Lk 5[6] 'they *inclosed* a great multitude of fishes'; and fig. as above from Ps 78[62] LXX, 'He *gave* his people *over* unto the sword'—used with the pregnant sense of giving over so that there can be no escape—Sanday and Headlam). **2.** To come to a conclusion by reasoning, infer, Ro 3[28] 'Therefore we c. that a man is justified by faith' (*λογιζόμεθα*, RV 'we reckon'); and in RV, Ac 16[10] 'c^ing that God had called us' (*συμβιβάζοντες*, AV 'assuredly gathering'). **3.** To decide, Ac 21[25] 'we have written and c^ed that they observe no such thing' (*κρίναντες*, RV 'giving judgment'); and with direct object='determine upon,' Jth 2[2] 'Nebuch. . . . c^ed the afflicting of the whole earth' (*συνετέλεσεν*, cf. 1 S 20[7] 'evil is determined by him,' LXX *συντετέλεσται*).
J. HASTINGS.

CONCOURSE.—A c. is a 'running together' (*concurrere*) of people, as Wyclif's tr. (1382) of Ac 24[12] 'makinge concurs or rennyng to gidere of the cumpany of peple.' In this orig. sense c. occurs in AV, Jth 10[18] 'Then was there a c. throughout all the camp' (*συνδρομή*); Pr 1[21] 'She crieth in the chief place of c.' (בְּרֹאשׁ הֲמִיוֹת, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'at the head of bustling streets'); Ac 19[40] 'we may give an account of this c.' (*συστροφή*). J. HASTINGS.

CONCUBINE.—See MARRIAGE.

CONCUPISCENCE.—C. is intense desire (*concupiscere* intensive of *concupere*), always in a bad sense (so that 'evil c.' of Col 3[5] is a redundancy in English), and nearly always meaning sexual lust. The Gr. is always *ἐπιθυμία*, a more general word than the Eng. 'concupiscence.' The passages are Wis 4[12] (RV 'desire'), Sir 23[5] (RV 'concupiscence'), Ro 7[8] (RV 'coveting'), Col 3[5] (RV 'desire'), 1 Th 4[5] (RV 'lust'). J. HASTINGS.

CONDEMNATION.—See DAMNATION, JUDGMENT.

CONDITION.—In the obsol. sense of disposition, condition occurs 2 Mac 15[12] 'gentle in c.' (RV 'manner'; Gr. *τρόπος*, in this sense also He 13[5] AV 'conversation,' RVm 'turn of mind'). Cf. Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1431—

> 'He was so gentil of condicioun,
> That thurghout al the court was his renoun.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONDUCT.—1 Es 8[51] 'I was ashamed to ask the king footmen, and horsemen, and c. for safeguard against our adversaries'—mod. 'escort.' So Shaks. *Cymb.* III. v. 8—

> 'So, sir, I desire of you
> A conduct over land to Milford-Haven.'

See ETHICS. J. HASTINGS.

CONDUIT (תְּעָלָה, *ὑδραγωγός*, *aquæductus*).—A channel for the conveyance of water from the source whence it was derived to the place where it was delivered. It wound round hills, or passed through them by means of tunnels; and crossed valleys upon arches or upon a substructure of solid masonry. The channel, when not itself a tunnel of varying height, was rectangular in form, and either cut out of the solid rock or constructed of masonry. It was covered by slabs of stone to keep the water pure and cool, and its floor had a slight and fairly uniform fall.

The remains of ancient conduits constructed for the conveyance of water to towns, or for purposes of irrigation, are common in Pal., but it will only be necessary here to allude to those connected with the water supply of Jerusalem. Amongst the oldest of the Jerus. conduits are the rock-hewn channel that entered the temple area from the north, and was cut through when the ditch that separated Bezetha from the Antonia was excavated; one at a low level, beneath 'Robinson's Arch,' which was destroyed when Herod built the west *peribolos* wall of the temple; and the well-known tunnel that conveyed water from the Fountain of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam. An inscription in Phœn. characters in the last conduit carries the date of its construction back to the 8th cent. B.C.

Equally interesting and, perhaps, in part of

greater age, is the conduit about 13½ miles long which conveyed water from the 'Pools of Solomon,' beyond Bethlehem, to the temple enclosure at Jerus., and is known as the 'low-level aqueduct.' Tradition, with great probability, ascribes the construction of this conduit to Solomon, who must have found himself obliged to increase the water supply when the temple services were instituted. The channel, which is about 2 ft. deep and 1½ ft. wide, passes under Bethlehem by a tunnel. It has been conjectured that this conduit was called 'Tannin' by the Jews from its serpentine course, and that the **'Dragon's Well'** of Neh 2^{13} was an outflow from it in the Valley of Hinnom. At a later date a pool (*piscina*) was constructed in the *Wâdy Arrûb* to collect the water from springs in that valley, and this was connected with the 'low-level aqueduct' by a conduit about 28 miles in length, which, near Tekoa, passed through a long tunnel. This conduit is apparently that alluded to by Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 2, *BJ* II. ix. 4) as having been made by Pontius Pilate with the Corban.

The most remarkable work, however, is the 'high-level aqueduct,' which probably entered Jerus. at the Jaffa Gate. It was apparently constructed by Herod for the supply of the citadel and palace which he built on the W. hill, and of the fountains and irrigation channels in his palace gardens (*BJ* v. iv. 4); and it displays a very high degree of engineering skill. It derived no portion of its supply from the 'Pools of Solomon,' but had its head in *Wâdy Bîâr*, 'valley of wells,' where it passed through a tunnel about four miles long, which collected the water from several small springs, and had numerous shafts leading to the surface. On issuing from the tunnel it entered a *piscina*, where any sediment contained in the water was deposited, and it afterwards passed through a second tunnel 1700 ft. long, which had nine shafts, —one 115 ft. deep. The conduit crossed the valley in which the 'Pools of Solomon' lie, above the upper pool, and at this point its level is 150 ft. above that of the 'low-level aqueduct.' One of its most interesting details is the inverted syphon, composed of perforated limestone blocks, cased in rubble masonry, which crosses the valley between Bethlehem and *Mâr Elîâs*. No details have come down to us of the manner in which the water conveyed by the numerous conduits was distributed after it reached Jerus.; but there were probably fountains, supplied by small conduits of lead or earthenware, as well as cisterns and pools, to which the public had access.

Amongst the conduits mentioned in the Bible are: 'the conduit of the upper pool,' at the end of which Isaiah was commanded to meet Ahaz (Is 7^3), and beside which Sennacherib's messengers stood when they spoke to the people on the wall (2 K 18^{17}, Is 36^2); that by which the waters of Gihon were brought straight down to the W. side of the city of David (2 Ch 32^{30}); and that connected with the pool made by Hezekiah (2 K 20^{20}). The existence of conduits is also implied in Sir 48^{17}, Is $22^{9.\ 11}$. In Sir 24^{30} there is an allusion to a conduit made for irrigating a garden.

C. W. WILSON.

CONEY (שָׁפָן *shâphân*, χοιρογρύλλιος, δασύπους, *chærogryllus*).—The coney is undoubtedly *Hyrax Syriacus*. It is known by the S. Arabs as *thufn*, evidently the same as *shâphân*. In Pal. it is known as *wabr*, and in Lebanon as *tobsûn*. The Arabs also call it *ghanam-Beni-Israîl*, the *sheep of the Children of Israel*. It is a perissodactyl, with dentition and feet strongly resembling those of the rhinoceros. It is as large as a rabbit, has short ears and a very short tail. Its colour is greyish-brown on the back and whitish on the belly. It is declared unclean by the Mosaic law, because it chews the cud, but does not divide the hoof (Lv 11^5, Dt 14^7). It is not a ruminant, but has a motion of the jaws similar to that of the ruminants. Bruce the traveller kept a tame one, and supposed, from the motion of its jaws, that it was a ruminant. Cowper made a similar mistake in regard to his tame hares.

The conies are among the four 'exceeding wise' animals (Pr $30^{24.\ 26}$); they are 'but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks.' 'The rocks are a refuge for the conies' (Ps 104^{18}). They do not burrow like rabbits, but live in clefts and holes of the rocks. They are gregarious in habit, and strictly herbivorous. They are very shy, and usually come out of their holes towards evening. When feeding, an old male sits as sentry, and, on the approach of danger, gives a whistle or squeak as a warning to his companions, and they immediately take 'refuge' in the rocks. They are found all the way from Ras-Muhammed to Lebanon. The natives esteem their flesh a delicacy.

G. E. POST.

CONFECTION, CONFECTIONARY.—Confection occurs in AV only Ex 30^{35} 'a c. after the art of the apothecary' (רֹקַח *rôḳaḥ*, RV 'perfume'), and Sir 38^8 'Of such doth the apothecary make a c.' (*μίγμα*, RV as AV); to which RV adds 1 Ch 9^{30} 'the sons of the priests prepared the c. of the spices' (לְקַחֵי הַפִּרְקַחַת, AV 'made the ointment'). Thus 'c.' is always something *made up*, a compound, and always of perfume or medicine, never sweetmeats. So **confectionary** is a perfumer; only 1 S 8^{13} 'he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers' (רַקָּחוֹת, RVm 'perfumers'). Cf. Bp. Mountagu (1641), *Acts and Mon.* 298, 'the woman was an excellent Confectionary, very cunning in poisons.' See MEDICINE, PERFUMES.

J. HASTINGS.

CONFEDERACY in the common sense of league, alliance, is found Ob ^{7} 'All the men of thy c.' (בְּרִית), 1 Mac $8^{17.\ 20.\ 22}$ (*συμμαχία*). In Is $8^{12\ bis}$ the meaning is 'conspiracy,'* which is nearly obsol., though D'Israeli (*Charles I.* II. ii. 39) has 'in a perpetual state of confederacy and rebellion.' **Confederate** is both adj. and subst. As adj. Gn 14^{13} 'these were c. with Abram'; Ps 83^5 'they are c. against thee' (RV 'against thee do they make a covenant'); Is 7^2 'Syria is c. with Ephraim' (RVm after Heb. 'resteth on E.'); 1 Mac 10^{47}. As subst. 1 Mac 8^{20} 'Your confederates and friends.' J. HASTINGS.

CONFERENCE is what we should now call *converse*, almost the same as *conversation*, which is Bacon's meaning in the passage, *Essays* 'Of Studies' (p. 205, Gold. Treas. ed.), 'Reading maketh a full man; Conference a ready man; and Writing an exact man.' C. occurs Wis 8^{18} (*ὁμιλία*, Vulg. *loquela*) and Gal 2^6 'they who seemed to be somewhat in c. added nothing to me' (where the word has no proper equivalent in the Greek, RV 'they, I say, who were of repute imparted nothing to me'; but in 1^{16} 'I conferred not' is the same Greek word as is here tr^d 'imparted' (*προσανατίθημι*). In the Pref. to AV c. is used in the more prim. sense of 'comparison' (*con-fero*, 'bring together'), 'We cannot be holpen by c. of places.' J. HASTINGS.

CONFESSION (תּוֹדָה, *ὁμολογεῖν*, *ὁμολογία*).—Both the Heb. and the Gr. words are capable of the same double application as the English. To 'confess' is to acknowledge by either word or deed the existence and authority of a divine power, or the sins and offences of which one has been guilty. The biblical use of the verb and its derivatives is

* This is the meaning of the Heb. (קֶשֶׁר) also, which Delitzsch in his 4th ed. successfully defends against the substitution of קֹדֶשׁ 'holy thing,' made by Secker, revived by Grätz, and accepted by Cheyne.

about equally divided between these two—(1) *profession* or acknowledgment of God as the true God or of Jesus as the Christ, (2) *confession* or open acknowledgment of sin. (For the distinction cf. further Cic. *pro Sestio*, 51, 109.)

1. Confession of God as their God, acknowledgment of Him as the true God, was required of the members of the Chosen Family before it became a nation. It was rendered by Abraham when he 'called upon the name of the Lord' (Gn 13^4 etc.), and by him and his descendants when they claimed the covenant relationship through the rite of circumcision. In process of time this outward confession tended to become conventional, and only external. The consciousness of common nationality superseded that of personal relation to God. In the subsequent reaction of individualism, men of special piety, or in special circumstances, felt constrained to make specific confession of their personal adherence to J" (cf. Ps 63^1, Is 44^5). The passage in Isaiah shows that this confession was accompanied by an open act of self-dedication, if not, as some think, by the cutting of some permanent mark on the head or forehead. At other times, after a period of national apostasy, the general repentance and return was marked by a solemn renewal of the national confession (cf. 1 K 8^{35}, 2 Ch 6^{26}).

Such confession is the natural result of deep conviction (cf. Jn 4^{19}, Mt 12^{34}), and when Jesus had brought His disciples to the point of recognizing Him as the Christ, He drew from one of them that acknowledgment which is specifically known as St. Peter's Confession (Mt $16^{13\text{-}18}$). He announced that it was on the rock of such conviction and confession that His Church should be built; and He made this open acknowledgment of Himself, His dignity and authority, a *sine quâ non* of true discipleship (Lk 12^8).

In the Apostolic Church this confession was insisted upon as a sign of true conversion and a condition of baptism. Its contents were at first very general, varying with the circumstances of the conversion and the experience of the convert, but with a growing tendency to include certain constant elements. From the beginning it must have included the recognition of Jesus as 'the Lord' (cf. Ro 10^9, 1 Co 12^3), and an expression of confidence and hope in Him (cf. He 3^6 10^{23}). Such general acknowledgment of allegiance to Christ is referred to in 1 Ti 6^{12}, He 3^1; but even He 4^{14}, 'let us hold fast our confession' (AV 'profession') does not involve a formulated confession. An acknowledgment of the Resurrection doubtless found a place both early and often (Ro 10^9), and prepared the way for a confession including belief of the historical facts of Christianity. Of theological inference there is an early trace in the interpolated confession of the Ethiopian (Ac 8^{37}), but the early appearance of false teaching and imperfect views of Christ accentuated the necessity of more dogmatic expression. Signs of this are found in the Epistles of St. John (1 Jn 4^{15}, cf. 2^{22} $4^{2.3}$, 2 Jn 7). Here we have the necessary antithesis to gnostic docetism; the deepened consciousness of the Church corresponded to a fuller confession, involving both the Fatherhood of God and the true Sonship of Jesus.

2. Both in OT and NT, confession of sin before God is recognized as a condition of forgiveness, being the guarantee of genuine penitence and purpose of amendment. Thus Joshua exhorted Achan to make confession unto the Lord (Jos 7^{19}); the Psalmist 'acknowledged his sin' (Ps 32^5; cf. 51^4); Pr 28^{13} lays it down as a general principle that 'whoso confesseth and forsaketh his sin shall have mercy,' and Jesus exhibits the prodigal son as moved by a natural impulse to confess to his father. Confession, therefore, as at once an instinct of the heart and a principle of God's kingdom, was consistently recognized and inculcated by the Mosaic ritual. It was required of the individual whenever he had committed a trespass (Lv $5^{1.5}$ 26^{40}), and its necessity in regard to both individual and national sins was exhibited in the ceremony of the Scapegoat, over whose head the high-priest was to confess all the iniquities of the whole people (Lv 16^{21}). Confession of sin became the natural and regular accompaniment of prayer (cf. Ezr 10^1). At the same time representative men felt themselves to be partakers in national sins of unbelief and disobedience, and bound to confess these as well as their own (Dn 9^{20}). The whole prayer in Dn 9 shows the nature and contents of such a confession.

The connexion between repentance and confession was so ingrained in the Jewish conscience that when, under the Baptist's preaching, many were led to repent, open confession accompanied their baptism (Mk 1^5), and doubtless the Apostolic baptism was prefaced by a confession in this sense as well as the other. Such a confession was understood to be made to God, but commonly it would be made in the hearing of men (cf. Ac 17^4). It is plain also that Christ taught the necessity of acknowledging, and obtaining forgiveness for, offences committed against other men (Mt 5^{24}, Lk 17^4). As to the mode of confession or the person to receive it, no instruction is given. It is clear, however, from the language of St. John (1 Jn 1^9) and St. James that it was specific, definite, and mutual. In Ja 5^{16} the reading of WH (*τὰς ἁμαρτίας* for TR *τὰ παραπτώματα*) puts it beyond doubt that reference is made to sins against God; but the interpretation (Chrysostom and others) which infers that the confession was to be made to the Presbyters, involves an inadmissible tautology. Ἀλλήλοις can only refer to the relation of individual believers to one another, so that Cajetan from the Roman standpoint rightly admits 'nec hic est sermo de confessione sacramentali.'

C. A. Scott.

CONFIRMATION.—The verb 'confirm' is used in a very general sense in the AV, serving as a rendering of no fewer than eleven words in the original languages—seven Heb. (אָמַץ, נָצַב, סָמַךְ, פָּנַן, עָמַד, קָלָא, קוּם in their proper conjugations) and four Gr. (*βεβαιόω, ἐπιστηρίζω, κυρόω, μεσιτεύω*). The OT group of words suggests the idea of establishing and strengthening; though in some cases the more technical notion of a legal or authoritative confirmation comes in, esp. when the word קוּם is used (*e.g.* Ru 4^7, Est $9^{29.31.32}$). In the NT *βεβαιόω* and *ἐπιστηρίζω* are used in the general sense of strengthening and establishing, while *κυρόω* is used in the sense of giving power or validity (2 Co 2^8, Gal 3^{15}), and *μεσιτεύω* is employed in its natural meaning of acting as a mediator (He 6^{17}). The substantive 'confirmation' (*βεβαίωσις*) is used in the two senses of making firm, establishing (Ph 1^7), and giving authoritative validity (He 6^{16}). It is not used in the Bible to describe an ecclesiastical rite. In the Acts reference is made to St. Paul 'confirming the souls of the disciples' (14^{22}), and 'confirming the Churches' (15^{41}); and it is stated that 'Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them' (15^{32})—forms of *ἐπιστηρίζω* being used in each case. There is no indication that any ceremony was performed on these occasions; the narrative would rather suggest the general idea of strengthening and establishing spiritually. But although the laying on of hands (*ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν*) is not connected with the word confirmation, it appears in association with the gift of the Holy Spirit to disciples by apostles subsequent to baptism (Ac $8^{12\text{-}17}$ $19^{5.6}$), and as a rite following baptism, in He 6^2. This

was after the example of the Jewish method of blessing (*e.g.* Gn 48[13. 14]), which was recognized by the mothers who brought their children to Jesus that He might 'lay his hands on them,' etc. (Mt 19[13]). According to the Talmud, a father laid his hands on his child, after which the elders also blessed him (Buxtorf., *Syn. Jud.* 138). As late as Tertullian the laying on of hands was closely associated with baptism as almost part of the same rite (*de Bap.* c. 8; *de Resurr. Carn.* c. 8).

W. F. ADENEY.

CONFISCATION.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

CONFOUND.—This vb. is used in three senses. **1.** *Destroy, shatter,* Jer 1[17] 'be not dismayed at their faces, lest I c. thee before them.' The Geneva and Bishops' Bibles have 'destroy' here, and it is possible that AV chose a milder word on purpose, as RV has a still milder 'lest I dismay thee before them'; but the Heb. (פָּן־אֲחַתֶּךָּ, חָתַת in hiph.) has the meaning of 'shatter,' as in Is 9[4] 'the yoke of his burden . . . thou hast *broken*' (RV); and the Eng. word has this meaning also, as Milton, *Par. Lost,* ii. 380—

> 'Whence,
> But from the author of all ill, could spring
> So deep a malice, to confound the race
> Of Mankind in one root?'

2. *Put to shame.* This is the most frequent meaning. RV often changes 'c[ed]' into 'ashamed,' but Amer. RV prefers 'put to shame.' Earlier versions sometimes had 'c[ed]' where AV has 'ashamed,' as 2 S 10[5] Douay, 'The men were confounded very fowly, and David commanded them, Tary in Jericho, til your beard be growen.' **3.** *Throw into confusion* (stronger than mod. *confuse,* Dr. Murray suggests the colloq. *dumfound*), as Gn 11[7. 9] (see TONGUES, CONFUSION OF), 2 Mac 13[23] 14[28] 'he was much c[ed] in himself'; Ac 2[6] 9[22] (*συγχέω,* cf. Ac 19[32] 21[31] 'was in confusion' RV).

J. HASTINGS.

CONFUSED.—Confuse and confusion were much stronger words in Elizabethan than in mod. Eng., Ac 19[32] 'the assembly was c[d] (RV 'in confusion'); Is 9[5] 'with c. noise (RV 'in the tumult'). See CONFOUND 3. **Confusion: 1.** *Tumultuous disorder,* as Ac 19[29] 'the whole city was filled with c.' (*σύγχυσις*), 1 Co 14[33], Ja 3[16] (*ἀκαταστασία*), 2 Es 16[21], Lv 18[23] 20[12] (תֶּבֶל), Is 24[10] 34[11] 41[29] (תֹּהוּ). The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes Is 34[11] 'he shall stretch out upon it the line of c.' as an example of c. in the sense of *destruction* (see CONFOUND 1); and that meaning was common in 1611, as Shaks. *Mid. Night's Dream,* I. i. 149—

> 'So quick bright things come to confusion.'

But the Heb. (which is the word tr. 'without form,' RV 'waste,' in Gn 1[2]) makes it probable that in all the passages from Isaiah the meaning is *disorder.* **2.** *Shame, disgrace,* as Ps 35[4. 26] 'brought to c.' (חָפֵר, RV 'confounded,' Cheyne 'abashed'); Job 10[15] 'I am full of c.' (קָלוֹן, RV 'ignominy'); esp. with Heb. *bôsheth,* 1 S 20[30 bis], Ezr 9[7], Ps 109[29], Jer 7[19], Dn 9[7. 8]. (Except Ps 70[3], Is 61[7], Jer 7[19], Mic 1[11], Zeph 3[5. 19], *bôsheth* is tr. by *αἰσχύνη* in LXX.) See TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.

J. HASTINGS.

CONGREGATION is AV rendering of several Heb. terms, esp. מוֹעֵד, עֵדָה, and קָהָל. It will be necessary to examine minutely the linguistic usage of OT in regard to each of these.

1. מוֹעֵד (*môʿēd*). The root-idea contained in this word is that of a fixed appointed meeting or tryst between God and man. Hence it is frequently employed to mean a 'set time,' or to designate the *sacred seasons* (*môʿădim*) when all the males in Israel had to present themselves at J"'s sanctuary (Hos 9[5] 12[9], Lv 23[2. 4. 37. 44]). It is but a step from this when we find the word used to designate the *assembly* that celebrated the festival, or indeed as a designation for any assembly. In Job 30[23] we have בֵּית מוֹעֵד לְכָל־חָי 'the place of assembly for all living,' used of Sheol, while in Is 33[20] Zion is called קִרְיַת מוֹעֲדֵנוּ 'the city of our assemblies' (cf. Ps 74[4], La 1[4], Ezk 44[24]). In particular, מוֹעֵד occurs very frequently in the phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (*ʾOhel môʿēd*) the **Tent of Meeting** (between J" and Israel). The familiar AV **tabernacle of the congregation** fails entirely to suggest the true idea conveyed by the phrase as this is explained in Ex 29[42f.] (Cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 246.) The Sept. *σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου* and Vulg. *tabernaculum testimonii,* as well as Luther's *Stiftshütte,* have arisen, as Ges. explains, from improperly regarding מוֹעֵד as synonymous with עֵדוּת (see Nu 9[15], where 'tabernacle of the testimony' is the correct rendering). אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is used with great frequency by P (131 times) and by the Chronicler (1 Ch 6[32] 9[21] 23[32], 2 Ch 1[3. 6. 13] 5[5]), but it is employed also by E (Ex 33[7], where its meaning is explained; cf. Nu 11[24. 26] J), and occurs in at least two passages which belong to JE, viz. Nu 11[16] 12[4]. The source of Dt 31[14] is uncertain, and 1 S 2[22] and 1 K 8[4] can scarcely be taken into consideration, because both contain elements of late date. In Ps 74[8] כָּל־מוֹעֲדֵי אֵל =all the *synagogues* of God, and in La 2[6] מוֹעֵד is employed as a designation for *the temple.*

It may be worth while to remind the reader that in the expression **solemn assembly,** which is occasionally used by AV as a rendering of מוֹעֵד, 'solemn' has its archaic sense of 'fixed' or 'stated,' Lat. *solennis* (Driver, *Deut.* 189).

In Is 14[13] **mount of the congregation** probably refers to the assembly of the gods, whose dwelling-place, according to Bab. mythology, was located in the far north, upon the 'mountain of the world' (Driver, *Isaiah*[2] 129 n.; Delitzsch, *Isaiah,* new ed. i. 310). See BABYLONIA, p. 216[a].

2. עֵדָה (*ʿēdāh*) and קָהָל (*kāhāl*). Before examining the linguistic usage of OT it may be well to refer to a distinction between these two words which has been contended for by some. Vitringa (*de Synagoga vetere,* 80, 88), with whom Trench (*Synonyms of NT,* 3 f.) agrees, expresses the difference thus, 'notat proprie קָהָל *universam alicujus populi multitudinem* vinculis societatis unitam et rempublicam quandam constituentem; cum vocabulum עֵדָה ex indole et vi significationis suæ tantum dicat *quemcumque hominum cœtum et conventum* sive minorem sive majorem. . . . *συναγωγή* ut et עֵדָה semper significat *cœtum* conjunctum et congregatum *etiamsi nullo forte vinculo ligatum,* sed *ἐκκλησία* (קָהָל) designat multitudinem aliquam quæ *populum* constituit, *per leges et vincula inter se junctam,* etsi sæpe fiat ut non sit coacta vel cogi possit.' This is certainly far more plausible and reasonable than the famous distinction which Augustine sought to establish between *συναγωγή* and *ἐκκλησία,* or rather between their Latin equivalents, *congregatio* and *convocatio,* the latter being the nobler term, because used of *calling* together *men,* while *congregatio* designated the *gathering* together of *cattle* (grex)! Vitringa's distinction comes, in fact, pretty near to that of Schürer, to which we shall advert presently; but it seems a mistake to endeavour to carry such a distinction back to OT. It may fairly be questioned whether in a single instance the contention of Vitringa can be established. Rather are we inclined to see in the choice of the one or the other of these terms a mark of *authorship.* It is remarkable that עֵדָה finds favour in certain books, while קָהָל is prevailingly, if not exclusively, employed in others.

(*a*) עֵדָה, from the same root as מוֹעֵד, occurs variously, as עֵדַת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (Ex 12[3]), עֵדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל (Ex 16[1. 2. 9]), עֵדַת יהוה (Nu 27[17]), and absolutely, הָעֵדָה (Lv 4[15]). It belongs, like מוֹעֵד, to the vocabulary of P, never

occurring in D or JE, and its use in the other *historical* books is rare, Jg 20^{1}, $21^{10.\ 13.\ 16}$, 1 K 8^{5} (=2 Ch 5^{6}), 12^{20} being the only instances (Driver, *LOT* 126).

(*b*) קָהָל occurs variously, as קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל (Dt 31^{30}), קְהַל יהוה (Nu 16^{3}, 20^{4}), קְהַל הָאֱלֹהִים (Neh 13^{1}), and absolutely, הַקָּהָל (Ex 16^{3}, Lv 4^{13}). It is frequently employed in Dt, 1 and 2 Ch, Ezr, and Neh. In the Ps both עֵדָה and קָהָל are used without any perceptible difference of meaning to designate the 'congregation' of Israel.

In the Sept. *συναγωγή* generally answers to עֵדָה, and *ἐκκλησία* to קָהָל. The latter statement holds good uniformly in Jos, Jg, S, K, Ch, Ezr, and Neh, also in Dt (with the exception of 5^{22}, where קָהָל is rendered *συναγωγή*). On the other hand, קָהָל is rendered by *συναγωγή* in Ex, Lv, Nu, probably in order to secure uniformity in the Gr., for עֵדָה in these books is always *συναγωγή*. Once in the Ps קָהָל is rendered *συναγωγή* (40^{10}); elsewhere we find *ἐκκλησία*, except in 26^{5}, where it is *συνέδριον*.

While we cannot admit that the distinction contended for by Vitringa is traceable in OT, yet a somewhat similar distinction is discovered by Schürer in the usage of the terms by later Judaism. *συναγωγή* was the term applicable to the *empirical* reality, the actual congregation existing in any one place, while *ἐκκλησία* designated the *ideal*, the assembly of those called by God to salvation. It is easy to see how, on this account, *ἐκκλησία* displaced *συναγωγή* in Christian circles. In classical Greek, as is well known, *ἐκκλησία* was the name for the body of free citizens summoned by a herald, and in this sense it is used in Ac 19 of the assembly at Ephesus. A statutory meeting was designated *κυρία* or *ἔννομος* (the latter in Ac 19^{39}), one specially summoned was *σύγκλητος*. It can hardly be said, however, that classical usage throws much light upon the nature of the *ἐκκλησία*, or 'congregation,' so often spoken of in OT. The word may be used of an assembly summoned for a definite purpose (1 K 8^{65}) or met on a festal occasion (Dt 23^{1}), but far more frequently it has in view *the community of Israel collectively regarded as a congregation.* Wellhausen (*Comp. d. Hex.* 205) finds this last usage distinctive of P, denying that the nation is viewed from such a purely *churchly* standpoint in JE, or even in D. See ASSEMBLY.

In OT Apocr. *ἐκκλησία* occurs in the sense of a popular assembly (Jth 6^{16} 14^{6}, Sir 15^{5}), more rarely as a designation for the people as a whole (1 Mac 4^{59}).

In NT *ἐκκλησία* is applied to the congregation of the people of Isr. in the speech of Stephen (Ac 7^{38}), but *συναγωγή* came gradually to be employed to distinguish Isr. from other nations. (It is characteristic of the Ep. of James that in 2^{2} *συναγωγή* is used of an assembly of *Jewish Christians*, and of the Ep. to the Hebrews that in 10^{25} *ἐπισυναγωγή* [the word has a different meaning in 2 Th 2^{1}] is spoken of a Christian community.) Hence, apart from the reason noted above, it was natural that *ἐκκλησία* should be chosen as the designation of the Christian Church, owing to the Judaistic associations of *συναγωγή*.

While there is little about OT 'congregation' to recall the popular assembly of a Gr. community (for the elders, or in post-exilic times at Jerus., the high priest and his counsellors, seem to have generally acted alone), there are one or two examples of an opposite kind. In Nu $35^{24ff.}$ (P) it is the 'congregation' that decides the case of the manslayer who has reached a city of refuge, although even here the decision according to D² rests with the elders (cf. the above passage with Jos 20^{4} [D²], or the latter with v.^{6a} [P]). Similar functions are ascribed to the 'congregation' in the late and peculiar narrative of Jg 20, 21, and in Ezr 10, on the latter of which Kuenen (*Rel. of Israel*, ii. 214) remarks, 'In very weighty matters the decision even rested with the whole community, which was summoned to Jerus. for that purpose.' (All that concerns the OT congregation as a *worshipping* body will be dealt with under CHURCH, SYNAGOGUE, and TEMPLE.)

For the sake of completeness it may be well to note the usage of some other words of kindred import to the three we have discussed.

(*a*) עֲצֶרֶת (*'ăzereth*), from a root containing the idea of *enclosing* or *confining*, is frequently applied to the 'congregation' that celebrates the festivals (Jl 1^{14} 2^{15}, Am 5^{21}, 2 K 10^{20}, Is 1^{13}, in which last passage it is coupled with מִקְרָא). The nearest Gr. equivalent is *πανήγυρις* (by which it is rendered in the Sept. of Am 5^{21}, and which occurs in the NT once, He 12^{23} 'the general assembly'). עֲצֶרֶת designates especially such assemblies as were convened on the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Dt 16^{8}), and the eighth day of the F. of Tabernacles (Lv 23^{36}, Nu 29^{35}, Neh 8^{18}, 2 Ch 7^{9}).

(*b*) מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ (*miḳrâ' ḳōdesh*), which occurs so frequently in the 'holy convocation' of AV, is a favourite expression in the priestly sections of Ex, Lv, and Nu, particularly in H (Lv 17–26). The Sept. usually renders it *κλητὴ ἁγία* (cf. Sanday, *Romans*, 12 f.). The simple מִקְרָא occurs in Nu 10^{2} and Is 1^{13}. It is hard to discover any difference between this term and עֲצֶרֶת.

(*c*) סוֹד (*ṣôd*), originally = *friendly conversation* (*ὁμιλία*), then on the one hand = *friendliness, friendship*, and on the other = *a body of friends* (cf. Driver on Am 3^{8}). It is used of a gathering for familiar converse (Jer 6^{11} 15^{17}, in the latter of which the Sept. has *συνέδριον*), of a deliberative council (Job 15^{8}, Jer 23^{18}, Ps 89^{7}, in all these used of the Privy Council of the Almighty), of a secret company of wicked men plotting evil (Ps 64^{2}), or of the select assembly of the upright (Ps 111^{1}, where סוֹד is coupled with עֵדָה, as it is in Gn 49^{6} with קָהָל).

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 59 n.; Driver, *LOT* 126, *Deut.* 188, 195, 234; Thayer, *NT Lex.* and Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. s.* ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή; Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* 205; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia* (1897), 1–21; Vitringa, *de Syn. Vet.* 77 f.; Trench, *Syn. of NT*, 1 f.; Holzinger, *ZAW* (1889), p. 105 ff.

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CONIAH.—See JEHOIACHIN.

CONJECTURE. — Only Wis 8^{8} '[Wisdom] c^{eth} aright what is to come' (*εἰκάζει*). RV has 'divineth the things to come,' with 'c^{eth}' in marg. But it is probable that in AV c^{eth} = 'divineth,' as Scot (1584), 'Conjecture unto me by thy familiar spirit.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONSCIENCE.—The word is not found in OT; it occurs in Apocr., Wis 17^{11} 'wickedness . . . being pressed with c., always forecasteth grievous things' (*συνείδησις*), Sir 14^{2} 'Blessed is he whose c. hath not condemned him' (*ψυχή*, RV 'soul'), and 2 Mac 6^{11} 'they made a c. to help themselves' (*εὐλαβῶς ἔχειν*, RV 'scrupled'; cf. Purchas [1625], *Pilgrimes*, ii. 1276, 'They will . . . make more conscience to breake a Fast, than to commit a Murther'). In NT 32 times (RV 30 times, omitting Jn 8^{9}, and reading *συνηθείᾳ* 1 Co 8^{7}) always for *συνείδησις*, of which it is the invariable and appropriate tr. But mod. usage would prefer 'consciousness' in 1 Co 8^{7} 'some with c. of the idol unto this hour eat it as a thing offered unto an idol' (RV with edd. reads *συνηθείᾳ*, hence '*being used* until now to the idol'); and in He 10^{2} 'no more c. of sins.' Cf. Milton, *Par. Lost*, viii. 502—

'Her virtue and the conscience of her worth.'

See Sanday-Headlam on Ro 2^{15}; P. Ewald, *De Vocis Συνειδήσεως apud Script. NT vi ac potestate* (1883); and the next article. J. HASTINGS.

CONSCIENCE—

A. Historical Sketch.
B. Christian Doctrine.
i. The Nature of Conscience.
ii. The Competence of Conscience.
iii. The Education of Conscience.
1. Social.
2. Individual.
iv. The Witness of Conscience.

A. Historical Sketch.—When man begins to reflect on his experience as a moral agent, two questions emerge. (1) What is the highest good for man? What is the 'chief end' in attainment of which man finds satisfaction? (2) What is the source of moral obligation? What power commands and regulates human action? In the history of thought, these two questions occur in the order stated; and it is not till the second has been asked that a doctrine of conscience is possible.

1. Greek philosophy in its prime is mainly concerned with the first of these. The ethics of Plato and Aristotle are largely occupied with discussing the nature of the Good; and practically their doctrine amounts to this, that man finds his highest welfare in the duties of citizenship. Man is regarded as part of the physical and social world in which he finds himself; and his welfare lies in playing his due part therein. This doctrine was sufficient as long as the Greek State lasted. When this was broken up, however, and there was no longer a life of free and ennobling activity open to men, the moral problem assumed the second form. Man is thrust back on himself. His individuality becomes emphasized over against the world, in which he can now no longer realize himself. Turning in upon himself, he seeks within the guidance he has hitherto found in the life which waited for him without. This type of mind, so characteristic of thoughtful and earnest men under the Roman Empire, finds expression in the philosophical doctrines of the Stoics and Epicureans. These are as intensely subjective as the systems of Plato and Aristotle had been comprehensive and objective. Not, therefore, till man has become aware of himself as an individual, and looks out on life from the standpoint of his subjectivity, does the question of the rule of conduct clearly emerge. In discussing this question, the Stoics found the rule in reason, the Epicureans in sense. The Stoics made wide the opposition between reason and sense. Virtue, according to them, is reasonableness, and is exercised in absolute control of sense, utter indifference to material things, and austere rejection of pleasure. Noble things are said by them in praise of virtue, and eloquent testimony is borne against the views of a corrupt age. But by their own admission the leading principle of their thought and action is sublime but powerless. The moral world needed an active principle which should regenerate character and reconstitute society. This power came with Christianity.

2. In the history of religion as set forth in the Christian Scriptures, we find a similar succession in the order in which the above-mentioned problems emerge. A doctrine of conscience is not found till late in the development of Christian thought, when the consciousness of individuality is strong and full. There are indeed traces of the operations of conscience. Man is always treated as a moral being (so in the prophets, and especially in Ezekiel, whose sense of individual responsibility is new and strong), susceptible of communications from a personal God, and amenable to His judgment. But conscience, or the source of obligation for the individual, is not made a subject of special treatment in the earlier stages of man's spiritual history. Broadly speaking, there is no doctrine of conscience in the OT. The heart is the centre of man's whole spiritual energy, whether intellectual or moral; and no subtle analysis of mental or moral powers is attempted. The characteristic work of conscience, that of condemning us when we do wrong, is ascribed to the heart, Job 27^6. The absence of a doctrine of conscience from the OT is to be explained, not by any reference to the alleged disinclination of the Heb. mind for psychological study, but by the fact that the stage of religious development at which the Hebrews were under Mosaism, precluded the question to which the doctrine of conscience is an answer. The law may be compared to the systems of Plato and Aristotle, inasmuch as it answers the first of the moral questions which arise on consideration of man's life, viz. What is the Good? The Good is the will of God expressed in this body of legislation. The question of principle of action, or an organ of moral judgment, cannot emerge till the conception of the Good has been made explicit. The law is the conscience of the Heb. community. Hence, as Oehler points out, the idea of a *νόμος γραπτὸς ἐν καρδίαις* is wholly alien to the OT. This absence of a doctrine of conscience is to be found also in our Lord's teaching. He never uses the word, and for a similar reason. His teaching is essentially revelation. He is dealing with the highest good for man, stating it in words, exhibiting it in life. His teaching and example are addressed to conscience, and are meant to awaken conscience; and for this very reason He does not and cannot discuss conscience. Many of His sayings apply to conscience, and cast light on it, *e.g.* 'the lamp of the body,' Mt $6^{22.\ 23}$; but conscience itself does not form part of His express teaching.

With Christ's work as Redeemer a new stage of man's history is entered on. The first question is answered; the first need is met. The Good is revealed as truth; it is accomplished in act; it is present as power. What Greek philosophy sought after in the speculations of Plato and Aristotle, is possessed in the kingdom of God. The parallel is more than fanciful. As the Greek realized the good in the duties of citizenship in the State, the Christian realizes it in the duties and privileges of citizenship in the kingdom of God. The virtue of the Greek, narrowed by the limitations of the Gr. State, is the obligation and possibility of mankind in the wide realm of grace, which no political change can restrict or destroy.

Now, accordingly, man as an individual gets his rights, and becomes the subject of special study. The NT, apart from the teaching of our Lord, is largely occupied with the consideration of man in relation to the grace of God which has come with Christ. Human nature is studied as it could not be at an earlier stage. It is true that there is no merely speculative treatment, the interest of the NT being practical and not technical. References, however, to various aspects of man's moral constitution abound. In particular, the question of man's relation to the Good as the will of God receives special treatment, and is answered by an explicit doctrine of conscience. Man is confronted by the revealed will of God, revealed not only in a book, but in a Person. How does this will make itself felt in the sphere of man's individual consciousness? How is man guided and impelled towards the fulfilment of this will? The answer of St. Paul, and other writers in the NT, is conscience. Conscience, therefore, at once becomes the object of special practical interest. It is the great aim of a Christian to have a conscience that shall be 'good,' 'void of offence,' or 'pure'; and it is of paramount importance that conscience

should be maintained in a condition of enlightenment and power adequate to the discharge of its great function as the organ of moral apprehension and moral judgment.

3. After the varied Christian life of the early centuries of our era had died away, Christian ethic, like Christian theology, fell under the blight of mediæval scholasticism. Christian truth was stiffened into a system of dogma. Christian morality was elaborated into a legal system more cumbrous and wearisome than ever the Mosaic code had been. Under this double burden the souls of men groaned in bondage. Yet even in the darkest ages there were not wanting symptoms of revolt. Mysticism claimed the power of holding fellowship with God, without the intervention of ecclesiastical machinery; but it failed to base its protest on a sound conception of human nature, and so never rose beyond the position of a secret in possession of a few unique spirits. Final deliverance came in the epoch of the Reformation. The Reformation was in essence a religious revival. The cumbrous ecclesiastical machinery by which the mediæval Church, while professing to unite God and man, had really held them apart, was swept away in a burst of righteous wrath. The relations of God and man came to be re-stated under the inspiration of original Christian ideas. In this process conscience necessarily played an important part. Conscience accentuated the antagonism between man and God, and showed man guilty in a degree for which indulgences and priestly absolutions brought no sound relief. Conscience, in like manner, in view of the complete atonement wrought by Christ, testified, to him who rested on Christ alone for salvation, perfect peace with God. Conscience, accordingly, occupies large space in the writings of the Reformers, as it must do in all Christian teaching. It is not made, however, the subject of special theoretical treatment. Speculative interest in the question of the source of moral judgment has not awakened; and the necessity of its discussion is not yet felt. The Reformation, in fact, was not an individualistic movement. It is a misrepresentation to describe it as such, or to quote such phrases as 'the right of private judgment,' as embodying its characteristic ideas. Those philosophical writers who most fully express in the domain of pure thought the Protestant spirit—Descartes and Spinoza—are by no means individualists. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the Reformation contained the possibility of individualism. The external unity of the Church had been broken up. Before a conception of spiritual unity could be formed and wrought out in moral and political life, it was inevitable that an epoch of individualism should supervene, in which man should seek to find the solution of intellectual and moral problems within his own subjectivity. This movement predominated most largely in England, and obtained almost exclusive sway, till within the present century it has met a counter current of thought. Ethical theory during such a period is largely occupied with the question of the source of moral obligation, and the faculty of moral judgment. British moralists may be distinguished and classified mainly by their views on this topic. At the head of the long line stands Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), a writer whose fertile suggestiveness, virile force, and daring paradox, made him a paramount influence in the development of ethical doctrine in Britain. His fundamental position is that man's natural tendencies are only and altogether 'self-regarding.' The good for the individual is simply what he desires for himself. The result of each individual seeking the gratification of his own desires is, of course, a state of war, whose miseries Hobbes depicts to the life. Reason, accordingly, intervenes to stop this intolerable state of matters, and does so by enjoining submission to a strong government. Hobbes thus pushes individualism to an extreme in which it becomes intolerable, and is replaced by an iron system in which the individual is practically extinguished. In such a system there is no place for conscience, properly speaking. Hobbes uses the word only in connexion with the analogous phrase 'conscious.' Conscience is no more than opinion shared by various individuals. Any higher sense is mere metaphor. The moral faculty is no other than reason, calculating how best to secure individual advantage, and deciding upon submission to the State as the best means of securing the end aimed at. Such a doctrine was rather the propounding of a problem than its solution. Accordingly, we find that ethical thought in England consists mainly in answers to Hobbes, or rather in answers to the moral problem so acutely stated by him: What is the source of moral obligation? What is the nature of the moral faculty? These answers follow three distinct lines.

(1) Appeal is made to reason. Reason is regarded as the power by which universal truths and principles are perceived and proclaimed. This is, in general, the view of Cudworth (1617–1688), whose *Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality*, not published till 1731, is directed against the teaching of Hobbes as destructive of the essential distinctions of good and evil; and of Clarke (1675–1729). Both these writers claim for man this faculty of recognizing truths, ideas, or relations of things, prior to and apart from the suggestions of sensation. Here we have a real answer to Hobbes, and a most hopeful line of ethical thought. If man have this power, then we are lifted at once above the degrading view of man as a creature of merely selfish instincts, and have morality based, not on conventions, but on eternal fact.

The value of such 'dianoetic ethics,' to use Martineau's designation, depends obviously on the view taken of reason; and in the above-mentioned writers, reason is conceived too much as a mere formal power, limited to the recognition of truths submitted to it. Thus, while phrases in Cudworth, for instance, remind one of Kant, there is no approach to the Kantian doctrine of knowledge, still less to its subsequent idealist development.

(2) A fuller analysis of human instincts is attempted. Hobbes had said man's primary instincts are self-regarding. It was obviously open to reply that they were not, or that they all were not. Accordingly, we have such writers as Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and Hutcheson (1694–1747) elaborately proving that man possesses social as well as selfish instincts, and placing virtue in the proper balance of the two. The perception of this balance or proportion is due to a moral sense, which, like the sense of beauty in things artistic, guides us in things moral. At a first glance it might appear, as no doubt it did to the writers themselves, that they were answering Hobbes, and giving a more dignified conception of human nature. Really, however, they are in substantial agreement with Hobbes, entirely so as to presuppositions, and practically so as to result. They also appeal to instincts as providing motives and impulses. Some of these, indeed, they say are not selfish; but if we press them we find that the special power of unselfish instincts is the superior gratification they afford, *i.e.* they are at bottom selfish still. Selfishness, or, to give it a more refined but more misleading title, Utility, is the spring and standard of action. The psychological and even the ethical principles of Hobbes are really continued in Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Hume.

(3) Reference is made to a distinct power of human nature, viz. to Conscience, as supreme arbiter in morals. Butler (1692–1752) is distinguished among British moralists for the emphasis he lays on this faculty. He sees that Shaftesbury's reply to Hobbes is defective in this respect, that his 'moral sense' lacks the quality of supremacy, which is required to face and quell the imperiousness of selfish instincts. He labours, therefore, to establish the supremacy of conscience, and to vindicate for it magisterial position and authority. Of the impressiveness and moral strength of Butler's writings it is impossible to speak too highly. As a practical protest against the immorality of his own age, they are deeply interesting; and as a moral tonic in any age, they are invaluable. As ethical theory, or doctrine of conscience, however, they cannot be said to be final or satisfactory. Butler was, to quote the words of T. H. Green, 'the victim of the current psychology.'* To him, as much as to Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Locke, or Hume, feeling was the source of action, as of knowledge. Objects of desire are given. Then conscience, a power whose origin and nature are unexplained and inexplicable, appears to decide among the competing motives. It speaks with authority, but is unable to make its authority felt. Ultimately, Butler is driven to admit practical supremacy to self-love, and takes refuge in the identity of duty and self-interest. A higher principle does indeed appear in Butler, viz. the love of God. But as he never reconsidered his psychology, this rather contributes additional confusion to his scheme. Human nature remains 'a cross of unreconciled principles,' self-love, benevolence, conscience, the love of God. Plainly, such a view of man cannot provide a sure basis of ethics. The whole moral problem must be reconsidered. What is implied in moral action? If it shall appear that the sensationalist psychology is at fault, if feeling cannot present objects of desire, if in the simplest action there is implied the presence of a Self, making itself its own object, then we are led to a view of man as a being who finds his true good in the good of others, and of conscience as not merely authoritative, but also mighty to carry its precepts into effect, being indeed the presence within the individual consciousness of that Reason, Mind, Spirit, or Personality whose revelation is found in all reality and all good.

It is not needful to pursue the line of British moralists any further. Whoever they happen to be, Paley, Bentham, James Mill, J. S. Mill, or Bain, whatever their minor differences or their special excellences, they unite in retaining the psychology which reigned throughout the eighteenth century. In vain for them did Hume carry the conclusions of that psychology to a scepticism which provoked Kant to a reply, which introduced a new conception of man and the spiritual world. All alike they cling to the conviction that it is possible by dissection to arrive at the living man, and by analyzing his sensations to account for knowledge and morality. They may vary in detail, but they are in substantial agreement as to results. The chief end of man is happiness. The moral faculty is a variously described compound of feelings, whose fluidity is stiffened by the sanctions and punishments of society. This psychology has more recently allied itself with the hypothesis of organic evolution, and made draughts of illimitable time aid in establishing its conclusions. Prolonged experience of pleasure in connexion with actions, which serve social ends, has resulted in certain physiological changes in the brain and nervous system, which render these actions constant. Thus, according to Spencer, is begotten a conscience or faculty, to which he even gives the name of intuition. This sensationalist psychology, thus strengthened by evolution, has called forth various replies.

(*a*) Intuitionism enters its earnest denial. Dr. Martineau's strictures on evolutionary ethics are powerful, and his general ethical doctrine is most earnest and impressive. His position closely resembles that of Butler in last century. Like Butler, he gives an account of the springs of moral action. But whereas Butler only mentions two, Self-love and Benevolence, Martineau's list is most elaborate, containing no fewer than thirteen passions, propensions, sentiments, or affections. Quite as Butler had done, he gives to conscience a judicial function in respect to these springs of action. Distinctive in Martineau, however, is his doctrine that conscience judges, not of the rightness of acts, but of the rank of motives. Conscience he defines to be 'the critical perception we have of the relative authority of our several principles of action.' Right and wrong he defines thus: 'Every action is right which, in presence of a lower principle, follows a higher; every action is wrong which, in presence of a higher principle, follows a lower.' Eloquent and powerful as Dr. Martineau's exposition is, it is open to the objection which may be brought against Butler. Whence come these springs of action? Do they simply appear before the judgment-seat of conscience, without any prior determination by self-consciousness? Then we are thrown back, as we were by Butler, upon current sensational psychology. And whence comes conscience? Does it simply appear, and seat itself in judicial state, a separate, unique faculty, inexplicable and mysterious, owning no organic relation to self-consciousness? Then its authority is blind, and, as in Butler's doctrine, is unsupported by power.

(*b*) A conclusive answer can be reached only through a consideration of the possibility of experience in general, and of moral experience in particular. Such an answer is to be found in Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*. Press the analysis of sensation as far back as we please, make our list of feelings and instincts as detailed as possible, we never get a mere sensation or instinct, such as we might suppose it to be in the lower animals, but always the sensation as it is to a self, already modified by its relation to self-consciousness. In the simplest sensation, there is implied the operation of a spiritual principle, which is the basis of the possibility at once of knowledge and of morality. The sensationalist psychology is thus deprived of its whole *raison d'etre*. It exists in order to get personality out of sensations. It can do so, only because personality is therein already implied.

The hypothesis of evolution is of no use to sensationalism, and does not invalidate the argument of idealism. 'That countless generations should have passed during which a transmitted organism was progressively modified by reaction on its surroundings, by struggle for existence or otherwise, till its functions became such that an eternal consciousness could realize or reproduce itself through them,—this might add to the wonder with which the consideration of what we do and are must always fill us, but it could not alter the results of that consideration. If such be discovered to be the case, the discovery cannot affect the analysis of knowledge of what is implied in there being a world to be known, and in our knowing it, on which we found our theory of the action of a free or self-conditioned and eternal mind in man' (*Prolegomena*, p. 82). Man, therefore, is a self or

* The most illuminating critique of Butler with which I am acquainted is contained in Green's Works, vol. iii. pp. 98–104.

personality, which is not, however, an incident in a series, but is rooted in an infinite self or personality. Our individual self-consciousness derives from and is maintained by an infinite, eternal, universal, self-consciousness; Green would say, is a 'reproduction' of it,—a phrase open to misconstruction. Knowledge, therefore, is the gradual discovery of mind or spirit in things, the exhibition of the world as the self-manifestation of an infinite personality, with whom the finite intelligence of man is one. Morality is the progressive accomplishment of an eternal purpose, with which the individual is and ought to be at one, whose goal is the perfection of man. The good for man is self-realization, but it is the realization of an infinite self, and is thus identical with the widest possible range of good for others, and is attained by the profoundest self-surrender. The moral faculty in man, the practical reason or conscience, is no special inexplicable endowment, a *vox clamantis in deserto*. It is the man himself, conscious in all action of a good, which he either reaches or fails to reach, which in either case stands above his separate impulses, in the one case approving and beckoning him onward and upward, in the other condemning him and binding on him the penalty due to one who has broken the law of his own being. Conscience, thus conceived, may also with equal truth be described as the revelation of infinite good to man, or the voice of God witnessing to eternal right within the individual soul. It is the voice of the man's true self, and his true self is ideally one with God. On such lines alone is the sensationalist attack on absolute right and on conscience successfully met, and room found for Christian ethic, and a Christian doctrine of conscience.

B. Outline of Christian Doctrine.

i. The Nature of Conscience. — The *locus classicus* here is Ro $2^{14.15}$. The connexion of thought is the responsibility of all men for their actions, their condemnation in sin, their acceptance in righteousness. This applies to Gentiles as well as Jews. It would not apply had Gentiles no revelation of absolute good made to them, as the Jews had in the Law. Such a revelation, however, the Gentiles have. They (v.^{14}) do by nature, *i.e.* instinctively, the things which are articulately prescribed in the Law, and accordingly while they have not the Law as a written code, yet they have it in another sense. In what sense is now explained (v.^{15}). The comparison in the apostle's mind is between Jew and Gentile, in respect of the delivery to each of God's Law. To the Jews, this delivery was made at Sinai, and so in speaking of its delivery to the Gentiles he uses Sinaitic imagery. The apostle's description involves three points. (1) The delivery of the Law in the dictates of natural impulse; 'the work of the law,' *i.e.* a course of conduct conforming to the will of God, being 'written in their hearts,' as in the case of the Jews it was written on tables of stone. (2) The recognition of the Law in its binding obligations by a moral faculty, just as the Jews heard with bodily ear the proclamation of the Ten Commandments; 'their conscience bearing witness therewith,' *i.e.* along with the heart, when it speaks and prompts to duty. (3) Judgments passed upon actions in the light of the witness of conscience, some being favourable, others (as the emphasis implies, the greater number) being unfavourable; 'their thoughts one with another, accusing or else excusing them.'

The doctrine of this passage, borne out by other Scripture usage, therefore, is: (*α*) That man has received a revelation of good, sufficient to make him morally responsible. This revelation comes in different forms to men differently placed in the providential disposition of affairs. Even those who seem least advantageously situated have the revelation of 'nature.' Man is so made that he finds the satisfaction of his true self in moral good only; and towards this the forward impulse of his heart goes forth. The race, charged with the special function of guarding and transmitting the spiritual heritage of humanity, has appropriately a special revelation of good, explicitly bearing the stamp of superhuman origin. Finally, when 'the fulness of time' in the moral discipline of mankind is reached, the good finds complete revelation in a person, the man Christ Jesus. 'Nature,' with its few rudimentary facts of moral life, and 'Law,' with its greater articulateness, are summed up in 'Christ,' in whom moral good is perfectly realized. (*β*) That man possesses a moral faculty, or is possessed by it, that he has a conscience, which is indeed his self-consciousness in respect of moral action, in virtue of which he recognizes, approves, and binds upon himself the Good, in whatsoever form it is revealed to him, and by the authority of which he pronounces judgment upon himself. This doctrine obviously rests upon the general scriptural doctrine of man as made in the image of God, of man as spirit even as God is spirit or personality, a conception which we have seen to be the suggestion of philosophy in its criticism of unphilosophical sensationalist psychology. God reveals His will to man, partially in Nature and Law, fully in Christ. Man as a spiritual being is susceptible of this revelation; his consciousness of it in things moral is conscience.

This view of conscience greatly simplifies it, and reduces it from the position of an inexplicable faculty, fulminating in impotent majesty above the warring impulses of man's nature. It is simply the faculty, if we must use the term, through which we apprehend the divine will so that it may govern our lives. It is no more a separate faculty than faith, and deserves no more than faith the credit of its operations. As faith lays hold of Christ, and thus saves and sanctifies; so conscience lays hold of the divine will, and thus legislates and judges. It is not an independent source of law and judgment. It voices the will of God.

It is plain, however, that this view, if in one sense it deprives conscience of the proud position which an intuitionist theory would confer upon it, in another confers upon it unique and awful supremacy. When conscience wakes and speaks, it means that man is in spiritual contact with God, that God is making His will felt in the depths of man's constitution. Thus it is that 'to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin'; sin, not error or mistake, nor only shortcoming, but trespass against the law of God, which is recognized as the law of our own being, in keeping which our welfare lies.

The practical result is that conscience claims, and must receive if we are to be true to our very nature, a position of absolute supremacy. Every action must be brought beneath its sway; in popular phrase, we must make conscience of all we do. Actions laid upon us by outward authority, we are to do, not because the authority is supported by force, but because conscience recognizes the good of which this authority is an expression; and so we obey 'for conscience' sake' (Ro 13^{5}). Actions which seemingly lie outside the moral judgment, having apparently no relation to moral questions, are to be brought before conscience and carefully scrutinized, so that even in such matters as what we are to eat or refrain from eating, we are still to act 'for conscience' sake' (1 Co 10^{25-29}). The whole domain of life is to

be brought within the sweep of conscience, and every element in it is to be made subject to that great and just arbitrament.

It may be true that in a society so largely Christianized as ours, the man who acts from conscience will not behave in a manner markedly distinct from the behaviour of those who simply follow the conventions of society. There will, however, be very distinct differences on a closer scrutiny. He will discover new meanings in actions prescribed by convention, and will perform them the better that he does them with conscience. He will be on the outlook for new duties and new means of realizing the good which he apprehends, not as a code, but as an inner spiritual impulse. Apart from specific differences of action, there is a difference in spring of action, which cannot but tell in the long run. Perceiving the disparity between his own attainments and that good of which conscience is the witness, and to which it summons him, he has within him a divine discontent which drives him to further efforts, and secures for him greater excellences. The morality of a code is rigid, self-satisfied, pharisaic. The morality of conscience is ever aspiring, humble, dissatisfied with self. A conscience thus kept in its supremacy is described as 'good' (Ac 23^{1}, 1 Ti $1^{5.19}$, He 13^{18}, 1 P $3^{16.21}$), not in the sense that he who has it has never sinned, but because he has yielded himself to the will of God, and is living in the spirit and aim of his career for the glory of God, while he never permits unforgiven sin to lie upon his heart: 'void of offence toward God and toward man' (Ac 24^{16}), because the pleasing of God in all things, and his neighbour in all things for his good unto edification, is the man's constant aim and exercise: 'pure' (1 Ti 3^{9}, 2 Ti 1^{3}), because there is no doubleness of mind, or secret alienation from the will of God, but a sincere desire, an unwavering resolution to live so that He may approve.

It is, of course, always open to man as a free agent to disobey conscience, reject its supremacy, disregard its witness, and defy its authority. On an intuitionist theory, which regards conscience as a *part* of man, separable from other parts, it would be difficult to vindicate the terrible consequences of such conduct. It is because the conscience is the man himself in his consciousness of the divine will, that the consequences are so injurious, penetrate so deeply, and extend so widely. Conscience disobeyed is: (1) Defiled; and this defilement may be either (α) occasional (1 Co 8^{7}), or (β) permanent and pervasive (Tit 1^{15}). (2) Branded or seared (1 Ti 4^{2}), where the figure is either the branding of a slave with a stamp, or the extinction of faculty by the use of hot iron, in any case expressing the reduction of conscience to a state of moral incapacity. (3) Perverted (Mt 6^{23}), so that conscience, the light of the soul, gives, not merely no deliverance, but a deliverance on the wrong side, the man being now, not a servant of the good, but of the evil, having sinned against the Holy Spirit.

That conscience is disobeyed in countless instances is patent fact; and these consequences may be traced in the history of individuals. It is more difficult to see the fact and to trace the consequence in the records of the race. Yet it is certain that sin is not merely an incident in the career of an individual, but a quality inherent in the conduct of man universally, and that the effects of sin are traceable, to what extent it is impossible to define, in the general conscience of mankind.

ii. The Competence of Conscience.—In all that is said of the supremacy of conscience its competence is, of course, presupposed. This, however, is precisely what is denied by those who desire to explain the phenomena of conscience on the hypothesis of evolution, and facts are urged in disproof of the claim of original authority. It must be remembered, however, what it is that is claimed by the Christian doctrine on behalf of conscience. It is not the infallible authority of an independent faculty, but the ability on the part of a being made in God's image to recognize God's will as it is progressively revealed to him.

Much of the sensationalist and evolutionary attack on conscience really applies only to the intuitionist theory of conscience, and does not touch the Christian doctrine or the idealist philosophy, whose criticism of sensationalist psychology we have noticed above. The special difficulties which call for consideration are these—

1. The diversity of moral judgments, as among different nations now, or at different stages of the world's history. The heathen conscience enjoins what the Christian conscience condemns. Jewish feeling rejoiced in deeds at which Christian sentiment shudders. Amid such divergences, is not the supremacy of conscience lost? The answer to this puzzle lies in our general view of man and his conscience of good. If man be a personal being in constant communication with the infinite Person, God, we can understand how his moral history is an education or development, each step in advance being gained through obedience to conscience, which proclaims as absolute the will of God. The stages of the revelation of good are marked by advance up to the full realization of good in Christ. Conscience at each stage is supreme, though its deliverances, compared together, vary according to the stage reached. Combined with this view is the fact of deterioration through disobedience, so that the conscience of a nation or religious community may become perverted, and proclaim as duty a bloody crime or an unnatural offence. Even among races which have formed the most mistaken standard of duty, it is found, as missionary records amply show, that the revelation of higher excellence meets with ready response, and conscience, revivified by the light, calls upon man to follow it. In order to prove the supremacy of conscience, we do not need to prove uniformity amid the deliverances of conscience, from age to age. The very divergences set its persistent authority in more vivid light.

2. The alleged conflict of duties, which occasionally arises, reducing conscience to perplexity and silence. This certainly would be a fatal objection, not to the supremacy of conscience only, but to morality as a whole. If there arise circumstances, not due to any human crime or error, in which duty confronts duty in absolute contradiction, so that merely to act is to transgress, not only is conscience proved incompetent, but the moral sphere is shown not to include the whole of life, and righteousness by being demonstrated to be impossible is made unnecessary. The question can be met only by analyses of cases. Those cases must, of course, be excluded which are not, properly speaking, cases of *conscience*. One case only needs to be stated to be dismissed, that in which a verdict of conscience, in itself clear and distinct, is opposed by strong passion or self-interest which clamorously demands to be obeyed. Here, plainly, there is no question of the competence of conscience, or its claim to be obeyed. Another case is that in which the clear testimony of conscience is confronted by some instinct of the soul, itself true and noble. Here also there is, strictly speaking, no perplexity of conscience, and it is admitted that there is no wavering in its demand to be obeyed. Hesitation arises from the strong appeal of feeling. Sir Walter Scott has presented such a situation in the classic instance of Jeanie Deans,

tempted to tell a falsehood in order to save her sister's life. Here the obligation of truth is confronted by sisterly affection. The action of Jeanie Deans unquestionably represents the true solution. Conscience is obeyed, while love goes forth in noblest sacrifice on behalf of the beloved. The difficulty of such cases is not speculative, but practical, and is to be met, not by intellectual discussion on the occasion when the difficulty arises, for which, indeed, there would be no time, but by the life habit of obedience, begetting an insight into the nature of the highest good for others, even our best beloved, as well as for ourselves, which will be available in the sudden emergency as an intuitive judgment.

Cases which do affect conscience and seem to perplex it, are those in which there is a 'conflict between different formulæ for expressing the ideal of good in human conduct, or between different institutions for furthering its realization, which have alike obtained authority over men's minds without being intrinsically entitled to more than a partial and relative obedience,' or an 'incompatibility of some such formula or institution, on the one side, with some moral impulse of the individual on the other, which is really an impulse towards the attainment of human perfection, but cannot adjust itself to recognized rules and established institutions' (*Prolegomena*, p. 342). In such cases 'the requirements of conscience seem to be in conflict with each other. However disposed to do what his conscience enjoins, the man finds it difficult to decide what its injunction is' (*ibid.* p. 351). Such cases may, indeed, become peculiarly complicated, and exceedingly painful. But they do not really constitute a conflict of duties. Right seems to be divided against itself, when in reality it is only rising through contest of opposite one-sided views to a fuller conception, or through the break-up of a system to a higher realization than could be contained within its limits. There is no such thing really as a conflict of duties. 'A man's duty under any particular set of circumstances is always one, though the conditions of the case may be so complicated and obscure as to make it difficult to decide what the duty really is' (*ibid.* p. 355). Here, in like manner, the ability and claim of conscience are not involved. It is true that there is no extant formula which will serve by its mere quotation to settle the case. Conscience is not so formal and unnatural a faculty as such a view would imply. Yet it is not incompetent, because it moves slowly and grows in knowledge and power through the discipline of life and the practice of obedience. With characteristic caution Butler states the matter, 'Let any plain, honest man, before he engages in any course of action, ask himself, Is this I am going about right, or is it wrong? Is it good, or is it evil? I do not in the least doubt but that this question would be answered agreeably to truth and virtue by almost any fair man in almost any circumstances' (Sermon III). A recent essayist, to the question, How am I to know what is right? makes answer, 'By the *αἴσθησις* of the *φρόνιμος*' (Bradley's *Ethical Studies*, p. 177). 'If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching,' or system, or institution, or formula, 'whether it be of God' (Jn 7^{17}).

iii. The Education of Conscience.—We thus see that objections, which might be valid against a doctrine which made conscience an infallible oracle, are not valid against the view which regards conscience as man's consciousness of the will of God. It is now to be regarded, not as an inexplicable part of man, but as man himself in relation to the revelation of right. It is the apprehension of God as Righteousness, just as faith is the apprehension of God as Grace; and Luther, as Dorner points out, speaks of faith as the Christian conscience. Conscience, accordingly, is involved in man's moral history. It suffers in his sin and alienation from God, becoming clouded in its insight, feeble in its testimony, and may even come to be grievously perverted in its judgments. It gains in his restoration through grace, its knowledge is clarified, its judgment strengthened. The deepest characteristic of sin is a liberty, which is, in truth, the bondage of man's will or personality. The deepest characteristic of grace is a service, which is perfect freedom. Man, in yielding himself to God, accepts a law, which is the law of his own being. He is therefore free, self-determining, and self-realizing; a person as God is a person, realizing the fulness of personal life in harmony with God. Conscience shares in this subjection 'which is also emancipation.' The NT everywhere claims for conscience this independence of action, this immediacy and certainty of its deliverances, undetermined by a formal code or the voice of a spiritual director (Ro $14^{1.\ 5.\ 13\text{-}23}$, Col 2^{16}, Ja $1^{6\text{-}8}$). Toward this point, therefore, the growth of conscience must be directed under the guidance of special education. This education is twofold.

1. *Social.*—The highest good for man always involves the relation of man to man. 'Through society,' says Professor Green, 'is personality actualized.' Hence it follows 'that the human spirit can only realize itself, or fulfil its idea, in persons; and that it can only do so through society, since society is the condition of the development of a personality' (*Prolegomena*, pp. 200, 201). Conscience, therefore, being personality in its relation to right, is also socially conditioned. There is no such thing as a merely individual conscience. Even when seemingly most individual, as when a reformer rises to protest against the injustice of some institution, its testimony is still on behalf of a good for man, which this institution, founded, no doubt, to further it, now fails to express and practically opposes. It is plain, therefore, that 'no individual can make a conscience for himself. He always needs a society to make it for him' (*Prolegomena*, p. 351). Conscience is born and cradled in the home, trained and exercised in the Church, in civil society, and the State. The enormous importance of this social education of conscience is thus evident. The ethical functions of parent, teacher, pastor, employer, statesman, are seen to be the highest and most sacred. Under their influence, the conscience of the individual receives its revelation of duty, and its preparation for the exercise of its legislative and judicial vocation.

2. *Individual.*—Man cannot be merely passive in education. All true education is self-education. The education of conscience, in particular, must be the work of the individual, consciously fitting himself for the service in which freedom and life for him lie. The means at his disposal are mainly three.

(*a*) The institutions of society, the sacred rights of life, honour, property, reputation, with all the detailed obligations to which these give rise. Only through the most careful obedience to these elementary conditions of moral life can conscience be kept clear and strong. Negligence here, even in name of high spirituality, has always produced a terrible Nemesis, and those who have claimed emancipation in name of religion have sunk beneath the load of that mere morality they affected to despise. Hence the NT ethic is remarkable for its abundance of commonplace, and has the homeliest directions to give to children, servants, citizens, to fulfil the duties of their station, while it frequently recalls those who are thrilling with consciousness of new light and life to the rudiments of morality, truth, honesty, purity, industry, etc. The attempt

to be religious at the expense of morality is very ancient and is still very prevalent, and requires continually the prophetic rebuke (Mic 6^{5-8}).

(*b*) The literature in which the conscience of humanity has given utterance to itself. The whole field of history, biography, and fiction is opened up for the education of conscience. By diligent study, conscience grows informed, and becomes more sure of itself. Along with such general literature we may class the Bible. It requires no *à priori* doctrine of inspiration to establish the supremacy of biblical ethic. Here we have a revelation of right, which has never been seriously questioned, and has commanded the unaffected approval even of unbelievers. The Bible is the touchstone of conscience. Conscience can only be maintained in truth and vigour, according as it is continually refreshed by earnest study of the unveiling of the ideal contained in Scripture and principally in the character of Jesus Christ.

(*c*) Communion with God. Here we are on the borderland of ethic and religion. The education of books becomes the education of living intercourse. The conscience whose sole sources of information have been natural laws, or the records of literature, fails of the highest light, breaks down in critical instances, and is, besides, gloomy stern and hopeless. The conscience which rises through obedience to moral law and study of ethic into fellowship with Him who is Righteousness and Truth, becomes clear and full in its testimony, a reliable guide in the perplexities of life. Of course this result is not reached by a leap. It implies a process carried on through life. The growth of conscience will have its periods of weakness, onesidedness, acrid fanaticism, morbid tenderness, all of which must be most patiently borne with, not only by observers, but by the individual himself. Conscience will even pronounce judgments that are needless, foolish, or actually erroneous. The utmost care must be taken not to wound conscience at such times. Specially must it not be overborne by those who rejoice in higher light and claim a larger liberty. Their higher duty, indeed, may be to deny themselves a liberty which is their right (1 Co 8^{7-13} 10^{23-33}, Ro $15^{1.2}$). The stage of weakness is, however, in itself an effect of sin, and to continue in it is added sin. Strength and truth of conscience are the aim to be consciously striven after (He 5^{14}). The testimony of conscience is meant to be part of our assurance toward God (2 Co 1^{12}, 1 P 3^{21}).

iv. The Witness of Conscience.—The work of conscience lies, no doubt, within the moral sphere. But in considering the basis of ethics, we are led to see that moral action implies a reference to an infinite Personality as the ground and origin of man's personal being. Morality presupposes religion as the basis of its possibility, and prepares for religion through its incompleteness. Conscience, accordingly, as the supreme moral faculty, points beyond the merely moral sphere, and becomes a witness to the truth of religion. The witness of conscience is not to be regarded as logical demonstration. In point of fact, spiritual realities cannot be reached by logical processes. The only valid argument for religious truth is that which proceeds by consideration of the constitution of man, and discerns in that constitution the necessity of the existence of a Divine Being in whose image man has been made. In that argument, the witness of conscience forms an important element. To trace this witness fully belongs to dogmatics. We conclude this article by a bare outline of the direction which this witness takes.

1. *God.*—Conscience we have seen to be man's consciousness in action of right to be done. This is with equal truth to be described as the revelation of right within us, or the voice of God speaking in the soul of man. In moral action we are dealing with more than the judgments of our fellowmen, with more even than our own judgment upon ourselves. There is present in the court of conscience an invisible Assessor, who is, indeed, the ultimate source and standard of right by which the judgment proceeds. Individual experience presents this line of proof with an intensity which is best expressed in silence. Biography and history present the demonstration often with tragic articulateness. In conscience, the consciousness of God cannot be got rid of. It haunts the sinner in his revolt as shadow of doom. It accompanies the seeker in his upward movement with ever-growing confirmation. All other arguments for the being of God find their force increased by being combined with this. If the ontological argument leads us to a reason or universal self-consciousness, through man's relation to which knowledge is possible; if the argument *e contingentia mundi* brings us to an eternal substance in which all things inhere; if the teleological argument requires a purpose fulfilling itself in creation, —the moral argument enables us to define that reason, substance, purpose, as a Person whose very nature is righteousness. (See suggestive treatment in Illingworth, *Personality*, Lect. iv.)

2. *Christ.*—The constitution of man requires as its root a Personal God, to whom conscience in man ascribes moral perfection. But Personality is inconceivable apart from Self-revelation and Self-communication. An Incarnation of God, therefore, is profoundly congruous with the demand for God which arises out of the constitution of man. Jesus Christ is presented to the mind of man as such an Incarnation. It will scarcely be denied that He used language regarding Himself which implies such a claim. It is certain that the Church with growing fulness has made it on His behalf. Conscience makes in intensest form the demand for a Personal God. It is fair, therefore, to ask if conscience is satisfied with the claim advanced for Christ. Here there is no hesitation in the answer. The conscience of humanity has recognized in Christ, in His teaching and in His life, the final revelation of Good. Christ *is* the conscience of humanity. The words of J. S. Mill are often and justly adduced as consenting to this dictum. 'Even now it would not be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete than to endeavour so to live that Christ would approve our life.' Here we have a moral argument, not only for Theism, but for Christianity. Conscience, as Dorner finely says, becomes our '$\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$' (Gal 3^{24}), and leads us through obedience into knowledge (Jn 7^{17}). Faith in Christ, accordingly, is no longer an act unrelated to our moral life, but is itself a moral obligation.

3. *Atonement.* — Conscience, especially as enlightened by Christianity, witnesses to infinite perfection. At the same time, it pronounces upon all our actions sentence of failure. Between the absolute good and the individual will there is ever a want of complete harmony. Conscience abates none of its condemnation, when action is largely harmonized with social institutions or codes of moral law. The more entirely it wins the mastery, the more stern is its refusal to be satisfied. Its demand is for absolute harmony with infinite good. Any breach it treats as infinite; and lays upon the heart the burden, not of shortcoming merely, but of guilt. The question of salvation, therefore, is a moral question. It is stated in Hebrews in this form, How can the conscience be cleansed from dead works to serve the living God? (He 9^{14}). How can the incubus of guilt be removed, so that

the will of man may act in unhindered harmony with the will of God? Two solutions conscience declines.

First, that of gratuitous forgiveness. God is sometimes represented as saying, in virtue of His bare almighty will, 'I forgive.' But mere sovereignty is mere unreason. And if to this be added, 'at the prompting of His tender heart,' the reply is still, mere feeling is mere unreason. In either case, the supreme arbiter of life is represented as mere caprice; and in order to save man from consequences of immoral act, we have confounded the whole moral sphere. To conscience, sin is a moral fact, and not until sin is dealt with can the relations of God and man be adjusted on a permanent, *i.e.* on a moral, basis.

Second, that of ritual observance. Action that is good, *i.e.* in absolute moral quality, can spring only from harmony with absolute good. Hence no action of a merely external kind can produce the requisite harmony. The historic demonstration of this incapacity is the Jewish ceremonial law. It did, indeed, cleanse, but the cleansing reached only to the flesh (He 9^{13}), and had to be constantly repeated (He $10^{1.2}$). The practical point is that the most elaborate scheme ever devised—devised, be it observed, by divine wisdom—failed consciously and intentionally to reach the springs of action, emancipate the will, and purge the conscience. Is it likely that any other scheme will succeed, that any morality which human wisdom can devise or individual care execute, will accomplish what the law failed to do? Conscience steadily pronounces against every such attempt, in name, not of arbitrary creed, but of essential righteousness.

A third solution presents itself. Jesus Christ perfectly reveals God to man, because He is Himself true and perfect man. Accordingly, He not only unveils to men the Absolute Good, but as man He Himself fulfils this Good. If, then, He who is thus in inmost being one with the Good, that is, God, and perfectly satisfactory to Him, shall in virtue of His humanity take man's place, and bear as a substitute man's burden, offering Himself a sacrifice for sin, will not this meet the requirements of conscience? It is now possible, through faith in the Sin-bearer, to enter into that moral union with God which is the condition of good action. Sin no more interposes its barrier. It has been recognized and dealt with by One competent to do so. The blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish unto God, avails to cleanse the conscience from dead works, and qualifies us to serve the living God (He 9^{14}). In the death of Christ the demand of conscience is satisfied through atonement being made for sin. In union to Christ through faith, the ideal to which conscience witnesses is no longer an impossibility for ever condemning us, but an actual realization upon the basis of which we are justified, and through the power of which we are enabled to fulfil the will of God (Ro 3^{25} $5^{9.10}$ $6^{15f.}$ 8^{4-6}). The witness of conscience, which brings us to God and Christ, directs us also to that which is central in Christianity, atonement made by sacrifice.

LITERATURE.—Special treatment of the doctrine of conscience is to be found in the ethical works of Dorner, Rothe, Harless, Wuttke, Hofmann, Martensen, Martineau, T. H. Green, Newman Smyth. The last has the advantage of exhibiting the place of conscience in relation to the whole system of Christian ethics. The Biblical Psychologies of Beck and Delitzsch also contain discussions of conscience. Monographs upon conscience have been written by R. H. Hofmann (*Die Lehre von dem Gewissen*, Leipzig, 1866), W. Gass (*Die Lehre vom Gewissen*, Berlin, 1869), A. Ritschl (*Ueber das Gewissen;* Ein Vortrag, Bonn, 1876), M. Kähler (*Das Gewissen*, Halle, 1878), F. D. Maurice (*The Conscience; Lectures on Casuistry*), W. T. Davison (*The Christian Conscience*; Fernley Lecture for 1888). An edition of Butler's *Three Sermons* has been published by T. & T. Clark, with Introduction and Notes by T. B. Kilpatrick; and see Gladstone's ed. of *Butler's Works*, 1896.

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CONSECRATE, CONSECRATION.—In OT several Heb. words are so tr^{d}: **1.** *nâzar* Nu 6^{12} or *nêzer* Nu $6^{7.9}$, better 'separate,' 'separation'; see NAZIRITE. **2.** *ḳiddash* as in Ex 28^{3} 30^{30}, 2 Ch 31^{6}, Ezr 3^{5}, or *ḳôdesh* Jos 6^{19}, 2 Ch 29^{33}, better 'sanctify,' 'sanctification' (wh. see). **3.** *heḥĕrîm* Mic 4^{13}, better 'devote' (see CURSE). **4.** *millā' yâd*; this is the commonest and only characteristic expression for 'consecrate' (with *millû'îm* for 'consecration'): lit. 'fill the hand.' The origin of the phrase is quite obscure.* The Heb. *millû'îm* being plu., AV has 'consecrations' (Ex 29^{34}, Lv 7^{37} $8^{28.31}$) without difference of meaning; RV sing. always. In Ex 29^{34} 'the flesh of the consecrations,' the c. is transferred to the offering by which the c. took place; so Lv 8^{28} 'they [the cake of unleavened bread, etc.] were consecrations for a sweet savour.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONSENT.—To c. is now no more than to acquiesce; in earlier Eng. it often included approval. Hence (1) to approve of a thing, Ac 8^{1} 'Saul was c^{ing} unto his death' (*συνευδοκέω*, so 22^{20}; in Lk 11^{48} tr^{d} 'allow'—'ye allow the deeds of your fathers,' RV 'consent unto'); Ro 7^{16} 'I c. unto the law that it is good' (*σύμφημι*). Cf. Shaks. 1 *Henry VI.* I. v. 34—

> 'You all consented unto Salisbury's death,
> For none would strike a stroke in his revenge.'

Or (2) to be in sympathy with a person, Ps 50^{18} 'When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him' (רָצָה); Ro 1^{32}, AVm, RV 'not only do the same, but also c. with them that practise them' (*συνευδοκέω*, AV 'have pleasure in them'). Cf. Ford (1633)—

> ''T had been pity
> To sunder hearts so equally consented.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONSIDER.—To c. is either to look carefully at or think carefully about. The former sense is now obsol. or archaic: Pr 31^{16} 'She c^{eth} a field and buyeth it'; Lv 13^{13} 'the priest shall c.' (*i.e. examine* the leper, רָאָה, RV 'look'); Sir 38^{28} 'The smith also sitting by the anvil, and c^{ing} the iron work'; He 13^{7} 'c^{ing} the end of their conversation' (*ἀναθεωροῦντες*); Gal 6^{1} 'c. thyself, lest thou also be tempted' (*σκοπέω*, RV 'looking to'). So Coverdale's tr. of Neh 2^{15} 'Then wente I on in the nighte . . . and considered the wall' (AV 'viewed'). 'Consider of' is now rare: Jg 19^{30} 'c. of it, take advice, and speak'; Ps 64^{9}; Pref. to AV '[they] set them forth openly to be c^{ed} of and perused by all.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONSIST.—Col 1^{17} 'by him all things c.' (*συνέστηκε*, RVm 'hold together')=mod. 'subsist.' This is the oldest meaning of the word and the tr. of the Rhemish NT; Tindale gives 'have their being,' and is followed by Cranmer and the Geneva; Wyclif simply 'ben'=are.

J. HASTINGS.

CONSOLATION.—See COMFORT.

CONSORT.—To c. with is to associate with, cast in one's lot with (*con* together, *sors*, *sortem* lot); Ac 17^{4} 'some of them believed, and c^{ed} with Paul and Silas' (a good idiomatic tr. of the Gr. *προσκληρόω*, fr. *πρός* to, *κλήρος* lot, though the form is pass., lit. 'were allotted to'). Up to the end of the 18th cent. a concert of music was, by a mistaken associa-

* It is used of the consecration of the *priest* only (except Ezk 43^{26} the *altar*), and the most probable explanation is that the things to be offered were put into the priest's hands, a symbolic act by which he was installed or consecrated. Some (esp. Vatke, *Alttest. Theol.* p. 273f., and Wellhausen, *Prol.*^{3} p. 130) think that the priest's hand was filled with money as 'earnest' (Scotch *arles*). See PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

tion with this word, spelt 'consort,' though it comes through Fr. *concert*, It. *concerto* from Lat. *concertare* to contend (or, as Skeat decidedly prefers, *conserere* to unite). Cf. *Rom. and Jul.* III. i. 48—

'*Tybalt.*—Mercutio, thou consort'st with Romeo,—
Mer.—Consort! what! dost thou make us minstrels?'

In Sir 32[5] AV 1611 we have 'A consort of musick in a banquet of wine' (*σύγκριμα μουσικῶν*), but mod. edd. spell 'concert.' See MUSIC. J. HASTINGS.

CONSTANT.—1 Ch 28[7] 'if he be c. to do my commandments' (אִמֵּץ=if he be *firm*). Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. i. 72—

'For I was constant Cimber should be banish'd,
And constant do remain to keep him so.'

Constantly: Pr 21[28] 'the man that heareth speaketh c.,' *i.e.* 'confidently,' not 'frequently' (נֶצַח, RV 'unchallenged,' RVm 'so as to endure'); Ac 12[15] 'she c. affirmed that it was even so' (*διϊσχυρίζετο*, RV 'confidently affirmed'); Tit 3[8] 'these things I will that thou affirm c.' (*διαβεβαιοῦσθαι*, RV 'affirm confidently'). Cf. the Collect for St. John Baptist's Day, 'After his example c. speak the truth,' *i.e.* firmly, consistently. J. HASTINGS.

CONSULT.—**1.** To take counsel, deliberate, used of a single person, as Neh 5[7] 'Then I c[ed] with myself'; Lk 14[31] 'Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and c[eth] whether he be able' (RV 'will not . . . take counsel'). **2.** To devise, contrive, with a simple object, as Mic 6[5] 'remember now what Balak king of Moab c[ed]'; Hab 2[10] 'Thou hast c[ed] shame to thy house'; or with an infin., as Ps 62[4] 'They only c. to cast him down from his excellency.'
J. HASTINGS.

CONSUMPTION.—In Lv 26[16], Dt 28[22] the ref. is to the disease (see MEDICINE). But in Is 10[22] (כָּלָיוֹן) and 10[23] 28[22] (כָּלָה, RV 'consummation,' as Dn 9[27] AV) the meaning is 'thorough ending.' So Foxe (*Act. and Mon.* iii. 56) says, 'Christ shall sit . . . at the right hand of God, till the consumption of the world.' J. HASTINGS.

CONTAIN.—1 Co 7[9] 'if they cannot c., let them marry' (RV 'if they have not continency,' *ἐγκρατεύομαι*, fr. *ἐν*, *κράτος* power='have self-control'; it is tr[d] 'be temperate' 9[25]). Cf. Young, *Paraphr. Job* (1719), 'Then Job contained no more; but curs'd his fate'; and for the meaning here, Swift, *Letters* (1710), 'No wonder she married when she was so ill at containing.' Wyclif's tr. (after the Vulg. *si non se continent*) is, 'For if thei conteynen not hem silf, *or ben not chast*, weddid be thei.'
J. HASTINGS.

CONTEND.—Generally 'c. with' in the mod. sense of 'fight with,' as Is 49[25] 'I will c. with him that c[eth] with thee'; or 'argue with,' as Ac 11[2] 'they that were of the circumcision c[ed] with him, saying.' But in the latter sense c. is also found without 'with,' as Is 57[16] 'I will not c. for ever' (prob.=argue with, accuse, condemn); Job 13[8] 'will ye c. for God?' (=argue with others for God, be an advocate for God), Am 7[4] 'the Lord God called to c. by fire' (=argue, and so Mic 6[1] 'c. thou before the mountains, and let the hills hear thy voice'). In all these passages the Heb. is רִיב *rîbh*. In Jude [3] 'ye should earnestly c. for the faith' (*ἐπαγωνίζομαι*), the meaning passes out of strife or argument into the wider sphere of earnest endeavour; as with the simple *ἀγωνίζομαι* in Lk 13[24] 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate,' and Col 4[12] 'labouring fervently for you in prayers' (RV 'always striving for you'), and as Bacon, *Essays*, 'Let a man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in Honour.'
J. HASTINGS.

CONTENT.—When Gehazi in his greed begged of Naaman a talent of silver, Naaman said (2 K 5[23]), 'Be content, take two talents.' Evidently he did not mean 'be satisfied,' but 'be pleased, let it be your pleasure.' So also Ex 2[21], Jos 7[7], Jg 17[11] 19[6], 2 K 6[3], Job 6[28] (RV 'be pleased') where the Heb. is [אָבָה] *yâ'al* in hiph.='acquiesce,' and where the Eng. is obsol. except in the phrase 'well c.,' as Stevenson, *Underwoods*, I. xxv. 55 (1887), 'So sits the while at home the mother well content.' Cf. the voting formula 'Content' or 'non-Content' used in the House of Lords. In this sense the vb. content is also used, Wis 16[20] 'bread . . . able to c. every man's delight' (RV 'having the virtue of every pleasant savour'), with which cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 'He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much.' J. HASTINGS.

CONTENTMENT.—This is a peculiarly Christian grace, and the form it assumes in the Bible, and esp. in the NT, differentiates it from the allied pagan virtues. It is quite distinct from Oriental apathy, which is pessimistic, while Christian contentment is nearer optimism; and it is almost equally distinct from the calm of Stoicism, because it does not regard external things with absolute indifference, despise pain and pleasure, and rest in its self-sufficiency. It is more cheerful than Buddhism, more human than Stoicism. While it implies a just appreciation of the good and ill of life, it does not base itself on the balance of fortune, but finds its source and its sustenance in the unseen world. The most elementary form of contentment is extolled in the Book of Proverbs as a certain discreet expediency. Here the secret of domestic content is given in the apothegm, 'Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith' (Pr 15[17]), and the superiority of moral to material grounds of content in the saying, 'Better is the poor that walketh in his integrity, than he that is perverse in his lips, and is a fool' (Pr 19[1]). In the Psalms we meet with more indications of the contentment which is derived directly from faith in God. This is seen in two forms. (1) Trust in Providence, which leads to the conviction that the righteous man's life is rightly ordered so that no evil can befall him (*e.g.* Ps 23). (2) An appreciation of the supreme blessedness of union with God, which is independent of external fortune, God Himself being the portion of the soul (*e.g.* Ps 73[26]). The prophets concern themselves largely with public affairs, and in so doing never encourage injustice and oppression by preaching an ignoble acquiescence in wrong. In them we see the divine discontent which cannot endure the triumph of the rich and strong over their unhappy victims. Still the essence of the higher contentment is also present in the faith which is assured of God's care for His people and His coming redemption of them, and the promise of the Messianic age, the hope of which should check impatience and prevent despair.

Our Lord's teachings carry the higher forms of contentment up to their supreme excellency. He did not come into contact with those ideas of the prophets which concern the more public treatment of social wrongs, because His method was to work from within, and perhaps because the contemporary condition of the Roman world did not admit of a sudden social revolution. Accordingly He did not contradict the preaching of John the Baptist, who discouraged restless agitation (Lk 3[14]); and He said nothing directly against the institution of slavery. On the other hand, He inculcated principles of justice, charity, and brotherhood, the effect of which must be to sweep away the wrongs which provoke the most reasonable discontent. In training His disciples personally He rebuked greed of gain and anxiety about temporal affairs, encouraging contentment, (1) by giving the assur-

ance that our Father knows of our needs, and will provide for them, since He provides even for those of birds and flowers; (2) by directing attention to the true riches, the heavenly treasures, which can alone satisfy the soul of man; and (3) by urging the duty of seeking first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, discontent being a phase of self-seeking, and therefore a sin (Lk 12^{13-32}). St. Paul inculcates the patient endurance of present sufferings on the grounds of *hope*, these sufferings not being worthy to be compared with the future glory (Ro 8^{18}), and even working for that glory (2 Co 4^{17}); and of *faith*, all things working together for good to them that love God (Ro 8^{28}). Towards the end of his life, when a prisoner at Rome, he claims to have learned the secret of contentment, and he implies that this is found in a certain independence of external things—he has learned to be 'independent' (*αὐτάρκης*), and he has reached this attainment, as also all others to which he has come, because Christ has strengthened him (Ph 4^{11-13}). The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews encourages contentment by reference to God's fatherly chastisement of His children (12^{5-13}). St. James rebukes covetousness and contentiousness, and encourages a humble, restful spirit with especial reference to the efficacy of prayer (Ja 4^{1-10} 5^{7-18}). St. Peter inculcates patience by dwelling on the example of Christ (1 P 2^{18-25}); and St. John endurance of the world's hatred by considering the love of God (1 Jn $3^{1.13}$). W. F. Adeney.

CONTRARY.—**1.** In the sense of 'antagonistic,' c. is now obsol. or dialectic, except in ref. to wind or weather, where the phrase in NT, 'the wind was c.,' has kept the meaning alive. This is the meaning of c. in Lv 26, where it is used as tr. of קרי *kĕrî* in all its occurrences ($26^{21.23.24.27.28.40.41}$), 'if ye walk c. unto me,' lit. 'in an encounter,' in hostile meeting and revolt, inimically, as Kalisch explains. In NT this is the only meaning, whether the Gr. be *ἐναντίος*, 'c.' of wind (Mt 14^{24}, Mk 6^{48}, Ac 27^{4}); of Saul's opposition, Ac 26^{9} 'I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things c. to the name of Jesus of Nazareth'; of the opponents of Christianity, 1 Th 2^{15} (the Jews), Tit 2^{8} 'he that is of the c. part'; or *ὑπεναντίος*, Col 2^{14} 'the handwriting . . . which was c. to us (*ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν* describes its *active hostility*—Lightfoot); or *ἀπέναντι*, Ac 17^{7} 'these all do c. to the decrees of Cæsar,' a charge of treason; or *ἀντίκειμαι*, Gal 5^{17} 'the Spirit and the flesh . . . are c. the one to the other'; 1 Ti 1^{10}; or even *παρά*, Ac 18^{13}, Ro 11^{24} 16^{17}. **2.** In 2 Es $11^{3.11}$ c. is used in the sense of opposite in position or direction, 'out of her feathers there grew other c. feathers.' **Contrariwise** (a hybrid, fr. Lat. *contrarius* and Eng. *wise*, way) = 'on the c.,' occurs 2 Co 2^{7}, Gal 2^{7}, 1 P 3^{9}.
J. Hastings.

CONTRIBUTION.—See Communion.

CONTRITE (Lat. *contrītus*, bruised, crushed) appears early in Eng. in a fig.* sense, 'bruised in heart,' prob. through the influence of the Vulg. and the Eng. versions, and nearly always with the meaning of *penitent*. Thus Wyclif (1380), *Select Works*, ii. 400, 'To assoile men that ben contrite'; Milton, *Par. Lost*, x. 1091—

> 'Pardon beg, with tears
> Watering the ground, and with our sighs the air
> Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite.'

This is the meaning of c. in AV and RV. But popular as the tr. has been, it is inaccurate, for the Heb. (נִכְאֶה Ps 34^{18} 51^{17}, Is $57^{15\,bis}$, נְכֵה Is 66^{2}) so tr^{d} never describes penitence, but always humility, abasement. Certainly, God will 'not despise a broken and a *penitent* heart'; but more than that, He will not despise a broken and a *crushed* heart: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' J. Hastings.

* *Contritus* is never fig. until under the influence of the Vulg., while the Heb. word tr^{d} 'contrite' four times out of five in AV is never literal.

CONVENIENT, now greatly restricted in meaning, is freely used in AV in the sense of befitting, becoming, seemly, as Eph 5^{4} 'Neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not c.' (RV 'befitting'): so Pr 30^{8} (RV 'that is needful'), Jer $40^{4.5}$, Wis 13^{15} 'a c. room,' not 'commodious,' but 'befitting' (*ἄξιος*, RV 'worthy'), Sir 10^{23} (RV 'right'), 2 Mac 4^{19} (RV 'fit'), Ro 1^{28} (RV 'befitting'), Philem ^{8} (RV 'befitting'). In *Merchant of Venice*, III. iv. 52, Portia says, 'Bring them, I pray thee, with imagined speed,' *i.e.* quick as thought; to which Balthasar replies, 'Madam, I go with all convenient speed,' *i.e.* speed befitting the urgency. In the sense of 'morally becoming' (as Ro 1^{28}, Eph 5^{4}, Philem ^{8}) the word was once quite common, as Trans. of *Agrippa's Van Artes* (1684), 'She sang and danc'd more exquisitely than was convenient for an honest woman.'
J. Hastings.

CONVENT.—Jer 49^{19} AVm, 'who will c. me in judgment?' and 50^{44} AVm, 'who will c. me to plead?'—an obsolete vb. = summon (*convenīre*). Cf. Elsing, *Debates House of Lords* (1621), 'The Commons have convented Flood, examyned him, and sentenced him.' J. Hastings.

CONVERSATION.—The word never occurs in AV in its modern sense of colloquy, but always in its earlier sense of conduct, behaviour. But as intercourse by speech is a large part of conduct, the word was specialized to its present limited sense at an early date (not much later than the date of AV). See *Oxf. Eng. Dict.** 'Conversation' in AV is probably due to Vulg. *conversatio, conversor*. These usually stand in Vulg. for NT *ἀναστροφή, ἀναστρέφεσθαι*, though in two cases, Ph 1^{27} and 3^{20}, they represent *πολιτεύομαι* and *πολίτευμα*. On these latter passages see Citizenship. In one instance where Vulg. renders *πολιτεία* by *conversatio* (Eph 2^{12}), AV departs from the guidance of Vulg. and correctly renders 'commonwealth.' In a few other places AV does not render by 'have our c.' but by 'behave,' 'live,' 'pass the time of.'

The true equivalent of *ἀναστροφή* in mod. Eng. is 'conduct'; and it is an unfortunate result of the AV archaism 'conversation' that the real prominence of conduct in NT teaching is obscured (see Ethics). Indeed, the substantive 'conduct' nowhere occurs in AV, though RV wisely introduces it in 2 Ti 3^{10} to represent *ἀγωγή*.

There are but two passages in OT where c. occurs (Ps 37^{14} and 50^{23}). In both it represents דֶּרֶךְ 'way.' Conduct in OT is thought of under the metaphor of walking, and the words describing it are literally tr^{d}, hence abstract nouns to express moral conduct do not occur. Hatch (*Essays in Bibl. Gr.* p. 9) sees the conditions of Syr. and Gr. life respectively mirrored in the metaphors which the two nations severally employed for conduct, viz. *περιπατεῖν* and *ἀναστρέφεσθαι*. 'Whereas in Athens and Rome the bustling activity of the streets gave rise to the conception of life as a quick movement to and fro; the constant intercourse on foot between village and village in Syria, and the difficulties of travel on the stony tracks over the hills, gave rise to the metaphors which regard life as a journey.' But the OT metaphor naturally runs on into the NT, and in Epp. of St. Paul *περιπατεῖν* is far more frequent than *ἀναστρέφεσθαι*. Christianity is 'the Way.' Cf. Hort, '*Way, Truth, and Life*,' Lect. I.

* A good example of conversation in the old as distinguished from the mod. sense, is in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Prog.* 'Your Conversation gives this your Mouth-profession, the lye.'

The NT words for converse in its modern sense are ὁμιλεῖν (Lk 24[14. 15] 'they talked together'), συνομιλεῖν (Ac 10[27]). E. R. BERNARD.

CONVERSION.—The noun (ἐπιστροφή) occurs only once in Scripture, Ac 15[3] (cf. Sir 49[2]), where it need not denote the definite spiritual change belonging to the word in the verb-form. The verb-form (ἐπιστρέφειν) is frequently found both in OT and NT, answering in the former to such Heb. terms as שׁוּב, נָפָה, and esp. שׁוּב. The point to be noted is that it almost invariably denotes an act of man: 'Turn ye, turn ye (שׁוּבוּ) from your evil ways' (Ezk 33[11]); 'Except ye turn' (Mt 18[3]); 'When thou hast turned again' (Lk 22[32]), etc. It is worth noting also that 'convert' is merely a synonym for 'turn,' and answers to the same originals. In Ps 19[7] 'converting' is a mistransl. of מְשִׁיבַת (RV correctly 'restoring,' *i.e.* 'refreshing,' cf. Ps 23[3] and La 1[11]). In Is 1[27] 'her converts' (AVm, RVm 'they that return of her') is too technical a tr[n] of שָׁבֶיהָ. Whatever the causes lying behind the act of turning, the act itself is man's. The idea is esp. prominent in OT; and, while in NT it is often brought into connexion with repentance, in OT the term *repent* seldom occurs in reference to man. Many times it is used to denote an apparent change of purpose on the part of God (Gn 6[6] etc.), but very seldom in the same sense of man (1 K 8[47], Job 42[6]). It never there becomes a standing term, as in NT. Twice at least in NT, 'turn' is associated with 'repent' (Ac 3[19] 26[20]). We find the term also similarly associated with faith: 'A great number that believed turned to the Lord' (Ac 11[21]). As the very idea of the word implies both a turning *from* and a turning *to* something, it seems equally natural to make the former aspect coincide with repentance, which is a turning from evil, and the latter coincide with faith, which is a turning to God. In other words, conversion on its negative side is repentance, and on its positive side is faith. In some cases one element will be emphasized, in some the other; and in some both will be included. This interpretation will, we believe, explain all the passages of Scripture. 'Repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ' (Ac 20[21]), though the term conversion does not occur, expresses the contents of the idea.

Nor is the divine ground of these acts of man overlooked: 'Unto you first, God, having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquities' (Ac 3[26]; cf. Jn 6[44]). The ancient prophet held the same faith: 'Turn thou me, and I shall be turned'* (Jer 31[18]). Sinful man turns, but the power by which he does so is God's, given him for Christ's sake; just as the stretching out of the withered hand was man's act, but the power by which it was done was divine. The prophets are addressing, not the good, but the wicked; the wicked are to turn and live. In like manner the apostolic exhortations are addressed to those who have not yet come to God.

There is thus little difficulty in fixing both the nature of conversion and its place in the order of salvation in biblical teaching. It is man's first act under the leading of divine grace in the process of salvation, the initial step in the transition from evil to good. A universal presence and operation of grace is a necessary corollary of universal atonement; the universal work of the Spirit goes along with the universal work of the Redeemer, always, of course, assuming the necessity of conditions on man's part. The fulfilment of the conditions, divine grace supplying the power, is biblical conversion. Subsequently conversion has been identified with regeneration; and there is less objection to such use, if the term is so defined and accepted.

Scripture recognizes not only divine grace as the efficient cause of conversion, but also human agency in bringing it about. This is the preaching of the truth by prophets and apostles: in other words, the proclamation of God's truth by men who are themselves witnesses to its power. This is not only implied in the passages already referred to, but is expressly mentioned in other places, *e.g.* Ac 10[44] 14[1]. The importance of the channel which conveys the water, or of the wire which conveys the force, although secondary, is still great. While recognizing that, as a rule, divine grace works through human means and instruments, we need not doubt that it also can and does often work independently.

J. S. BANKS.

CONVERT.—In AV c. is used once intransitively, Is 6[10] 'lest they see with their eyes . . . and convert and be healed' (RV 'turn again'). Cf. Wyclif's tr. of Jn 1[38] (1382) 'Sothli Ihesu convertid and seynge hem suwynge him, seith to hem, What seken ye?' The most frequent meaning of c. in early Eng. (and in AV) is simply to turn (*e.g.* Is 60[5]); but the mod. use was known, as Shaks. *Merch. of Ven.* III. v. 37: 'in converting Jews to Christians you raise the price of pork.' In Ps 23[3] for AV 'he restoreth my soul,' Douay reads 'he hath conuerted my soule,' with the remark, 'which is the first justification.' See CONVERSION. J. HASTINGS.

CONVINCE.—Certainly in most, probably in all the examples of c. in AV, the meaning is to *convict*. Job 32[12] 'There was none of you that convinced Job' (הוֹכִיחַ, cf. Ps 50[21], Pr 30[6] where EV have 'reprove,' but 'convict' would be better); Job's friends did not try to convince him merely, but to convict him, find him in the wrong, and that is probably the meaning both of the Heb. and of the English. In NT the Gr. is either the simple ἐλέγχω Jn 8[46] 'Which of you c[eth] me of sin?'; 1 Co 14[24] 'he is c[ed] of all, he is judged of all'; Tit 1[9] 'to c. the gainsayers' (not merely refute in argument, but convict in conscience); Ja 2[9] 'are c[ed] of the law'; Jude[15] (edd.; TR ἐξελέγχω) 'to c. all that are ungodly among them of their ungodly deeds'; or διακατελέγχομαι, a compound occurring here only in all Gr. literature, Ac 18[28] 'he mightily c[ed] the Jews' (RV 'powerfully confuted'; but from the analogy of other passages it is prob. that St. Luke means that the apostle brought home moral blame to them, not merely that he refuted their arguments). Cf. Milton, *Par. Reg.* iii. 3, 'Satan stood . . . confuted, and convinc't'; and Adams, *Serm.* ii. 38, 'Whatsoever is written is written either for our instruction or destruction; to convert us if we embrace it, to convince us if we despise it.'

J. HASTINGS.

CONVOCATION.—See CONGREGATION. **COOKING.**—See FOOD. **COPPER.**—See BRASS.

COPTIC VERSION.—See EGYPTIAN VERSIONS. **COR.**—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CORAL (רְאמוֹת) is twice (or thrice, if we include Pr 24[7] where 'too high' is tr. of same word) mentioned in OT, Job 28[18] and Ezk 27[16]; and as coral is abundant in the waters of the Mediterranean, the reference in the latter to Syria as a 'merchant in coral' is peculiarly appropriate (cf. Dillm. Job 28[18]). Red coral (*Corallium rubrum*) is probably meant, as being specially suited for ornament; but from the rareness of ornaments of this material, found amongst those of Egypt and Phœnicia, we may conclude that it was not in much request, at least in OT times; on the other hand, the material may have crumbled away, or been dissolved.

* The Heb. is simply 'I will turn.' Cf. La 5[21], where the same passive form is adopted in both AV and RV. This unfortunate mistransl. implies a technical dogmatic sense, which is not in the original Cf. RV of Ps 51[13], Mt 13[15], Lk 22[32]

The polyps, or animals producing coral, belong to those members of the *Actinozoa* which secrete a hard, generally calcareous, skeleton. They flourish in the warm waters of the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean, where these are clear and free from sediment, at various depths down to about 80 fathoms or more. The most important fisheries are off the coasts of Tunis, Algeria, Naples, Genoa, Sardinia, and Corsica. E. HULL.

COR-ASHAN (AV Chor-ashan, 1 S 30[30]) is the present reading (כּוֹר־עָשָׁן) of MT, but the orig. text was undoubtedly Bor-ashan (בּוֹר־ע), as is evident from the LXX (A Βωρασάν, B Βηρσάβεε). Cf. notes of Budde, Driver, and Wellh. *ad loc.* The place may be the same as **Ashan** of Jos 15[42] 19[7]. J. A. SELBIE.

CORBAN (Heb. קָרְבָּן *ḳorbân*) means (1) an oblation;* (2) a gift. The word occurs Mk 7[11] 'If a man shall say to his father or his mother, That wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me is Corban, that is to say, Given (to God), ye no longer suffer him to do aught for his father or his mother' (cf. Mt 15[5] RV). The Talmudic treatise *Nedarim* (=vows) discloses that the Jews were much addicted to rash vows; and קָרְבָּן, or its equivalent קוֹנָם (=*ḳōnaṣ*, which according to Levy is a corruption of קוֹנָם, *ḳōnām*), was in constant use; so that it gradually became a mere formula of interdiction, without any intention of making the thing interdicted 'a gift to God.' A man seeing his house on fire says, 'My tallith shall be ḳorban, if it is not burnt,' *Ned.* iii. 6. In making a vow of abstinence he says, 'Ḳonaṣ be the food (vi. 1) or the wine (viii. 1) which I taste.' When a man resolves not to plough a field, he says, 'Ḳonaṣ be the field, if I plough it,' iv. 7. Repudiation of a wife is thus expressed, 'What my wife might be benefited by me is ḳonaṣ (קוֹנָם אִשְׁתִּי נֶהֱנֵת לִי), because she has stolen my cup' or 'struck my son,' iii. 2; while the precise Heb. formula of our text is קָרְבָּן שֶׁאֵת נֶהֱנֵה לִי, viii. 11 (Lowe's *Mishna*).

In *Nedarim*, c. ix., retractation of, and absolution from, vows is considered. The problem was a knotty one. Oblations were needed for the sanctuary, and vows were a fruitful source of income; and besides this, Dt 23[21-23] most rigorously forbade any retractation of vows; and therefore the Rabbis, while they did not encourage vows, ruled that when made they *must* be kept. Here arises an extreme case. A man in haste or passion has vowed that nothing of his shall ever again go to the maintenance of his parents. Must *that* vow hold good? 'Certainly,' the Rabbis say. 'It is hard for the parents, but the law is clear, vows must be kept.' Thus, as often, did they allow the literal to override the ethical. Jesus revealed a different 'spirit,' as He ruled that 'duty to parents is a far higher law than fulfilment of a rash vow.'

R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos (*c.* A.D. 90), who felt in several ways the influence of Christianity, was apparently the first Rabbi to advocate retractation of vows. I render *Nedarim* 9[1] thus: 'R. Eliezer said that when rash vows infringe at all on parental obligations, Rabbis should suggest a retractation (*lit.* open a door) by appealing to the honour due to parents. The sages dissented. R. Zadok said, instead of appealing to the honour due to parents let them appeal to the honour due to God; then might rash vows cease. The sages at length agreed with R. Eliezer, that if the case be directly between a man and his parents (as in Mt 15[5]), they might suggest retractation by appealing to the honour due to parents.'

LITERATURE.—The best elucidation is direct from the Mishna; next from Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, c. xxxi.; Mt 15[5] and Mk 7[11] are diversely discussed by Wetstein, Grotius, Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.*), Morison, and in Wünsche's *Erläuterung*

J. T. MARSHALL.

CORD.—**1.** חֶבֶל, Arab. *ḥabl*, the common name for rope in Syria. It is translated in RV 'cord' in Jos 2[15], Job 36[8] etc.; 'line' in Mic 2[5], 2 S 8[2], Ps 16[6] 78[55], Am 7[17], Zec 2[1]; 'ropes' in 1 K 20[31]; and 'tacklings' in Is 33[23]. In Syria ropes and cords are made of goat's or camel's hair spun into threads, and then plaited or twisted. Sometimes they are made of strips of goat's skin or cow's hide twisted together. In modern times ropes of hemp are more commonly used. **2.** עֲבֹת, Arab. *rūbūṭ*, 'band,' a binding or fastening. It is so translated in Ezk 3[25], Job 39[10], Hos 11[4]; but 'ropes' in Jg 15[13, 14]; 'cords' in Ps 118[27] 129[4]; and 'cart rope' in Is 5[18]. The word has the meaning of something interlaced or twisted. See BAND. Besides the common ropes mentioned above, ropes for temporary fastenings are often made from branches of vines interlaced or twisted together, and also from the bark of branches of the mulberry tree. **3.** מֵיתָר, Arab. *aṭnāb*, tent ropes, trans. 'cords' in Ex 35[18] 39[40], Is 54[2], and Jer 10[20]. Tent ropes, among the Bedawin, are made of goat's or camel's hair. **4.** חוּט, Arab. *khait*, line, tr. 'cord' in Ec 4[12]. **5.** יֶתֶר, Arab. *wittar*, catgut. In Jg 16[7] this word is translated 'withes,' in RVm 'bowstring,' which is probably correct. In Job 30[11] AV 'my cord' may mean 'bowstring' or the 'rein' of a bridle; in Ps 11[2] 'bowstring.' Catgut is often made in the villages of Lebanon. In the NT σχοίνιον, ropes of rushes, is translated 'cord' in Jn 2[15], and 'ropes' in Ac 27[32]. W. CARSLAW.

CORIANDER SEED (גַּד *gad*, κόριον, *coriandrum*). —The fruit of an umbelliferous plant, *Coriandrum sativum*, L., extensively cultivated in the East. It is an annual, with two kinds of leaves, the lower divided into two to three pairs of ovate-cuneate, dentate segments, the upper much dissected into linear-setaceous lobes. The fruits are ovate-globular, straw-coloured, twice as large as a hemp seed, and striate. They have a warm, aromatic taste, and stomachic, carminative properties. Avicenna recites (ii. 198) a long list of virtues attributed to it, in a variety of diseases. The only mention of it in the Bible is in comparison with the size and colour of manna (Ex 16[31], Nu 11[7]). The Arabic name of it is *kuzbarah*. G. E. POST.

CORINTH (Κόρινθος) was in many respects the most important city of Greece (*i.e.* Achaia, according to the Rom. appellation, cf. Ac 20[2] with 19[21]) under the Rom. Empire. Whereas Athens was the educational centre, the seat of the greatest university in the world at that time, and the city to which the memories of Greek freedom and older history clung most persistently, C. was the capital of the Rom. province (see ACHAIA), the centre of government and commerce, of actual life and political development in the country; while its situation, again, on the great central route between Rome and the East, made it one of the knots towards which converged a number of subordinate roads. In this last respect it was the next stage to Ephesus (wh. see) on this great highway, and must have been in very close and frequent communication with it. The situation of C. qualified it to be the most important centre whence any new movement in thought or society might radiate over the entire province of Achaia; and therefore it became one of the small list of cities (along with Syrian Antioch and Ephesus) which were most closely connected with the early spread of Christianity towards the West.

C. occupied a striking and powerful position.

* In this sense very frequently in Lv and Nu (all P), elsewhere Ezk 20[28] 40[43] only.

It was situated at the southern extremity of the narrow isthmus which connected the Peloponnesus with the mainland of Greece, on a slightly raised terrace, sloping up from the low-lying plain to a bold rock, the *Acrocorinthus*, which rises abruptly on the south side of the city to the height of over 1800 ft. above sea-level. Thus the city was easy of access from both east and west, and at the same time possessed of great military importance, on account of its powerful citadel. Its strength was increased by its fortifications, which not merely surrounded the city, but also connected it by the 'Long Walls' with its harbour Lechæum on the western sea, about 1½ miles (12 stadia) distant. Its situation enabled it to command all land communication between central Greece and the Peloponnesus. Along the southern edge of the isthmus stretches a ridge called Oneion from E. to W.; and the Acrocorinthus, which from the north seems to be an isolated rock, is really a spur of Oneion, though separated from the ridge by a deep cleft or ravine. This ridge makes communication with the Peloponnesus difficult, leaving only three paths—one along the western sea (Corinthian Gulf), commanded by Lechæum and the Long Walls, one close under the walls of Corinth, and one along the eastern sea (Saronic Gulf), commanded by the other harbour of Corinth named Cenchreæ (Ac 18[18], Ro 16[1]), about 8½ miles (70 stadia) distant from the city. The Acrocorinthus commands a wonderful view over both seas, on the E. the Saronic Gulf, and on the W. the Corinthian,* and over the low lands bordering the two seas, up to the mountains both in the Peloponnesus and in central Greece; the acropolis of Athens, Mount Parnassus, and many other famous points are clearly visible.

Through its two harbours C. bestrode the isthmus, with one foot planted on each sea; and hence it is called 'two-sea'd Corinth' (*bimaris Corinthi mœnia*, Horace, *Od.* i. 7); and Philip IV. of Macedon called it one of the 'fetters of Greece'; the other two being Chalcis in Eubœa and Demetrias in Thessaly. But the territory belonging to the city was confined and unproductive (except the fertile though narrow strip of soil extending along the Corinthian Gulf towards Sicyon); the low ground of the Isthmus was poor and stony; and Oneion was mere rock. Hence the population was at once tempted by two quiet seas, and compelled by the churlish land, to turn to maritime enterprise; and there lay the greatness of C. so long as Greece was free. Only when Greece was enslaved did C. become one of the fetters of the country.

It was customary in ancient times to haul ships across the low and narrow Isthmus by a made route, called Diolkos (*διολκος*), between the W. and the E. sea. Owing to the dread entertained by ancient sailors for the voyage round the southern capes of the Peloponnesus (especially Malea), as well as to the saving of time effected on the voyage from Italy to the Asian coast by the Corinthian route, many smaller ships were thus carried bodily across the Isthmus; though the larger ships (such as that in which St. Paul sailed, Ac 27[6. 37]) could never have been treated in that way. Many travellers along the great route from Italy to the East came to Lechæum in one ship, and sailed east in another from Cenchreæ, while the merchandise of large ships must have been transhipped; and thus Corinth was thronged with travellers. Under Nero an attempt was made about A.D. 66–67 to cut a ship-canal across the Isthmus (after several earlier schemes had been frustrated as an impious interference with the divine will); and traces of the works were observable before the present ship-canal was made.* The canal was intended to be some distance north of the two harbours, and would have damaged their prosperity. In such a city any new movement of thought originating in the East was certain to become known rapidly, in the frequent intercourse that was maintained between Rome and the East. Moreover, Christians travelling for various reasons were often likely to pass through C.; and hence St. Paul calls Gaius of Corinth 'my host and of the whole Church' (Ro 16[23]). In the end of the 1st cent. Clement, writing to the Church at C., alludes several times (§ 1, § 10, § 35), to the frequent occasion which the people had to show hospitality to travellers.

In this situation C. had generally been the leading commercial city of Greece. Historical reasons, indeed, occasionally endangered its trading supremacy for a time; sometimes the energy of the Athenians, or of some other rivals, challenged it; and at last the Romans destroyed the city in B.C. 146. But the favourable situation which had made it the originator in Greek history of great fleets and of commercial enterprise on a large scale, and enabled it to become the mother-city of many colonies in the central and western parts of the Mediterranean, could not allow it to remain a ruin and a mere historical memory. For a time, indeed, Delos succeeded to its commercial supremacy, and Sicyon to its presidency at the Isthmian Games; but in B.C. 46 it was refounded by Julius Cæsar as a Rom. colony, under the name *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*. Hence a considerable proportion of the small number of names in NT connected with C. are Roman: Crispus, Titius Justus (Ac 18[7. 8]), Lucius, Tertius, Gaius, Quartus (Ro 16[21-23]), Fortunatus, Achaicus (1 Co 16[17]). Since Greece was revived as an independent country in modern times, the claim of C. to be the site of the capital, though mentioned, has been always rejected, partly through the surpassing historical memories that cluster round Athens, and partly through the fact that C. is subject to earthquakes.

The oration of Dion Chrysostom, delivered in C. in the early part of the 2nd cent. (*Or.* 37), gives a lively idea of the prosperity of C.; he describes it as the most prominent and the richest city of Greece (vol. ii. p. 120, ed. Reiske), and alludes to its library, but enlarges chiefly on the historical and mythological associations. Half a century later Aelius Aristides in an oration 'to Poseidon,' delivered at C. in connexion with the Isthmian Games, also draws a picture of the city, enlarging more on the educated and literary spirit manifested there. About the same period Pausanias describes its history and monuments and public buildings (ii. c. 1–4): the old temple of Aphrodite, on the top of the Acrocorinthus; the sacred fountain Peirene on its side, close under the summit; below this the Sisypheum; in the lower city the Agora, with its temples and statues, and so on. The coinage of the Rom. colony proves, by the numerous types taken from old Corinthian history and mythology, the pride which was felt by the Roman C. in the ancient memories of the city; and at once illustrates and confirms the testimony of Dion and Aristides. This feeling in the colony must be taken into account in estimating its character when St. Paul visited it; and the subject is admirably treated by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner in their *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vi. 1885, pp. 59–77). It must, however, be remembered that the colonial coins used by them are generally later than the time of St. Paul, and that this feel-

* A bold hill, projecting a little distance on the west of the Acrocorinthus, seriously interferes with the view on that side; Leake calls it 'the eyesore of Corinth.'

* These traces, which have been entirely obliterated by the modern canal, are described, and a map given showing the line intended to be followed by Nero's canal, in *Bulletin de Correspond. Hellénique*, viii. (1884) p. 228 f.

ing grew stronger in the 2nd cent. as the Rom. blood and spirit died out on a foreign and uncongenial soil. The circumference of the lower city was 40 stadia, and the circumference of the fortifications, including in their circuit the Acrocorinthus, was 85 stadia (about 10 miles), as Pausanias and Strabo agree. Only scanty and unimpressive remains of ancient buildings now remain.

The population of such a colony as C. would consist (1) of the descendants of the Rom. *coloni*, established there in B.C. 46, who would on the whole constitute a sort of local aristocracy; (2) of many resident 'Romans' who came for commercial reasons, in addition to a few resident officials of the government; (3) of a large Greek population, who ranked as *incolæ*; (4) of many other resident strangers of various nationalities, attracted to C. for various reasons, amid the busy intercourse that characterized the Rom. world. The Rom. colonial blood had not yet had time to melt into the Greek stock, as it probably did in the cent. or two following St. Paul's visit. Among the resident strangers it is clear that a considerable colony of Jews existed at C., where they had a synagogue (Ac 18[4]); and in such a commercial centre a Jewish settlement was a matter of course. Among the Corinthian Jews a certain number of converts, including some of the most prominent persons, joined St. Paul (Ac 18[4-8], Ro 16[21], 1 Co 9[20]); and this was, doubtless, one of the reasons why the feeling against St. Paul was so strong in the city, leading even to a plot against his life (Ac 20[3]). It is clear, however, both from Ac and from the two letters of St. Paul to the Corinthians, that the Church consisted chiefly of non-Jews (see esp. 1 Co 12[2]). But the presence in the Church of some influential Jews, and probably of a considerable number of Gentiles who had previously been brought under the influence of the synagogue (such as Titus Justus, Ac 18[7]), constituted an element always likely to cause that strong Judaizing tendency which is revealed in St. Paul's letters.

St. Paul visited C. at first without any definite intention of making it a great centre of his work (Ac 18[1]). He was still under the impression that his call to Macedonia (Ac 16[9. 10]) was operative; and he was eager to return to Macedonia, and specially to Thessalonica (1 Th 2[17. 18]), but was prevented by various circumstances and impediments (which he sums up in the expression 'Satan hindered us'). It would appear from the narrative of Ac 17[16], 18[5f.] that in Athens, and at first in C., St. Paul was still strongly possessed with the Macedonian scheme, and was only delaying his return thither until the difficulties were cleared away. But a special revelation (Ac 18[9. 10]) altered his plans, when in a night-vision the Lord directed him to speak freely and boldly in C., 'for I have much people in this city.' St. Paul regarded this as releasing him from the Macedonian duty, and now directed his work entirely towards the new sphere, in which he remained altogether for a year and six months. It is not stated what period had elapsed between his arrival and this revelation; but, in all probability, no very long time intervened. It is at least clear that the new governor Junius Gallio arrived after the revelation, and during the second period of work, which was directed towards the new Achaian sphere. But evidently even during the first period St. Paul had been encouraged by considerable success in C. In the Jewish synagogue, indeed, he had met with strong opposition, and had already found himself obliged to break off his connexion definitely with his own nation, and to go unto the Gentiles (Ac 18[6]) from henceforth (*i.e.* during the rest of his stay in C.). But even among the Jews, Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, believed with all his house; while among the general population of C. many were baptized (Ac 18[8]). None of the baptisms in C. were performed by St. Paul himself, except those of Crispus and of Gaius, and of the household of Stephanas (1 Co 1[14. 16]). It is not certain whether this abstention from personally baptizing was something peculiar in the special case of C., or was commonly practised by St. Paul; but the other apostles seem to have often left the work of baptizing to ministers and subordinates (Ac 10[48] 13[5]); and St. Paul probably did the same. The three exceptions mentioned by him are noteworthy; the circumstances show why St. Paul was likely to attach special importance to them; Stephanas was 'the first-fruits of Achaia' (1 Co 16[15]); Gaius was his host on his later visit (Ro 16[23]), and therefore probably a specially beloved friend; Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, was a convert of uncommon importance.

About five or six weeks, perhaps, after St. Paul's arrival at C., he was rejoined by Silas and Timothy, returning from Macedonia. He had left them at Bercœa, and they had joined him probably in Athens, and been immediately sent away on a mission to Thessalonica (1 Th 3[1], Ac 17[15] 18[5]) and probably also to Philippi.* The fact that Timothy alone is quoted as authority for news from Thessalonica (1 Th 3[6]), and as messenger to Thessalonica, shows that Silas had been sent to some other city of Macedonia (doubtless to Philippi). Immediately on receipt of Timothy's news St. Paul wrote his First Ep. to the Thess. (1 Th 3[6]) from C. The date of the second is not so clearly fixed; but it also was probably composed in the early part of the Corinthian work, immediately on receipt of news about the reception of the first letter in Thessalonica.

During St. Paul's residence in C., Gallio came to govern Achaia as proconsul of prætorian rank. There is no evidence, except what can be derived from the life of St. Paul, to fix the year in which Gallio administered the province; but he may probably have come during the summer of A.D. 52, though some authorities fix the date differently (53, Renan, Lightfoot; see GALLIO). During his administration, the Jews—angry at the defection of at least one leading compatriot, at the manner in which St. Paul had turned away from them with a very exasperating gesture, and at the institution of a rival meeting-house next door to the synagogue, in the house of Titius Justus, a Roman, and a 'God-fearing proselyte' (Ac 18[6-8])—brought an accusation against St. Paul before the proconsul. In order that such an accusation might be admitted for trial, the Jews must have tried to give to it a colouring of offence against Roman law, for the Jews still possessed the right to try among themselves in their own way any offence against purely Jewish religious observance. But the attempt to give colour to a charge which was essentially religious did not deceive Gallio; he refused to admit the case to trial, and 'drave them from the judgment-seat.' His action was highly important; it amounted to an authoritative decision that St. Paul's preaching could not be construed as an offence against Rom. law, and that, if there was anything wrong in it, the wrong was only in respect of Jewish law, and therefore should come before a Jewish court, and could not be admitted before the proconsular court. This decision by an official of such rank formed a precedent which might be appealed to in later trials; and it is not too much to say that it had practically the force of a declaration of freedom to preach in the province. According to our view, this incident had a marked effect in directing St. Paul's attention to the protection which the Roman state might give him

* We see that Philippi was in frequent communication with St. Paul (Ph 4[15f.]).

against the Jews. Hitherto his position had been so humble that his relation to the state had probably not entered consciously into his mind, or formed any part of his calculations; but the decision of the first Roman imperial official before whom he had been accused (combined with the favourable memory of the other high imperial official, Sergius Paulus, with whom he had come in contact), was calculated to make a strong impression on his mind.

When St. Paul ceased to preach in the synagogue, he began to use the house of Titius Justus, a 'God-fearing proselyte' (evidently Roman from his name), as a centre for teaching. In the following months he was evidently understood by the Corinthian population to be one of those lecturers on philosophy and morals, so common in the Greek world, who often travelled, and settled in new cities where there seemed a good opening for a teacher; and scornful remarks were made contrasting the high fees charged by teachers of established reputation with the gratis lectures of this new aspirant, and an impression was common that St. Paul (like other beginners in philosophy) was working to obtain a reputation and position such as would justify him, after a time, in beginning to charge fees, and make a livelihood by his brains instead of by his hands. The effect produced on St. Paul by these remarks is shown in 1 Co.

As was the case in most other cities, the Greek populace of C. disliked the Jews; and the marked reprimand administered to the latter by Gallio, in refusing to entertain the case against St. Paul, seems to have been popular in the city (Ac 18^{17}). The Greeks took and beat Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue (who had apparently succeeded Crispus when the latter became a Christian);* and Gallio took no notice of an act which he may probably have considered as a piece of rough justice, and also as a mark of popular approval (which was always grateful to a Rom. official). At this time there can be no doubt that in the popular mind Christianity was looked on merely as an obscure variety of Judaism.

In C. at his first arrival St. Paul became acquainted with two persons who played an important part in subsequent events; these were Priscilla and Aquila (to follow the noteworthy order observed by St. Luke, Ac $18^{18.\ 26}$,† and by St. Paul himself, Ro 16^{3}, 2 Ti 4^{19}). Aquila, a Jew of the province Pontus, had left Rome in consequence of Claudius' edict (perhaps issued in the latter part of A.D. 50);‡ and the commercial advantages of C. attracted him thither. St. Paul resided in their house during his long stay in C.; and they accompanied him to Ephesus, where they were still residing when he came thither after visiting Pal., Syrian Antioch, and the Galatian churches. Priscilla bears a good Rom. name, and was probably a lady of good family (which would explain why she is so often mentioned before her husband); and Aquila doubtless had acquired a wide knowledge of the Rom. world during his life; and they would therefore be well suited to suggest to St. Paul the central importance of Rome in the development of the Church, and form a medium of communication with the great city. We may fairly associate with this friendship the maturing of St. Paul's plan for evangelizing Rome and the West, which we find already fully arranged a little later (Ac 19^{21}, Ro 15^{24}). In this respect, also, the Corinthian residence was an epoch in St. Paul's conception of the development of the Church in the Rom. world.

In C. the development of the Church might be expected to move rapidly. East and West met there, where Rom. colonists, Greek residents, and Jewish settlers all dwelt; and thought progressed in the contact of race with race. But rapid development always implies dissension and conflict of opinions; and hence we find the existence of warring factions mentioned far more emphatically in C. than in any other Church; some were of Paul (the founder), some of Apollos (Paul's eloquent successor), some of Cephas (*i.e.* the Judaizing party), some of Christ (presumably persons who claimed to be above mere apostolic partisanship), as we read in 1 Co 1^{12}. Of these parties it is perhaps a permissible conjecture that the Rom. colonists, and the freedmen who naturally agreed with them, formed the bulk of the first, while the Greek residents had been more attracted by the Alexandrian philosophy, and perhaps the mysticism of Apollos; the Jews and some proselytes would comprise the Judaizing adherents of Cephas. St. Paul, when he came to C., seems to have been moved by the want of success that had attended his very philosophic style of address in Athens; and he deliberately adopted a specially simple style of address. As he says (1 Co $2^{1.\ 2}$, cf. Ac 18^{5}), he came not with oratorical power or philosophic subtlety, expounding the mysterious nature of God; he did not declare to the Corinthians, as he had done to the Athenian audience, 'the Divine Nature' (Ac $17^{23.\ 29}$); he determined not to know anything among his hearers at C. save Jesus Christ and Him crucified. To the Greeks, who sought after philosophy, such preaching must have seemed uneducated and unintellectual (1 Co $1^{22.\ 23}$); and we might conjecture that, as a rule, they would prefer the message as delivered by Apollos. But there is no evidence to confirm this conjecture; and in the only slight description of Apollos' preaching in Achaia, he is said to have been specially successful among the Jews (Ac 18^{28}). It seems, therefore, not possible to feel any confidence in the details of an hypothesis connecting the parties in the Church with the nationalities that were mingled in the population of C., though we admit the strong probability that the variety of races contributed to cause the variety of parties, and that there would be a tendency for each race to become concentrated in one party.

The preceding paragraphs show that we are justified in attaching great importance to St. Paul's stay in C., as constituting an epoch in his preaching, in his plans, and in his conscious attitude towards the Rom. government, and also as resulting in the formation of a new Church in the track of ready communication alike with the East and with Italy. As to the constitution of this new Church, it is evident that a very considerable congregation had been formed in C. within a few years after St. Paul first entered it, and some of the converts were men of position; on the whole, however, he declares that there were among them not many that were deeply educated in philosophy, not many possessing official dignity and power, not many of aristocratic birth (1 Co 1^{26}); the bulk of the Church was humble, but these words ('not many') may fairly be taken as implying that there were in it some few members of higher position.

St. Paul seems to have departed from C. for the purpose of celebrating the feast at Jerus. (Ac 18^{22}, where RV omits the words intimating his intention —but probably they are original); we cannot doubt that this was the Passover, which fixes his departure to early spring, and his arrival in C. to

* So in AV; but in RV it seems to be implied that the Jews beat Sosthenes (implying that he was a Christian, as either he or another Sosthenes afterwards was, 1 Co 1^{1}), but it seems inconceivable that Gallio should have permitted such an act on the part of those whom he had just snubbed so emphatically.

† So in RV; but AV has the wrong order in 18^{26}.

‡ The dates assigned vary. Orosius names 49 as the year; and it has been contended that his dates at this period are all uniformly one year too early (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 68, 254). Lightfoot gives the date 52, Renan 51, Lewin 52.

autumn, acc. to our view Sept. 51–March 53 (52–54 many scholars, 48–50 Harnack). Perhaps his vow, in accordance with which he cut his hair in Cenchreæ, when on the point of going on board the ship, was completed and discharged at the Passover in Jerusalem. Doubtless, he performed the voyage on a ship whose special purpose was to carry pilgrims to Jerus. for the feast from Achaia and Asia. In 20^3 he probably again thought of performing the voyage on such a ship, and found that the Jews were too incensed against him to make the voyage safe.

The subsequent history of the Corinthian Church is lightly passed over by St. Luke. Apollos was sent over from Ephesus with a letter of recommendation to the brethren in Achaia (Ac 18^{27}, 2 Co 3^1),* and his influence in C. was powerful (Ac $18^{27.28}$, 1 Co 1^{12}). It is generally admitted that St. Paul, during the early part of his stay in Ephesus, sent to C. a letter which has not been preserved (1 Co 5^9); and it may be regarded as highly probable that this is not the only one of his letters that has perished. The view has also been strongly maintained that St. Paul paid a short visit to C. from Ephesus, and returned to Ephesus (2 Co 12^{14} 13^1); but, more probably, such a short visit was paid later from Macedonia (see Drescher in *SK*, 1897, pp. 50 ff. In the latter part of St. Paul's stay in Ephesus, however, the report that was brought to him from C. by envoys (1 Co $16^{17.18}$) drew from him the letter which has been preserved, and is commonly cited as 1 Co. It seems probable that this letter was sent by the hands of Titus: at least it is certain that he was sent by St. Paul on a mission to C. about this time (2 Co $7^{13.15}$); and St. Paul several times refers to the strong interest which Titus took in the Corinthians (2 Co 7^{15} 8^{16}). Timothy also was sent on a mission to C. from Ephesus (1 Co 4^{17}). When St. Paul left Ephesus and came to Macedonia, he met there Titus on his return from C. (probably at Philippi), after having been disappointed in the hope of finding him at Troas. Evidently, Titus returned from C. by the land route or by a coasting vessel by way of Macedonia and Troas. On this report the second letter to C. was now dispatched; and Titus went on a second mission, accompanied this time by 'the brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the Churches' (identified by an early tradition, which may probably be correct, as St. Luke). Timothy also returned by the land route from C., and met St. Paul in Macedonia (2 Co 1^1). After spending some months in Macedonia, apparently in several cities (Ac 20^2, 1 Co 16^5, Ro 15^{19}), St. Paul entered Greece, where he spent three months, chiefly, no doubt, at C., during the winter of 56–57 (or 57–58 acc. to Lightfoot and many others). During the years 55–56 St. Paul had been much occupied with a scheme for a general contribution from his new Churches in the four provinces Achaia, Macedonia, Galatia, and Asia,† which was to be devoted to the benefit of the poor Christians in Jerusalem. To this scheme St. Paul attached the utmost importance, as marking the solidarity of the new foundations with the original Church; and he pays a high compliment to the Corinthians for the readiness with which they had begun to respond to the call (2 Co 9^{2-5}). No envoy from C. is named among the delegates sent in charge of the money to Jerus. (Ac 20^4); but it seems possible that the Corinthians asked either St. Paul himself or one of the envoys mentioned in 2 Co 8^{18-22} to act as their steward.

The development of the Church in C. between A.D. 53 and 57, and the kinds of difficulties that beset the early steps of this young congregation, are closely connected with the letters of St. Paul (which form our sole authority), and will be more appropriately treated under the heading of CORINTHIANS, EPISTLES TO THE; but we must here refer to the probable influence of the character of society in the city on the Church. C. had always been a great seat of the worship of Aphrodite; and that goddess retained in her seat on the Isthmus much of the abominable (and really non-Greek) character of the Asian and esp. Phœnician religion from which she sprang, particularly the system of *hierodouloi* who lived a life of vice as part of the religious ceremonial of the goddess. Hence the viciousness of C. was proverbial through the Roman world; and we can realize how vile was the society out of which the Corinthian congregation arose, how hard it was for them to shake off the influence of early and long association with vicious surroundings, how deep they were likely to sink in case of any lapse from religion. It is no wonder that St. Paul wrote (1 Co 5^{10}) that, if they were to cut themselves off altogether from vicious persons, they 'must needs go out of the world.'

Near C. was the scene of the Isthmian Games, one of the four great athletic contests and festivals of Greece. These games were held at the shrine of Poseidon, a little way N.E. of the city, about the narrowest part of the Isthmus, and close to the shore of the Saronic Gulf. They were of the usual Greek style, including foot-races, chariot-races, boxing, etc., and the victor's prize was a wreath of the foliage of the pine-trees, which grow abundantly on the coast. It is usual to say that St. Paul borrows his imagery in such passages as 1 Co 9^{24-26} from these games; but games were universal in all Greek or semi-Greek cities; and St. Paul, who had lived long in such cities as Tarsus and Antioch, and had already visited many others, did not require to visit the Isthmian Games in order to write that 'they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize,' or that 'they do it to receive a corruptible crown.' Such allusions would be as luminous to the inhabitants of every other Greek city in the Mediterranean lands as they were to the Corinthians.

LITERATURE.—Of general works on geography the best are Leake's *Morea*, iii. 229–304, and his *Peloponnesiaca*, 392 ff.; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. 514 ff.; Clark, *Peloponnesus*, 42–61. The guide-books, especially Bædeker, are good; and the articles in works on Greek geography are in general excellent in regard to Greece proper (far superior to those on the cities of Asia). The works on the life of St. Paul by Conybeare and Howson, and a host of others, are, as a rule, very good in their treatment of Corinth. On the coinage, besides Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner already quoted, see the works of Mionnet, Eckhel, and catalogues like that of the British Museum.

W. M. RAMSAY.

CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.—

1. Place of the Epistle in Tradition.
2. Transmission of the Text.
3. Internal Evidence and Genuineness.
4. Recent Criticism.
5. St. Paul's earlier Relations with Corinth.
6. The Place of the Epistle in Pauline Chronology.
7. Condition of the Corinthian Church.
8. Immediate Circumstances and Subjects of the Epistle.
9. Analysis of the Epistle.
10. Importance of the Epistle (general).
11. Doctrinal Importance.
12. The Christian Life, individual and corporate, in the Epistle.
13. Select Bibliography.

1. The two companion Epistles to the Corinthians have occupied from the first an unchallenged

* In the passage of 2 Co 3, probably other Jews who came with letters of recommendation from Jerus. are referred to, as well as Apollos with his Ephesian recommendation.

† St. Paul mentions the contribution of Macedonia and Achaia in Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co $8^{3.6}$ 9^2, of Galatia and Corinth, 1 Co 16^1. He has no occasion to allude to that of Asia; and he alludes to that of Galatia only perhaps as being the first and supplying the model. The Asian contribution is implied in Ac 20^4, where the envoys who carried it to Jerus. are mentioned (cf. Ac 24^{17}).

place among the acknowledged writings of St. Paul. These writings, as is well known, formed a recognized group, under the name of 'the Apostle,'* before the date at which we have evidence of a complete NT CANON. The well-known response† of the Scillitan Martyrs (A.D. 180) at once includes and distinguishes the 'letters of Paul a just man' among the 'books' carried about by Christians. That a collection of Pauline letters existed at least as early as the reign of Trajan is a strong inference from the now generally accepted date of the Ignatian letters.‡ Whether or no the whole thirteen letters, already included in the Muratorian list, were part of this collection from the first cannot be discussed here; but it is of special interest for our purpose to note that, although eventually superseded by the modern order, traceable as far back as Origen, a very ancient order of the thirteen Epp., preserved in *Can. Murat.* and attested from other quarters, places the Epp. to Corinth at the head of the list. Zahn infers that this order is the primitive one, and that the collection of Pauline Epp. was first made at Corinth.§ In any case, the recognition of our Epistle is coeval with the evidence for any collection of the apostle; in fact it goes back beyond any *clear* evidence of the kind. The reference in Clement of Rome (xlvii. 1) is, unlike most of the early references to NT books, a *formal appeal* to our letter. Echoes of the Ep. are too numerous to be quoted here (a fairly full collection is in Charteris' *Canonicity*, p. 222 ff.); they occur in Clement of Rome (seven), Ignatius (nine), Polycarp (three, or with the Martyrdom, four), Justin (at least five) [Hermas, *Sim.* v. vii. 2, is doubtful, and the same may be said of *Didache* x. *μαρὰν ἀθά*], and others. From the citations in Hippolytus we know that the Ophites knew our Ep.; the same is true of Basilides as well as of the later Gnostics. It is unnecessary to set out in detail the evidence for an undisputed fact (see below, § 4).

2. The Epistle has been transmitted in the Peshitta, Old Lat., Copt., and other oldest versions of NT as well as in the principal Gr. MSS.

Of the latter, the Epistle is contained entire in ℵBAD^{paul} (14$^{13-22}$ 'manu alia antiqua'), E (copy of D), L. FG contain all but 3$^{8-16}$ 6$^{7-14}$, C all except 7^{18}–9^{6} 13^{8}–15^{40}, P all except 7$^{15-17}$ 12^{23}–13^{5} 14$^{23-39}$. Fragments are contained in F^{a}, H (cf. Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 50 f.), I^{2}, K (considerable), M, Q, S, ב. Of the cursives, it may suffice to refer to 67**, 5, 47, 37 as of special interest.

The Old Lat. of our Epistle is transmitted in the Lat. VS of the Gr.-Latin MSS DE (d e; on f and g see Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 969, and Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. lxvi ff.), and in x_{2}, a 9th cent. MS at Oxford; fragments only in m and r.

The Epistle then comes down to us with every possible external attestation of genuineness, and its integrity (see on 2 Co, § 8) is equally free from suspicion.

3. But external attestation is hardly enough to determine the authorship of a book in the face of internal evidence. What then does the Epistle tell us of its authorship? We may remark generally that no NT writing bears a more convincing stamp of originality than this letter; it is clearly the reflex of a great and markedly individual personality. Manifold as are its contents, its several parts hang naturally together, and are strongly homogeneous in treatment and style. Moreover, as we shall see presently, the Ep., read in conjunction with our other sources of knowledge, yields a definitely realizable historical situation, without a particle of evidence to suggest that it stands to those sources in a secondary relation. Until quite modern times, and except within a limited area, this has not been questioned. Our Ep., with 2 Co, Ro, and Gal, have, as is well known, formed the unimpeached and unassailable nucleus of admitted Pauline writings, and have furnished to criticism the standard by which the claims of all other supposed Pauline literature have been estimated. This was conspicuously the case in the period of the Tübingen school. With the exception of the free-lance Bruno Bauer, whose isolated attack is recorded rather as a literary curiosity than as a contribution to historical criticism, the four Epp. were allowed on all sides, even by the most radical criticism, to be the genuine work of St. Paul. This was characteristic of the genuine psychological insight which, in spite of admitted extravagances of subjective criticism, marks the work of F. C. Baur and his ablest followers.

4. Of late years, however, the genuineness of the four 'Pauline homologumena' has been called in question by a somewhat more imposing body of opinion.* On the one hand, a somewhat numerous band of Dutch writers (Loman, *Quaestiones Paulinae* in *Th. T.* 1882–1886; Pierson and Naber, *Verisimilia*, 1886; Van Manen in *Jahrbb. f. Prot. Theol.* 1883–1887, and others) have, by subjective criticism of the wildest kind, endeavoured to dissolve the personality of St. Paul and of Jesus Christ, and resolve the teaching of the Epp. into the product of vague and arbitrarily-assumed movements of Jewish religious thought. Kuenen, Scholten, and others have thought the arguments by which these views are supported worthy of refutation, but any detailed notice of extravagances, tending only to bring rational historical criticism into discredit, would be out of place in an article like the present. The same must be said of a somewhat less fanciful critic, Rudolf Steck, professor at Bern, who published (Berlin, 1888) *Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht.* His arguments reach our Ep. through that to the Galatians. The latter is condemned, partly on the ground of its discrepancies with Ac (exactly reversing the argument of Baur and his followers, Steck allows Ac a relative superiority as a source), partly on that of its literary dependence upon Ro, and 1 and 2 Co. Extending the method to the latter, Steck† finds in our Epistles signs of dependence on Ro (*e.g.* the *ἃ γέγραπται* of 1 Co 4^{6} refers to Ro 12^{3} !), while the latter in turn presupposes the Gospels, and such post-Christian Apocr. as 2 Es and the Assumption of Moses. Accordingly, all the 'Pauline homologumena' fall to the ground. Our Ep. in particular is dependent upon the synoptic Gospels, especially on Lk, as appears from the accounts of the Last Supper (1 Co 11) and of the post-Resurrection appearances of Christ (1 Co 15). Steck appears to have gained a convert in J. Friedrich (*Die Unechtheit des Galater-Briefes*, 1891).

Those who wish to follow the questions raised by Loman, Steck, and their adherents into further detail, may be referred to the works quoted in the previous notes. A general weakness of all the writers in question appears to be a defective appreciation of personality, carrying with it an inability to distinguish the spontaneous from the artificial. In common with the representatives of

* Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, i. 263, n. 2.

† Zahn, II. ii. 996, I. 82. 86 *nn.*

‡ The question will be found discussed under CANON, PAUL; cf. Sanday, *BL* p. 363 ff.

§ I. 835 ff. But see Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit der PB*, 11, 178.

* A careful account of the arguments of the Dutch hyper-critical school, and of Steck, is given by Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, ch. iii.; cf. also Schmiedel in *Hand-Kommentar*, vol. ii.; Zahn, *Die Briefe des Paulus seit 50 Jahren im Feuer der Kritik* (in *ZKW*, 1889). The arguments of Völter (*Komposition der paul. H.-Briefe*, 1890) reach a similar conclusion by a super-refined method of analysis.

† Steck is answered by Gloël, *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes*, and Lindemann, *Die Echtheit der p. Hauptbriefe*; for what specially refers to our Epistle see Knowling, pp. 190–207. The question has been debated from time to time, especially in the *Prot. Kirchen-Zeitung.*

every influential school of criticism, we regard the Pauline authorship of our Ep. as unimpeached and unimpeachable.

5. St. Paul first visited Corinth during his first European mission (Ac 18[1-18]). The circumstances have been stated under CORINTH. In modification of the view there taken, it should be noted that at any rate the arrival of Timothy and Silas from Macedonia convinced him that Corinth was to be a great centre of work. He 'became engrossed in the word' (*συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ*, v.[5]). The vision of vv.[9. 10] had reference rather to alarms arising on the spot (1 Co 2[3]) than to any remaining doubt as to his mission to the Corinthians. His earliest converts were made by his addresses in the synagogue, and comprised 'Jews and Greeks' (Ac 18[4]). To the former class belonged Crispus; but the baptism of the household of Stephanas must have been his first conquest (1 Co 16[15]). S. and Gaius were probably proselytes (*i.e.* *σεβόμενοι*). After the arrival of his companions, St. Paul, engrossed in preaching, entrusted the baptism of his converts to them (1 Co 1[14. 16]). St. Paul was the first to preach the gospel at Corinth. Hence he describes himself as the planter (1 Co 3[6]), the first builder (vv.[10. 11]), the father (4[15]) of the Cor. Church. He laid, as its foundation, 'Jesus Christ' (3[11]), teaching the significance of His death (2[2], 2 Co 1[19] 8[9]) and resurrection (1 Co 15[1-8]), of the Eucharist (10[16f.] 11[23ff.]), the fundamental principles of the Christian life (3[16] 6[15. 19]), and the hope beyond the grave (15[33. 34] 1[8], cf. 6[2]). The composition of the Cor. Church was mainly Gentile, but not without Jews (Ro 16[21], 1 Co 7[18] 9[20] 12[13]); and heathenish antecedents (12[2] 6[11]) were the cause of most of the troubles of the community. The Christians of Corinth were of the lower ranks of life (1[26-28] 7[21]), though there were marked differences of wealth among them (11[21]); Gaius and Erastus (Ro 16[23]) may be added to Crispus and Stephanas (above) as persons of higher social position.

Of the numbers of the Cor. Church we cannot form any safe conjecture. St. Paul preached at first in the house of Titius Justus (Ac 18[7]) while residing with Aquila and Priscilla (v.[2]). Later (1 Co 16[19]) we hear of an *ἐκκλησία* at the house of the latter, which probably implies that the Christians were no longer capable of being contained in any one house. In any case, the language of 1 Co 3, 4 suggests continued growth under other teachers after the departure of St. Paul himself. Chief among these was APOLLOS (Ac 18[27. 28]). The Acts hints at two lines of his activity at Corinth: edification of the believers ([27]), and successful controversy with Jews ([28], the *γάρ* here cannot fairly be held to *restrict* the scope of *συνεβάλετο* to his success with the Jews). For both purposes his Alexandrian training was a high qualification. The contrast between his style of preaching and the severe simplicity of St. Paul was laid hold of by frivolous minds as a basis of party spirit (*infra*, § 7). The date of Apollos' arrival at Corinth is uncertain, except that it precedes St. Paul's arrival at Ephesus (Ac 19[1]). To Ephesus, at some time during St. Paul's *τριετία* there, Apollos returned. The remaining points in the history of the Church of Corinth enter into the situation out of which our Ep. arises. Before dealing with this, it is desirable to consider the dates.

6. The chronology of St. Paul's life has recently been the subject of renewed investigations, which have tended to disturb the scheme which, in its broad features, may be described as in possession of the field previous to 1893. Among the most important of recent discussions are those of Clemen (*Chronol. d. Paul. Briefe*, 1893) and of Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, also in *Expositor*, May 1896). A discussion of the questions raised will be found in articles CHRONOLOGY OF NT, and FESTUS. Here it will suffice to state that the prevalent view, as represented (*e.g.*) by Wieseler, Lewin (*Fasti S.*), and Lightfoot (on *Acts* in Smith *DB*[2], and *Biblical Essays*, p. 223), used the arrival of Festus in Palestine as the pivot date for the reconstruction of the period. It was argued, on grounds not to be entered on here (see FESTUS), that this pivot, though not absolutely rigid, yet oscillated only as between the years A.D. 60 and 61, and that of these two, the year 60 was the more probably correct. Subtracting, then, the two years of St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, we obtained 58 as the year of his last journey from Corinth to Jerusalem. As he left Corinth before the Passover (Ac 20[5]), the three months spent there carried us back to his arrival at Corinth in Nov. 57 (see CORINTHIANS, SECOND EP. TO, § 6). This, corresponding as it does with the intention of wintering at Corinth expressed 1 Co 16[5], made the spring of 57 the probable date of 1 Co.

Moreover, if 37 was the earliest possible date for St. Paul's escape from Damascus (2 Co 11[32], Ac 9[25], see ARETAS), and 14 years elapsed between this and the apostolic conference of Ac 15, identified with that of Gal 2, the latter must have occurred about 51. Subtracting, then, from 57, the date of 1 Co, the three years (Ac 20[31]) of his Ephesian ministry, we had 54 as the date of St. Paul's arrival at Ephesus (Ac 19[1]), and three years remained for all the events of Ac 16–18, or hardly eighteen months for his movements before and after the year and a half claimed (Ac 18[11. 18]) by his first sojourn at Corinth. And this residual space of time was certainly none too large for the movements of the apostle which had to be fitted into it. Now the argument of Ramsay, from the days of the week which the data of Ac 20[5ff.] require, in relation to the calendar of the year 57 (*Expos.* May 1896, 'A Fixed Date in the Life of St. Paul'), if accepted, pushes back our Epistles by a year. He insists on the absolute looseness, amounting to uselessness, of the pivot date referred to above (a question to be discussed under FESTUS), and, identifying the conference of Gal 2 with St. Paul's famine visit (dated by him in 46) to Jerus. (Ac 11[30] 12[25]), pushes back St. Paul's conversion to the year 32 (*St. Paul the Traveller*, ch. 14 and note). The latter date is too early to satisfy the reference to ARETAS in 2 Co 11[32]; while the objections to Ramsay's identification of the conference of Gal 2 seem overwhelming. But GALATIANS rather than our Ep. is the battle-ground of this controversy, which after all affects the absolute rather than the relative chronology of the Epp. to the Corinthians. It may suffice for our purpose to remark that Ramsay's 'fixed date' depends on the twofold assumption that St. Paul and his party left Philippi (Ac 20[5]) on the very morning after the last day of unleavened bread,—a mere matter of inference,—and that the night on which St. Paul preached at Troas was, as Meyer, etc., assume, a Sunday night, not (as Hackett, Conybeare and Howson, etc.) a Saturday night,—a very dubious point in view of the Jewish phraseology used to denote the day. We do not think, therefore, that the accepted chronology has been shattered by Ramsay's assault. That of Clemen proceeds on far more radical lines. Here again the battle-ground is ultimately the Ep. to the GALATIANS. But we may sketch the outlines of Clemen's construction as bearing on our Epistle. Accepting 60 as the date for Festus, and consequently 58 as that of St. Paul's arrest, he yet brings St. Paul to Jerusalem (Ac 20–21[21]) in 54, where the conference of Gal 2 is inserted; between 54 and 58 the apostle is lost to our ken; the rebuke of Cephas at Antioch and the Ep. to the Gal belong to this nebulous interval. The winter of 53–54 was spent at Cor., the previous summer in the evangelization of Illyricum (Ro 15[19]), the winter 52–53 at Nicopolis (Tit 3[12]); in the summer of 52 the apostle left Ephesus, where he had been since the beginning of 50. This is the period of our Epp. to the Corinthians, which may be conveniently renumbered as follows: A.D. 50, early spring, *1st letter* (that of 1 Co 5[9]); later spring, *2nd letter* (=1 Co); 51, summer, Titus carries to Corinth the *3rd letter* (2 Co 9); then, after a revolt in the Cor. Church, and a painful visit of the apostle to Corinth, comes a *4th* (painful) *letter* (=2 Co 10–13[10]); lastly, when St. Paul has already reached Macedonia, in the summer of 52, the *5th letter* (=2 Co 1–8[13] 13[11]–end). (On the above details compare art. 2 CORINTHIANS, §§ 4 (*g*), 8.) The vision referred to in 2 Co 12[2] is that at the conversion, which thus falls 14 years before 51, *i.e.* in 37, two years after the crucifixion (A.D. 35).

To discuss this scheme in detail is out of place here. The present writer, holding that the Pauline chapters of the Acts give a trustworthy *consecutive outline* of the apostle's life; that Ac 15 is *meant* to describe the conference of Gal 2, and that the hiatus left between A.D. 54 and 58, with the dislocation of the sequence of events in Ac 21[17-40], amounts to a failure of the entire scheme, is not predisposed in favour of the proposed readjustment of the chronology of our Epistles. In particular, that 1 Co comes at the beginning rather than at the end of the Ephesian ministry of St. Paul, is not only contrary to the indications of Ac 19[1. 21] 20[1], a consideration which would weigh lightly with Clemen, but is contrary to the spirit of 1 Co 4[19], and

especially 16. That $16^{8.9}$ are anything but natural in the closing period of the Ephesian sojourn, is surely a desperate argument.

The time has not arrived, then, to abandon the year 57, and the latter end of St. Paul's three years' ministry at Ephesus, as the date of 1 Co, unless, indeed, it be held (as Godet and others maintain, but without conclusive reasons) that it must have preceded 2 Co by at least a complete year (see 2 CORINTHIANS, § 6).

7. The history of the Cor. Church after the departure of Apollos for Ephesus is known to us solely from the two Epp. to the Corinthians. That communications passed from time to time between St. Paul and this Church is only what we might expect from our general knowledge of St. Paul's life. In one letter, written not very long before 1 Co, he had had occasion to warn the Corinthians not to allow themselves to associate (*συναναμίγνυσθαι*) with fornicators. This warning, in view of the conditions of the place (CORINTH), does not indicate circumstances of special urgency there. But we gather that there was a tendency in Corinth to treat the apostle's command as impracticable in its severity (1 Co $5^{10f.}$); the tone of public opinion in the Cor. Church was ominously low (cf. 1 Co 6^{12-20}); and when a case of exceptional repulsiveness occurred, it was treated by the community with a tolerance amounting almost to levity (5^{1-8}). How St. Paul heard of this, of the litigious recourse to heathen tribunals ($6^{1f.}$), and of other matters for blame (11^{18} 15^{12}), we do not know. Speaking broadly, these were all anxieties of a kind likely to occur, in a more or less acute form, in any community whose Christianity was recent, while the heathen instincts of its members were bred in the bone and not to be overcome except by time.

It was somewhat different with the *σχίσματα* or dissensions which occupy the early chapters of the Epistle. Partly no doubt, and specially as regards the use of the names of St. Paul and Apollos as party watchwords, they are explicable by the frivolous and excitable temper of the people. The Epistle of Clement shows us that forty years later than St. Paul's time, although the party watchwords of the year 57 have disappeared, the tendency to faction is still at work (§§ 1, 47, etc.). In communities of this kind, as Renan observes (*St. Paul*, p. 373 f.), 'divisions, parties, are a social necessity; life would seem dull without them.' 'The talent of Apollos turned all their heads.' The contrast between the Alexandrian methods of Apollos and the simpler spiritual preaching of St. Paul, would, in fact, furnish this tendency with an irresistible temptation. But in Corinth we are in the presence of a more serious and far-reaching phenomenon. Apart from the question of the personal presence there at any time of one of the older apostles (see below), it is clear from the data of our Ep., combined with those of 2 Co (§ 4 [*e*] there), that Corinth was the scene of an anti-Pauline mission identical in its source and aims, though naturally differing in tactics, with that which troubled the Churches of Galatia. At Corinth the demand for circumcision would appear to have been dropped or held back; the point of attack was the apostolic mission of St. Paul (1 Co $9^{1f.}$), whose conduct and position had become the object of suspicious criticism (*ἀνακρίνειν*, 1 Co 4^{3} 9^{3} etc.). The Judaic movement against St. Paul is probably responsible for the two watchwords *ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ· ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ*. This is clearly the case with the former (cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 96 f.). 'Ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ must have been, in the first instance, the utterance of a person who knew St. Peter by his Pal. name. Such persons must have found their way to Corinth, and attached to themselves partisans, whether Gentile or Jewish, who were impressed by the prior claim of St. Peter to apostolic rank, or perhaps repelled by the lengths to which emancipation from Jewish prejudices had carried some of the Christians at Corinth (1 Co $8^{1f.}$). It does not follow that, in order to say *ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ*, it was necessary to be a personal pupil of St. Peter. The name of Cephas must have become a household word in every Church visited by the Pal. propagandists; there is nothing in 1 Co 1^{12}, even combined with 9^{5}, to justify us in inferring, as a 2nd cent. bishop of Corinth inferred (Dionys. ap. Euseb. *HE* ii. 25), that St. Peter had actually visited Corinth and shared with St. Paul the claim to rank as founder of the Church there. St. Paul's silence would in that case suggest a more painful relation between himself and the partisans of Cephas than we need otherwise assume. He blames the partisans of Cephas indeed, but neither more nor less than he blames those of Apollos and of himself; there is nothing to suggest any special hostility between St. Paul and any one of the three. This would equally apply to the fourth party, whose watchword was *ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ*, had we only our present Ep. to go by. But on them the second Ep. throws a peculiar light, which reduces the other three parties to a comparatively unimportant rank. It is true that the Cephas-party must have been under the influence of the Judaizing propaganda; but the second Ep. shows that it is not among them (cf. 1 Co 3^{22}) that we are to look for its extreme and dangerous partisans.

In considering the 'Christ-party,' it will be needless to discuss the endless suggestions that have been made apart from the light derived from 2 Co. That *ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ* were the words of St. Paul himself, or of Christians who formed a party against party spirit, etc., are views for which the reader must consult the Commentaries (see also Rābiger, *Krit. Untersuchungen über den Inhalt der beiden Briefe an die Kor. Gemeinde*, etc., 1886. Rābiger denies the existence of a Christ-party). Quite certainly there were men in Corinth who put forward the name of Christ as a party watchword, as others put forward that of Cephas, Apollos, or St. Paul. It is instructive to note the absolute contrast between the *ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ* of 3^{23} (cf. 15^{23} etc.), where the apostle asserts *τὸ Χριστοῦ εἶναι* as *true of all*, and the *ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ* of 1^{12} where he stamps its falsehood (v.^{13} 'is Christ portioned off' to any) as the *exclusive claim of some*.

There were, then, those at Corinth who falsely claimed a monopoly of Christ, and the renewed repudiation of this claim in 2 Co 10^{7} lets in a flood of light upon their position. The claim stands in the closest connexion with the disparagement of St. Paul's apostolic rank. He had not, like the Twelve, known Christ personally; while his witness of Christ, therefore, was second-hand, theirs was direct; they were, and he was not, appointed to the apostolate by Christ Himself. This contention was due in the first instance, no doubt, to newcomers at Corinth (2 Co $11^{13.23}$), but appears to have imposed upon some native members of the Church (1 Co 1^{12} *ἕκαστος ὑμῶν*). This view of the matter is clinched by St. Paul's depreciation of a knowledge of Christ 'after the flesh' (2 Co 5^{16}). By the time the second Ep. was written, this agitation had grown to far more alarming dimensions than we can trace in our present letter (see CORINTHIANS, SECOND EP. TO THE, § 4 [*e*]).

While fully recognizing the nature and importance of these *σχίσματα*, we must not exaggerate their intensity by supposing that they constituted 'schisms' in the modern sense of the word. They were dissensions within the society, not separately organized bodies. Our Ep. presupposes throughout a corporate life, impaired indeed, but not destroyed, by these dissensions, and the other burning questions which existed at Corinth seem to have had no party relation to the *σχίσματα*—

in some cases they may have mitigated their intensity by causing cross-divisions. The attempt has indeed been made to connect each of the several evils touched upon in 1 Co with one or other of the parties (*e.g.* in the work of Rabiger mentioned above), but this entirely outruns the evidence, and assigns to the parties a too fundamental significance in the life of the Cor. Church. That the enlightened persons, who went too far in their emancipation from prejudice about εἰδωλόθυτα, were not under Judaizing influence is no doubt pretty certain; but that does not connect them without more ado with the 'party' of St. Paul or Apollos; that the τινές of 15[12] embody a thoroughly Gr. prejudice does not prove that Apollos was their watchword. Nothing in the morbid exaltation of the gift of tongues (14) betrays (even in the light of Ac 2[14] 11[15]) the Petrine partisan.

8. Tidings of the σχίσματα reached St. Paul for the first time through some persons described by him as οἱ Χλόης (1[11]). These were probably, by the analogy of St. Paul's language elsewhere, slaves. Whether their mistress was a Christian, and where she lived, are uncertain points (CHLOE). Stephanas, who had a household of his own (1[16] 16[15]), can hardly have been one of οἱ Χλόης. Stephanas and his companions must have reached St. Paul after Chloe's people; they to some extent allayed the disquieting impression which the news of the latter had produced (16[18]). Whether they were the carriers of a letter from Corinth is not quite clear. Such a letter, in any case, reached the apostle about this time. He begins to answer it in 7[1]; its contents may be inferred to be unconnected with the matters dealt with in 1–6—even, probably, with the misunderstood injunction of the apostle in 5[9f.]. The Corinthians consulted him about marriage and its problems (7), probably about εἰδωλόθυτα (8–10), about the veiling of women in public worship (11[2f.]), and not improbably about πνευματικά; the λογία (16[1f.]) was very likely another matter upon which they consulted St. Paul—probably in reply to some previous indication of his wish that something should be done for the purpose. Before the receipt of the letter from Corinth, as it would seem, but after the arrival of Chloe's people, St. Paul had instructed Timothy, whom he was employing for a mission to Macedonia (Ac 19[22]), to proceed afterwards to Corinth and endeavour to restore discipline (4[17] 16[10, 11]). But the task required a strong man, and St. Paul is evidently anxious as to Timothy's reception. And as an opportunity, probably the Cor. letter and the visit of Stephanas and his party, offered itself, shortly after Timothy's departure, for the dispatch of a letter, the apostle penned the Epistle before us. After a preamble of guarded but sincere general commendation (1[4-9]), he deals (1[10]–6) with the more urgent matters for blame: the σχίσματα (1–4), the case of incest (5), litigation before heathen courts (6[1-9]), and immorality generally (6[9-20]). He then takes up the Cor. letter, and answers its inquiries about marriage in general (7[1-7]), the duties of various classes in relation to marriage (7[8-24]), and specially the duty of the unmarried, or rather of the parents of virgins, as regards the question of marrying (7[25-40]). Then follows the difficult question of the εἰδωλόθυτα, which brings out the principle that privilege is to be exercised only subject to considerations of the higher expediency (8–10); to exercise it without regard to this, leads men to overstep its lawful limits (10[14-23]). Next follows a series of matters relating to public worship (11[2]–14): first, the veiling of women (11[2-16]); then the disorders connected with the Eucharist (11[17-34]); then (12–14) the πνευματικά. The principle which emerges here is closely analogous to that which determines the discussion of the εἰδωλόθυτα. Chapter 13 occupies the same place here as does ch. 9 in the former subject; only the principle of forbearance from privilege enforced in 9 is here carried to the higher and deeper ground of ἀγάπη, itself the greatest of the Spirit's gifts. We then reach the only properly doctrinal subject dealt with *ex professo* in the Epistle, that of the Resurrection. Our account of this must be a little more full. The question arises from the denial, on the part of 'some' (15[12]), of the future resurrection of the body. St. Paul's reply is, that if Christ has risen,—if the truth of His resurrection is part of the gospel common to St. Paul and the Twelve (15[1-11]),—then the dead in Christ will rise also. The denial of the τινές, 'some,' extended to the latter or consequent proposition, not to its antecedent. St. Paul's argument is (15[12-19]), that their denial of the consequent truth overthrows the antecedent, viz. the resurrection of Christ. On the other hand (15[20-23]), if the latter is a certain truth of the gospel, the resurrection of the dead in Christ, denied by the τινές, follows *as effect from cause*. This is supplemented (15[24-28]) by an explanation which puts the resurrection of the dead into context with the return of Christ and the consummation of all things. Two practical and corroboratory arguments (15[29-34]) complete the refutation. Then follows the answer to the objection, founded on the nature of the resurrection body (15[35-58]), issuing in the triumphant vindication of the hope of a resurrection as the basis of quiet Christian perseverance. St. Paul now turns to purely epistolary matters: directions as to the λογία (16[1-4]) lead to a statement of his plans of travel (5-9). Then follows a recommendation of Timothy (16[10, 11]), a message on behalf of Apollos (12), a brief general exhortation (16[13, 14]), a commendation of Stephanas and his household, and an expression of thankfulness for his presence, with Fortunatus and Achaicus, at Ephesus (16[15-18]). Salutations (16[19-24]) form the close, the solemn anathema of v.[21] comes in abruptly in their midst. That it is directed against the Judaizing agitators (cf. 2 Co 11[13-15]) is not improbable, but can hardly be proved.

Such is the general plan of the letter. Its contents can be exhibited more in detail by the aid of a table.

9. *Analysis of the Epistle.*

I. EPISTOLARY INTRODUCTION (1[1-9]).
  A. THE SALUTATION (1[1-3]). [*α.* The writer (1); *β.* the readers (2); *γ.* the greeting (3).]
  B. PREAMBLE (4-9). *α.* The apostle's thankfulness for the work of grace at Corinth, especially in regard to λόγος and γνῶσις (4-6).
    β. The end to which this should tend, and which will not fail for lack of anything on God's part (7-9).

II. URGENT MATTERS FOR BLAME (1[10]–6[20]).
  A. PARTY SPIRIT (1[10]–4[21]).
    α. The facts (1[10-17a]).
      (1) The facts stated (10-12).
      (2) The facts characterized (13-17a). [Christ degraded to the leadership of some; Paul exalted as if the saviour of any.]
    β. Party spirit forgets the essential nature of the Christian teaching (1[17b]–3[4]).
      (1) The gospel has no room for σοφία (in the lower sense, *σ. λόγου*) (1[17b]–2[5]).
        This shown by (*a*) the facts in general (18-25); (*b*) the history of the Corinthian Church; (26-31); and by (*c*) the way in which the apostle founded it (2[1-5]).
      (2) The gospel is σοφία in the true sense (*σ. θεοῦ*) (2[5-34]).
        (*a*) This wisdom hidden from the world, but revealed to the saints (2[5-10a]).
        (*b*) The Spirit of God the vehicle of its revelation (10-12).
        (*c*) Hence it is revealed to spiritual (13), but not to unspiritual (14-16), nor, except in a rudimentary form, to unripe hearers (3[1-4]).
    γ. Party spirit forgets the essential character of the Christian teacher (3[5]–4[16]).
      (1) All alike, whatever their ministry, are but secondary to God, who determines the result (5-8a).

(2) This in no way diminishes their several responsibility (3b-15).
Paul the (planter v.6, father 415) founder, others the after-builders (10, waterers 6, guardians 415). The Day will test the work of all alike.
(3) The temple of God destroyed by those who practically deny the above truths by 'glorying in men' (16-21).
(4) All teachers, like all that enters into the existence and experience of the Christian, are part of God's gift to him, means to the one end, God in Christ (22. 23).
(5) The Christian teacher to be regarded as an underling (ὑπηρέτης) of Christ, to whose judgment alone he is ultimately subject (41-5).
(6) The Corinthians have only too good cause to look down on the apostles from a higher level (46-13); yet the apostle's aim is not to crush by sarcasm, but to reclaim them as their father (14-16).

δ. *Epilogue on the party spirit.* The mission of Timothy, and the coming visit of Paul (17-21).

B. The Moral Scandal (51-13).
α. *The facts* (1).
β. *False attitude of the Corinthians* (2, cf. 6).
γ. *The proper way to deal with the case* (3-5).
(1) The Paschal metaphor of the leaven (6b-8).
(2) A repetition, with removal of an objection, of a former injunction on the subject (9-13).

C. Litigation before the Unrighteous (61-9a). This—
α. *Unworthy of the eternal destiny of Christians* (1-4).
β. *Speaks ill for the wisdom* (5. 6), but still worse for *the moral tone*, of the community (7. 8).
γ. The injustice, or unrighteousness, thus shown to exist among them is part of a heathen past (9-11, transitional, working the argument back to *B*).

D. Fornication.
α. *Not a legitimate use* of the body (12. 13a), but
β. *A denial of the true destiny of the body* (13b-20).
(1) This destiny described (13b. 14).
(2) Fornication desecrates the limbs of Christ (15-17).
(3) Fornication, beyond any other sin, assails (the eternal destiny of) the body (18. 19) in which we are to glorify God (20).

III. Reply to the Corinthian Letter: Marriage and its Problems (7).
A. Preamble (1-7). While the single state is preferable, marriage is meant for some, and its obligations are to be maintained.
B. Advice to Different Classes.
α. *The unmarried* (8. 9).
β. *Those who 'have married'* (as Christians) (10. 11).
γ. *The rest* (*i.e.* those who have been converted as married persons) (12-24).
(1) General principle; existing relations to be loyally maintained (12. 13, cf. 17. 20. 24) [a reason for this, as regards family life, v.14].
(2) This general principle not to enslave a Christian to union with a reluctant heathen partner (15. 16); but
(5) The general principle to be observed where possible (17).
(4) This principle is the same as is to govern all relations of life.
(*a*) Circumcision or uncircumcision (18-20).
(*b*) Slavery (21-23: this does not forbid an opportunity of emancipation being accepted, 21b).

δ. *Virgins* (25-38).
(1) St. Paul's opinion tentative, but he decidedly advises celibacy (25. 26).
(2) Reasons for this:
(*a*) The general principle (γ. 1) makes this way (27. 28), especially
(*b*) In view of the precariousness of all earthly relations, given the 'shortness of the time' (28b-35): the unmarried are freer to serve the Lord undividedly.
(3) This applied to the duty of the parent of a virgin (36-38).
(4) The same principle applies to widows (39. 40).

IV. Food offered to Idols (8–111).
A. General Principles: to act on mere knowledge not right (8).
α. *Knowledge* does not guarantee truth of instinct (1-3).
β. *The truth about idols* (4-6).
γ. *This truth not equally grasped by all* (7-13).
(1) Some, influenced by association of ideas, cannot eat without sin (7).
(2) No one sins by abstaining (8).
(3) The enlightened may by eating injure the weak (9-13).

B. The great Principle that of Forbearance in view of the higher expediency (9).
α. The Apostolic position (1-3), and rights (4-12a) to maintenance, of St. Paul (13. 14 a supplementary corroboration).
β. His forbearance to exercise these rights (12b. 15-18).
γ. His motive in this: (19-23a) to save others.
(23b-27) to save himself.

C. The above Principles applied (101–111).
α. *The example of the Israelites* warns us of the danger, even to ourselves, of *presuming on privilege* (101-12).
β. *The danger of idolatry*, for all their enlightenment, a *real one* to the Corinthians (13-22).
(1) There is no necessity to yield (13).
(2) The partaking of a sacrificial feast (cf. 810) is an act of idolatry, as is evident (14. 15) from the parallels of
(*a*) The Christian Eucharist, a partaking of the blood-shedding of Christ (16. 17).
(*b*) The Jewish sacrifices, to eat of which is to partake of the altar (18).
(3) Result; to eat ceremonially of εἰδωλόθυτα totally forbidden (19-22).
γ. *Practical rules for other cases.*
(1) Preliminary repetition of the principle of the higher expediency (23. 24).
(2) Where the history of the food is not forced on your attention, it may be freely eaten (25. 26).
(3) Where the history of the food is forced on your attention, better abstain for the sake of others (27-29a), and to avoid exposing yourselves to misconstruction (29b. 30. 32).
(4) Epilogue (31–111). The glory of God and the higher expediency to be your guides, as they are mine.

V. Matters relating to Public Worship (112–14).
112. *General commendatory preamble to this section.*
A. The Veiling of Women (113-16).
α. *Principle of organic subordination* (3).
β. *The covering or uncovering the head a recognition of this principle* (4-10).
γ. *Women not lowered by this* (11. 12).
δ. *Corroboratory considerations* { from nature (13-15). / from the custom of the Churches (16).

B. Disorders connected with the Eucharist (1117-34).
α. *The assemblies of the Church marked by dissensions* (17-19).
β. *They substitute their own feast for the Lord's* (20. 21).
γ. *Unseemliness of the above* (22-27).
(1) In the spirit displayed (22).
(2) In view of { the history (23-25), and of / the significance (26. 27) of the eucharistic acts (which are the central feature of the κυριακὸν δεῖπνον).
(3) Precautions for worthy, and dangers of unworthy, reception (28-32).
(4) Conclusion: the feast not to be used to satisfy hunger; other directions postponed till the apostle's arrival (33. 34).

C. The Spiritual Gifts (12–14).
α. *General principles*: The purpose of these gifts forbids their use as ends-in-themselves (12).
(1) A caution necessitated by the reader's heathen antecedents: the nature of the utterance the criterion of its divine origin (1-3).
(2) Diversity of these gifts, but all from one source, and for one aim—the higher expediency (4-11).
(3) The organic unity of the body of Christ (12-27)
(*a*) Forbids us { to envy those who have gifts which we lack (15-20). / to despise those who lack gifts which we have (21).
(*b*) Implies organic interdependence of all (22-27).
(4) Church organization and functions based on these principles (28-30).
[Transition to (β) (31).]
β. *Charity*, the greatest gift of all, *the principle determining the use of all* the rest (1231 13).
(1) No gift, miraculous or moral, of any value without charity (1-3).
(2) Charity, its nature and pre-eminence (4-13).
(*a*) Charity described (4-7).
(*b*) Charity outlasts prophecy, tongues, knowledge, all of which belong to our childhood, *i.e.* our present dim and partial vision of truth (8-12).
(*c*) Conclusion, of the three lasting gifts, charity the chief (13).
γ. *Practical application* Spiritual gifts to be valued only as means to edification (14).
(1) Prophecy preferable to tongues (1-25).
(*a*) Prophecy edifies all present, tongues the speaker only (1-6).
(*b*) The inutility of tongues illustrated by analogy { of musical instruments (7-8). / of human language (9-11).
(*c*) Consequent practical superiority of worship 'with the understanding' (12-19).
(*d*) Practical application of the above (20-25).
(2) Concluding directions (*a*) as to the exercise of πνευματικά (26-33).
(*b*) as to the silence of women (34-36).
(3) Epilogue: (*a*) Gainsayers rebuked (37. 38).
(*b*) Result (39. 40).

VI. The Resurrection of the Dead (15).
A. The Resurrection of Christ an essential Article of the Gospel (1-11).
α. *The creed* originally delivered to the Corinthians (1-4).
β. *Witnesses to the resurrection of Christ* from Cephas to St. Paul (5-8).
γ. *Paul as apostle* 9-10).

δ. *This truth common to all the apostles* (11).
B. If Christ is risen, the Dead in Christ shall rise (12-34).
α. *To deny the consequent overthrows the antecedent* (12-19).
(1) The denial of a resurrection of the dead by 'some among you' (12).
(2) What this denial involves:
(*a*) The falsification of apostolic preaching and of Christian faith (13-17a).
(*b*) The destruction of Christian hope (17b-19).
β. *The resurrection of Christ carries with it that of those who are Christ's* (20-29).
(1) Christ leads the way in resurrection as Adam did in death (20-22).
(2) The resurrection in relation to the consummation of Christ's mediatorial reign (23-28).
(*a*) The order.
1. Resurrection of Christ.
2. Return of Christ and resurrection of His people.
3. The end, or re-delivery of the kingdom to God (23. 24a).
(*b*) Before the end must come the subjugation of all powers, all enemies to Christ, and, last of all, that of death (24b-26).
(*c*) The end itself, and subjection of the Son to the Father (27. 28).
γ. *Subsidiary arguments:* (*a*) Baptism for the dead (29).
(*b*) The motive of the Christian life (30-34).
C. Answer to Objections: the Body of the Risen (35-55).
α. *One kind of body is sown, another is raised up* (35-44).
(1) The seed differs from the fruit (35-38).
(2) Flesh differs from flesh, heavenly bodies from earthly (39-42).
(3) The spiritual body differs from the natural as the second Adam from the first (43-49).
β. *The change from the one to the other,* at the coming of Christ, will destroy the strength and sting of death (50-55).
γ. *Epilogue*: (1) Sin and the law (56).
(2) Our victory in Christ (57).
(3) Result (58).
VII. Epistolary Conclusion (16).
A. Directions for the λογία (1-4).
B. Personal plans of the apostle (5-9).
C. Personal notices (10-18).
α. The mission of Timothy (10. 11).
β. Apollos (12).
γ. A closing exhortation interjected (13. 14).
δ. Stephanas (15-18).
(1) His household (15. 16).
(2) His mission to Ephesus (17. 18).
D. Conclusion of the Epistle.
α. Salutations (19-21).
β. Anathema against false brethren (22).
γ. Concluding benediction (23. 24).

10. Importance of the Epistle.—The above synopsis is enough to show the richness and diversity of the light thrown by our letter upon the spirit and circumstances of the apostolic age. In its fulness of light and shadow it vividly reproduces the life of a typical Gentile-Christian community, seething with the beginnings of that age-long warfare of the highest and lowest in man, which constitutes the history of the Church of Christ from the time when His fire was kindled on the earth down to this day. To do justice to the manifold lessons of the Epistle would require a commentary; but without trespassing beyond the limits of this article, a few salient points may be noted.

Pastoral character.—The two Epistles to the Corinthians are the most pastoral of the Epistles. For details of pastoral work and organization, indeed, we go to the letters to Timothy and Titus. But for the deep-seated principles, for the essential relations between pastor and people, for the conception of the apostolic office, and the nature of apostolic authority, these Epp. are our primary source. The questions touched upon in our Ep. furnish a fair sample of the difficulties of Church government; and as each is taken up in turn some deep-lying principle springs naturally to the apostle's lips, and is brought to bear with all its power upon the matter in hand. The letter is unique as an object-lesson in the bishopric of souls.

11. *Doctrinal importance.*—It is impossible within our limits to do more than glance at the main points of interest. (*a*) The Epistle bears fewer traces than 2 Co of the great controversy of the period to which it belongs. The only express reference to the subject is 15^{56} 'the strength of sin is the law' (cf. Ro 7^{7-25}). But the foundation-stone of his preaching in Corinth, 'Jesus Christ, and that crucified' (2^{2} $3^{10.11}$), is the root of the apostle's whole mind and thought on the subject. (*b*) The doctrine of the Person of Christ, indissolubly correlated with that of His work, is touched upon 8^{6}, where the δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα anticipates Col $1^{15ff.}$ The redelivery of the kingdom (15^{24-28}) by the glorified Christ, and His final 'subjection' to His Father, is a thought not elsewhere brought out (but see 1 Co 3^{23} 8^{6}, Ro 11^{35}). With regard to the pre-existence and human nature of Christ, the passage 15^{45-48} is of great importance, and has given rise, from Baur onwards, to startling interpretations (Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, Eng. tr. i. 139 ff.; Schmiedel *in loc.*). (*c*) The Holy Spirit ($2^{10ff.}$ and 12) is the vehicle of all true enlightenment and receptivity to revealed truth ($2^{4.13}$), and of all the χαρίσματα which enable Christians to live their corporate life. The language of 12^{11} involves the personality of the Spirit (see further the art. on 2 Corinthians, § 7). The Spirit is assumed to be the active power in baptism, and to be present in all baptized persons (12^{13} 6^{11}); though this is ideally rather than actually true of all ($3^{1ff.}$). (*d*) With regard to the sacraments, baptism and its significance are touched upon in the passages just mentioned. It was administered in the name of Christ (1^{13}, cf. Ac 19^{5}). An enigmatical practice of baptizing 'for the dead' is referred to (15^{29}); the context (ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν) forbids us to regard this as merely an aspect of ordinary baptism. On the doctrine of the Eucharist a sidelight is thrown in 10^{15-17}. The reference is introduced to illustrate the principle that to eat the sacrifice is to take part in the sacrificial act. The sacrifice here is that of the cross, offered by Christ; the Eucharist has a sacrificial character analogous to that of the Jewish or heathen sacrificial meal, and like them has the effect of establishing a communion between the worshipper and his God. The reference involves the belief on St. Paul's part that the body of Christ is eaten (cf. $11^{27.29}$). In what sense this is so, St. Paul does not define. (*e*) With reference to the resurrection (see above, § 8), that of Christ is the premise of St. Paul's argument in 15^{1-34}. In vv.$^{3.4}$ we have the germ of a creed. In vv.$^{5-7}$ we have the earliest record of the post-resurrection appearances of the Lord; v.^{6} is of special importance. That He rose with a σῶμα πνευματικόν is implied in v.$^{44ff.}$ The whole argument is addressed, not to the general resurrection of all men, but to that of οἱ Χριστοῦ, the κεκοιμημένοι, whose rising again is the effect of their being quickened in Christ. From other places we know that St. Paul taught a future life and judgment for all, good and bad alike; but (except in the hypothetical ἀπώλοντο of v.^{18}) this chapter has no word applicable to the latter. (*f*) Eschatology in general the Ep. touches upon $7^{26.29}$ 15^{51}, whence we see that the apostle still expected the early return of Christ, and especially in 15^{23-28} (see analysis, § 9). In this latter passage the coming of Christ appears as the last and final act of His reign, immediately ushering in the end. At His coming Christ will, by raising His dead to incorruption, destroy death (v.^{54}), and thus complete the subjugation of all inimical powers (^{26}). Then all is ready for the redelivery of the kingdom, that God may be all in all. This seems incompatible with the millennial reign after the resurrection of the just, which some commentators (Godet, etc.) would read into our passage from the Apocalypse.

12. *The Christian life.*—The whole Ep. is 'an inexhaustible mine of Christian thought and life.' Nowhere else in the NT is there a more many-sided

embodiment of the imperishable principles and instincts which should inspire each member of the body of Christ for all time. With regard to *personal* life, it may be noted that the ascetic instinct which has ever asserted itself in the Christian Church finds its first utterance in 7 (1. 25. 40 *θέλω, νομίζω ὅτι κάλον*, etc.); but coupled with a solemn and lofty insistence (*οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος*) on the obligations of married life, and founded on the simple ground of the higher expediency. This latter principle (*τὸ συμφέρον*) is the keynote of the *ethics* of the Epistle. The whole content of life is to the Christian but means to a supreme end; free in his sole responsibility to God (3^{21} 2^{15} 10^{23}), the spiritual man limits his own freedom (6^{12} 9^{19}) for the building up of others and the discipline of self (9^{24-27}). The *corporate* life of the Church is reflected in our Epistle as nowhere else in NT (see Weizsäcker, *Ap. Zeit.* pp. 567–605, Eng. tr. ii. 246 ff., for a careful and interesting discussion, mainly on the data of our Epistle). We note especially the development of *discipline*, of *organization*, and of *worship*. With regard to discipline, the leading passage is $5^{1ff.}$, where are described, not indeed the actual proceedings against the immoral person, but those which might and ought to have been carried out. St. Paul sees the Corinthian Church assemble; he himself is with them in spirit; the power of the Lord Jesus is in their midst. In the name of the Lord Jesus they expel the offender, 'deliver him to Satan for the destruction of his flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.' We have here the beginning of ecclesiastical censures, inflicted by the community as a whole, and it is not surprising in the apostolic age (1 Co 11^{30}, Ac $5^{1ff.}$) to find physical suffering associated with the spiritual penalty. Such an assembly as St. Paul here pictures could, *à fortiori*, dispose of such matters of personal rights as should arise ($6^{1.2.5}$ 5^{12}). The *organization* of the Cor. Church is evidently in a very early stage. We hear of no bishop, presbyter, or deacon (contrast Ph 1^{1}), but of prophets and teachers, as the ranks immediately following the apostles. This is in remarkable conformity with what we hear of at Antioch (Ac 13^{1}), and its correspondence with the lists given in other Epistles is too close to be accidental. The following list compares the data of $12^{28ff.}$ with those of Ro 7^{6-8}, Eph 4^{11}:—

1. *ἀπόστολοι* (Co, Eph).
2. *προφῆται* (Co, Eph, *-εία* Ro).
   [*εὐαγγελισταί* (Eph)
   ποιμένες (Eph)
   διακονία (Ro)].
3. *διδάσκαλοι* (Co, Eph, *-ων* Ro)
   [*παρακαλῶν* (Ro)
   δυνάμεις, ἰάματα (Eph)]
   ἀντιλήψεις (Co) [*μεταδιδούς* (Ro)]
   κυβερνήσεις (Co) [*προϊστάμενος* (Ro)]
   [*ἐλεῶν* (Ro)]
   γένη γλωσσῶν (Co).

These lists are evidently not to be regarded as statistical, and their variations are clearly due to the unstudied spontaneity with which each enumeration is made. All the more significant, then, is it that 'prophets' everywhere take rank next after the apostles, while 'teachers,' who stand high in all these lists, are the only other class common to all. In our Epistle these three classes alone are expressly assigned an order, 'first,' 'second,' 'third.' To interpret these facts would take us beyond our limits, but it is worth noting that the prophetic gift is not strictly limited to a class, but potentially belongs to all (14^{30-32}). That administrative gifts (*κυβερνήσεις*) come so low, perhaps implies that they are still voluntary (cf. the *προϊστάμενος* of Ro). To organize the *λογία* ($16^{1ff.}$) the presence of Titus was required (2 Co 8^{6}). The *ἐποικοδομοῦντες* or *παιδαγωγοί* of 3^{10} 4^{15}, who, like Apollos (3^{6}), carried on the work begun by St. Paul at Corinth, were therefore probably 'prophets and teachers'; but the Ep. makes little reference to them (perhaps 16^{16}, cf. 1 Th $5^{12f.}$). *Public worship* is the subject of a long section of the Epistle (see analysis, § 9). At some *ἐκκλησίαι*, *ἰδιῶται* (possibly unbaptized persons) might be present ($14^{16.23}$); this would not be at the *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*. The 'Amen' is in use as the response to prayer or praise (14^{16}). The discussion $11^{2ff.}$ would suggest that women might, under certain conditions, pray or prophesy in public; but 14^{34} shows that the apostle was merely holding in reserve a total prohibition, at any rate as regards speaking *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*. Otherwise, the liberty of prophesying belonged to all; the utterances were to be tested (14^{29}), but the test was simply the character of the utterance ($12^{1ff.}$). Prayer or praise *ἐν γλώσσῃ* (see TONGUES) was a marked feature of public worship, but St. Paul insists on its inferiority to prophecy. Sunday is mentioned as a day for setting apart alms (16^{2}), and was therefore probably a day for common worship; but this is not expressly stated. To come together for common worship constituted an *ἐκκλησία* (11^{18}). It is possible that assemblies for prophecy and teaching (14^{26}) were distinct from those held *εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν* (11^{33}). This was the case apparently in Pliny's time (see Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 568 f.). The purpose of the latter assembly was to break the bread and bless the cup of the Lord. In 11^{17-34} we have the *locus classicus* for the Eucharist of the apostolic age. Two views may be referred to which appear to be erroneous. One, represented, for example, by Beet in his commentary on the passage, is founded on the abuse censured in v.^{21} (cf.^{33}), that 'each one taketh before other his own supper,' thereby destroying the character of the meal as a 'Lord's Supper.' If, it is argued, previous consecration of the bread and wine by the *προεστώς*, and reception at his hands, had been an essential of the Eucharist then, as we find it to be in the age of Justin (*Apol.* i. § 65), the abuse in question could not have occurred; and St. Paul's remedy would have been 'wait for the consecration,' not 'wait for each other' (v.^{33}). This argument assumes, firstly, a departure from the procedure of Christ in instituting the sacrament, which is quite incredible. That in carrying out His command, *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε*, the apostolic Churches omitted precisely the actions which accompanied His words, and that the presence of those actions in Justin's Eucharist is due to a reversion, not to continuous repetition, is improbable to the last degree. The argument is really due to a second erroneous assumption that 'the Lord's Supper' in v.^{20} 'can be no other than the bread and the cup of the Lord in v.^{27}.' This assumption is a reaction from the anachronism of introducing the *Agape* of later times* to explain the passage. The 'Lord's Supper' is not the Eucharist proper, still less the *Agape*, but the entire re-enactment of the Last Supper, with the eucharistic acts occurring in the course of it, as they do in the paschal meal of the synoptic Gospels. The name 'Lord's Supper' is not elsewhere used in the NT, but in the Church the 'Lord's Supper' was neither the earliest nor the commonest name for the Eucharist; it primarily, though not exclusively, meant the annual re-enactment of the Last Supper, which survived after the *Agape* had first been separated from the Eucharist, and then had gradually dropped out of use (see Smith's *Dict. Christ. Antiq. s.v.* 'Lord's Supper'). In any case, then, the 'Lord's Supper' at Corinth would be already in progress when the bread and cup were blessed; St. Paul's censure and remedy (vv.$^{21.33}$)

* The name *Agape* is occasionally used for the Eucharist itself, but more properly for the meal from which the Eucharist has been entirely separated (*Dict. Christ. Ant. s.v.* 'Agape').

are entirely compatible with the closest adherence to the procedure of the Last Supper. *Who* presided, we do not know, but it may be taken as certain that someone did. In v.[34] we see the first impulse toward the separation of the Eucharist proper from the common meal in which it was embedded (see Weizsäcker, p. 601). St. Paul's account of the words of institution has probably crept into the text of St. Luke's account of the Last Supper (see Hort's critical note). But it has recently been argued by Percy Gardner (*The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, 1893) that a revelation to St. Paul at Corinth (so he very questionably understands 11^{23}) may have been the sole source of the institution of the Eucharist; and it is suggested further, that this revelation was largely coloured by the neighbouring mysteries of Eleusis. The tradition of the institution in the first two Gospels is enough to refute this view. That they have derived it from Pauline influence is not to be believed for a moment; nor, in view of its thoroughly Palestinian and Jewish antecedents, can great weight be assigned to the fact that they do not expressly record a command to repeat the ordinance (cf. Bickell, *Messe und Pascha*; Anrich, *Antike Mysterienwesen*, p. 127). We note the stress laid by the apostle on previous preparation (11^{28}). The solemnity of the rite in St. Paul's eyes can hardly be exaggerated.

12. LITERATURE.—(For complete commentaries on the NT see NEW TESTAMENT; for commentaries on the Epp. of St. Paul generally, and Introductions to them, see PAUL, ROMANS; for grammatical works, see LANGUAGE OF THE NT.) A very complete list of works on the Epp. to the Cor. will be found in Meyer's Commentary (Eng. tr.), also in Plummer's articles on Corinthians in Smith *DB*[2], see also Wald. Schmidt in *PRE*[2] xi. 369 ff., 378; Reuss, *Gesch. der H. Schriften NT*, § 88 ff. In a select bibliography we must be content with mentioning a few books of special importance without implying in any way that those omitted are without (often great) value. (*a*) On both Epistles: The historical situation has been specially discussed (among others) by Bleek, *SK* 1830; Baur, *Tüb. Z.* 1831 (important for the *σχίσματα*), *Paulus*[2], pp. 287–343; Räbiger (see above, § 7); Schenkel, *De eccl. Cor. factionibus turbata*, 1838; Beyschlag, *De eccl. Cor. factione Christiana*, 1861, and in *SK*, 1865, 1871; Hilgenfeld in his *ZWTh.* 1865, 1866, 1871, 1872; Heinrici, *das erste SS. des Ap. P. an die Kor.* 1880, and in his edd. of Meyer (see below); Klöpper (see next article); Krenkel, *Beiträge z. Aufhellung d. Gesch. u. d. Briefe des P.* 1890; Eylau, *Zur Chron. d. P. Briefe*, 1873; Hagge in *J. prot. Th.* 1876; Weizsäcker (as cited above and) in *J. Th.* 1876; Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, pp. 89–117, 1887; Hausrath, *Paulus*[2], 1865 (see also his *Hist. of N.T. Times*, Eng. tr. 1895); Lisco, *Paulus Antipaulinus* (a very novel theory on 1 Co 1–4), 1894; Ekedal, *Inter Paul. et Corr. quæ intercesserint rationes usq. ad* [1 *Cor*] (London), 1887; Godet, *Introd.* (Edin.) 1894; Clemen (see above, § 6), and Schmiedel in *Hand-Kommentar*[1], 1891, [2]1892, the most searching and accurate digest of the many complicated questions involved; Zahn, *Einleit. in d. NT*, i. 195 ff. Of commentaries on both Epp. the homilies of Chrysostom 'have ever been considered by devout men as among the most perfect specimens of his mind and teaching' (see *Nicene and P. N. Library*, series i. vol. xii.); they were delivered at Antioch, *i.e.* before 398; 44 are on 1 Co, 30 on 2 Co. On the commentaries of Theodoret, John Damascene, Theophylact, Oecumenius, Euthymius, 'Ambrosiaster,' Pelagius, Thomas Aquinas, the reader may be referred to the remarks in Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. xcix ff. The 'Postils' of Nic. de Lyra (first in 1471–1472) mark a revival of exegetical insight upon some points in our Epp. Melanchthon wrote on both Epp., but 2 Co was not finished. Of more modern writers, Locke's *Paraphrase* and *Essay* on St. Paul (1705–1707) dealt with 1 and 2 Co. For lists of 17th and 18th cent. commentators, see the references given above. The list of strictly modern commentaries opens with Pott, 1826; Billroth, 1853; Rückert, 1836. Olshausen, de Wette, Meyer dealt with the Epistles in their general works on the NT. Meyer remains the nearest approach to a standard commentary; his latest edd. have been revised by Heinrici, who had previously published a commentary of his own. Osiander, 1847–1858; Neander, 1859; Kling in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1861; Maier (Rom. Cath.), 1857–1865; Schnedermann (in Strack-Zöckler), 1887; Schmiedel (see above). On both Epistles, in English, the best modern works are those of Hodge (New York), 1857–1860; F. W. Robertson[5] (lectures); Stanley, [4]1876; J. A. Beet, [3]1885; Kay, 1887 (scholarly but slight, posthumous); Lias (in Camb. Greek Test.), 1886–1892. We may add T. K. Abbott, *Short Notes on St. Paul's Epp.* 1892. Several excellent commentaries exist on 1 Co only. Dean Colet's (ed. by Lupton), 1874; Heydenreich, 1825–1828; Holsten (in *Das Evang. des Paulus*), 1830; T. C. Edwards, 1885 (very valuable); Ellicott, 1887 (possibly the most thorough English commentary); Evans (in *Speaker's Comm.*), 1881 (unsurpassed insight in many passages); Godet, 1887 (excellent); Bois, *Adversaria Critica*, 1887; Milligan, *The Resurrection of the Dead* (on 1 Co 15), 1894; Lightfoot's *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, 1895, contain notes on 1 Co 1–7. References to Field's *Otium Norvicense*, to articles in the *Expositor*, etc., are given by Plummer in *DB*[2], *s.v.* 1 and 2 Co; the articles give interesting and valuable details as to style, coincidences with Acts, etc. The art. Paulus in *PRE*[2] by W. Schmidt, contains some useful references; that in Ersch and Gruber (1886) is by Schmiedel, and represents his earlier views on both Epistles.

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CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.—

1. External Tradition.
2. Transmission of the Text.
3. Internal Evidence and Genuineness.
4. Elements of the Historical Situation.
   (*a*) Timothy, (*b*) Titus and the *λογία*, (*c*) the troubles at Corinth, (*d*) the Offender, (*e*) the Judaizers, (*f*) St. Paul's plans of travel, (*g*) letters of St. Paul, (*h*) visits of St. Paul to Corinth, (*i*) summary.
5. The Situation reconstructed.
6. Chronological Relation of 1 and 2 Co.
7. Purpose of the Epistle.
8. Integrity of the Epistle.
9. Contents and Analysis.
10. Importance of the Epistle.
11. Apocryphal Correspondence of St. Paul and the Corinthians.
12. Select Bibliography.

1. The traces of this Epistle in the post-apostolic age are as slight as those of the first Epistle are exceptionally strong. Clement of Rome does not quote it. Where the Epistle would have furnished him with most apposite material (*e.g.* Clem. *ad Cor.* v. 6), he makes no use of it. It is not referred to by Ignatius. Polycarp, on the other hand, distinctly quotes 2 Co 4^{14} (Polyc. *ad Phil.* ii. 4, *ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας . . . καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ*), and apparently 8^{21} (*ad Phil.* vi. 1, comparing Pr 3^4). The letter to Diognetus v.[8] shows a knowledge of 2 Co 6^{8-10} 10^3. The reference of Athenagoras (*de Resurr.* 18) to v.[10] is fairly clear; two references, at least in Theophilus (*ad Autol.* i. 2, iii. 4), to 7^1 11^{19} are quite distinct. The 'Presbyters' quoted by Irenæus (v. v. 1) refer to 12^4. Moreover, the Epistle was in the canon of Marcion, and appears to have been used by the Sethites, (ap. Hippol. *Philos.* v. iii. 19, p. 216, Cruice) and by the Ophites, who quoted 2 Co 12^{2-4} (*ib.* p. 166). The above references fairly cover the period prior to the Muratorian Canon, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, all of which authorities bear full witness to the Epistle. The utmost we can say is that there is no evidence that our Ep. was absent from any list of writings of St. Paul. This would hardly hold good if we were to follow Zahn (*Kanon*, 2. 833 ff.) in his view that a definitive collection of Pauline Epp. had been compiled before the date of Clemens Romanus. For, as we have seen, his knowledge of our Epistle is more than doubtful.

2. The text of the Epistle has been transmitted by the same versions and MSS as 1 Co (see last art.), with the following exceptions:—A lacks 4^{13} (*-νον ἐπίστευσα*) -12^7 *καὶ τ.*; C lacks all from 10^8; it is contained entire in FGKL; H contains 4^{2-7}, $10^{8-12.\ 18}$–$11^{6.\ 12}$–12^2, the first fragment at St. Petersburg, the rest at Mt. Athos; I^2 contains no part of our Epistle; M contains the first fifteen verses of chapter 1, and 10^{13}–12^5 (Brit. Mus.); O has 1^{20}–2^{12}; P lacks only 2^{13-16}; Q has no part of the Ep.; R has 11^{9-19}. For the old Latin, r lacks 2^{11}–3^{18} 5^2–7^9 8^{13}–9^9 11^{22}–12^{13} $13^{11ff.}$

3. Although inferior in its external attestation to the first Epistle, the internal character of 2 Co removes it far above any suspicion as to its authenticity. On whatever ground its integrity may be called in question (see § 8), the several parts of the Epistle are acknowledged as Pauline by all sober criticism (see 1 COR. § 3). In fact, in its individuality of style, intensity of feeling, inimitable expression of the writer's idiosyncrasy, it may be said to stand at the head of all the Pauline Epistles, Galatians not excepted. Moreover, its

historical references are so unstudied, so manifold, so intricate, that difficult as it is to reconstruct with any certainty the historical situation (§§ 4, 5), the difficulty is rather analogous to the 'subtilitas Naturae,' than such as would result from the inconsistencies of a literary fabrication. It is the most personal, least doctrinal, of all the Epistles except Philemon; but at the same time it is saturated with the characteristic theological conceptions of St. Paul. The personal relation of the apostle to the community is viewed in the light of the apostolic office as such, and this in turn in that of the distinctive character of the gospel: the profoundest conceptions of grace, reconciliation, consummation, thus enter into the very fibre of chs. 1–7. This interpenetration of practical detail with first principles of the faith is a characteristic which our Epistle shares with 1 Co. But here it is even more strongly marked. Not only do the relations between the Old and New Covenants (3), the Earthly and the Future Life (4), not only do the doctrines of Redemption and the Incarnation (5. 7. 8) find classical expression, but there is not the smallest matter mentioned in the letter which does not carry us back to the highest and most ultimate laws; the mere organization of the λογία is sowing for eternity (9), a carrying out of the principle of the Incarnation (8); 'from the surface of things he everywhere penetrates to the depths.'

The Epistle is a letter of many moods, but all under strong control. 'Joy and heaviness, anxiety and hope, trust and resentment, anger and love, follow one another, the one as intense as the other. Yet there is no touch of changeableness, nor any contradiction. The circumstances dictate and justify it all, and he is master of it all, the same throughout, and always his whole self. An extraordinary susceptibility of feeling and impression, such as only an extraordinary character can hold in control' (Weizsäcker, *Apost. Ztlter*, p. 328; cf. the whole section).

In the discussions (art. 1 CORINTHIANS, § 4) raised by the Dutch hypercritical school, and by Steck, on the genuineness of the 'Haupt-briefe,' our Epistle has played a somewhat subordinate part (see Knowling, *ubi supra*, pp. 192, 174). We may therefore dispense with any discussion on the subject, and postpone the question of Integrity until we have dealt with the difficulties connected with the historical situation.

4. As we have seen above (on 1 COR. § 7), the complete elucidation of the circumstances of 1 Co depends on the recovery of the thread of events connected with and ascertainable from the second Epistle. Here we enter upon what the most accurate of explorers has compared to a 'trackless forest.' The problem is especially tantalizing, because the abundance of material at once stimulates and mocks the attempt at a complete combination.

The broad question, How does the historical situation in 2 Co differ from that in 1 Co? how many letters, how many visits, of St. Paul to Corinth, how many estrangements and reconciliations, are to be traced or assumed? depends for its solution on our success or failure in unravelling several distinct threads. Such are the movements of Timothy, the movements of Titus, the history of the λογία (1 Co 16^{1}) at Corinth, the sequel of the case of the offender of 1 Co $5^{1ff.}$, the progress of party spirit and of opposition to St. Paul at Corinth, and, lastly, St. Paul's references to his plans of travel, and to letters and visits of his own.

We will briefly sketch the position of each of these questions, and then consider the possibilities of a satisfactory reconstruction of the history.

(*a*) As to Timothy, the case is comparatively simple. We have seen (on 1 COR. § 7) that Timothy left St. Paul at Ephesus for Macedonia, probably not long before the dispatch of 1 Co. He was to reach Corinth eventually (1 Co 4^{17}), though St. Paul implies some doubt (*ἐὰν ἔλθῃ*, 16^{10}) as to the prospect of his doing so. St. Paul expected him to return to Ephesus with the bearers of 1 Co (16^{11}) by Pentecost (16^{12}). His return from Corinth would in that case be by sea direct. The expression of Luke (Ac 19^{22} *εἰς τὴν Μακ.* only) is, however, easily understood if he failed to reach Corinth. Lightfoot (*Bibl. Ess.* 275 ff.), who maintained that he probably did not do so, suggested that Titus might have overtaken him on the way to Corinth, or, if he went thither by sea, have met Timothy on the way back. Certainty on this point is not possible; we have to weigh the total silence of St. Paul in 2 Co, (in the face of 1 Co 4^{17}) as to any result of Timothy's mission to Cor., against the absence from 2 Co of any explanation (in face, again, of 1 Co 4^{17}) of the non-arrival of a messenger so impressively announced. The latter argument seems to the present writer to be slightly outweighed by the former. 'It is patent that the mission had in some way miscarried' (Waite); but that Timothy had failed painfully at Corinth is hardly to be assumed (as by Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 61) without more proof than we possess. Anyhow, Timothy was with St. Paul when he wrote 2 Co. They may have met either at Ephesus or in Macedonia.

(*b*) Of Titus (Gal 2^{3}) we do not hear by name in 1 Co. From 2 Co we learn that he was the bearer of our letter ($8^{6.\ 16-24}$), accompanied by two unnamed brethren, one of whom, 'whose praise is in the Gospel,' may or may not have been Luke.

From 2 Co 12^{18} we see that Titus had been to Corinth before, as we should also gather from 8^{6} *καθὼς προενήρξατο*. This also follows independently from $7^{6.\ 13}$ 2^{13}. Titus, then, paid at any rate two visits to Corinth; and on one of them, previous to 2 Co, he had been accompanied by a (single, unnamed) brother (2 Co 12^{18}).

We will come back to Titus after briefly considering the history of the λογία at Corinth. The directions given 1 Co 16^{1-4} were possibly in answer to some inquiry on the part of the Corinthians (*supra*, 1 COR. § 7). They had offered (2 Co 9^{5} *προεπηγγελμένην*) to contribute, and, acc. to 8^{6}, Titus had assisted in the preliminary organization of their efforts (8^{10}, cf. v.^{6} *προενήρξατο*). To this reference appears to be made 2 Co 12^{18} (cf. *ἐπλεονέκτησεν* with 9^{5}). Why not, then, identify (as Lightfoot, *Bibl. Ess.* 281) Titus and 'the brother' with 'the brethren' who carried 1 Co? (*supra*, 1 COR. § 7). This combination seems free from any objection, and the note of time, *ἀπὸ πέρυσι* (8^{10} 9^{2}), pushes back this visit of Titus to a date in any case very near 1 Co (see 1 COR. § 6). Titus visited Corinth, then, *in connexion with the* λογία on two occasions; on the second occasion he was one of the bearers of 2 Co; on the first, not improbably he was one of the bearers of 1 Co.

(*c*) The person of Titus (cf. *infr.* §§ 6, 7) forms the link between the λογία and the more painful questions between St. Paul and the Church of Corinth. The question whether Titus paid yet a third visit thither depends upon the consideration of the troubles which threatened to estrange St. Paul and the Corinthians. Firstly, the case of incest (1 Co $5^{1ff.}$) was dealt with in 1 Co, and the expulsion there ordered would naturally follow upon the arrival of the letter. Did it? It is the prevalent view (the grounds for it are stated with admirable conciseness by Holtzmann, *Einl.*^{2} p. 255) that 2 Co 2^{5-11} (= 7^{9-12}) records the sequel. Stung by St. Paul's summons, the Corinthians, by a majority

(2^6), inflict a punishment which St. Paul pronounces sufficient, and, lest the pain of it should drive the offender to desperation, advises the Corinthians to relax. The punishment had been inflicted in the presence and at the summons (7^{15}) of Titus, who reported the contrition, zeal, and loyalty wrought by the letter he had borne. This letter would accordingly be 1 Co, unless we should have, on further consideration, to infer that the inattention or disaffection with which that letter had been received, or some other cause, had necessitated the dispatch by the hand of Titus of a sharper summons (see below, *g*).

(*d*) But a closer examination of the passages we are considering makes it doubtful whether they really relate to the offender of 1 Co 5^1. The object in view, in St. Paul's treatment of the case now in question, had been to prove the loyalty of the Corinthians to himself (7^{12b} 2^9). To have persisted in withholding pardon would have been to give Satan an advantage over them all, St. Paul included; *i.e.* to have intensified the very evil St. Paul was combating. Moreover, St. Paul is specially careful to depreciate the grief inflicted upon himself (2^5), which strongly suggests that the ἀδικηθείς of 7^{12} is also none other than himself. The οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος of the latter verse contradicts the ἵνα of 1 Co 5^{5b} even more sharply than the notion of a personal *wrong*, the prominent thought in 2 Co 2. 7, contrasts with that of a *sin against God*, such as the πορνεία of 1 Co 5. There are, then, weighty grounds for eliminating from these verses any reference to the incestuous offender (who may none the less be glanced at among the προημαρτηκότες of 12^{21} 13^2), and for referring them to some other individual. Here, again, it is a question of probability; but the view adopted by very many scholars,* that the offender of 2 Co 2. 7 is a personal opponent of St. Paul, who has grossly slandered him, and has temporarily succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the Corinthians, has much to recommend it. On this view, which is as old as Tertullian, *de Pud.* xiii. ff., this mission of Titus, and the letter then carried by him, must be quite independent of, and subsequent to, 1 Co. The ἄγνους of 2 Co 7^{11} then harmonizes in sense with 11^2.

(*e*) The σχίσματα of 1 Co 1–4 have undergone a change of aspect in 2 Co. Of the watchwords Paul, Apollos, Cephas, we hear no more. It is otherwise with the name of Christ. In the section 10–13^{10} a distinct group of opponents are in view who arrogate the distinction Χριστοῦ εἶναι (10^7). The final consideration of this movement must be deferred (see below, § 7). For our present purpose it is enough to dwell on the marked change of situation. In 1 Co indeed we trace the tendency to arraign (ἀνακρίνειν, $4^{1ff.}$) the apostle, and to question his apostolic rank ($9^{1ff.}$) But it is disposed of briefly and quietly; it is not as in 2 Co the subject of a long and passionate indictment. The first (1–7) and last (10–13^{10}) sections of the Epistle present somewhat different aspects of the case. In the former, we have references to 'the many who traffic in the word of God' (2^{17}; cf. 4^2); to 'certain, who need letters of introduction' to the Corinthians (3^1); to imputations against the apostle of fleshly motives, of duplicity ($1^{12.\ 17}$ 4^2 6^8). These imputations proceed, it would seem, from ἄπιστοι, men blinded by worldliness to the light of the gospel (4^4), who yet, as we infer from 5^{16}, lay great stress on having known Christ after the flesh. The last two points throw light on the purpose of such passages as 1^{19} 2^{14-17}, above all 3^{6-18} 5^{14-21}. The Judaizing tendencies faintly traceable in 1 Co have assumed a doctrinal character. Still, the polemic of these chapters is not direct; St. Paul assumes that his readers are with him; so far as they are concerned (εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, contrast $13^{5.6}$) 'old things are passed away, and new things have come.' We seem to hear 'not the threatenings of a coming so much as the rumblings of a departing storm.' But when we turn to the concluding chapters (10–13^{10}) the brightness and confidence of tone is gone. The features of the opposition of 1–7 are still there. St. Paul is charged with fleshly motives (10^2), with lording it over the Church (10^8 13^{10}; cf. 1^{24}), with deceit (11^{31}). His opponents still come armed with letters of introduction ($10^{12.\ 18}$), they are—not now ἄπιστοι but—ministers of Satan, false apostles (11^{13-15}); they preach another Jesus, another gospel (11^4); they claim to be ministers of Christ, to be 'Christ's' (11^{22} 10^7; cf. 1 Co 1^{12}). All the features of the opponents of 1–7 are here, but they are heightened, and the polemic against them is more painfully intense. Their accusations against St. Paul, too, are more direct and audacious,—embezzlement (12^{16-18}), bullying by letters ($10^{9ff.}$) in contrast with weakness when face to face, reckless folly (11^{16}), are imputed to him; if he refuses direct sustentation, it is because he knows he has no right to it, being no true apostle (11^5 12^{11-18}). But, worse than all, St. Paul is conscious that his readers are not with him; their loyalty is undermined. Their obedience is unfulfilled—'Ye look at the outside of things' ($10^{6.7}$). They are in imminent peril of being corrupted, in fact they tolerate another gospel,—yes, gladly tolerate the yoke of 'the fools' who are tyrannizing over them ($11^{1-4.\ 19.\ 20}$); they accept the invidious construction put upon St. Paul's conduct, are prepared to doubt his love for them (11^{7-11}; cf. 12^{16-18}). They are wavering in faith, Christ can hardly be in them; St. Paul dreads to think of the impenitent state in which he will find them, dreads the humiliation which awaits him at Corinth, dreads the unsparing severity he will have to exercise (12^{19}–13^{10}),—his last hope is that the letter may pave the way to better things. Note that St. Paul is addressing the community *as a whole* throughout, not the Judaizing τινές, not a minority still under their influence; of this the chapters give no hint. Can the situation still be that of 1–7, or even that of 8. 9? There is *some* plausibility, *primâ facie*, in the severance of 10–13^{10} from the rest of the Epistle. But in any case the situation in these chapters is a new one as compared with that in 1 Co; and from its nature can hardly have been revealed to St. Paul by the arrival of Titus in Macedonia, for he brought news of quite a different kind (7^{13}).

(*f*) St. Paul entertained, at different times, two distinct plans of travel. The simpler of the two is that announced in 1 Co 16^5, and carried out Ac 20^1, viz. from Ephesus to Macedonia and thence to Corinth. But from 2 Co $1^{15.\ 16}$ we learn that he had at one time entertained, but (v.[23] in order to spare the Corinthians) had abandoned, the more complicated plan of proceeding direct from Asia to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and thence to Corinth again. This plan had been communicated to the Corinthians, at least in the form of a promise of a prompt visit. This is not satisfied by 1 Co 4^{18}; for if so, the withdrawal would be announced in 1 Co $16^{5.6}$, a passage totally out of correspondence (v.[18]) with the situation presupposed in 2 Co 1^{23}. Moreover, in defending his change of plan (2 Co 1^{15-23}), St. Paul would not have failed to appeal to the clear statement of his intentions in 1 Co 16^5. The inference seems irresistible that the change of plan was *subsequent* to 1 Co, and that the

* It is well put by Dr. Llewelyn Davies in Smith's *DB*, *s.v.* Paul. It had been maintained by Bleek, Credner, Olshausen, Neander, Ewald; and is also adopted by Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, Godet, etc. Krenkel and Clemen suppose that the slander was directly aimed, not at St. Paul, but at a fellow-worker. See Schmiedel, *Exc.* on 2 Co 2^{11}.

Complicated Plan was formed in consequence of something that had transpired after 1 Co was dispatched, and that further events caused St. Paul to fall back upon the original Simple Plan.

(*g*) We have now to take note of St. Paul's references to letters written by himself to Corinth. That there were three such is certain, viz. the two canonical letters, and the 'pre-canonical' or lost letter referred to in 1 Co 5^9. But we have seen that the Complicated Plan of travel was communicated to the Corinthians after 1 Co; whether this was by letter or not, depends on the interpretation of 2 Co 1^{12-14}. At any rate the promise of a direct visit was given in the confidence (*πεποίθησις*, v.[15]) of happy relations between the apostle and the Corinthians, and the promised visit was looked forward to as a 'joy' (*χαρά*). But something occurred to upset this confidence, and to demand that the visit, if paid, should be one of stern judgment. St. Paul decided 'to spare' them, and not to return to them in sorrow (2^1). And this he had stated in a letter ($2^{3,4}$), written in affliction and distress of heart and many tears,—a letter calculated to cause pain, and one which he for a time regretted having written ($7^{8ff.}$), but which, aided by the presence of Titus (*supra*, *c*, *d*), produced a happy revolution in the temper of the Corinthians. Two questions arise—(1) Did the letter *announce* the abandonment of the Complicated Plan, or did the latter merely follow tacitly by way of postponement? This depends on the sense of *τοῦτο αὐτό* (2^3), which *may* merely mean 'for this very cause' (cf. 2 P 1^5; Winer, III. § xxi. *fin.*). (2) Can this letter be our 1 Co? Certainly not, if, as we have argued, it arose out of a situation subsequent to that of 1 Co. But, quite independently of this, 1 Co is hardly a letter which St. Paul could even temporarily have repented writing. Stern passages it contains, but they are relieved by frequent encouragement, calm discussion, quiet practical advice; its emotional tension is not to be compared with that of 2 Co 10–13, or even 1–7; it does not correspond to the description 2 Co 2^4 (see Waite, p. 383). This is a vital point, but it seems hardly doubtful. The one strong counter-argument, the supposed identity of reference in 2 Co $2^{4ff.}$ and 1 Co $5^{1ff.}$, has already been examined (*d*), and found to be of very dubious validity.

We must therefore insert a stern and highly painful letter between 1 and 2 Co; and if 2 Co 1^{13-15} refers to a letter at all, it is certainly not to 1 Co, and still less to the painful letter just mentioned. St. Paul then, who in any case wrote not fewer than *three*, can be fairly proved to have written *four*, and may very probably have written *five* letters to the Corinthians, including our two canonical Epistles (cf. Clemen, *Einheitl.* p. 66; and see below, § 8).

(*h*) Lastly, we consider the references to his visits to Corinth. First of all, in 2 Co 12^{14} 13^1 he says, *ἰδοὺ τρίτον τοῦτο ἑτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. Taken by themselves, these words would be held by anyone to establish two previous visits. And the more natural interpretation of 2^1 *ἔκρινα . . . τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν*, connects *πάλιν* with *ἐν λύπῃ* rather than with *ἐλθεῖν*. If so, a previous visit *ἐν λύπῃ* is implied; the attempt to explain this by 1 Co 2^1 *ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, is unworthy of serious discussion. We are therefore obliged to assume provisionally that, when the painful letter was written, St. Paul had visited Corinth twice, and the second time *ἐν λύπῃ*. Only if this assumption proves so improbable as to outweigh the more obvious sense of the passages just quoted, shall we be justified in throwing into the scale against them the *δευτέρα χαρά* of 1^{15}, the *ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον* of 13^2. As a matter of fact, the assumption of a visit *ἐν λύπῃ* does encounter hopeless obstacles, whether we seek to place it before or after 1 Co.

Let us consider the latter possibility first. St. Paul abandoned his direct visit (*i.e.* the Complicated Plan) 'in order to spare' the Corinthians. This excludes at once from consideration the period between the painful letter and 2 Co. Let us suppose then that St. Paul, on receiving from Corinth unfavourable news (probably connected with the offender of 2^5 7^{12}), after he had dispatched 1 Co, proceeded thither in person. If so, St. Paul, unsuccessful (12^{21}) at Corinth, returns to Ephesus (still *ἐν λύπῃ*); receives better news; announces another immediate visit (*i.e.* the Complicated Plan) '*ἐν παῤῥησίᾳ*' (1^{13}); another estrangement, connected again with the offender of 2^5 7^{12}, breaks out; St. Paul writes again *ἐν λύπῃ*, and this time with more permanent success, which he at last learns from Titus in Macedonia. The improbability of this duplication of events condemns the entire hypothesis, and drives us back on the other alternative, that St. Paul's visit *ἐν λύπῃ* must have preceded 1 Co. But here we are encountered by the total ignorance of such a visit which that Epistle betrays. Not only is there 'not a single trace' of it (Weizsäcker, pp. 277, 300); we are compelled to ask, and ask in vain, to what, on this assumption, was the *λύπη* due? Not to the *σχίσματα*, of which St. Paul knew only from Chloe's people. Not to the *πορνεία* nor to the disorders in their 'assembling together,' of which he knew only by report (5^1 11^{18}). Not to the litigiousness (1 Co 6) nor to the denial of the Resurrection, of both of which he speaks with indignant surprise. If the distressing second visit preceded 1 Co, the *λύπη* which occasioned it was dead and buried when 1 Co was written, it had nothing to do with any of the subjects touched upon in 1 Co, and St. Paul's references to it in 2 Co are inexplicable.

In fact, the main ground on which Weizsäcker, Clemen, and others place it after 1 Co is the inadmissibility of placing it earlier; while Schmiedel follows Neander, Olshausen, Reuss, Wieseler, Meyer, Klöpper, and many others in placing it earlier, because the attempt to find room for it later breaks down. He justly observes that in a complicated hypothesis we cannot expect to harmonize all details satisfactorily, but must be content with certainty where possible. But this may justify us in questioning the finality of the inferences drawn at first sight from 2 Co 2^1 12^{14} 13^1.

Against the probability of either of the two hypotheses just discussed, we must weigh that of the interpretation of those verses adopted by Paley (*Horae Paul.*), Baur, de Wette, Renan, Hilgenfeld, Davidson, Farrar, and others, that by *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι* St. Paul means 'this is the third time I am coming' (*i.e.* meaning to come), while 2^1 simply states his resolve that his new visit (*πάλιν ἐλθεῖν*) shall not be *ἐν λύπῃ*. This interpretation is at first sight of inferior probability to the more obvious sense of the words, but it harmonizes well with 13^2 (RVm) and with the *οὐκέτι* of 1^{23} (RV; AV is against the idiom).

(*i*) *Summary.* — Timothy's visit, then, hardly enters into our problem; Titus visits Corinth three times, first (possibly as bearer of 1 Co) to organize the *λογία*, the second time to cope with the troubles there, thirdly as bearer of 2 Co, and to complete the *λογία*. The troubles at Corinth were mainly due to events subsequent to the situation of 1 Co, and the offender of 2 Co 2. 7 was more probably an offender against St. Paul, connected with the Judaizing party, than the incestuous person of 1 Co 5. The troubles, however, had taken root and hold in Corinth to a degree far beyond what is traceable in 1 Co. It is not altogether easy to combine the situation presupposed in 2 Co 10–13^{10} with that in 2 Co 1–9; it is quite impossible to identify it with the situation of 1 Co. St. Paul, then, dispatched Titus to cope with new troubles at Corinth, the news of which had reached him after the dispatch of 1 Co, and had induced him to abandon an intended visit to Corinth, and to write a painful letter instead. To insert a visit of St. Paul to Corinth in connexion with this crisis is impossible, while the painful letter, and the abandonment of the *δευτέρα χαρά*, are so closely bound up with the visit *ἐν λύπῃ*, that *the three must rest on a single basis of fact.* If so, *the visit ἐν λύπῃ was a visit abandoned, not one actually paid.* Still less can we find a probable place for a second visit anterior to 1 Co and connected with a painful crisis not dealt with in that Epistle. Accordingly, as the language of 2 Co is susceptible of a different though perhaps less prepossessing explanation, we

remove the intermediate visit from the horizon of either Epistle.

5. (*a*) *A too simple scheme impossible.*—We are now in a position to reconstruct the order of events from the evidence. The simpler such an order, the fewer the events assumed, the better; but we must not be tempted by this consideration to force the phenomena to combine where they do not naturally do so.

Let us begin by trying the combination suggested in art. CORINTH, which is in substance that of Bishop Lightfoot (*Bibl. Essays*, p. 282 ff.). The order of events suggested is—1. Paul at Corinth (A.D. 51 ?). 2. Apollos at Corinth (52–53 ?). 3. Paul at Ephesus (53–56). [Here Lightfoot inserts the second visit of Paul to Corinth.] 4. Lost letter of 1 Co 5[9] ['announcing the plan of 2 Co 1[16],' Lightfoot]. 5. ('Possible, but not proved') Second visit of Paul to Cor. 6. Stephanas, etc., to Ephesus (1 Co 16[17. 18]). (Letter of the Corinthians.) 8. Dispatch by Titus of 1 Co ['with the brother, 2 Co 12[18],' Lightf.]; or 9. Titus sent close after 1 Co. 10. Titus returns to Macedonia (2 Co 7[6]). 11. Titus and the brother (2 Co 12[18] or 8[18] ?) sent back, with 2 Co, to Corinth.

The schemes of Waite (in *Speaker's Comm.*) and of Weiss (most recently in *die Paul. Briefe*, 1896, pp. 9, 10) are in substantial agreement with the above, but Waite inserts the painful letter after 8. The arguments against the view taken below are best put by Holtzmann, *Einl.*[2] p. 254 f.

To begin with, we must insert here, before 6, the arrival at Ephesus of οἱ Χλόης (1 Co 1[10]). But more important is the need for further links between 8 and 10. It seems, indeed, needless to distinguish 9 from 8. But between the mission of Titus (possibly as one of the bearers of 1 Co) to begin the organization (2 Co 8[6. 10]) of the λογία, and his mission (v.[6]) to complete it, *i.e.* the dispatch of 2 Co, many events, as we have seen, demand room. The ἀδίκημα of 2 Co 2[5] 7[12], almost certainly; a visit of Titus in connexion therewith (2 Co 7[7]), quite certainly; and a letter, not corresponding in its character (*supr.* § 4, *g*) with 1 Co, probably carried by Titus on the same occasion. Titus, then, had returned to Ephesus before that; and since St. Paul, though he eventually carried out the plan of travel announced 1 Co 16[5], yet has to defend himself from the charge of fickleness with respect to his plans, we must find room for his adoption of the plan of two visits to Corinth, for the announcement of this, and for its abandonment. If the latter coincides, as we have shown to be probable, with the painful letter, we have to insert the first change of plan between 8 and the return of Titus to Ephesus.

(*b*) *Resultant scheme.*—We therefore revise the scheme as follows: 1–8 (as above). 9 or 10. St. Paul determines to pay a double visit to Corinth (δευτέρα χαρά, 2 Co 1[15]). 11. Painful news from Corinth (possibly brought back by Titus) changes this plan; the δευτέρα χαρά given up, the visit—now painful in prospect—abandoned; and 12. A painfully severe letter sent. 13. Titus at Corinth (2 Co 7[7-15]), with happy results. 14. Titus meets St. Paul in Macedonia; and 15. Returns to Corinth with 2 Co.

6. The above seems to be the simplest scheme that permits the insertion of all the events implied in 2 Co. (For a comparison of the views of different critics, see Schmiedel's Table in *Hand-Kommentar*, pp. xii, xiii). It remains to consider the interval of time required between the letters 1 and 2 Co.

We have to provide time for Titus making one double journey between Ephesus and Corinth, a second journey to Corinth, and a return journey as far as, say, Philippi. And, assuming the correctness of the view taken above (§ 4, *b*) as to the connexion of the first journey with the λογία, we have so to place the journeys that, in dispatching Titus for the third time (§ 5 : 8, 9) as having taken place 'last year' (ἀπὸ πέρυσιν, 2 Co 8[6. 10] 9[2]). This latter condition is elastic; it only implies in strictness that the beginning of a new year had intervened; and the interval between the two letters is so far left open within somewhat wide limits. The movements of Titus, however, require a considerable minimum of time. As 1 Co was likely to reach Corinth before Timothy, who was on his way through Macedonia, it was probably dispatched (8) by sea direct. This was possible at any time after Mar. 5, when the *mare clausum* properly ended. 'The voyage was often accomplished in three or four days' (Con. and Howson, ch. xii. p. 449 n.; for full details see Schmiedel in *HK* xvi. 3*a*); let us allow seven. Titus may, but need not, have returned (11) by Macedonia. This route would require, with rapid travelling, about a month; let us allow six weeks. Another week will then be claimed by the second journey (12) to Corinth, and four weeks, let us suppose, for Titus at last to meet St. Paul in Macedonia (14). We thus require at most 12 weeks for the actual journeys of Titus; and for his two visits (8, 13) to Corinth, in default of any statement as to their duration, we should allow about four weeks in all as a minimum. Accordingly we require 16 weeks for the movements of Titus, allowing him but little repose.

But St. Paul (assuming the year to be 57) must have reached Corinth by the end of November (Ac 20[3. 6]), and this pushes back the dispatch (15) of 2 Co into the month of October. Now the new year, according to the Macedonian calendar, began on Sept. 21, and the civil reckoning of the Jews (1 Tisri) coincided within a few days. St. Paul, therefore, could easily speak of the first mission of Titus (8) as 'last year.' From the *beginning* of October (which we adopt in order to deal liberally with the time) the 20 weeks carry us back to the midsummer solstice, or over three weeks after Pentecost (May 28). These three weeks then are at our disposal as spare time. To these we add the time between Pentecost and the previous (1 Co 16[10]) dispatch of 1 Co (8); to this interval we cannot assign a definite value, unless (following a possible suggestion from 1 Co 5) we place 1 Co about the paschal season. If so, there is time for Titus to rejoin St. Paul (11) at Eph., even if he returned through Macedonia; but there is no strong reason to suppose that he did not return, as he probably went, by sea (*supr.* § 4, *a*, cf. *b*).

There is thus no impossibility in the view taken by the majority of critics, that 2 Co was written in the autumn of the *Roman* year, in the spring of which the apostle had written 1 Co. The separation of the two Epistles by a longer interval is not, indeed, forbidden by their contents; but the necessity of finding a place here for an evangelization of Illyricum (Godet, Clemen), in order to satisfy Ro 15[19], is not so apparent as to claim a voice in the settlement of our question. 1 Co 16[6] is *prima facie* evidence that St. Paul's three months at Corinth belong to the winter next following that Epistle; nor are his changes of plan revealed in 2 Co such as to affect the broad outline. At the same time, the question as to the interval between the two Epistles must be finally decided, if at all, by reference to the general chronology of St. Paul's Epistles (see on 1 COR. § 6, and art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT); always recollecting that the two must, by 2 Co 8[10] 9[2], 1 Co 16[11], (assuming the integrity of 2 Co 1–9, see below, § 8), fall within two successive calendar years.

7. The purpose of the Epistle follows from the circumstances of its origin. The effect of 1 Co had been, it would seem, good at first. Titus had begun actively the organization of the λογία (2 Co 8[6] 9[2]) in a spirit to the purity of which the apostle appeals as a fact above question (the exact force of 2 Co 12[18] is often overlooked, *e.g.* by Clemen). Titus had needed encouragement (παρεκάλεσα), and St. Paul had given this in the form of a warm recommendation of the Corinthians (7[14]), which was fully justified only after serious disappointments. Meanwhile, apparently, St. Paul was incurring the danger at Ephesus described 1[8] (cf. Ro 16[4] [?], Ac 19[23ff.] [??]) of which he characteristically first informs the Corinthians when the worst of the crisis at Corinth is over. St. Paul had formed the plan of visiting Corinth earlier than he had intended (§ 4, *f*), when the return of Titus with bad news of a quite unlooked-for character convinced him that such a visit would be most painful to both sides. Hence the painful letter, again dispatched by Titus, and the reversion to the Simple Plan of 1 Co 16[5]. This was before the apostle's departure from Ephesus; and the period immediately succeeding, during which St. Paul moved first to Troas (2[12. 13])

and then on to Macedonia, anxiously awaiting the return of Titus to put an end to his suspense, is the time of intense mental strain of which our Epistle is the outcome. The relief expressed in 1–7 finds its outlet along with much of the pent-up indignation and self-vindication (10–13) which had been all the while accumulating in the apostle's mind. The main purpose of the Epistle, then, turns upon the new troubles at Corinth, which differentiate our Epistle from 1 Co. These have been touched upon above (§ 4, *e*), but require a little further examination in this connexion.

The difference between the new troubles at Corinth and those connected with the 'Christ-party' of 1 Co is one of degree, not of kind. But the difference of degree is very great, and is probably due to the arrival of a fresh agitator (10^{10} *φησίν*) or fresh agitators (10^{12} 11^{4}) on the scene. Can we identify them with any closeness? The *ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον* of 11^{4} links them on to the agitators of Gal 1^{6}. At Corinth, this is rather in prospect than actually preached; but 11^{22} shows that we have to do with Christians of Jewish birth. Were they personal disciples of Christ? (10^{7}, cf. 11^{18} 5^{12}). This is matter for conjecture rather than proof. The original Twelve seem to be referred to in the twice-recurring phrase *ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι* (11^{5} 12^{11}); but to suppose that any of the Twelve were personally concerned is out of the question, St. Paul would not in that case have stigmatized them as *ψευδαπόστολοι*, etc. (11^{13}). But did the agitators *claim to represent* the Twelve, to whose superior authority they certainly made appeal? In this connexion, the Letters of Introduction (3^{1}, cf. Ro 16^{1}) are of importance. As the *ἐξ ὑμῶν* of 3^{1} is meant rather to point the contrast with 3^{3} than to positively describe the *τινές*, we must understand that the claims of the latter were backed by these letters. These claims would have lost all their danger and prestige had not the letters come from some well-known names. That the agitators used letters of merely personal commendation for purposes beyond the scope of such letters is, of course, possible (Gal 2^{12}, Ac $15^{1.\,24}$). At any rate St. Paul ignores any real connexion between the agitators and the Twelve. In loyal conformity to his side of the Jerusalem agreement (Gal 2^{10}) he pushes forward the *λογία* (cf. $9^{11\text{-}15}$ with Ro $15^{30\text{f.}}$), in the assurance that his uncompromising warfare against the agitators will in no way compromise his relation with the older apostles. Chapters 8. 9 therefore stand in a close relation to the main purpose of the Epistle. The first seven chapters, with their suggestive passages on the relation of the Law to the Gospel, their profound glances into the doctrine of Redemption, also lead up to the same principal purpose (*sup.* § 3). Whether the *ἄλλος Ἰησοῦς* of 11^{4} (cf. 5^{12} 11^{9}) refers to a lower view of the Person of Christ, cannot be regarded as certain. Unquestionably, the question of Christology underlies the question of Law and Grace, of Faith and Works; but this fundamental issue is felt rather than perceived in the NT as a rule. At any rate it was necessary to throw aside all thoughts of compromise, and to endeavour to stamp out from Corinth a movement which bade fair to result in complete apostasy (11^{3}). Hence the peculiar transition in the Epistle from thankful reconciliation (1–7) to bitter polemic (10–13), the alternating tones of endearment and rebuke, first the appeal to the higher, then the withering exposure of the lower tendencies at work among the Corinthians.

8. We must now, accordingly, endeavour to reach a result with regard to the Integrity of the Epistle. We have seen that the canonical Epp. to the Corinthians are the remains of a correspondence which comprised other letters now lost (§ 4, *g*), and that possibly not fewer than three lost letters were addressed by St. Paul to the Corinthians. The temptation to rediscover all or part of these in our extant letters, coupled with undeniable difficulties in their sequence of ideas (cf. § 4, *e*), has naturally been strong. Clemen (whose *Einheitlichkeit der Paul. Briefe*, 1894, contains the most searching and acute of recent essays in this direction) has redivided our Epistles into five (see 1 CORINTHIANS, § 6), thus providing wholly or in part for each letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians of which we have any trace whatever. As affecting 1 Co, his result consists merely in the relegation to the lost letter of 1 Co 5^{9} of certain passages in chs. 3. 7. 9. 14, where the connexion is difficult, and of the whole of 15 (except the rejected v.^{56}). We venture to think that a little more patience, or exegetical penetration, might have very greatly reduced the compass of these fragments. But with regard to 2 Co the difficulties are more serious. They fall into three main heads—(1) The interjected warning (see below, § 9, *A* 2, *b β*) 6^{14}–7^{1}. The direct continuity of 6^{13} 7^{2} is too obvious to be mistaken; the interjected appeal simply breaks the connexion. Accordingly Clemen, following Hilgenfeld and others, refers it to the lost letter of 1 Co 5^{9}, while many other critics (see Heinrici, *Das zweite SS. u.s.w.* pp. 329–334) agree that it is out of place here. It must be allowed that if this is the case, the insertion was made at a date prior to the first circulation of the Epistle, for textual tradition of any kind is totally silent as to it. Whether this objection is fatal *in limine* will be considered at the close of this section. Waiving it for the present, the question becomes one (*a*) of exegesis, which on the whole has hitherto failed to find a clear line of connexion with the context before or after; and (*b*) of the general analogy of St. Paul's style, and of this Epistle especially. True, 'there is no literary work in which the cross-currents are so violent and so frequent'; but there is no other 'cross-current' in the Epistle which cuts with so clean an edge as this. On the whole, if we may assume an interpolation at all without textual evidence, this is perhaps *dignus vindice nodus*. Whether, if out of place here, the section is part of the letter of 1 Co 5^{9}, is not so clear; the injunction of 6^{14} does not fit so exactly with 1 Co 5^{10} as to preclude all doubt. To reject the passage as un-Pauline (Holsten, etc.) is quite arbitrary. (See the discussions of Whitelaw, Chase, and Sanday in *Class. Review*, 1890, pp. 12, 150, 248, 317, 359; Schmiedel's *Exc. in loc.*; Clemen, *Einh.* 58 f.)

(2) *Chapters* 8 *and* 9.—All allow chapter 8 to remain part of our (the 'Fifth') Epistle, but chapter 9 is thrown back to the 'Third.' This divorce, in which Clemen follows Semler and a long series of later critics, is mainly on grounds which are more suitable for discussion in a commentary (see Waite *in loc.*). That chs. 8 and 9, especially in view of 9^{1} (*γάρ*), are impossible in one and the same letter, is an assumption founded, surely, upon a somewhat narrow view of St. Paul's logic.

(3) *The great invective*, or 'Vierkapitelbrief.'—The main grounds for relegating this to a different Epistle are given above (§ 4, *e*). If they have any validity they make for its identification with the 'Fourth' or Painful Letter (§ 4, *g*). This is the view of Hausrath (*Vierkapitelbrief*, 1870) and of Schmiedel (in Ersch and Gruber, and in *Hand-Kommentar*). The arguments are not easy to meet directly—they are not indeed conclusive; we know less of the circumstances than did St. Paul's readers (cf. Jülicher, *Einleit.* § 7; Weizsäcker, *Apost. Zeitalter*, 314–316). The difficulty is that in 1–9 the Corinthians are reconciled, whereas in 10–13 they are still in a state of hostility, or at best of dubious fidelity. That the apostle is addressing a section only of the Corinthians is against all the evidence. That after the good news brought by Titus, some worse news again arrived to change the apostle's tone, is unproved and improbable. The opening of chapter 10, *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος*, is of importance as bearing on the question. Assuming that the words mark, not the beginning of an interpolated document, but the opening of a new section in the letter, they indicate some change of treatment. Possibly, St. Paul may have sent Timothy (1^{1}) away and begun to write, either by his own hand or by a confidential amanuensis, words that had been maturing in his mind (§ 7) in the period of suspense before the arrival of Titus, and which not even the good news brought by Titus could persuade him to leave unwritten. If this view be correct, we can, with Weizsäcker and others, regard these chapters as the final assault, prepared for in the whole previous course of the letter, which is decisively to secure for the apostle the allegiance of the Corinthians, and to drive the interlopers (11^{4}), who had gained

a partial hold over them, headlong from the field. The Corinthians are already won 'in part' (1^{14}), but a leaven of disloyalty exists among them, and the success reported by Titus must be followed up to be lasting, and the disloyal leaven effectually stamped out. Add to this that the identification of these chapters with the Painful Letter (§ 4, *g*) would seem to demand that they should refer to the (*ex hypothesi*) still unsettled case of the Offender (chs. 2. 7). But no such reference can be traced; the argument for separating 10–13 from the rest of the Epistle thus loses a very strong positive factor. On the whole, then, as regards internal evidence, we may say that the case for separation is not proved; but it would be going too far to say that it is absolutely disproved. Whether this is so or not must depend on the weight to be attached to the entire lack of external evidence. Can we suppose that interpolations so serious as to amount (if we accept all the three hypotheses discussed above) to the formation of an entire Epistle out of heterogeneous fragments—or even the interpolation of any one of the passages in question—can have taken place without leaving so much as a ripple upon the stream of textual tradition? Certainly, there exist 'primitive corruptions' of the NT text, *i.e.* changes which occurred so early that the original text has left no documentary traces of itself. But these are small in number and in scale. 'We cannot too strongly express our disbelief in the existence of undetected interpolations of any moment' (Westcott and Hort). The strongest internal evidence might conceivably modify this in an exceptional case; only our witnesses to the text push its history back so very early as to leave very scanty room for the occurrence of such interpolations. But the literary relations of the synoptic Gospels furnish an analogy which warns us against too summary a rejection of any such hypothesis in this case. The question is whether the Second Epistle to the Corinthians passed into general circulation as soon as the first. The latter, formally appealed to within forty years of its origin, was circulated too early to permit us to assume interpolations in it on any large scale unreflected in the textual tradition. But Clement appears to know nothing of 2 Co, and its comparatively late appearance in the stream of attestation (see above, § 1) is perhaps compatible with some process of editing on the part of the Corinthian Church before it was copied for public reading and imparted to other Churches. This would be easier to suppose, if the autographs were written on leaves or tablets rather than on rolls. (See Sir E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Palæography*, pp. 20 ff., 54–61.) We do not therefore regard the absence of textual evidence in this particular case as absolutely fatal *in limine* to the hypotheses we have been considering; but it must be allowed to weigh heavily against them; and we believe that a patient and circumspect exegesis will gradually dissolve the arguments, at first sight very tempting, for the segregation of chs. 10–13, and even perhaps of 6^{14}–7^{1}.

9. *Contents of the Epistle.*—The nature of the Letter (§§ 3, 7) makes it far less readily divisible into well-marked sections than the first Epistle. The order of ideas is emotional rather than logical; a subject is not taken up, dealt with, and disposed of, but, like some strain in a piece of impassioned music, occurs, is lost in a maze of crowding harmonies, and recurs again and again. This is especially the case in chs. 10–13. But certain broad lines of division may be recognized, and we shall exhibit these, without pursuing the analysis into its subtler subdivisions.

A. Answer to the welcome Tidings of Titus (1–7).
1. *Epistolary Introduction* (1^{1-11}).
2. Review of recent Relations with the Corinthians (1^{12}–7^{16}).
(*a*) *Self-vindication* { with regard to his promised visit; with regard to the case of the Offender } (1^{12}–2^{13}).
(*b*) *The great Digression* (2^{14}–7^{4}).
α. Apostleship (2^{14}–6^{10}).
αα. The office of an apostle (2^{14-46}).
[St. Paul's self-vindication (2^{14}–3^{4}).
The Old Ministry and the New (3^{5-18}).
Self-vindication completed (4^{1-6}).]
ββ. The sufferings of an apostle (4^{7}–5^{10}).
[In relation to the work of an apostle (4^{7-15}).
In relation to the Hope of Resurrection (4^{16}–5^{5}).
In relation to life, death, and judgment (5^{6-10}).]
γγ. The life of an apostle (5^{11}–6^{10}).
[Its motive (5^{11-15}).
Its basis in the Redeemer and His Work (5^{16}–6^{2}).
Its credentials (6^{3-10}).]
β. Appeal of the reconciled apostle to his readers (6^{11}–7^{4}).
[Interjected appeal against heathenish defilements (6^{14}–7^{1}).]
(*c*) *The reconciliation completed* (7^{5-16}).
α. Arrival of Titus (7^{5-6}).
β. The Offender and the Painful Letter (7^{7-12}).
γ. The joy of Titus (7^{13-16}).
B. The Collection for the Saints (8. 9).
(*a*) The example of Macedonia (8^{1-7}).
(*b*) The example of Christ, and the new mission of Titus and the brethren (8^{8}–9^{5}).
(*c*) Exhortation to liberality (9^{6-15}).
C. The great Invective (10^{1}–13^{10}).
1. *St. Paul and his opponents* (10^{1}–12^{18}).
(*a*) Self-vindication of St. Paul as an apostle (10^{1-12}).
(*b*) St. Paul and the area of his mission (10^{13-18}).
(*c*) Reply to opponents (10^{13}–12^{18}).
α. The question of personal loyalty (11^{1-6}).
β. The question of maintenance (11^{7-15}).
γ. The apostolic *καύχησις* (11^{16}–12^{10}).
δ. Completion of the *ἀπολογία* (12^{11-18}).
2. *Warnings in view of his coming visit* (12^{19}–13^{10}).
D. Final Salutations and Benediction (13^{11-13}).

10. Importance of the Epistle.—The Epistle is far less various in its contents than 1 Co, and throws correspondingly less direct light on the theology of St. Paul and on the life of the apostolic Church. All the more important is its contribution to our personal knowledge of St. Paul. The most important biographical material is supplied in 11^{23-33}. Some of the details (v.[26]) are not easy to fit into the otherwise known life of the apostle; but this is only what one would expect from a genuine source. The notice of Aretas is exceptionally important for chronological reasons. Whether the same can be said of 12^{2} (see Clemen's view, referred to in 1 Corinthians, § 6) may be doubted. The attempts to identify the vision with any point of contact in Ac have been various and precarious. The apostle's *καύχημα* (1 Co $9^{15f.}$), of taking no sustenance from the Corinthians, is more fully elucidated 2 Co 11^{7-13} $12^{13ff.}$. Of a more personal kind are the notices of the apostle's miracles 12^{12}; of the much-debated *σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί* (12^{7}) (see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 183 ff.; Lias, p. xxiv; Ramsay, *Ch. in Rom. Emp.*[2] pp. 62–66; *St. Paul*[1], p. 94 f.), and the references to St. Paul's comparative inferiority as a speaker (11^{6} 10^{10}) and lack of commanding presence (Plummer in *DB*, p. 658[a]; Ramsay, *CRE*[2], p. 30 f.). But the interest of such details is far transcended by the Epistle's revelation of the writer's personality. To draw out this in detail is superfluous; let it suffice to say that to this Epistle, more than to any other, we owe our knowledge of the true 'pectus Paulinum,'—our intimacy with the apostle's inmost self. From this point of view it takes its place side by side with 1 Co as the most pastoral of all Epistles. 'What an admirable Epistle is the second to the Corinthians! how full of affections! he joys and he is sorry, he grieves and he glories; never was there such care of a flock expressed, save in the great Shepherd of the Fold, who first shed tears over Jerusalem, and afterwards blood' (George Herbert; cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 44, 51). The *doctrinal interest* of the Epistle must be very briefly indicated. The eschatology of 4^{16}–5^{8} is difficult, and involves at any rate a less confident expectation of living until the return of Christ than is expressed 1 Co 15^{51} (for a very accurate exegesis of the passage see Waite *in loc.*). The contrast of the spirit and letter (3^{6-18}) leads to the difficult passage $3^{17.\ 18}$, apparently

identifying the 'Lord' with the 'Spirit,' a thought with a long sequel in the history of theology (see Gebhardt and Harnack on Herm. *Sim.* v. 2; Swete in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iii. 115[a]; Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* I. ii. 5, II. ii. 3; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*[2] 494 n.; Athan. *de Syn.* 27 [Anath. 21]); and so to the Christology of St. Paul, which receives striking sidelights from the Epistle. The glory of the exalted Christ is the dominant thought of 3^{18}–4^{6}, a glory which shines upon and transforms (Ac $9^{3ff.}$) the Christian, constituting in the life of grace a foretaste of the life of glory (v.[18], see Ro $6^{5\text{-}11}$ $8^{10ff.\ 21\text{-}23}$ etc.). The doctrine of renovation (5^{17}) and of the Christian life ($4^{7\text{-}15}$) thus rests upon the agency of a living Christ as the sustaining force; but there is presupposed, as the fountainhead of union with Christ, forgiveness of sin (3^{9}), founded on the reconciling work of the Sinless (5^{21}) Christ ($5^{15.\ 18ff.}$). The last-mentioned passage is a most important contribution to St. Paul's soteriology. In 8^{9} the thought of Ph $2^{5ff.}$ is anticipated. The concluding verse of the Epistle is not a doctrinal announcement of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, but may fairly be combined with other passages in which that doctrine is implicit.

We do not directly know the effect this Epistle produced at Corinth; but from the fact that St. Paul's promised visit was carried out, and that our two Epistles were treasured up at Corinth and thence eventually found their way into the Church's canon, we infer that the Epistle produced the effect of which such a letter was worthy.

11. Apocryphal Correspondence of St. Paul and the Corinthians.—A letter of the Corinthian Church to St. Paul, and a reply by the apostle, formed part of the NT of the Syrian Church in the time of Aphraates and Ephraim. From the Syrian Church the letters passed over into the Armenian, which retained them to a late date (they are still quoted by a writer of the 7th cent.). The Corinthians ask St. Paul to condemn certain false teachers who have appeared among them, and the apostle duly replies. Ephraim, in his commentary on St. Paul (given in Zahn, *Gesch. d. N.T. K.* ii. 595 ff.), already noticed that the false doctrine is that taught by the school of Bardesanes, who lived from A.D. 155 to 223. The letters are accordingly in all probability a product of the 3rd cent., and directed against the school in question. They were first made known in Europe by Usher, 1644, (*Sylloge Annotat.* p. 29), from an imperfect Arm. MS; then in 1736 Whiston published a Gr. and Lat. transl. from a complete MS. The Arm. text was printed by Zohrab in 1805. The commentary of Ephraim on St. Paul (where our Epp. follow 2 Co) was printed from an Arm. MS of A.D. 999 at Venice in 1836. At last, in 1890, Berger discovered at Milan a Latin MS of the Bible ('saec. x. ut videtur') containing our two Epp. (after He), and a second Lat. MS (saec. xiii.) has been discovered at Laon by Bratke, where the Epp. come after the Apoc. and Cath. Epp. The text of the Milan MS is given in *ThL*, 1892, p. 7 ff., that of the Laon MS in the same volume, p. 586 ff. The existence in a Latin version of letters known only to Syrian and Armenian tradition, and which have left no trace in Greek Christian literature, is not as yet explained. See Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Lit.* i. 37 ff.; Carrière et Berger, *Corresp. Apocr. de S. P. et des Corinthiens*, 1891; Vetter, *D. apokr. 3 Korintherbrief* (Tüb.), 1894; also in *Th. Quartalschrift* (1895) iv.; Zahn (*ubi sup.*, maintains that the correspondence comes from the lost *Acta Pauli*), *PRE*[2] xi. 378; Jülicher in *ThL.* 1889, p. 164.

Literature.—For works on both Epistles see previous article. On 2 Co only, Emmerling (Commentary), 1823; Fritzsche, *De locis nonnullis*, 1824; Burger, 1860; Klöpper, *Untersuchungen*, 1869, *Kommentar*, 1874 (important); Waite (in *Speaker's Comm.*), 1881 (excellent); Denney (in *Expositor's Bible*), 1894; Lisco, *Entstehung d. 2 Kor.-briefes*, 1896; Drescher in *SK* (1897) pp. 43–111. Other works as quoted in the body of the above article.

A. Robertson.

CORMORANT is the rendering of AV for two Heb. words, קָאַת *qâ'ath* (see Pelican), and שָׁלָךְ *shâlâk*, καταράκτης, *mergulus*.

Shâlâk occurs only in the list of unclean birds (Lv 11^{17}, Dt 14^{17}), with no context to assist in determining its meaning except its association with *qâ'ath*. From its etymology it should be a plunging bird. The difficulty of identifying it is enhanced by the uncertainty of the meaning of the LXX rendering καταράκτης, which is also a plunging bird. Tristram is inclined to the rendering of AV, which is also that of RV, saying that the cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo*, is common along the coast, coming up the Kishon, and visiting the Sea of Galilee. It is likewise abundant along the Jordan.

G. E. Post.

CORN.—In Jn 12^{24} 'a corn of wheat,' we have a solitary instance of 'corn' used for a particle. The AV went back for it to Wyclif, intermediate versions having 'the wheat corn,' except Rheims, 'the graine of wheat,' which RV ('a grain of wheat') adopts. It is the earliest meaning of the word 'corn.' Cf. Jewel, *On Thess.* (1611), 'We must understand this authoritie with a corn of salt (*cum grano salis*), otherwise it may bee vnsauorie'; and Hall (1656), *Occas. Med.* 11, 'He, that cannot make one spire of grass, or corn of sand, will yet be framing of worlds.' The Gr. is κόκκος, everywhere else tr[d] 'grain.'

J. Hastings.

CORN (דָּגָן *dâgân*, σῖτος, *fruges*).—The generic (?) name for the cereal grains. Those cultivated in Bible lands are: **Wheat,** חִטָּה *ḥiṭṭâh*, the same as the Arab. *ḥinṭah*. The Arab., with its usual wealth of names for familiar objects, has also *burr* and *ḳomḥ* for wheat. **Barley,** שְׂעֹרָה *sᵉ'ôrâh*. The Arab. for this grain is *sha'îr*. **Vetch,** כֻּסֶּמֶת *kuṣṣemeth*, called in AV (Ex 9^{32}, Is 28^{25}) *rye*, (Ezk 4^{9}) *fitches*. The *kirsenneh* of the Arab. is a modified form, with *n* substituted for *m*, and *r* inserted. This grain is *Vicia Ervilia*, L. It is extensively cultivated in the East. **Fitches,** קֶצַח *ḳeẓaḥ* (Is $28^{25.\ 27}$), the seeds of the *nutmeg flower*, *Nigella sativa*, L., which is known in the E. as *el-ḥabbat es-saudâ*, the *black seed*, or *ḥabbat el-barakat*, the *seed of blessing*. This seed, which has carminative properties, is sprinkled on the top of loaves of bread. **Millet,** דֹּחַן *dôḥan* (Ezk 4^{9}), which is the same as the Arab. *dukhn*, *Panicum miliaceum*, L., also *Milium Italicum*, L. **Beans,** פּוֹל *pôl*, Arab. *fûl*. **Lentils,** עֲדָשִׁים *'adâshîm*, Arab. *'adas*. **Pulse,** זֵרוֹעִים *zêrō'îm* (Dn $1^{12.\ 16}$), *seeds*, probably refers to edible seeds in general, corresponding to the Arab. *ḳuṭniyah*, plur. *ḳaṭânî*, which includes not only the leguminous seeds which we know as pulse, but millet, etc.; but excludes wheat. **Rye,** as above stated, is an incorrect rendering for *vetch*, and is not otherwise mentioned in Scripture, nor cultivated in the Holy Land. **Oats,** also, are not mentioned nor cultivated.

Corn of all kinds is carried in sheaves from the harvest-fields on asses, mules, horses, or camels. It is threshed by the *nauraj* or *mauraj* (Heb. *môrag*), and *winnowed*, and stored in earthen, barrel-shaped receptacles or oblong bins in the houses (2 S 4^{6}), or in pits under the floor (2 S 17^{19}), or in storehouses (2 Ch 32^{28}). It is now often stored in underground chambers, with domed roofs, at the top of which is an opening to introduce the corn and remove it. These chambers, contrary to what might be expected, are dry and free from vermin. They are sometimes excavated in the rock, at other times in a sort of soft marl called *ḥuwwârah*.

The corn is liable to mildew, יֵרָקוֹן *yêrâḳôn* (the equivalent of the Arab. *yeraḳán*, which means *jaundice*), and blasting, שִׁדָּפוֹן *shiddâphôn* (1 K 8^{37}), caused by the hot and withering east wind (Hos 13^{15}, Jon 4^{8}). When the corn was burned by carelessness, restitution was enjoined (Ex 22^{6}). Also if the corn land was made pasture ground for flocks other than those of the owners of the land (Ex 22^{5}).

Palestine exported corn in Solomon's time (2 Ch $2^{10.15}$) and in Ezekiel's (Ezk 27^{17}). Even now it exports some corn, although its imports of grain exceed its exports. See further under BARLEY, WHEAT, etc. G. E. POST.

CORNELIUS (Κορνήλιος).—A centurion in the garrison of Cæsarea (Ac 10^{1}). He was probably an Italian, the Italian Cohort (cf. Blass *ad loc.*), being so named to distinguish it from companies locally enrolled, while his name is pure Roman, having been borne by the Scipios and Sulla. In Ac 10 he flits across the line of apostolic history, being brought, in consequence of a series of mutually supplementary visions, into contact with St. Peter, and admitted by baptism into the Church. According to a later tradition he founded a church at Cæsarea, while another legend makes him bishop of Scamandros. The baptism of C. has generally been regarded as the first step in the admission of the uncircumcised into the Church; but before this can be definitely maintained, we should have to assume that the events related in Ac 8–11 are narrated chronologically. The eunuch's baptism by Philip (8^{38}), that of C. by St. Peter (10^{48}), and the admission of the Greeks (RV) at Antioch (11^{20}), may all have occurred coincidently, or in any order; the events are dovetailed into each other without any necessary implication of historical sequence. There is no evidence that the eunuch was circumcised, though he was probably a proselyte of the wider class (proselytes of the Gate); while the Greeks at Antioch may also have belonged to this class. But C., too, is described as φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, the regular phrase in Ac for such proselytes (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 43), though Renan (*The Apostles*, ch. xi.) says he was not a proselyte in any degree whatever. Now, if C. was a proselyte, the question regarding the admission of the unmitigated heathen still remained, since the apostles could hardly wish to make the door of the Church narrower than that of the Synagogue. Some have therefore conjectured that St. Peter simply gave C. a standing in the Church similar to that which he had in the Synagogue (see Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i. 103 f.); others, that his case was passed as an exceptional one (Ramsay). St. Peter, however, according to Ac $11^{3ff.}$, uses it as a true precedent, though, had it been accepted as such, what was the purpose of the subsequent Council at Jerusalem (Ac 15)? Arguing from this, and from the fact that St. Peter was blamed, not for admitting the Gentiles, but for eating with them, Pfleiderer (*Urchristentum, Apostelgeschichte*) holds that the case of C. is given to show the cessation of ceremonial exclusiveness from the *Jewish* standpoint. But if so, it is strange to find St. Peter later on (Gal $2^{11ff.}$) hesitating about this very point. On the whole, it is *à priori* unlikely that a terse writer like St. Luke would have bestowed such pains upon anything but a matter of prime importance, which the relaxing of Jewish exclusiveness could hardly have appeared to him—a Gentile—to be. We may, therefore, most safely infer that he looked on the baptism of C. as an all-important step in the admission of the Gentiles, while a long advance still remained to be made. A. GRIEVE.

CORNER.—See AGRICULTURE.

CORNER-STONE (in Job 38^{6} אֶבֶן פִּנָּה, λίθος γωνιαῖος, in Jer 51 (Gr. 28) ^{26} אֶבֶן לְפִנָּה, λίθος εἰς γωνίαν).—The corner-stones of important buildings, such as palaces or temples, were sometimes of an exceedingly ornate and costly description, and of extraordinary dimensions. With the view of giving greater strength to the two walls which they connected, they were generally arranged lengthways and endways alternately, or a single angular stone might be inserted at the corner (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 254).

There are two passages in the OT where corner-stones are spoken of, which are of primary importance because of the use made of them in the NT. These are Is 28^{16} 'Behold I lay in Zion,' etc., and Ps 118^{22} 'The stone which the builders rejected,' etc. The first is quoted in 1 P 2^{6} and underlies Eph 2^{20}, in both of which λίθος ἀκρογωνιαῖος represents אֶבֶן פִּנָּה of Is 28^{16}. (On the unusual construction of the latter verse see Davidson's *Heb. Syntax*, p. 37.) The second is quoted in Mt 21^{42}, Mk 12^{10}, Lk 20^{17}, Ac 4^{11}, and 1 P 2^{7}. Here instead of אֶבֶן פִּנָּה we find רֹאשׁ פִּנָּה, answering to κεφαλὴ γωνίας, 'head of the corner.' In Ps 144^{12} a different word occurs, זָוִית (Syr. ܙܘܝܬܐ), which in Zec 9^{15} is applied to the corners of the altar. It is doubtful whether in the above psalm corner-*stones* (accepted by both AV and RV) is the correct rendering. The Sept. has simply κεκαλλωπισμέναι, Aq. ὡς ἐπιγώνια, Symm. ὡς γωνίαι κεκοσμημέναι, Vulg. *quasi anguli*. Gesenius understands the word of 'corner-*columns* beautifully carved,' or of Caryatides. Kautzsch, who in all the other OT passages offers the rendering *Eckstein*, has here *Ecksäulen*. In all the NT passages Weizsäcker gives *Eckstein*, rightly treating 'corner-stone' and 'head of the corner' as synonymous expressions.

As to Is 28^{16}, Driver (*Isaiah*^{2}, p. 52) finds in the prophet's language an allusion to the huge and costly foundation stones of the temple (1 K 5^{17}), the prominent thought of the passage being that of the *permanent* element in Zion (the theocracy or the Davidic dynasty). It is easy to understand St. Peter's application of the words. (Cf. Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, new ed. vol. ii. p. 9.) Similarly, the expressions used of Israel in Ps 118^{22} were readily transferred to Christ. The figure of Eph 2^{20} is well explained by Grimm (*Clavis, s.* ἀκρογωνιαῖος). As the corner-stone is inserted at the angle of a building, holding two walls together and supporting the superstructure, so Christ unites Jew and Gentile, and is the support of the Church. The additional thought of 1 P 2^{8} can be without violence derived from the same figure. As one recklessly turning the corner of a building may stumble over the corner-stone, so, while some find in Christ their support, others stumble at Him and perish. (Cf. Alford and Ellicott on Eph 2^{20}.) For various superstitions and religious rites connected with the corner-stone, comp. Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, 22, 51, 55, and see FOUNDATION.

J. A. SELBIE.

CORNET.—See MUSIC.

CORONATION.—Only 2 Mac 4^{21} 'the coronation of king Ptolemeus Philometor,' AVm 'enthronizing' (Rawlinson in *Speaker's Com.* 'inthronization'), RV 'enthronement.'

The Greek τὰ πρωτοκλίσια is found only here, and its meaning is doubtful. It has been identified, as by Bissell *in loc.*, with ἡ πρωτοκλισία, the 'chief seat' (AV 'highest room') at a feast, which occurs Mt 23^{6}, Mk 12^{39}, Lk 20^{46}, and Lk $14^{7.8}$, elsewhere only in eccles. writers. But cod. A (fol^{d} by Swete) has πρωτοκλήσια in our passage, 'a first assembly,' whence Luther's *ersten Reichstag*. J. HASTINGS.

CORPSE, from Lat. *corpus*, is in earliest Eng. a

body, living* or dead, and is so found as late as 1707. Hence 'dead corpses,' 2 K 19^{35}=Is 37^{36}, as in Fuller, *Holy War*, iv. 27, 'the cruditie of a dead corpse.' RV retains 'dead corpses' because of the Heb. (פְּגָרִים מֵתִים) of which it is a literal translation. J. HASTINGS.

CORRECT, CORRECTION.—Both vb. and subst. are used in the (nearly) obsol. sense of chastisement, and it is doubtful if in any other. Thus Jer 10^{24} 'O LORD, correct me, but with judgment; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing'; and Sir 16^{12} 'As his mercy is great, so is his correction also' (ἔλεγχος). In Job 37^{13} the Heb. is 'a rod' (שֵׁבֶט) as it is tr^{d} in 21^{9}. The Heb., however, is generally מוּסָר *mûṣâr* (or vb. יָסַר), a word very characteristic of Pr, in AV most freq. tr^{d} 'instruction,' but RV prefers 'correction,' though not consistently. In He 12^{9} παιδευτής is tr^{d} by a verb, AV 'which corrected us,' RV 'to chasten us' (as the vb. παιδεύω is tr^{d} in v.^{10}); but the same word is rendered in Ro 2^{20} AV 'an instructor,' RV 'a corrector.' In 2 Ti 3^{16} Scripture is said to be profitable for 'correction.' The Eng. word prob. means 'chastening' (if not 'chastisement,' Wyclif has 'to chastise'), and this is prob. the meaning of the Gr. ἐπανόρθωσις, which occurs only here in NT, though in the classics it is common for 'amendment.' J. HASTINGS.

CORRUPT.—In older English 'corrupt' (and its derivatives) had the meaning of *destroy, consume*, and in that sense, not in the sense of *taint*, it is most freq. in AV. Thus Mt 6^{19} 'where moth and rust doth corrupt' (ἀφανίζει, 'causes to disappear,' RV 'doth consume'); Lk 12^{33} 'neither moth corrupteth' (διαφθείρει, RV 'destroyeth'); Ja 5^{2} 'Your riches are corrupted' (σέσηπε). *Corrupter*: Is 1^{4} 'children that are corrupters' (RV 'that deal corruptly'), but the Heb. (מַשְׁחִיתִים מְרֵעִים) means 'sons that *deal* or *act* corruptly.' *Corrupt* as participial adj., Job 17^{1} 'My breath is c.' (חַבֵּלָה, RV 'my spirit is consumed'); Eph 4^{22} 'c. acc. to the deceitful lusts' (φθειρόμενον='morally decaying, on the way to final ruin'—Moule). *Corruptible*: Wis 19^{21} 'the flesh of c. living things' (εὐφθάρτων ζῴων); Ro 1^{23} 'c. man,' *i.e.* liable to decay, mortal (φθαρτός); 1 Co 9^{25} 'a c. crown,' referring to the garland of bay leaves with which the victors in the games were crowned, and which soon went to decay. *Corruption*: Ps 16^{10} 'Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see c.' (RVm correctly 'the pit,' שַׁחַת, LXX διαφθορά, whence Ac 2^{27} 13^{35}); Ro 8^{21} 'the bondage of c.' (δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς, 'the state of subjection or thraldom to dissolution and decay'—Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*

There is an obsol. meaning of 'corrupt'=*adulterate*, of which *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* has found two examples: *Act* 23 *Elizab.* c. 8, § 4 (1581), 'Everye Person and Persons that shall corrupt the Honny . . . with any deceyptfull myxture, shall forfeyte the Barrell'; and *View Penal Laws*, 244 (1697), 'If any . . . Vintners shall Corrupt or Adulterate any Wine.' Of this rare usage there is an instance in AV, 2 Co 2^{17} 'For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God.' This tr^{n} is a change from that of the Rhemish Bible 'adulterating,' which again resembles Wyclif's 'for we ben not as many that don avouterie (=adultery) bi the word of god.' The Gr. verb (καπηλεύω from κάπηλος, a vintner, huckster, Is 1^{22}, Sir 26^{29}) signifies to make money by trading, esp. by trading basely in anything; and some prefer that more common meaning here; hence Tindale's tr^{n} 'many . . . which choppe and chaunge with the word of God,' foll^{d} by Cranmer. But as such hucksters sought to increase their gain by adulterating their goods (the reference is esp. to wine) the word came to mean 'adulterate,' and is taken in that sense by most here.

In 2 K 23^{13} the Mount of Olives is called, on account of the 'high places' which Solomon built there, or, rather, turned to idolatrous uses, 'the mount of corruption' (RVm 'destruction'; Heb. הַר־הַמַּשְׁחִית, LXX τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Μοσοάθ, Vulg. *mons offensionis*, whence the name of a part of Olivet in later Christian writings 'Mount of Offence.' See OLIVES, MOUNT OF. J. HASTINGS.

CORRUPTION (usual rendering of שַׁחַת, διαφθορά, φθορά) has in OT only a literal and physical meaning, though the verb is also emblematical and moral (Gn 6^{11}, Jg 2^{19}, Dn 2^{9}). In profane Gr. both φθορά and διαφθορά bear the physico-moral sense of sensual corruption (Xen. *Apol.* 19; Plut. 2. 712*c*); and διαφθορά, the more strictly moral corruption of bribery (Arist. *Rhet.* i. 12. 8). Both the verbs are used of bribery and also of the degradation of the judgment (Æsch. *Ag.* 932), the preference being, both in class. Greek and in LXX, for διαφθείρω in the moral region. In NT διαφθορά (six times) denotes only physical decomposition and decay (Ac 2^{31} 13^{34-37}), while φθορά stands in 2 P 1^{4} $2^{12.\ 19}$, Jude ^{10}, Gal 6^{8}, Ro 8^{21}, for the natural decay of the world, the unreasoning animals, or the flesh, as emblematic of the immoral, sin being behind the decomposition of the natural body and nature generally (2 P 1^{4}, Ro 8^{21}; cf. Gn $3^{17.\ 18}$), fettering free development and keeping the creation in slavery (Ro 8^{21}). Both verbs (with a balance in favour of φθείρω) are used morally without any medium of metaphor (1 Ti 6^{5}, 1 Co 15^{33}, Rev 19^{2}, Jude ^{10}, 2 Co 11^{3}). In Gal 6^{8} (of the flesh reap φθοράν . . . of the spirit reap ζωὴν αἰώνιον) φθορὰ is antithetical to eternal life and all that is therein contained. But while φθορά in this connexion includes the moral death, which is the lowest depth of moral deterioration and decay, and the kindred verbs mean not only to *make worse*, but also to *destroy* (διαφθείρω in NT only in two passages, Rev 8^{9} 11^{18}; φθείρω perhaps in three, 1 Co 3^{17}, 2 P 2^{12}, Jude ^{10}), there is nothing in NT usage which involves the substitution of annihilation, literal destruction of spirit, for the continuation of the miserable and penal existence which, according to later OT ideas and the more definite Jewish views in NT times, was the destiny of the wicked after the death of the body. (Cf. for the general misery of after existence, Job 14^{22}; penal for the wicked, Ps 9^{17}; the righteous rescued from it, Ps 16^{10}; climax for both in resurrection, Dn 12^{2}; Jewish idea of Hades in NT times, Lk 16^{23}, *Ps-Sol* 14^{6} 15^{11} 16^{2}, *Enoch* 63^{10}. 'In the Talm., Sheol has become synonymous with Gehenna. Weber, *L. d. T.* 326^{7}.' Charles, *Enoch*, p. 69.) The corrupted state of the moral functions, brought to a kind of completion (cf. perfect participle διεφθαρμένοι), may be already reached in this life (1 Ti 6^{5}; cf. 2 Co 11^{3}, 2 P 2^{12}, Eph 4^{22}). J. MASSIE.

COS (Κῶς).—An island off the Carian coast, nearly blocking the entrance to the Ceramic gulf, very fertile (producing ointments, wheat, wines, and, above all, silk), famous for its rich and comfortable country life and the beauty and character of its people, with a city of the same name at its eastern end. It was one of the six Dorian colonies. Its famous temple of Æsculapius was the centre of one of the oldest and greatest medical schools in Greece, adorned especially by the genius of Hippocrates in the 5th century. Amid the busy and frequent trade and intercourse between the Ægean cities and the Syrian and Egyp. coasts, which existed for many centuries after the time of Alexander the Great (336–321), C., which lay on the path of all ships engaged in that trade, S. of Miletus and Samos, and N. of Rhodes (Ac 21^{1}; Lucan, viii. 243 f.; Livy, xxxvii. 16), became a place of great importance and wealth. In the 3rd cent. C. clung closely to the Egyp. kings; but in the

* T. Adams (quoted by Davies, *Bible English*, p. 161) speaks of those to whom 'orchards, fishponds, parks, warrens, and whatsoever may yield pleasurable stuffing to the corpse, is a very heaven upon earth.'—*Sermons* (Pur. Divines), i. 276.

2nd cent. it was a good deal under the influence of Rhodes, and like it a staunch ally of Rome. It is uncertain whether C. was incorporated in the Rom. province Asia in B.C. 129 along with the rest of Caria (which see); it had always the dignity of a free city (see CHIOS) as a reward for its faithful alliance; and this perhaps implied a position of approximate autonomy until the time of Augustus, when C. became definitely a part of the province (after the death or deposition of the tyrant Nicias). It suffered from earthquakes in B.C. 6, under Pius (A.D. 138–161), and in A.D. 554 (Agathias, p. 98, gives a vivid description of the latter). There is a famous plane tree of great size and age in the square of the modern city, declared by tradition to be over 2000 years old.

From its Syrian and Alexandrian trading connexion, C. was one of the great Jewish centres in the Ægean. In B.C. 139–138 the Romans wrote to its government in favour of the Jews (1 Mac 15^{23}; see CARIA). The position of C. naturally made it one of the great banking and financial centres of the E. commercial world; and the treasure of Cleopatra, which Mithridates seized in B.C. 87, is thought by Rayet to have been deposited with the Jewish bankers of C., as certainly were the 800 talents (£192,000) belonging to Jews of Asia Minor, which Mithridates also seized there (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2). In B.C. 49, C. Fannius, governor of the province Asia, wrote to the Coans urging them to observe the decree of the Rom. Senate,* and provide for the safe passage of Jewish pilgrims through C. (which lay on their route) to Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 15). The poet Meleager, who lived in C. in that century, complains that his mistress deserted him for a Jewish lover (Ep. 83, *Anthol. Gr.* v. 160). Herod the Great was a benefactor of the Coans; and the inscription of a statue to his son Herod the Tetrarch has been found at Cos.

LITERATURE.—Strabo, p. 657 f. The latest and best account is by Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*; Rayet, *Mémoire sur l'île de Kos* (*extr. des archives des missions*, iii. 3); Dubois, *De Co insula*; Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, u.s.w.*, and his *Reisen auf den griech. Inseln*, ii. pp. 86–92, iii. pp. 126–139, are also useful. A list of other works is given, Paton-Hicks, p. ix.

W. M. RAMSAY.

COSAM (Κωσάμ).—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{28}). See GENEALOGY.

COSMOGONY.—I. Two cosmogonies or narratives of creation confront us in the opening chapters of the Bible. The first, contained in the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, is a part of the document P, belonging to the early post-exilic period; while the second, contained in Gn 2^{4b-7}, forms the introduction to the Jahwistic document (J), redacted in the pre-exilic period, and therefore earlier than the first.

(A) THE FIRST CREATION NARRATIVE.—The writer† of the opening chapter of the Book of Genesis (Gn 1^{1}–2^{4a}) set before himself the task of giving a comprehensive survey of the origins of Israel's history. 'It was his purpose to show that the theocracy which became historically realized in Israel as hierocracy was the end and aim of the creation of the world' (Holzinger). To his consciousness Israel and Israel's sacerdotal institutions stand central to the great movement of history, and he consistently works out this grandiose conception to its ultimate origins. Accordingly, he unfolds the narrative in successive gradations, the scope of which narrows from the universal to the particular as it passes from heaven and earth to Adam, from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and, lastly, from Abraham to Israel and his descendants. Beginning each section we find an enumeration of *Tôlĕdôth* or 'generations.' First we have the Tôlĕdôth of the universe (heaven and earth) of which God is the Creator, then of man (Adam), then of Noah, then of Abraham. We are here concerned only with the first of the series, which deals with the pre-human stages in the drama of the world.

The following is a brief summary of the First Creation Story. The week of seven days forms a calendar into which the different successive stages of the work of creation are divided. The creation of man forms the climax and conclusion of the work on the sixth day, while the close of the narrative describes the seventh or day of rest, when J″ ceased from His creation-work.

First day (Gn 1^{1-5}). Light created amid the waste and void of the primal chaos. Division of day and night.
Second day (vv.$^{6-8}$). Creation of the firmament, dividing the upper from the lower waters.
Third day (vv.$^{9-13}$). Dry land and seas formed. Vegetation.
Fourth day (vv.$^{14-19}$). Heavenly bodies created.
Fifth day (vv.$^{20-23}$). Waters swarm with living creatures—flying things, monsters of the deep, reptiles and birds created.
Sixth day (vv.$^{24-31}$). Creation of land animals—cattle, reptiles, wild beasts. Man fashioned in divine image and placed as head and lord of created things.
Seventh day (2^{1-3}). Sabbath of divine rest.

(B) THE SECOND CREATION NARRATIVE is the Jahwistic account contained in Gn 2^{4b-7}, and follows immediately upon the preceding. It belongs to an earlier document, composed during the national and pre-exilic period of Hebrew life, before the Jewish nation became merged in an ecclesiastical polity, and at a time when the traditions of patriarchal story, which clustered around certain sacred spots, were still vivid. Religious conceptions were then simple and concrete, and the representations of God were strongly anthropomorphic. The interests of the writer are national and human. Not a priestly system, but a *people*, is the centre of his universe. Moreover, his thought moves along the lines of prophetic rather than priestly ideas. Accordingly, the creation of man plays a much more important part in the Jahwistic cosmogony. We hear nothing of moon and stars to regulate festival seasons, but of plants and animals. Nor is man's position made so distinct from that of animated nature around him (cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegg.*[2] p. 323).

It is exceedingly doubtful whether we have the Jahwistic cosmogony complete, and the abrupt introduction to v.^{5} וְכֹל שִׂיחַ וָג suggests that something between vv.^{4} and ^{5} has been omitted by the redactor, and perhaps also between ^{6} and ^{7}, either because it repeated or because it was inconsistent with the preceding creation narrative. The succession of circumstantial clauses in vv.^{5} and ^{6} certainly presents an interesting parallel to Gn 1^{2}. But what we actually possess of the Jahwistic cosmogony in the biblical record is in striking contrast to the work of P. Vv.^{5} and ^{6} in external form bear a certain resemblance to the 'New Babylonian version of the creation story,' discovered by Pinches and published in *JRAS* vol. xxiii. (1891) p. 393 ff.

'The sacred house of the gods had not been erected in the Holy Place,
No reed had yet budded, no tree had been formed,' etc.

The dryness of the earth before the growth of plants, the mention of the ascending mist, the creation of man, and the description of Paradise in which man was placed, as well as the creation of woman, of which a special account is given in $2^{21ff.}$, stand in remarkable contrast to the preceding post-exilic cosmogony. In language we specially

* The decree is erroneously termed by some modern authorities an edict of Julius Cæsar.

† The work of this writer constitutes the fundamental document of the larger work, P, hence called by Holzinger, Pᴳ (g = *Grundschrift*), by Wellhausen, Q. A clear and comprehensive statement of the specialities of language and style of this document may be found in Holzinger's *Hexateuch*, pp. 335–354.

note the use of יָצַר (or עָשָׂה) in place of בָּרָא in Gn 1. (See Dillmann's commentary for a complete list of divergencies in style.)

II. We shall now proceed to examine in greater detail the first creation account. The narrative in Gn 1^{1}–2^{4a} opens with a reference to a pre-existent dark chaos (*tōhu wabōhu*). 'In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth—now the earth was waste and void, and darkness was over the watery abyss (*tĕhôm*), and the breath of God was brooding over the waters — then God said: Let there be light.' This rendering, which is adopted by Ewald, Dillmann, and Schrader (following Rashi), regards v.^{2} as a circumstantial or parenthetic clause. This yields the best construction as well as meaning, and is parallel to the opening of the Jahwistic creation account $2^{4b, 5, 6}$, and also of the Bab. creation tablet to be presently cited. All these are curiously similar in the form of the opening, which consists of a series of temporal clauses.

How long the pre-existing waste and emptiness of chaos existed, and how long the darkness prevailed over the primal waters before the quickening spirit or breath of God brooded over its surface, we do not know. The remarkable phrase in the first cosmogony, 'the spirit (or breath) of God was brooding over the waters,' is probably intended to indicate the ultimate origin of the generating influences that operated during creation as grounded in the divine spiritual activity. That the form, however, in which this conception is conveyed was suggested by ancient Semitic cosmogonies, is a fact which we shall subsequently have occasion to confirm.

The immediate cause of light, in the mind of the writer, is clearly indicated as the divine word which went forth as a *fiat*, and it is this divine word regarded as an agent that ushers in each succeeding act in the divine drama of creation. The creation of light in itself involves a distinction between light and darkness; but the division between light and darkness in v.^{4} implies that this was a division, not in space but in time, as the context immediately shows: 'and God called the light day, and the darkness he called night.' It was therefore through the creation of light that the first creation-day was constituted. What, then, constituted the night and what the daytime? Was it the primal darkness of chaos that constituted the night, to which day succeeded? If so, we might compare the conception of the first day and of the succeeding ones to the ecclesiastical day of Judaism, which begins with the darkness after sunset and continues till the sunset which inaugurates the following day. Some colour is given to this view by the specification of evening *before* the morning in the concluding formula in describing each stage of creation: 'and there was evening and there was morning. . . .' But the difficulties which stand in the way of accepting this view have been clearly set forth in Dillmann's Commentary. He emphasizes the fact that the darkness of chaos lay entirely outside the reckoning of day and night [properly, we might add, outside the actual work of divine creation here recorded]. Evening first arises after light has been created. In fact, the word from its very etymology (*'ereb*, derived from the root ערב, in Assyrian *erîbu*, 'enter,' 'pass under'*) implies that 'day' had preceded. Moreover, the fact that we are reading a post-exilic narrative in which the months of the calendar were regulated by the Bab. system, which reckoned from Nisan (a name of Bab. origin), would lead us to the supposition that the Bab. tradition would also affect the reckoning of the *day* in the creation account. Now, on the testimony of Pliny (*HN* ii. 79, cited by Del.) the Babylonians reckoned the day from sunrise to sunrise. We may therefore infer that the creation-day was also reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, according to the tradition of the Jewish *civil* day.

* Thus *erib šamši* in Assyrian means 'sunset.'

Vv.$^{6-8}$ portray the *second day's* creation-work, viz. the separation of the upper from the lower waters by the formation of a heavenly firmament (Heb. *rāḳîa'*) which divides them. The Hebrew word רָקִיעַ properly signifies something beaten or hammered out,* fairly represented by LXX, Aq., Symm. στερέωμα, Vulg. *firmamentum*. That the ancient Greeks conceived of this vault as consisting of burnished metal is shown by the epithets σιδήρεος (*Od.* xv. 329) and χάλκεος (*Il.* xvii. 425; Pindar, *Pyth.* x. 42; *Nem.* vi. 5) occurring in their early literature. And these conceptions have their parallels in the language of the OT. Numerous passages may be cited to prove that the Heb. Semite regarded the sky as a solid vault or arched dome. In Job 37^{18} it is compared to a firm molten mirror, the hue of which in Ex 24^{10} is described as resembling sapphire, while from Am 9^{6}, Job $26^{10, 11}$, Pr $8^{27, 28}$ we gather the additional details that this solid compacted vault or arched dome was supported on the loftiest mountains as pillars (Job 26^{11}). It was also provided with windows and gates (Gn 7^{11} 28^{17}, 2 K $7^{2, 19}$, Ps 78^{23}). Above this solid *rāḳîa'* flowed the upper or heavenly waters (v.^{7}), which descended in rain through these openings (Ps 104^{3} 148^{4}, 2 K 7^{19}). Dillmann, from whose clear exposition of these conceptions we have borrowed, compares also the language of the Vedas and of the Avesta, where we likewise meet with this conception of an upper or heavenly sea. Similarly, the ancient Egyptians believed that the sun-god Ra daily traverses the celestial waters in his boat. The Assyrians and Babylonians also had their conceptions of a deep which rolled over the firmament of heaven. These we shall illustrate in some measure from their creation-epic. Cf. Sayce, *Hib. Lect.* p. 374; Jensen, *Cosmol. der Bab.* p. 254.

Vv.$^{9-13}$ portray the work of the third creative day, which involves two separate acts: (1) the creation of dry land and the segregation of the waters into seas; (2) the creation of plants. According to the writer of 2 P 3^{5} land was created from water by divine command. This is not distinctly stated in the biblical narrative, which simply affirms that the waters were gathered together into one place, and that the land thereby appeared. But from subsequent considerations and the parallels from ancient religions which will be cited, it will appear that water was undoubtedly regarded as the primitive element out of which created things, including land, emerged, and there can be no question that this conception underlies the first creation narrative, though it is not clearly expressed.

Vv.$^{14-19}$ describe the work of the *fourth* day, the creation of heavenly bodies. Light in a diffused form (אוֹר) had been summoned into existence by God's first creative fiat. How it emerged we are not told, but are left to infer that it was the immediate outflow of divine energy. The heavenly bodies are naturally regarded purely from the terrestrial standpoint. To the naïve conceptions of antiquity it was necessary that the creation of a firmament should have preceded that of the luminaries. For these luminaries were placed on or attached to the firmament or solid vault, and their courses prescribed thereon. It should be

* From the Hebrew root רָקַע 'beat' or 'stamp' (hence extend, or stretch out) we have an interesting derivative מרקע preserved in the Phœn. inscriptions meaning plate or dish. Cf. *CIS*, Pars Prima, Tom. i. p. 107, No 90—

מרקע חרץ אש יתן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי

(the gold plate (or bowl) which king Melechjathon, king of Citium, gave).

observed that in Job 38[4-7] the underlying tradition respecting the stars is very different. In the latter the stars, personified as 'sons of God,' take their part in the work of creation at the beginning, and cry aloud with exultant strains (cf. Jg 5[20]).

Passing over the work of the *fifth* day (vv.[20-23]), which includes the creation of the lowest forms of animal life that *swarm* in the water, as well as of the flying creatures, we come to the *sixth* day (vv.[24-31]), on which the larger land animals as well as reptiles and sea and river monsters were created. The creation of man in the divine image concludes the narrative. This is not the place to enter into the theological aspects of the parallel phrases 'image' (*ṣelem*) and 'likeness' (*dĕmûth*), which misplaced ingenuity has separated by hard-and-fast lines of demarcation.* It is necessary, however, to enter a *caveat* against the view recently propounded by Gunkel in his stimulating work, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 11 ff., who, in opposition to the interpretation usually adopted (sustained by Dillmann and Wellhausen), which regards the likeness as internal and spiritual, argues from a comparison of 5[1-3] and 9[6ff.], where the same expressions occur, that the resemblance here refers to *external form* or *shape*. But such an inference is altogether gratuitous. Though it is quite conceivable that in some ancient form of the tradition, or in another connexion as 5[3], such terms as *ṣelem* might connote external shape, such a meaning here in relation to God is altogether out of harmony with the spirit of this post-exilic document. Another point to which we must refer is the much discussed 'let *us* make man . . .' The plural is here best explained in reference to angels who participate in the work of creation (in Job called 'sons of God,' and identified with stars Job 38[4-7], cf. Jg 5[20], and elsewhere called צְבָאוֹת, cf. 1 K 22[19]). Such an interpretation is sustained by Gn 11[7] (J) and Is 6[8]. For other explanations see Spurrell, *ad loc.*

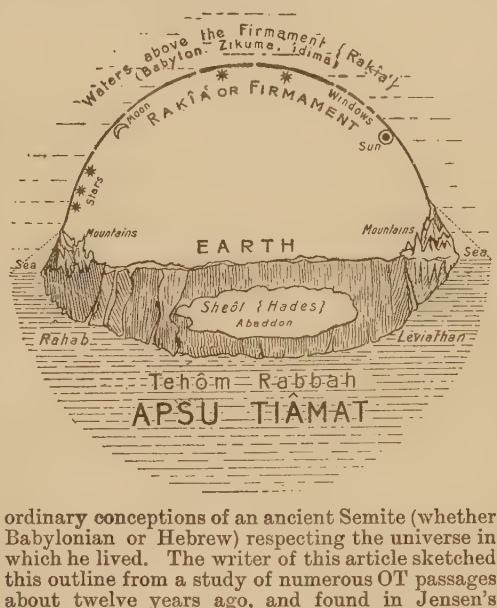
III. In interpreting this *first cosmogony* the greatest difficulties encounter us at the earlier stages of the drama as it unfolds to us, and the only means of dispelling the obscurity is a closer and, moreover, a comparative study of the Heb. Semitic cosmos. An endeavour will therefore be made to throw light on this subject from the data of Phœn. as well as Bab. mythology, preserved for us either in Greek writings or upon inscriptions, so as to present as clear and vivid a conception as possible of the ancient Heb. cosmos.

The Phœn., like the Heb. and the Bab. cosmogony, starts with the conception of a dark abyss of waters or *chaos*, called by the Hebrews תְּהוֹם רַבָּה 'great Tĕhôm' (Gn 7[11]), or simply תְּהוֹם, and by the Babylonians *Tiâmat* (Tiâmtu). According to the Phœn. cosmogony cited by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 10) from Philo Byblius, this watery material was generated from desire (*πόθος*) and spirit (*πνεῦμα*). Here we find a point of contact with the רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים of Gn 1[2], though in the biblical cosmogony the water is not regarded as a product of the action of spirit, but appears to stand as a coefficient with spirit of the subsequent generative processes. Now the three clauses,

The earth was waste and void,
And darkness was upon the face of the deep (Tĕhôm),
And the breath (spirit) of God was brooding over the waters,

conduct us to the conclusion that the writer regards waste and void (tōhu wabōhu), deep (Tĕhôm), and waters, as three epithets designating the same thing, viz. the chaotic watery abyss. Accordingly, we may infer that when God entered upon the creative work there was no distinction between (*a*) day and night, (*b*) heaven and earth, (*c*) dry land (earth) and sea. All that existed were (1) darkness; (2) Tĕhôm = Tōhu wabōhu = waters, *i.e.* the chaotic watery abyss; (3) the brooding spirit of God materialized as air. (*a*) The first distinction emerges with the creation of light, whereby day is separated from night (v.[5]). (*b*) The second distinction arises when the firmament or 'heavens' are formed (v.[8]). (*c*) The third distinction was effectuated by the separation of water from land, whereby 'dry land,' or 'earth' in the narrower sense, was formed.

The Tĕhôm (תְּהוֹם רַבָּה) was no mere figment of the imagination, or the conception of some far distant cosmic condition, to the mind of the ancient Hebrew. Though it apparently assumed the latter character in cosmogonic narrative, it was also a very present and vivid reality. The accompanying diagram will enable the reader to comprehend the



ordinary conceptions of an ancient Semite (whether Babylonian or Hebrew) respecting the universe in which he lived. The writer of this article sketched this outline from a study of numerous OT passages about twelve years ago, and found in Jensen's *Cosmologie der Bab.*, published in 1890, a diagram almost identical in character, descriptive of the universe according to Bab. conceptions, and based purely upon the data of the cuneiform inscriptions. In both we have a heavenly upper ocean, and in both the earth was conceived as resting upon a vast water-depth or Tĕhôm (called also in Babylonian *apsu*). The Hebrews thought of the world as a disc (חוּג, cf. Is 40[22]); and to this earthly disc corresponded the heavenly disc (also called חוּג, cf. Job 22[14], Pr 8[27]). Beneath the earth rested the unknown and mysterious *Tĕhôm Rabbâh* (cf. the language of Ps 24[3]). The flood not only descended through the windows of heaven (see above), but also *ascended* from the deep nether springs, called 'springs of the great Tĕhôm' (Gn 7[11] P[g]), which were cleft open. These deep springs were accordingly called *Tĕhômôth* (Pr 3[20]), and were believed to communicate through the depths of the earth by means of passages with the great Tĕhôm which lay below. In a striking passage in Am (7[4]) the prophet portrays a judgment in which the fire of J" will devour this great water-depth. Within the earth itself lay the realm of the departed, *Sheôl* or Hades.

That mythical ideas and personifications clustered round this mysterious chaotic water-depth in the thoughts of the ancient Semites, is abundantly

* On the distinction between *image* and *similitude* among Rom. Cath. theologians, see Nitzsch, *Evang. Dogmatik*, p. 271 ff.

shown, not only in the legends of the Babylonians, preserved in their inscriptions, to which we shall presently refer, but also in the references to be found in Heb. literature. The dark water-depth was represented as a dragon or serpent, and was called by various names. Images were formed of it* (Ex 20^4). Sometimes it is called *Rahab*, a dragon which entered into conflict with J" and was destroyed by Him (Is $51^{9ff.}$, Job $26^{12ff.}$). At other times it is named *Leviathan*† (Job 41, cf. Ps 74^{12-19}), or again it is simply called the 'serpent' (Am $9^{2, 3}$).

IV. We shall now proceed to quote from those Sem. cosmogonies, which should be brought into comparison with the Heb. narrative. Since the Hebrews were Semites, and were nurtured from a common stock of ancient Sem. inheritance, both as to beliefs and usages, such a comparison will be fertile of results.

(A) The *Phœnician* cosmogony has come down to us in a very fragmentary and dubious condition. It is contained in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius (I. chs. ix. x. and IV. ch. xvi.). He obtained his materials from the *φοινικὴ ἱστορία* of Philo Byblius. According to Eusebius, i. 6, as well as Porphyry, Philo of Byblus translated these fragments from a Phœn. original by Sanchuniathon. It is not possible for us to enter into the discussion respecting Sanchuniathon. (It will be sufficient to refer the reader to Baudissin's elaborate essay in his *Studien zur Sem. Religiongeschichte*, i. pp. 1–46, where references to the literature on this subject are fully given.) We shall content ourselves with citing in summarized form the Phœn. cosmogony so far as it can be intelligibly presented from the obscure pages of Eusebius.

At the beginning of things nothing existed but limitless Chaos and Spirit (*πνεῦμα*). A third factor is introduced in the form of Desire (*πόθος*), corresponding to the *ἵμερος* of Greek legend. Desire arose as a blending (*πλοκή*) of the 'spirit' with 'love.' The ultimate issue, obscurely described and difficult to interpret, was Μώτ. This name Μώτ is a feminine abstract form from מ' = מ' water.‡ This corresponds in all probability to the *Tĕhôm* of the biblical narrative. 'Out of this,' says the account from which we are quoting, 'sprang all the seed of the Creation.' All these seeds or germs of things were formed into an egg (and, according to Damascius, broke into two parts, heaven and earth). From Μώτ gleamed forth sun, moon, and stars; and these became endowed with intelligence, and received the name Ζωφασήμιν, צפי שמים heavenly watchers or guardians. As soon as air, land, and sea were heated by the sun, winds arose as well as clouds and violent downpours of the heavenly waters, thunder and lightning. By these thunderstorms animated shapes, male and female, began to stir in sea and on land. It may be remarked that the conception of the origin of the universe from water is thoroughly Semitic. Berosus, as we shall have occasion to see, interprets the name of the primal matter, Ὠμόρκα or Θάλατθ, by Θάλασσα.

Another cosmogony cited by Eusebius makes the two mortals Αἰών and Πρωτόγονος begotten of Κολπία and his wife Βααῦ. The word Κολπία has been variously interpreted as קוֹל פִּי יָהּ, voice of J"'s mouth, and as קוֹל פִּיהָ voice of breath. Neither of these explanations has much probability, but it is generally held that Βααῦ is the Heb. בֹּהוּ or chaos. It is not necessary to cite further varieties of the Phœnician cosmogonic legend, as they fail to throw any light on the biblical narrative.

(B) More important for the biblical student is the *Babylonian cosmogony*. Not only are its features more significant in their bearing on the first creation narrative, but it has come down to us in a more complete form, and through two distinct sources. It has been handed down to us through Greek sources, which have been obscured by transmission through a Christian writing, and we also possess it in a series of tablets containing the original cuneiform Bab. creation epic.

Before the discovery, in 1875, by the late George Smith, of the fragments of the Bab. creation account in the ruined library of Ašurbanipal (published in *TSBA* iv. 1876), this legend was known to us only in the mutilated records of Berosus. Berosus was a priest of Bel in Babylon about B.C. 300. His recital of the Bab. story of creation was handed down by Alexander Polyhistor, and it is from this source that Eusebius (in his *Chronicon*, bk. i.) has borrowed. We shall now give the translation of the more salient passages in the words of Gunkel, who has carefully examined the text.

'Primarily all consisted of darkness and water, and strange creatures of peculiar form arose therein. There were men with two wings, some also with four wings and two faces, and some which had one body but two heads, one male and the other female . . . other men with goat's feet and horns, or with horse's feet, or like horses behind and like men in front, and therefore in the form of hippocentaurs. . . . Besides these there were fish, creeping things, serpents, and all kinds of strange creatures of varied shapes. The images of them are to be seen in the temple of Bel as dedication gifts. Over them there reigned a woman, Om Orka,* which in Chaldee is Thamte† [Tiâmat], in Greek Θάλασσα. Under this condition of the world Bel came over [*i.e.* the Marduk of the cuneiform narrative], cleft the woman in twain, and made from one half of her the earth, and from the other the heavens, and destroyed the beasts which belonged to her.

'Now this narrative, as he asserts [*i.e.* Berosus, for at this point Eusebius interrupts the citation in order to give an allegorical explanation], is intended to be an allegorical representation of the processes of nature. The universe was formerly in a state of flux, and the creatures above described arose in it. Bel, however (in Greek Ζεύς), cleft the darkness in the midst, and so divided heaven and earth from one another, and thereby established the order of the universe. The creatures, however, could not endure the power of light, and perished [so far the allegorical interpretation, then follows the remainder of the myth].

'So when Bel saw the earth destitute of inhabitants and fruit, he commanded one of the gods to cut off his [Bel's] head, and to mix the earth with the blood which flowed from it, and thereby to fashion men and animals that should be capable of enduring the air. Bel also completed the creation of the stars, sun, moon, and five planets.'

Unfortunately, the polemical bias of Eusebius mars the rational consistency of his quotations. He appears to make his excerpts in order to hold them up to ridicule. Thus Bel creates heavenly bodies after his decapitation. There seems to be a confusion here between Bel and Tiâmat, as the cuneiform record appears to show. It is quite possible that some of the confusions in the narrative may have existed in the text of Alexander Polyhistor.

We shall now proceed to give a summary of the Babylonian creation epic brought to light by the discovery of the original cuneiform texts.

In the beginning, before heaven and earth existed, when the primal father Apsu (ocean) and the primal mother Tiâmat mingled their waters, the gods arose, Laḫmu, Laḫamu, Anshar, Kishar, and Anu. This is the summary of the fragmentary creation account cited by Schrader in *COT* i. on Gn 1^1. The following translation of the first tablet in the Babylonian creation epic we give approximately in the words of Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, who has recently published a carefully edited text of the entire Creation Epic Series (*Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungs Epos*, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896)—

'When above the heaven was not named ‡
Beneath the earth did not record a name,
The ocean (*Apsu*) the primeval was their begetter
The tumult § Tiâmat was mother of them all,
Their waters in one united together
Fields ‖ were not bounded, marshes were not yet to be seen.

* Comp. the ref. by Berosus to animal shapes in the temple of Bel (cited below), and Gunkel, *Schöpf.* p. 23.

† The diagram clearly exhibits the close connexion between ocean and the water-depth. Leviathan embodies the idea of a serpent, like Oceanus, coiled round the earth. Jensen, *Cosmologie*, p. 251; Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* pp. 104, 116; Gunkel, *Schöpf.* p. 46.

‡ Baudissin, *Studien*, i. p. 12. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 133. Philo adds the explanation that Μώτ was explained by some as *mud* and by others as a putrefying watery mixture.

* Gunkel rightly interprets Ὠμόρκα as אם ארקא mother of the depth. See his long and instructive note, p. 18.

† The texts give Θαλάτθ. Robertson Smith, however, corrects to Θαμτέ, *ZA* vi. p. 339.

‡ To a Semite *name* connotes existence and power.

§ So Schrader and Jensen ('Wirrwarr'); Delitzsch renders 'Getöse.' The meaning of *mummu* is very doubtful. Delitzsch questions the derivation of the word from the root הום or המם.

‖ Again a doubtful passage. On *giparu* see Delitzsch, *Das Bab. Schöpfungsepos*, p. 119; Jensen, *Cosmol.* p. 325.

At a time when of the gods none had come forth
No name did they bear, destinations were not [determined]
Then were the gods born
Laḥmu Laḥamu came forth,
Great periods vanished [of times many passed by]
Anshar, Kishar were born
Long days passed by' [or as Jensen and Zimmern: 'the days became long'].
[The rest is fragmentary, and simply contains the names Anu and Anshar].

We can only infer from the context what the lost remainder of this tablet contained. Probably, it described how the gods of the upper world and of the depth came into being, and possibly the creation of light. Then must have followed the rebellion of the lower deities, arrayed under Tiâmat, against the upper deities. We have a fragment describing a conversation between Apsu and Tiâmat, in which the end of their consultation is that they 'plan evil' against the gods. Gunkel thinks that the creation of light was the cause of their insurrection, but of this we have not sufficient evidence. The legible portion of the tablet then proceeds to describe the conflict between Tiâmat and the gods. In their war against Tiâmat and the deities ranged under her leadership, the gods are commanded by Anshar, father of Anu. He is supported, not only by Anu, but also by Ea and his son Marduk. Laḥmu and Laḥamu bring up the rear. Anshar at first sends Anu and then Ea to conduct the battle against Tiâmat, but as both shrink back in terror, Marduk the son of Ea is eventually commissioned to undertake the struggle with Tiâmat. He is armed with a net, bow, javelin, and apparently a trident (*mittu*), and so advances to the conflict. The goddess of the deep is skilfully caught by Marduk in a net, a hurricane is driven into her open throat, and he smites her body with his javelin. Her allies flee, but are overtaken, and their weapons broken. The body of Tiâmat is then divided into two parts, 'like that of a fish.' With one part Marduk 'made and covered' the heaven.* Bars are placed, and sentinels, so that the waters may not stream through. The arch of heaven is placed opposite the primal waters. After this Marduk created the heavenly bodies; but the fifth tablet of the creation epic on which this is described is very obscure. The first few lines may be rendered—

He erected the station for the great gods
Stars like . . .
He appointed the year, divided off sections
He divided the twelve months [each] by three stars.

On another doubtful tablet we read that he created three classes of land animals—field-cattle, wild beasts of the field, and creeping things. The conclusion of the Bab. creation poem is recorded on the sixth tablet, which contains a hymn to the glory of Marduk. 'God of pure life, God of kindly breath, Lord of hearing and grace, creator of fulness, maker of abundance, God of the pure crown, raiser of the dead. . . . May one rejoice over the Lord of Gods, Marduk, cause one's land to abound, himself enjoy peace. Firm abideth His word, His command changeth not. No god hath caused the utterance of His mouth to fail.'

It is impossible to study the features of this epic without noting remarkable parallels to the first biblical cosmogony. What, then, is the actual relation which subsists between them? If the creation account in Gn 1 and this Bab. epic were the only points of contact between Israel and Babylonia, it might be possible to explain the Bab. myth as a development from the simpler and purer tradition contained in the Bible. But such an explanation is untenable in view of the established results—(1) Of a critical examination of the OT literature, which cannot allow an earlier date for the document P^g than the period of the Exile. (2) Of Assyriology. The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets in 1887, and of a cuneiform tablet at Lachish belonging to the same period as those of Tel el-Amarna, renders it absolutely certain that Bab. influence widely prevailed in Palestine about B.C. 1500–1400. (3) We have many other remarkable parallels, viz. in the Flood story and other elements in the pre-exilian Jahwistic document (including the account of Paradise and the story of the Fall) between the Scripture records and those of the cuneiform tablets. All this renders it extremely probable that the biblical form in which these narrations have been preserved, with their unquestionably Palestinian colouring, is the result of many centuries of growth on Palestinian soil (cf. Schrader, *COT* i. pp. 43 ff., 52–55). This problem of the relation of the Bab. epic to Gn 1 has recently been made the subject of a searching investigation by Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos*,* from which quotation has already been made. This writer does full justice to the glaring contrasts. In the Bab. epic we have wild, grotesque, tumultuous mythology expressed in poetic form. In the biblical account we have serene majestic calm and sober prose. In the one, the gods rise into being in the course of the drama. In the other, God pre-exists and remains from the first the creative source whose command summons each new order of created things into existence.

Yet the parallels are as remarkable as the contrasts. For (1) in both the world at the beginning consists of water and darkness. (2) The Têhôm of the 2nd verse is the Babylonian *Tiâmtu* (Tiâmat). (3) God divides the primal waters by means of the firmament into two parts. This feature corresponds to the episode in the 4th tablet of the creation epic (lines 137ff. in Fried. Delitzsch's version)—

'He cleft her (Tiâmat) like a fish . . . in two halves,
From the one half he made and covered the heaven:
He drew a barrier, placed sentinels,
Commanded them not to let its waters through.'

(4) In Gn 1 light arises before the creation of the heavenly bodies. Also in the Bab. myth we may suppose that light appeared before the coming of Marduk the youngest of the gods, since light belongs to the essence of the 'upper gods.' (5) The creation of sun, moon, and stars on the fourth day may be placed parallel with the creation of the heavenly bodies by Marduk, recorded in the 5th creation tablet, special mention being made of the moon-god (Nannaru) as ruler of the night (lines 12ff. in Fried. Delitzsch's ed.). (6) God beholds all, and calls it good. Compare the hymn of praise to Marduk (already quoted) at the conclusion of the Bab. epic. (7) Creation of the beasts of the field, wild animals, and creeping things is also found on a fragment (copied in cuneiform by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesest.*[3]), but it is not certain whether it belongs to the same Creation Epic Series above quoted. (8) Lastly, the seventh day, or Sabbath of divine rest, is essentially of Bab. origin. See Schrader, *COT* i. p. 18 ff.; Sayce, *Expos. Times*, March 1896, p. 264.

It has been forcibly argued by Gunkel that the Bab. creation myth, involving a conflict between Tiâmat, the dragon of chaotic darkness, and Marduk, the god of light and order, had influenced Israel long before the Exile period. It is true that passages like Is $51^{9ff.}$ (where Rahab the dragon is a reminiscence of Tiâmat) belong to the Exile period, and Cheyne thinks 'there is sufficient evidence that there was a great revival of the mythologic spirit among the Jews in the Bab. and Pers. periods, and it is very possible that the old myths assumed more definite forms through the direct and indirect influence of Babylonia.'† On the other hand, it must be remembered that Jer 4^{23-26} (cf. 5^{22}) is a genuine product of the 7th cent. (cf. Cornill's ed. in *SBOT*), and this apparently reflects the same tradition of J"'s conflict with watery chaos (an idea which we also meet in Nah 1^4), while the reference in Am 9^3 to the serpent at the bottom of the ocean belongs to the 8th cent., and the brazen sea of Solomon's temple (1 K 7^{23-25}), with its twelve supporting oxen, carries us back to the 10th. This last was evidently based on the *apsî* or ocean-abysses of the temples of Marduk.‡ (Cf. Schrader, *KIB* iii. 1, pp. 13, 143, and footnotes.)

* How widespread this conception was of a primeval rending asunder of sky and earth into an upper and lower half may be gathered from the New Zealand Maori myth quoted in Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, i. 322 ff. This feature, we are told, is 'a far-spread Polynesian legend.'

* See the discriminating review of this work by Prof. Cheyne in *Crit. Rev.* July 1895.
† *Crit. Rev. ib.* p. 260.
‡ Cf. Sayce, *Expos. Times*, March 1896, p. 264.

These facts, as well as the features in the Jahwistic narrative above referred to, justify us in seeking a much earlier period than the Exile for the original adoption by primitive Israel of the elements of Bab. tradition. The most probable theory is that these influences found their way into Palestine, together with certain features of Bab. civilization (including measures of weight and money) some time before B.C. 1450 (the age of the Tel el-Amarna inscr.), and along this path passed ultimately into the possession of ancient Israel, and became assimilated into their stock of intellectual possessions. It then became, in the course of centuries, gradually modified and stripped of its mythological features. In Gn 1^{1} we have it in the purified Judaic form. There is a complete obliteration of the polytheistic elements of the genesis of the gods, and the titanic struggle between Tiâmat and Marduk, which preceded the creative process in the Bab. myth. On the other hand, it contains certain features which clearly reveal a primitive Bab. type. Driver (*Guardian*, July 29, 1896) accurately states the true relation of the biblical to the Bab. cosmogony when he says: 'The narrative of Gn 1 comes at the end of a long process of gradual elimination of heathen elements, and of gradual assimilation to the purer teachings of Israelitish theology, carried on under the spiritual influences of the religion of Israel.'

V. According to the biblical narrative, the world was created by a divine command, and every new stage in the creative process is introduced by the formula 'God said.' Another noteworthy feature to which attention has already been called, is the phrase 'let us make man' (v.^{6}), wherein we have a point of contact with the conception of subordinate angelic powers ('sons of God'), who co-operated with God in the work of creation (Job 38^{4-7}). Here we observe the germ of that belief in intermediate agencies between God and the universe which was destined in later times to become a most important factor in Jewish theology. This conception became developed into the 'Wisdom' which was with God in the beginning, before the creation of the cosmos, and was with God when He established the heavens (Pr 8^{22-31}, cf. $3^{19.\ 20}$). This 'third cosmogony,' as Cheyne not inaptly calls it,* is the product of that growing belief in the transcendent greatness of God which began with Amos, and received a great impulse from the sublime teachings of the Deutero-Isaiah (cf. esp. Is 40). The influence of Greek philosophy—more particularly of Platonism—made itself felt in Judaism, and in proportion as God came to be regarded as transcendent and absolute, a Logos doctrine became a necessary factor of thought. Philo became the representative in Judaism of the Alexandrine philosophy. On one side, from eternity we have God as the absolutely active principle; on the other, matter formless and without qualities, the principle of absolute passivity. God produces first the world of ideas, Logos or *κόσμος νοητός*. This Logos becomes the mediating cause, between the absolute and transcendent Deity and the passive formless matter, in the generation of the world. This is not the place to indicate the transition from this position to that occupied by the writer of the Ep. to the Hebrews or the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel, for this subject belongs to Christology.

In *Judaic theology* the place of the Logos in the creation of the world is partly occupied by the doctrine of the pre-existent emanation of the Tôrah from God, partly by *Memra*. This principle of the Tôrah as a mediating element or occasion in the creation of the world is expressed in Bĕrêshith Rabba 1, for the Tôrah cannot be realized without the creation of man. From the same treatise (c. 9) we learn that a curious inference was drawn from the words, 'God saw all that he had made, and behold it was very good' (Gn 1^{31}), viz. that God had previously created worlds, and they did not please Him, so He destroyed them. According to Shemoth Rabba, c. 30, these reverted to the primal *Tôhu Wabôhu* until the present world was created. Moreover, there are undoubted traces in the Talmud of the influence of the old Bab. traditions. For later Jewish writers held that primal matter exercised certain powers of resistance until God's creative energy coerced them by the limitations it imposed. They believed in the existence of primeval monstrous animal forms, and in a *female* Leviathan (cf. *Tiâmat*), who was slaughtered in order to prevent the increase of the monstrous brood.

The doctrine respecting the *Heavens and the Earth*, taught in later Judaism, also possesses its points of contact with ancient Babylonian tradition though founded upon biblical record. To one of these we shall refer presently. Meanwhile it may be observed that while Scripture regards the universe as *one*, having the earth as its centre, later Judaism did not adhere to this unity. We read of the upper world and the under world, of God's world and man's world. In the Targ. Jerusal. 1, Gn 18^{30} Abraham calls J" 'Lord of all worlds.' Aboda Zara 3^{b} reckons 18,000 worlds.

But the most remarkable cosmic doctrine is that of the *Seven Heavens*. Jewish Rabbis were not quite agreed as to this number. According to Rabbi Jehuda there were only two, but according to the common doctrine there were seven. R. H. Charles has recently contributed two exceedingly instructive papers on this subject to the *Expos. Times* (Nov. and Dec. 1895), in which he draws special attention to the Bab. conception of the sevenfold division of the Lower World. (On this point interesting information may be obtained from Jensen's *Cosmologie der Bab.* p. 232 ff.) Readers of the Babylonian mythic romance (in the Gilgamîsh [Izdubar] series), called the 'Descent of Ishtar to Hades,' will remember that she was obliged to pass through seven gateways in order to reach the interior of the infernal city. Though the inscriptions do not expressly state that the *heavens* were so divided, it is legitimate to surmise either that the Babylonians themselves conceived of a similar division of the heavens, or that this correlative became subsequently developed. The former is more probable, for not only do we find the doctrine of the Seven Heavens among the Jews, but also among the Parsees. We find the same conception in the recently discovered Slavonic Enoch (translated by Morfill), and also in other apocalyptic literature, as the 'Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.' This later cosmic conception, which grew up in connexion with the doctrine of God's absolute transcendence, is of some importance in its bearing upon such passages as 2 Co $12^{2.\ 3}$, He $4^{10.\ 14}$. In reference to the difficult passage Eph 6^{12}, Charles most usefully cites from Slavonic Enoch $29^{4.\ 5}$. (Further information respecting the Jewish doctrine may be found in Weber, *System der Altsynag. Paläst. Theol.* p. 197 ff.)

VI. We have now concluded our task of expounding the biblical conceptions respecting cosmogony and the cosmos. It is manifestly beyond the true scope of this article to deal with the cosmogonies of Egypt, *Persia*, and *India*, though these also exhibit interesting parallels with the Scripture narrative. Undoubtedly there were points of historic contact, and these of no little importance, between Egypt and ancient Israel, but the course of recent investigation has not strengthened the impression that Egypt exercised any deep or lasting influence on Hebrew cosmogony. It is to

* In his article 'Cosmogony' (*Encycl. Brit.*).

Babylonia, the land of the highest and most ancient Sem. culture, we must look for the most fruitful clues to ancient Heb. thought and life.—Nor is it necessary to refer to *Persian* cosmogonies, for Pers. influence entered into the sphere of Jewish life too late to affect the cosmogonic conceptions of Genesis. It may here be remarked that no chaos exists in the Persian cosmogony as it is presented in the Bundehesh. A separation is made between the creation of the present world and of the other world. Moreover, in the former we find a distinct creation by the Good and by the Evil deity. But these conceptions have a comparatively late origin. Respecting the creation legends of Egypt, Persia, and India, the reader is referred to Dillmann's introductory remarks to Genesis, ch. i. in his great commentary (6th ed. pp. 5–10), and also to Otto Zöckler's article 'Schöpfung' in Herzog and Plitt, *RE*^{2}, where a comprehensive survey is given of these cosmogonies as well as those of savage races.

Nor have we thought it necessary to describe the various apologetic schemes whereby the statements that are contained in Genesis are brought into supposed harmony with the ascertained results of modern science. A history of these successive attempts, with a succinct classification of them, will be found in the article by Zöckler to which reference has been made. This eminent evangelical scholar and divine concludes his examination of these varied theories with the significant and just remarks: 'The Mosaic account postulates a graduated advance of organic life from plants to animals, and among the latter, from water animals to creeping things and birds, and after that to land animals in the proper sense. But *geology regards animals and plants as coming into existence together from the first.* These considerations plainly reveal that the first chapter of Genesis is not intended to teach us the elements of geology, but to reveal to us the fundamental ideas of all theology, those ideas being religious in their essence. It is out of place, therefore, to insist on carrying out the parallel between the Bible and geology into every detail. We can only hope to exhibit a concordance of both in their large bearings and main outlines.' A very useful article on the same subject, written in a deeply reverent spirit, will be found in the *Expositor*, Jan. 1886, by Driver ('The Cosmogony of Genesis'), in which the results of geological research are carefully examined and compared with the statements of Scripture.

Probably, the most fatal objection, however, is the *creation* of the heavenly bodies on the *fourth* day. The language here clearly shows that in the mind of the writer they had not previously existed. It is obvious, therefore, that day and night were not regarded as standing in any causal connexion with the sun. In fact, the sun is no more regarded as causal than the moon. The sun rules or *regulates* the day, and the moon *regulates* the night.

Much as we value the remarkable harmonies that nevertheless exist between science and Scripture, there is clear proof that biblical apologetic is proceeding on false lines when it seeks to constrain the biblical narrative into harmony with the results of modern science. The preceding exposition shows that that narrative emerged from a divinely guided history and a divinely moulded process of thought not isolated from the currents of the world of human life around it, but charged with a great mission to garner out of all the efforts of humanity to spell out the awful enigma of the universe, that which was most vital and precious for the good of man, to purify it from all mythologic taint and inform it with the spiritual monotheistic conceptions of Judaism. The supreme value of our biblical cosmogony lies in the fact that it furnishes us with the only key that can solve the dark riddle of life. It sets God above the great complex world-process, and yet closely linked with it, as a *personal* intelligence and will that rules victoriously and without a rival. And as the supreme object of His creative energy, it sets man, fashioned in His divine likeness, to be the ruler of created things. All else is secondary, and it is for scientific investigation to determine the exact details of those intermediate steps in the stupendous ascent whereby God's work advanced along the vistas of past time to the dawn of human existence. But without that clear and sublime attestation at the threshold of the inspired record of the *personal* source from which all has flowed, and of the *unique worth and dignity of man, and his near kinship with that source*, surely human life would have been far darker and more hopeless, and its deepest problems would have remained unsolved. Upon this basis, laid broad and clear in Genesis, the revelation of the New Covenant of Redemption in Christ Jesus rests. For the mediatorial work of Christ rests on the Fatherhood of the Creator of all things, and on the supreme worth of man, whom Jesus came to save. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

COTE.—2 Ch 32^{28} 'stalls for all manner of beasts, and cotes (1611 'coats') for flocks' (RV 'flocks in folds'). Cf. Milton, *Comus*, 344—

> Might we but hear
> The folded flocks, penned in their wattled cotes';

which Matthew Arnold borrowed in *The Scholar Gipsy*—

> 'Go, shepherd, and untie the wattled cotes.'

The word was orig. used of any small house, like the mod. use of *cot* (which was the same word in Old Eng. in the neuter, cote being fem.) and *cottage* (which was perhaps a cote and its appendages—Murray). Thus Langland, *Piers Pl.* viii. 16—

> 'Bothe prynces paleyses and pore mennes cotes.'

No doubt the sheep often shared the shepherd's 'cote,' as in the *Shep. Calender*, Dec. 77, 78—

> 'And learned of lighter timber cotes to frame,
> Such as might save my sheep and me fro shame.'

In course of time the word was restricted to a slight building for sheltering small animals in, esp. sheep. 'Sheepcote' occurs 1 S 24^3, 2 S 7^8, 1 Ch 17^7.

Cottage is used in the sense of *hut* in Is 1^8 (RV 'booth') 24^{20} (RV 'hut'), Zeph 2^6 (RVm 'caves'), Sir 29^{22} 'a mean cottage' (RV 'a shelter of logs'), much as *cote* above. J. HASTINGS.

COTTON (כַּרְפַּס *karpaṣ*).—The word *karpaṣ* (Est 1^6) is rendered by AV, as also by RV, *green*, but in the marg. of the latter, *cotton*. It is certainly either *cotton* or *linen stuff*. *Karpaṣ* is a loan-word. Sansk. *karpâsa*, 'cotton'; Persian *karpaṣ*, 'fine linen' (Richardson's *Lex.*); hence also κάρπασος and *carbasus*. Passages have been quoted from Arrian and others to prove that it grew and was used for clothing in India. G. E. POST.

COUCH.—See BED. As a verb, 'couch,' which means 'to stoop,' 'to lie down' (or transitively 'to lay down'), and is now used only of beasts, and esp. in the sense of lurking to spring, was formerly used also of persons and things. Thus Shaks. *Merry Wives*, v. ii. 1: 'Come, come, we'll couch i' the castle-ditch till we see the light of our fairies.' So Dt 33^{13} 'the deep that coucheth beneath,' where it is possible, however, as Driver suggests, that the subterranean deep is pictured as a gigantic monster (cf. p. 505 f. above). J. HASTINGS.

COULTER.—'The iron blade fixed in front of the share in a plough; it makes a vertical cut in

the soil, which is then sliced horizontally by the share.' The Eng. word occurs 1 S 13[20. 21] as tr[n] of Heb. *'êth* (אֵת), which is tr[d] 'plowshare,' Is 2[4]= Mic 4[3], Jl 3[10] [all, but Klost. adds 2 K 6[5] אֶת־הַבַּרְזֶל, taking אֵת thus for the instrument (=the axe of iron), not as the sign of the accusative]. See AGRICULTURE. J. HASTINGS.

COUNCIL, COUNSEL.—These words are distinct in origin, council from *concilium* (*con-calere*, to call together) 'an assembly'; counsel from *consilium* (*con-sulere*, to consult) 'consultation,' 'advice.' And they are now kept distinct in spelling and in meaning, their meaning nearly corresponding with the Lat. words from which they come. But from the earliest times they were completely confused in the Eng. lang.; and although efforts were made from the beg. of the 16th cent. to separate them, it took two centuries to effect the separation. In AV of 1611 *counsel* is once (2 S 17[23]) spelt 'counsel,' elsewhere always 'counsell' (with a cap., Counsell, in Is 11[2]). The plu. is always 'counsels,' except Pr 22[20] 'counsailes.' But *council* appears in a great variety of forms: Council, Councill, Councels, councell, Councell, counsel, counsell, Counsell. Subsequent edd. varied these indefinitely, but for the last century or thereby the spelling has been uniformly 'council.'

Council is the tr[n] of—**1.** רִגְמָה *righmah*, Ps 68[27] only, (RVm 'company'; see notes in Perowne and Delitzsch; Wellh. says the word is prob. corrupt, and certainly unintelligible). **2.** *συμβούλιον*, Mt 12[14], Ac 25[12]. In Mt 12[14] RV gives (with AVm) 'took counsel' (for AV 'held a council'), which is the tr[n] of *σ.* where it occurs elsewhere in the Gospels (Mt 22[15] 27[1. 7] 28[12], Mk 3[6] 15[1], 'held a consultation,' AV, RV). But in Ac 25[12] both AV and RV render 'council.' The Lat. *consilium* (of which *συμβούλιον* is a tr[n]) had this twofold meaning of 'deliberation' (mod. 'counsel'), and 'a deliberating body' (still retained in law as 'counsel for the defence'). **3.** Elsewhere *συνέδριον*, for which see SANHEDRIN.

Counsel.—In OT mostly עֵצָה *'ēṣah*, 'advice,' then (as in Ps 1[1]) 'resolution, bent of will, character,'—Del.; and סוֹד, a most interesting word, whose primary meaning is that of '*confidential* communion'; whereupon the two meanings already seen in *συμβούλιον* emerge, viz. (1) those who are in confidential communication, council; and (2) the communication itself, counsel. The most freq. tr[n] in EV is 'secret,' as Ps 25[14] 'the secret of the LORD is with them that fear him.' Where AV has 'counsel' RV retains, except Jer 23[18. 22], RV 'council.' In NT either *βουλή* (which, though it is the usual tr[n] of *'ēṣah* in LXX, rarely in NT means *advice*, almost always *will, purpose*, as Ac 2[23] 'the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God') or *συμβούλιον* as above.

Counsellor.—This is the only spelling in mod. edd. of AV. It does not, however, occur in AV of 1611, though 'counsellours' is found thrice, Ezr 8[25], Pr 12[20] 15[22]; there the spelling is always 'counseller' (or 'Counseller,' Is 1[26] 9[6], Dn 6[7], 1 Es 8[11]). The Oxf. and Camb. Parallel Bibles restore 'counseller' everywhere except Mk 15[43], Lk 23[50] (both *βουλευτής*, used of Joseph of Arimathæa as a member of the Sanhedrin, RV 'councillor') and Ro 11[34] (*σύμβουλος*, the LXX word in Is 40[13], of which this is a quotation). J. HASTINGS.

COUNTENANCE.—As a subst. frequent, always =face. As a vb. only Ex 23[3] 'Neither shalt thou c. a poor man in his cause,' RV 'favour,' older versions 'esteem.' Cf. Brinsley (1612), 'that the painfull and obedient be . . . countenanced, incouraged, and preferred'; and Shaks. 2 *Henry IV.* v. i. 41, 'I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.'

The Heb. vb. is *hâdhar*, 'honour,' which is used in a bad sense again in Lv 19[15b] 'nor honour the person of the mighty.' Knobel would make Ex 23[3] correspond with Lv 19[15b] by reading גָּדֹל 'great,' for וָדָל 'and a poor man.' But the versions do not support any change (LXX reads *καὶ πένητα*), and the statement is parallel to Lv 19[15a] 'thou shalt not respect the person of the poor.' As the Bishops' Bible explains, 'Trueth of the matter, and not respect of *any* person is to be esteemed in judgement.' J. HASTINGS.

COUNTERFEIT.—Only in Apocr. **1.** As *adj.* Wis 15[9] '[the potter] endeavoureth to do like the workers in brass, and counteth it his glory to make c. things'; Gr. *κίβδηλα*, things made in imitation of other more valuable things, hence *spurious*, the mod. meaning of the word. This reference is to earthenware figures made and glazed so as to resemble the precious metals.* **2.** As *subst.* Wis 2[16] 'We are esteemed of him as counterfeits' (*εἰς κίβδηλον*; Vulg. *tamquam nugaces*, the only occurrence of *nugax* in Vulg.); 14[17] 'they took the c. of his visage from far' (*τὴν πόρρωθεν ὄψιν ἀνατυπωσάμενοι*, RV 'imagining the likeness from afar'). Here c. is used in the obsol. sense of a representation of any person or thing by painting, sculpture, etc., a likeness, image. Cf. Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, III. ii. 115—

> 'What find I here?
> Fair Portia's counterfeit;'

and Holland (1606), *Sueton.* 39, 'An olde little counterfeit in brasse representing him being a child.' **3.** As *vb.* Sir 38[27] 'They that cut and grave seals . . . give themselves to c. imagery' (*ὁμοιῶσαι ζωγραφίαν*, RV 'to preserve likeness in his portraiture'). Cf. Tindale's Address to the Reader (NT 1525), 'I had no man to counterfet, nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same.' J. HASTINGS.

COUNTERVAIL.—Est 7[4] 'the enemy could not c. the king's damage' (RV 'the adversary could not have compensated for the king's damage'); and Sir 6[15] 'Nothing doth c. a faithful friend' (RV 'there is nothing that can be taken in exchange for a faithful friend'). In Est 7[4] the meaning is 'make an equivalent return for' (Geneva 'recompense'), as Stubbes (1583), *Anat. Abus.* 63, 'though I be unable with any benefit to countervail your great pains.' In Sir 6[15] c. has the older meaning of 'equal in value'; cf. More, *Utopia* (Robinson's tr. 1551), 'All the goodes in the worlde are not liable to countervayle man's life.' J. HASTINGS.

COUNTRYMAN.—**1.** Of the same *nation*, 2 Co 11[26] 'in perils by mine own countrymen' (*ἐκ γένους*, Wyclif 'of kyn,' other VSS 'mine own nation'). **2.** Of the same *tribe*, 1 Th 2[14] 'ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen' (*τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν*, the *Jewish* inhabitants of Macedonia). The word is only here in eccles. writers; Wyclif, 'lynagis' (='lineage,' Rheims), Tindale 'kinsmen'; Geneva and Bishops' as AV). **3.** Of the same *city*, 2 Es 10[2m] (*cives*, AV, RV 'neighbours,' RVm 'townsmen'). J. HASTINGS.

COUPLE is now used only of two persons or things having some affinity, or wont to be considered in pairs. But in older Eng. the usage was free, as Steele, *Spect.* No. 8, 'I shall here communicate to the world a couple of letters.' So in AV, 2 S 13[6] 'make me a c. of cakes.'

J. HASTINGS.

COURAGE ranks as one of the four cardinal virtues (Wis 8[7]) acc. to the classification derived from Gr. philosophers. In the early days of Israel's battles, courage in its simplest sense was naturally rated very highly. Much stress is laid on it in Dt 31 and Jos 1; neither of these passages, however,

* 'Many [counterfeit gems], in the form of beads, have been met with in different parts of Egypt, particularly at Thebes; and so far did the Egyptians carry this spirit of imitation, that even small figures, scarabæi, and objects made of ordinary porcelain, were counterfeited, being composed of still cheaper materials. A figure which was entirely of earthenware, with a glazed exterior, underwent a somewhat more complicated process than when cut out of stone and simply covered with a vitrified coating; this last could therefore be sold at a low price; it offered all the brilliancy of the former, and its weight alone betrayed its inferiority.'—Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 148.

belongs to the earlier parts of the Pentateuch. The courageous feats of Jonathan and David and others are related with admiration (*e.g.* 1 S 14. 17). We hear much of 'men of valour' (Jg, S, etc., and esp. Ch). The faint-hearted are not to be allowed to serve in battle (Jg 7^3, Dt 20^8, 1 Mac 3^{56}). Between the earlier kings and the Maccabees we hear little or nothing of courage in war. The courage of endurance shown by martyrs is a leading topic in Dn, Mac, and parts of NT, esp. He 11, 1 P and Rev.

The secondary forms of the virtue also have their place in the Bible. Man is not to fear unpopularity nor the blame of his fellow-men (Is 51^7, Ezr 10^4, Pr 29^{25} etc.). This moral courage is esp. demanded of the prophets (*e.g.* Ezk 3^9, cf. Mk $13^{9\text{-}13}$): they were therefore encouraged for their work by special revelations and calls (Ex $4^{10\text{-}16}$, Jer 1^8, Ezk 2^6). Men must not be daunted by tribulation (Ps 27^{14} 31^{24}); nor give way to any superstitious fear of false gods (Jos $23^{6.7}$, 2 Ch 15^8, Jer 10^5). Again, David charges Solomon to be of good courage in building the temple (1 Ch 22^{13} 28^{20}). Jehoshaphat bids his judges of assize deal courageously (2 Ch 19^{11}). The spiritual conflict with the hosts of evil demands courage (Eph $6^{10\text{-}17}$).

The Heb. words for courage and kindred ideas (*e.g.* אֹמֶץ, חָזַק) suggest firmness, strength, power of resistance. The man is to be himself, his best self, in spite of all that might unman him. Here the thought is close to that of *ἀνδρεία*, manliness (not in NT, but *ἀνδρίζομαι* occurs 1 Co 16^{13}, and is common in LXX). That which will enable a man to stand firm is faith, which is expressly connected with courage in Ps 56^3, Mt 8^{26} etc. (cf. 2 S 10^{12}). Faith implies the consciousness of God's sympathy, which is the secret of all courage that is more than natural spirit and the love of fighting (see Is 50^7, Pr 28^1, 1 Ti 3^{13}). In a secondary degree the knowledge of man's sympathy confirms courage (Ac 28^{15}, He $12^{1\text{-}13}$). In Rev 21^8 cowardice is coupled with unbelief, and the two head the list of deadly sins (cf. Sir $2^{12.13}$). See also FEAR.

W. O. BURROWS.

COURSE (from *cursum*, running, race).—**1.** Onward movement in a particular path, as of a *ship*, Ac 16^{11} $21^{1.7}$; of the *stars*, Jg 5^{20} 'the stars in their courses fought against Sisera'; of the *sun*, 1 Es 4^{34} 'swift is the sun in his c.'; and fig. of the *gospel*, 2 Th 3^1 'that the word of the Lord may have free c.' (*τρέχῃ*, RV 'may run'). **2.** The path in which the onward movement is made, of a *river*, Is 44^4 'willows by the watercourses'; fig. of one's manner of life, Jer 8^6 23^{10}; and of the manner of the present age, Eph 2^2 'the c. (*αἰών*, RVm 'age') of this world.'* **3.** The space over which a race extends, as the duration of life (or perhaps rather of special *service*), Ac 13^{25} 20^{24}, 2 Ti 4^7 'I have finished my c.' **4.** The fixed order of things, Ps 82^5 'the foundations of the earth are out of c.' (RV 'are moved'); or regular succession, Ezr 3^{11} 'they sang together by c.' (RV 'one to another'), 1 Co 14^{27} 'by c.' (*ἀνὰ μέρος*, RV 'in turn'), and especially the Courses of the Priests and Levites. See PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

J. HASTINGS.

COURT.—See TEMPLE.

COUSIN.—This word was formerly used of any near kinsman or kinswoman, except those of the first degree. Shakespeare uses it of a nephew (*King John*, III. iii. 6), a niece (*Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 5), an uncle (I. v. 131), etc. Thus, *As You Like It*, I. iii. 44—

> '*Rosalind*— Me, uncle?
> *Duke Frederick*— You, cousin.'

It is in this older and wider sense that c. is used in To 6^{10} $7^{2.12}$, 2 Mac $11^{1.35}$, Lk $1^{36.58}$. C. is also applied by a sovereign to one whose rank is the same, or is courteously assumed to be the same. In this sense is c. in 1 Es 3^7 4^{42} ('thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my c.'), 1 Mac 11^{31}. The Greek is *συγγενής*, Lk $1^{36.58}$, 1 Es 3^7 4^{42}, To 4^{10}, 1 Mac 11^{31}, 2 Mac $11^{1.35}$; *ἀνεψιός*, To 7^2; and *ἀδελφός*, 7^{12}. The older VSS nearly always have 'cousin' as AV; it is only in RV that the change is made into 'kinswoman,' Lk 1^{36}; 'kinsfolk,' 1^{58}; 'kinsman,' To 6^{10}, 1 Mac 11^{31}, 2 Mac $11^{1.35}$; and 'brother,' To 7^{12}: while 'cousin' is retained in 1 Es 3^7 4^{42}, To 7^2. On the relationship bet. Elisabeth and Mary, who are called 'cousins' in AV, see Plummer on Lk 1^{36}, and art. ELISABETH.

J. HASTINGS.

COVENANT (בְּרִית *bĕrîth*, LXX *διαθήκη*, in other Gr. versions sometimes *συνθήκη*).—The Eng. word *covenant* (from Lat. *convenire*) means a convention, agreement, compact, etc., and may thus embrace a variety of agreements, from a treaty or league between two nations down to a contract between two persons. The Heb. term is used with the same latitude, though properly *bĕrîth* is employed only of the more important class of conventions, at the forming of which a religious rite was performed, by which the Deity was involved as a party to the covenant, or as the guardian of it. Other uses are derived, and are either less strict or metaphorical.

The term *bĕrîth* occurs well on to 300 times in OT, and is rendered 'covenant' in AV with a few exceptions, *e.g.* 'league,' Jos $9^{6ff.}$, 2 S $3^{12ff.}$, and some other places; 'confederacy,' Ob[7], cf. Gn 14^{13}. The word is used in a variety of significations, appearing to mean not only covenant but also appointment, ordinance, law; and opinions differ on the question what its primary meaning is. Some have assumed that the word properly means a bilateral covenant with reciprocal obligations or undertakings, and that then being applied to the conditions of the covenant, which were of the nature of binding ordinances, it thus came to have the general sense of ordinance or law. Not very different from this idea is the other, that, seeing among the Shemitic peoples no authority existed from which *law* could emanate, the only idea they had of a binding law was that of a contract or agreement on the part of those who were to be bound by it. Others have supposed that the original meaning of *bĕrîth* was ordinance or appointment laid down by a single party, but that, as in all such cases a second party necessarily existed, the term came to have the sense of a reciprocal arrangement. The transition from the primary to the derived sense would on this last supposition be much less natural than it is on the other. The derivation of the word is uncertain. Ges. assumed a root בָּרָה *to cut*, after Arab., supposing the term derived from the primitive rite of cutting victims into pieces, between which the contracting parties passed (Gn 15^{17}, Jer $34^{18.19}$). It is probable that the early phrase to make a covenant, viz. 'to cut' (כָּרַת) a covenant, was derived from this usage; but it is more natural to suppose that both the idea of *bĕrîth* and the term itself existed independently of the rites employed at its formation in particular instances (cf. Lat. *fœdus icere*, etc.) More recently it has been suggested that the word may be connected with the Assyr. *birtu* 'a fetter,' *berîtu* a fettering, enclosing. It does not quite appear, however, whether the supposed verb from which 'fetter' is derived meant 'to enclose' or 'to bind' (Del. *Assyr. HWB*). At any rate, the word *bond* would approximate more nearly towards expressing the various usages of *bĕrîth* than any other word, for the term is used not only where two parties reciprocally bind them-

* For Ja 3^6 see Mayor *in loc.*

selves, but where one party imposes a bond upon the other, or where a party assumes a bond upon himself.

There are two classes of covenants mentioned in OT—those between men and men, and those between God and men. It may be assumed that the ideas associated with the latter class, the divine covenants, are secondary, and transferred from covenants among men.

i. COVENANTS AMONG MEN.—In Gn 26[26ff.] mention is made of a covenant between Abimelech, Ahuzzath, and Phicol on the one side, and Isaac on the other. (1) The proposal came from Abimelech, 'Let there now be an oath (or curse, אָלָה) betwixt us, betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee' (v.[28]). (2) The contents or terms of the covenant were that they should mutually abstain from hurting one another, or positively do as Abimelech had done to Isaac, 'we have done unto thee nothing but good, and sent thee away in peace' (v.[29]). (3) The covenant was contracted by an oath taken by both parties, 'they swore one to another' (v.[31]). Reference is made to a meal or feast provided by Isaac; but as this took place the night before the covenant was sworn, it formed no part of the covenant ceremonies. What appears to be another version of the same transaction is given in Gn 21[22ff.] in the history of Abraham. If the transaction there be a different one, the passage has probably suffered interpolation from 26[26ff.] (in LXX Ahuzzath as well as Phicol appears). The covenant in these passages was an international treaty between the two peoples, Israel and the Philistines.

A similar covenant is described in the history of Jacob (Gn 31[44ff.]). The passage is composite, and it is not easy to apportion the verses between the sources J and E. The most important part of the passage is v.[51ff.] (E). (1) The initiative was taken by Laban, 'Come, let us make a covenant, I and thou' (v.[44]). (2) A cairn was raised by Laban (or by both) to be a witness, and apparently also a boundary landmark. (3) The terms of the covenant were that neither party should overstep this boundary for harm to the other. (4) Both parties bound themselves by a solemn oath, Laban taking to witness the God of Abraham and Nahor, and Jacob swearing by the Fear of his father Isaac. In v.[50] (possibly J) an addition or a variation appears, having a more personal character, and referring to Jacob's treatment of Laban's daughters. Reference is twice made to a meal (vv.[46. 54]), but in neither case does the meal appear part of the covenant ceremonies; in the second case it was a sacrificial meal, of which Jacob and 'his brethren,' that is, the Hebrews, alone partook. It is obvious that the covenant here is again an international treaty between Hebrews and Aramæans, to establish Gilead as a boundary-line between the two peoples.

These two cases may be taken as types. In Gn 26[26ff.] mention is made of the 'curse' (אָלָה). The word may also mean 'oath,' and was used just like 'oath' as a general name for covenant (Ezk 17[13]); in Dt 29[12. 14] and Neh 10[29] both words, 'oath' and 'curse,' are used, though the expressions may merely be cumulative to denote one thing (Ezk 17[16]). It may be supposed, however, that 'curse' was originally used in its literal sense. Very probably, the ceremonies originally in use in concluding covenants were in later times abridged or fell into disuse. If the details of the two covenants just referred to were supplemented from the solemn ceremony described in Gn 15 of passing between the pieces of the victim, a ceremony still in use in Jeremiah's days (34[18]), we might suppose a covenant concluded with all the rites to have consisted of three things—(1) the agreement on the terms; (2) the positive oath (שְׁבוּעָה) taken by each party to the other (Gn 26[31]) to perform them; and (3) the imprecation or curse (compare 'cursed,' 1 S 14[24], Dt 27[15ff.]) invoked by each party on himself in case of failure, this curse being, at the same time, symbolically expressed by passing between the pieces of the slaughtered animal.*

It is evident, first, that the essential thing in the covenant, distinguishing it from ordinary contracts or agreements, was the oath under the solemn and terrible rites in use—a covenant is an intensified oath, and in later times the term 'oath' is usual as synonym of covenant. And, secondly, as the consequence of these solemnities, that the covenant was an inviolable and immutable deed. Hence a frequent epithet applied to covenants is 'eternal' (2 S 23[5], Lv 24[8]). The penalty of breaking the covenant was death through the curse taking effect. And this explains the terrible imprecation of David, 2 S 3[28f.]. The language is not that of mere passion, though there may be passion in it; it is the invocation on Joab's head of the 'curse' due to his violating the covenant, and the safe-conduct granted to Abner.

Some other covenants of a similar kind are referred to in OT: a covenant of Israel with the natives of Canaan (Ex 23[32] 34[12. 15], Dt 7[2], Jg 2[2]). Such covenants would imply mutual commerce and intermarriage, but are forbidden. The covenant between Joshua and the Gibeonites (Jos 9), the conditions of which were that he should spare their lives, and that they should be servants to Israel. Though Israel found that it had been deceived, the sacredness of the 'oath' was such that its terms, at least in the letter, were held binding. The story reposes on the supposition that Israel was putting the native population to the sword. A covenant between the people of Jabesh and king Nahash of Ammon, with similar conditions (1 S 11[1ff.]). A covenant between Jonathan and David (1 S 18[3] 20[8]), the only one mentioned between two persons, though 1 S 23[16ff.], if it referred to the same thing, might put a different complexion on the covenant. A covenant between David and Abner (2 S 3[12]), and between David and the elders of Israel (2 S 5[3]); and some others, *e.g.* that between Nebuchadrezzar and Zedekiah (Ezk 17), and that between Zedekiah and the people to set free their slaves, in conformity with the law, Ex 21[2], Dt 15[12] (Jer 34[8ff.]); cf. 1 K 5[12], Am 1[9], 1 K 15[19].

In all the above cases the covenant appears two-sided, there being two parties incurring mutual obligations. The term *bĕrîth* is used, however, in some cases where only one of the parties accepts an obligation, while the other suggests or imposes it. No doubt in these cases the party imposing the obligation or line of conduct is already committed or commits himself to the same course, as, for example, Jehoiada is said to have taken the princes with him into the covenant (2 Ch 23[1]). In Jos 24 Joshua is said to have 'made a covenant with the people' (v.[25]). The covenant is not one between the people and God, made by Joshua as mediator, but a solemn bond laid by Joshua on the people, or rather assumed by the people at his suggestion, that they would 'serve J" their God.' Joshua had already announced his own resolution to serve J" (v.[15]). It is added that Joshua set the people a statute and an ordinance in Shechem (v.[25]); but this appears to be something additional to the covenant. An instance of a similar kind is recorded in 2 K 11[4], where Jehoiada is said to have made a covenant with the centurions and chiefs of the guard. In explanation it is added that 'he made them swear,' and then showed them the young king. Again, in 2 K 23[3] we read that Josiah 'stood by the pillar and made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord and to keep his commandments.' This covenant was not made with the Lord, but before the Lord; neither was it made with the people, although the people afterward also entered into the covenant (v.[3]).

* Liv. i. 24, 'tum illo die, Juppiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.' The Heb. formula of oath, 'God do so to me and more also,' may be connected with such ceremonies.

The covenant was an engagement or bond assumed by Josiah, and differs little in idea from a vow; and this sense is even clearer when Hezekiah says, 'It is in mine heart to make a covenant with J" the God of Israel' (2 Ch 29[10], cf. Ezr 10[3]). From these passages it appears that *bĕrîth* is used, not only when the engagement or obligation is mutual, but also when it is imposed on one party by another, or when one assumes it on himself.

ii. God's Covenants with Men.—Some points are common to covenants in general—(1) Every covenant implies two parties, and that the parties are free moral agents, and that, whether the engagement be mutual or not, both parties acquiesce. (2) Every covenant is made *in bonum*; the relation formed is always friendly, and for the benefit at least of one of the parties. (3) A covenant creates a *new* relation between the parties, not existing previously. (4) A covenant creates also a *jus* or right on the side of each party against the other. These general points belong also to divine covenants, though the introduction of God as one of the parties may cause some modification. For example, God always initiates the covenant; and the evil conscience of Israel, as reflected in the prophets, restrains it from claiming the protection of J" as a *right*. It does go so far as to plead that it is His people (Is 64[9]), and for that reason it claims to be treated differently from the nations, and chastened in measure and with restraint of His anger (Jer 10[24]). But it usually finds its pleas, not in itself, but in God. It beseeches Him to remember His covenant and His grace, and to deal with it for His name's sake—His name of God alone, already begun to be revealed to the world in the great acts of Israel's redemptive history. If in later times Israel pleads its 'righteousness,' and invokes God's righteousness in its behalf, this is not a plea of moral righteousness, but of being in the right as against the world—a plea that it has in it the true religion, and represents the cause of God.

In Gn 15 (cf. 22[16ff.] 26[3ff.]) J" makes a covenant with Abram. The passage, though perhaps composite, is sufficiently connected, v.[1-7] having reference to the question who should be Abram's heir, and v.[8ff.] to the question what the inheritance should be. The covenant has reference to the inheritance, the important verses being [8-11. 17. 18]. The passage is strongly anthropomorphic, though what occurred may have been of the nature of a vision. Certain animals were slain and divided into their parts, the corresponding parts being placed opposite each other with a space between. At night-fall there passed between the pieces a smoke as of a furnace and a flaming torch. The smoke and flame was a symbol of the Divine Being. The explanation follows: 'In that day J" made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land' (cf. 13[15]). Now this covenant is a promise on the part of J". The promise has the form of an oath or curse symbolized by the act of passing between the pieces of the victims. Among men this would have meant the most solemn invocation of J" as guardian of the covenant, but here it is J" Himself who performs the rite—because He could swear by no greater, He sware by Himself.

Two other covenants of a similar nature are mentioned—the covenant with David, constituting his seed perpetual rulers of the kingdom of God, and that with Levi, bestowing inalienably the priesthood on that family. In 2 S 7 David, because of his purpose to build an house to the Lord, receives through Nathan the promise that J" will build him a house, *i.e.* establish his dynasty as perpetual rulers in Israel. In 2 S 23[5] this promise is spoken of as 'a covenant ordered in all things,' *i.e.* constituted with all the due and solemn rites, and therefore 'sure' (cf. Gal 3[15. 17], He 6[17. 18]). In 23[5] it is called 'eternal' (cf. 7[16]). In later writings this covenant is referred to as an oath (Ps 89[3. 35] 132[11]), and spoken of as the 'sure mercies of David' (Is 55[3]). But it appears to be alluded to as early as Is 16[5], and the idea of it is what gives meaning to the whole Messianic passage, Is 7[1]–9[7]. The setting apart of the tribe of Levi for priestly functions is several times alluded to, Ex 32[29], Dt 10[8] 18[5] (cf. Nu 25[12. 13]); and elsewhere this appointment is called a covenant, Dt 33[9], Jer 33[21], Mal 2[4ff.].

These three covenants bear upon three great facts or institutions in OT religious history—the inalienable right of Israel to the possession of Canaan, the perpetual monarchy in the house of David, and the perpetual priesthood in the family of Levi. In the mind of one standing far down in the history of Israel in the midst of these established institutions, and conceiving of them as due to covenants made in the distant past by J", one main conception in covenant must have appeared its immutability. This idea of unchangeableness belongs so much to the conception of covenant that any established custom, such as the exhibition of the shewbread, is called 'an everlasting covenant' (Lv 24[8]). Similarly, the observance of the Sabbath is so called (Ex 31[16. 17]), and Jer 33[20] applies the term covenant to the laws of nature, speaking of J"'s covenant with the day and with the night; and the covenants with David and Levi have the same security as this law of nature. But the conception of J" implied in the idea of such covenants is remarkable. J" is conceived of as a free moral Being, having power to dispose of the world to whom He will (Gn 15), and to select among men whom He wills for His ends (2 S 7), standing above men and the world, but entering graciously into their history, and initiating consciously great movements that are to govern all the future.

Some modern writers on OT religion contend that these conceptions regarding J" implied in the notion of covenant cannot have existed so early as the dates assigned to these various covenants. They argue that such covenants as those with Abram, David, and Levi, not to mention the Sinaitic covenant, the basis of which is the Moral Law, are antedated, they all presuppose an established and permanent condition of things, and are merely a religious view taken of existing conditions. The covenant of J" with Abram to give his seed the land of Canaan is just the fact that Israel was now firmly in possession of Canaan brought under the religious idea that all Israel's blessings were due to their God. And the covenant with David is merely a religious view of the fact that his dynasty, unlike those in the northern kingdom, was established and secure. J" is the author of all Israel's blessings, He is self-conscious, and foresees the end from the beginning, and therefore that which is seen to be established has been a determination of His from of old, and His determinations He communicates graciously to those who are the subjects of them (Am 3[7]). But this mode of thinking regarding J", and this mode of interpreting institutions and facts that have historically arisen, are modes of thinking not quite early in Israel's religious history. The relation of J" to Israel must originally have been similar to that of the gods of the heathen to their particular peoples; the relation existed, but it was never formed; it was natural, and not the result of a conscious act or a historical transaction. Even admitting that from the earliest times some ethical elements entered into the conception of J", the idea of a covenant with Israel implying, as it did, a conception of a Divine Being entirely free and unconnected with Israel, and entering into voluntary relation with that people, could not have arisen before the conception of J" was completely

ethicized and He was recognized as God over all. And such views of J″, it is contended, are to be observed first among the canonical prophets, or at earliest in the sub-prophetic age, the times of Elijah and Elisha.—It is enough to state the question here (its discussion falls under other rubrics, DECALOGUE, GOD, ISRAEL), though a reference to it was necessary in order to indicate what place the idea of covenant holds in the history of OT religion. The question of the covenant runs up into what is the main question of OT religious history, viz., To what date is the conception of J″ as an absolutely ethical Being to be assigned?

iii. HISTORY OF THE DIVINE COVENANTS.—1. The passage Ex 19–34 (apart from 25^{1}–31^{17}, assigned to P), giving an account of the transactions at Sinai, is extremely, almost hopelessly, complicated (see EXODUS). In Ex 34 (assigned to J) mention is made of a covenant which appears to be constituted on the basis of certain laws, partly moral and partly ritual, and differing considerably from the ordinary Decalogue of Ex 20. Several scholars detect under this passage (Ex $34^{10ff.}$), now considerably retouched, the Decalogue as given by J (v.^{28}). The main parts of Ex 19 ff. are usually assigned to E. As the passage now stands, no covenant is connected with the simple Decalogue of Ex 20, but Dt ($5^{1ff.}$ $9^{9ff.}$) affirms that the covenant at Horeb was made on the basis of the Decalogue written on the tables of stone (4^{13} 5^{22}). It also appears to say that no laws were promulgated at Horeb beyond the Decalogue (5^{22}); Moses received 'judgments' at Horeb ($4^{1.\ 14}$ 5^{30}–6^{1}), which he promulgated first in the plains of Moab ($4^{1.\ 40}$ $5^{1.\ 31}$ 12^{1}). In Ex 24 mention is made of a covenant and a Book of the Covenant. This covenant seems made (or renewed) when Moses received the second tables of stone. The Book of the Covenant appears to be Ex 20–23, but the testimony of Dt makes it probable that Ex 21 ff. did not originally stand in connexion with the events at Horeb, but with those in the plains of Moab. When Moses told the people the words of J″ they answered with one voice, 'all the words which J″ hath spoken will we do'; and the covenant thus formed was followed by a sacrifice and a ceremony with the blood, half of which was sprinkled on the altar and the other half on the people. This rite has been supposed to be an instance of the ancient way of making a covenant by both parties having communion in the same blood (W. R. Smith, *RS* 461). This may be; but in the main the sacrifice, being an offering to J″, was piacular, atoning for and consecrating the people on their entering upon their new relation to J″ (He $9^{19ff.}$).* The words, 'I am J″ thy God' (Ex 20^{2}), form no part of the Decalogue, they rather express the one side of the covenant, the Decalogue proper expressing the other side. In brief, the covenant is, 'I am J″ thy God, and thou art my people,' and the Decalogue (Ex 20^{3-17}) is the expression or the analysis of what this means.

2. *The prophets.*—The idea of the divine covenant appears very little in the prophets down to Jer and Ezk, two prophets directly under the influence of Dt. The notion of covenant in general is not unfamiliar to them (Am 1^{9}, Hos 2^{18}, Is 28^{15-18} 33^{8}), but a covenant of God with men is not referred to except Hos 6^{7} 8^{1}. The former of these passages is obscure, and the second is considered by some an interpolation, though mainly just because it does refer to the divine covenant.† It can hardly be because the idea of a divine covenant was as yet little current that the early prophets avoid the use of the term, for later prophets (Zeph, Nah, Hab, Hag, Jon, Jl, Zec 1–8) also fail to use it; the reason must rather be that their thoughts moved on different lines. The prophets have to do with an existing people, and their main conceptions are—(1) that there is a relation between J″ and Israel; He is their God and they are His people. (2) This relation of J″ and the people was formed by His act of redeeming them from Egypt: 'I am J″ thy God from the land of Egypt' (Hos 12^{9}). This was the day of Israel's 'birth' (Hos 2^{3} 11^{1} 12^{9} 13^{4}), the time when J″ 'knew' her (Am 3^{2}). (3) In this as in all His other acts towards Israel the motive of J″ was His goodness (Am $2^{9ff.}$), His 'love' (Hos 11^{1}, cf. Is 1^{2} $5^{1ff.}$). (4) The nature of this relation between J″ and the people is perfectly well understood. It is given in the conception of J″, and is purely ethical. What is required of the people is to seek 'good'—civil and moral righteousness and the service of J″ alone. In demanding this from the people the prophets do not found on a book or on laws, they speak off their own minds. To themselves their principles are axiomatic, and wherever these principles were learned they coincide with the Moral Law (Hos 4^{1-3}). Thus the prophets dealing with an existing people have no occasion to go further back than the Exodus, when the people came into existence. It is doubtful if Isaiah goes further up than David and Zion. The 'judges, as at the first' (1^{26}), are supreme rulers like David; 'the Lord hath founded Zion' (14^{32}); 'He dwelleth in Mount Zion' (8^{18}). J″, who is universal Sovereign, has founded His kingdom of righteousness in Israel ($28^{16ff.}$). If Isaiah has any covenant in his mind it is the Davidic, on which his Messianic prophecies repose (7^{1}–9^{7} 11). Thus the prophetic idea differs from the idea of a covenant as real differs from formal; the assurance of redemption reposes, not on the divine promise, but on the divine nature, on God Himself as men have historically found Him in His acts of redemption already done, and as He is known in the heart of man. (5) And the nature of God, as it explains the present, guarantees the future. However Hosea came by his ideas, whether in the course of his domestic trials he discovered in his own heart a love which could not let its object go, however degraded she might become, and rose by inspiration to the intuition that such was God's love,—however this be, he has the idea of a love which is stronger than custom or law, or even than moral repugnance, a love which nothing can overcome, And this is God's love to Israel. The relation between J″ and Israel, of God and people, is indissoluble, because J″ has loved (Hos 2^{23} 3).

3. *Deuteronomy.*—Dt knows of three covenants—that with the fathers, that at Horeb, and that in the plains of Moab. The covenant with the fathers (4^{31} 7^{12}), specifically Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (1^{8} 6^{10}), was a promise to increase their seed (13^{18}) and give them the land of Canaan (6^{18}). The covenant is called an 'oath' (7^{8}), and is often said to have been sworn. The covenant at Horeb was based on the Decalogue (4^{13} $5^{2ff.}$ $9^{9ff.}$, cf. 4^{23}). In addition to these Dt mentions a covenant in the plains of Moab, which is expressly distinguished from the covenant at Horeb (29^{1} [Heb. 28^{69}], cf. $29^{9.\ 12.\ 14.\ 21}$ 26^{17-19}). The contents of this covenant are formed by Dt itself (*i.e.* ch. 12–26, 28), which is called the Book of the Covenant (2 K $23^{2.\ 21}$, cf. Jer 11^{2-10}). Dt is in the main an expansion of Ex 21 ff., the place of which it is meant to take. The terms of this covenant are given in $26^{17.\ 18}$ 'Thou hast avouched* J″ this day that he shall be thy God,

* It is doubtful if Ps 50^{5} refers to this covenant; the ptcp. may have a present sense *those that make* a covenant, ref. being to the sacrificial worship, which is a continuous making or maintaining of the covenant with J″. Cf. § iii. (4) *end.*

† For 'forsaken thy covenant,' 1 K 19^{10} LXX reads forsaken *thee*, and in v.^{14} 'thy covenant and' seems a duplicate of *thee* in previous clause, and is wanting in A.

* The word, occurring only here, is very obscure; LXX 'chosen,' so Vulg. and virtually Targ.; Aq. ἀντηλλάξω, *ex*

and that thou wilt walk in his ways, and keep his statutes and commandments and judgments, and hearken unto his voice. And J″ has this day avouched thee that thou shalt be his particular people . . . and that he will make thee high above all nations . . . and that thou shalt be an holy people unto J″ thy God.' It is obvious that the essential thing in the people's undertaking is that J″ shall be their God, and the essential part of His undertaking is that they shall be His peculiar people (cf. Ex 19[5]); all else is but the exposition or analysis of what these terms imply. Like the prophets, Dt greatly insists on the duties of the people, though with surprising inwardness it sums up all duties in love to J″ their God (6[5] 10[12]). Like the prophets also, it fills up the formal outline of the divine covenant (Gn 15) with contents from the nature of God: J″ 'loved thy fathers' (4[37]), and this love continues to their descendants (7[8]). The 'covenant and the grace' (חֶסֶד) are coupled; the covenant was an expression of grace (7[12]). Dt also lays great emphasis on the uniformity of the divine mind and the continuity of His operations. It was because He loved the fathers that He 'chose' their seed, the people Israel; this 'choice' meaning, not election beforehand, but the concrete act of separating Israel to Himself from among the nations at the Exodus (4[37] 7[7] 10[15]). J″ 'keepeth covenant,' though this again is explained from His nature —'He is the faithful God' (7[9. 12]). All Israel's blessings, its deliverance from Egypt, entrance to Canaan, and prosperity there, are but the first covenant (Gn 15) unfolding itself—'to uphold His covenant which he sware unto thy fathers' (8[18] 9[5] 10[15]). And this first covenant, as it has operated in the past and operates now, will continue operative in the future: Israel may be scattered among the nations, but J″ will not forget His covenant, for He is merciful (4[31]). The term *bĕrîth* is used in Dt for the terms or contents of the covenant, *e.g.* the Decalogue or any of its laws (4[23] 17[2. 3]); so Dt speaks of the 'tables of the covenant,' 'the ark of the covenant,' cf. 1 K 8[21] 'the ark wherein is the covenant of the Lord.'—The prophets Jer. and Ezk. follow Dt in their use of the term covenant, though they draw no distinction between the covenant at Horeb and that in the plains of Moab (Jer 11[3. 4. 5] 31[31] 7[22. 23], Ezk 16[8. 59]). It is curious that in his prophecies anterior to the promulgation of Dt (ch. 1–6) Jer., like other prophets, does not make use of the covenant idea (cf., however, 3[16]). See § iv.

4. *The Priests' Code.*—P is a historical account of the rise and completion of Israel's *sacra*, its religious institutions and rites. When it was written, these sacred institutions had run through their full development, and could be described in their historical succession, *e.g.* the law in regard to blood (Gn 9), the law of circumcision (Gn 17), the tabernacle as the dwelling-place of God among His people (Ex 25 ff.), and the like. In this history P records two covenants—that with Noah (Gn 9) and that with Abraham (Gn 17). The former was a covenant with man and all creation, consisting of a promise or oath (Is 54[9]) on God's side that He would no more destroy the world with a flood, and laying on men the obligation of abstaining from human bloodshed and the eating of blood. It is very much a question of words whether this covenant was two-sided. Of course being made with mankind and all creation, it was an absolute promise on God's part in regard to the human race and the world; but in regard to individuals the penalty of violating it was death (9[5. 6]), and in later law even a beast that shed human blood was to be slain (Ex 21[28]). This covenant was a law for mankind (Is 24[5]), and in later times abstinence from blood was imposed on proselytes, and even on Gentiles in the early Church (Ac 15[29]). The covenant of Noah is not referred to in JE, but Is 54[9] is proof that knowledge of it was current before the date usually assigned to P. It is possible that it was the increasing intercourse between Israel and the heathen, and the fact that many of the latter were accepting the religion of Israel, which induced the author of P to preserve a record of this covenant. The Abrahamic covenant (Gn 17) was made with Abraham and his seed. It consisted of a promise of God, called also an oath (Ex 6[8]), to multiply Abraham, to give Canaan to him and his seed, and to be their God (Gn 17[4. 7. 8]); and it imposed on him and his seed the obligation of circumcision (v.[10]). Circumcision is called the sign of the covenant but also the covenant itself (v.[10. 11. 13]), just as the Sabbath is both the covenant and the sign of it (Ex 31[16. 17]). As in Noah's covenant, the promise to Abraham and his seed regarded as a people was absolute (v.[7]), but in regard to individuals the penalty of neglecting circumcision was death (v.[14]). The OT idea is hardly that Abraham *represented* his seed; his seed are conceived as existing—as they were when the author wrote (cf. Dt 29[14]). The Decalogue does not now stand in P, neither does it speak of any covenant at Sinai, except in the general reference Lv 26[45] 'the covenant of their ancestors,' at the Exodus; the only part of the Decalogue spoken of as a covenant is the Sabbath (Ex 31[16]).* The 'ark of the covenant' becomes 'the ark of the testimony' (עֵדוּת). P gives an account of the historical revelation of the divine names, Elohim, El-Shaddai, and J″. The covenant with Noah was made by Elohim, that with Abraham by El-Shaddai, and a covenant made by J″ might have been expected. It is wanting; the covenant in Ex 6[4. 8] is the Abrahamic. Thus in P, (1) the only covenant with Israel is the Abrahamic; all Israel's subsequent history, their multiplication in Egypt and their entrance into Canaan, is but the fulfilment of this covenant (Ex 2[24] 6[4. 5], cf. Ps 105[8-11]). In P, as everywhere else, the essence of the covenant is, 'I will be their God' (Gn 17[7. 8]), or more fully, 'I will take you to me for people, and I will be to you God' (Ex 6[7]). In the idea of P this promise was realized by God dwelling among the people on the one hand, and accepting their offerings on the other. Hence the need of the tabernacle, God's dwelling-place, offerings, and ministrants. These are all divine institutions, creations and gifts of God, the fulfilment in detail of the covenant to be their God. And (2) the covenant is everlasting (Gn 17[7]); it continues valid in the Exile and at all times, and it will yet prove effectual in the restoration of the people and in their being the people of God in truth (Lv 26[41-45]). Neither in P nor in Ezk are the ritual institutions the means of salvation, they express the *state* of salvation, which is altogether of God; and their performance merely conserves it. If a different way of thinking ever came to prevail, it arose long after P.

changed, connecting perhaps with הֵיטִיר (Jer 2[11]). As v.[17] plainly states what the people undertake, and v.[18] what J″ undertakes, the rendering, 'thou hast caused J″ to say,' could only mean that the people by their words or demeanour had caused J″ to understand and repeat their pledges in regard to Him, while He had caused or enabled them to repeat His pledges to them—a strangely roundabout form of thought. The passage is difficult in other ways, the exact bearing of the subordinate clauses being in some cases obscure. See AVOUCH.

* As the history of creation (Gn 1[1-24]) is written mainly to introduce the rest of the Sabbath, in which creation issued, the Sabbath might have been expected to be a covenant with creation and Adam. This is not the case, nor does OT speak of a covenant with Adam (Hos 6[7] is obscure). In Sir 14[17] 'the covenant from the beginning was, thou shalt die the death,' covenant appears=appointment, ordinance; and death, being universal, is regarded as the destiny of man from the beginning.

iv. The New Covenant.—As an idea in the religious history of Israel the new covenant means: first, that Israel's national existence and all her institutions, civil and sacred, shall be dissolved (Hos $3^{3f.}$); J″ shall say of her, 'She is not my people, neither am I hers' (Hos 1^{9} 2^{2}). And secondly, that this divorce of Israel shall be but temporary—as it is, in fact, merely apparent (Is 40^{1} $49^{14ff.}$ $50^{1ff.}$ $51^{6ff.}$); the relation between her and J″ shall be renewed: 'I will say unto them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say, Thou art my God' (Hos 2^{23} 1^{10}). This is the faith and prediction of all the prophets, of Dt and of P (above in § iii.). The Exile was the dissolution of the relation between Israel and J″, the rupture of the old covenant (Jer 31^{32}); the Restoration shall be the renewal of the relation, the establishment of a new covenant. But around the renewal of the relation gather all the religious ideals and aspirations of the prophets, the forgiveness of sin, righteousness and peace, and everlasting joy—the relation is renewed amidst the tumultuous jubilation of creation (Is 42^{10} 44^{21-23}). In its visions of the new covenant OT becomes Christian. Jer. is the first to use the word *new*, but the term adds nothing to what had been already said in the words spoken by J″ to her who had been cast off: 'I will betroth thee unto me for ever' (Hos 2^{19} 3^{1}). In terms the new covenant is nothing but the old: 'I will be their God, and they shall be my people' (Jer 31^{33}); its novelty (apart from the reference to the future) lies in its subjective reality; its terms are realized in their deepest sense. It is in this view only that its promises are 'better' (He 8^{6}). The prophets and Dt insist greatly on the duties of the people, and assume that they are able to perform them. But when Jer. and Ezk. review the people's history, which has been one long act of unfaithfulness, they despair of the people (Jer 13^{23}). To Jeremiah's expostulations the reply seems to come back, 'It is hopeless' (2^{25}). Hope is now only in God. J″ will make a new covenant with Israel, that is, forgive their sins and write His law on their hearts—the one in His free grace, the other by His creative act; and thus the covenant idea shall be realized, 'I will be their God,' etc. The second part of the promise is developed in Deutero-Is. 'This is my covenant, saith J″, my spirit which is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth' (59^{21}); and even more fully in Ezk $36^{24ff.}$, cf. 11^{16}. In $20^{34ff.}$ Ezk. describes the act of making the new covenant, which is a repetition of that at the Exodus. This new, everlasting covenant is due to God's remembrance of His former covenant ($16^{59ff.}$). Both Jer. and Ezk. bring the new covenant into connexion with the Davidic or Messianic covenant (Jer $33^{14-16.\ 20-26}$, Ezk 37^{21-28}, cf. $17^{22ff.}$).

In Deutero-Is. (40 ff.) the assurance of a new covenant reposes on two great conceptions—the universalistic conception of J″ as God, and that of the invincible power of the knowledge of the true God once implanted in the heart of mankind. J″ is God alone, Creator, He that giveth breath unto the people, and in this all is said: He shall yet be acknowledged by all, 'By myself have I sworn that to me every knee shall bow' (45^{23} 42^{8}). And Israel is His witness (43^{12}). There is no mention of former covenants with the fathers or Israel. J″ *called* Israel (41^{9} 42^{6} 49^{1-6} 51^{2}), and in the act of calling He planted in Israel the consciousness of its meaning in the moral history of mankind—'I said unto thee, Thou art my servant' ($41^{8ff.}$). There is no God but J″, and Israel is His servant, to bring forth judgment to the nations, to be the light of the Gentiles, that the salvation of J″ may be to the end of the earth (49^{6}). The knowledge of the true God has been given to mankind once for all in Israel; and this idea of the true knowledge or word of the true God implanted in Israel, incarnated in the seed of Abraham—this idea personified into a Being is the Servant of the Lord. One might not be able anywhere or at any time to lay his finger on this Being, but he was there, had always been there since Israel's call and the creation of its consciousness (49^{1-6}). And the religious history of mankind was a Process at Law, the conduct of the great Cause of the Servant against the nations, their wrongs and idolatries. In this cause he was righteous, that is, in the right: his cause was that of J″, and though he stood *contra mundum* he would surely prevail: 'I know that I shall not be put to shame' (50^{4-9}). So the Servant becomes a covenant of the people, to restore the tribes of Jacob (42^{6} 49^{6}). And this is too light a thing, he shall also be the light of the nations. The new covenant is one of peace (54^{10}), is everlasting (55^{3} 61^{8}), and the Gentiles may take hold of it (56^{1-8} 44^{5}).

In the above and all late writings *bĕrîth* is used in a general way, not of the act of agreement, but of its conditions or any one of them, and thus of the religion of Israel as a whole (Is 56^{4}, Ps 103^{18}). So it is used of the relation created by the covenant; the new covenant is not thought of as a formal act of agreement, but as the realizing in history of the true covenant idea. The term *bĕrîth* had a charm and power, and was clung to, partly because it expressed the most solemn and unalterable assurance on God's part that He would be the people's salvation, and partly, perhaps, because it suggested that He acted with men after the manner of men, graciously engaging Himself to them, and entering into their life. The covenant thus took form in their heart, awakening hopes and ideals towards which, kindled and elevated by the divine fellowship, they might strive. And thus the covenants were not only promises of redemption, but stages in its attainment. For God's covenants were not isolated and unmotived interpositions, they attached themselves to lofty spiritual conditions of men's minds,—to the 'faith' of Abraham (Gn 15^{7}), to David's absorbing purpose to prepare an house for J″ (2 S 7, Ps 132), to the 'zeal' of Levi and Phinehas, and to the elevated religious mind of Israel in the hour of its redemption.

By the time of the LXX translation *bĕrîth* had become a religious term in the sense of a onesided engagement on the part of God, as in P and late writings; and to this may be due the use of the word διαθήκη, disposition or appointment, though the term was then somewhat inappropriately applied to reciprocal engagements among men.* In the Ep. to the Hebrews the word is used both for covenant and testament, the idea of covenant as a onesided disposition naturally sliding into that of testament when the other ideas of inheritance and death are involved (9^{15-17}). The Ep. develops in detail Jer $31^{31ff.}$, particularly the promise, 'I will remember their sins no more.' The Day of Atonement (Lv 16), in which the piacular rites of OT culminated, is used as a frame into which to insert the work of Christ; and the rites and actions of the high priest on that day, which could never realize the idea they embodied, serve as a foil to the sacrifice and high priesthood of Christ, which 'for ever perfected the sanctified.' The other half of the promise, 'In their hearts I will write my law,' is not developed in the Ep. (cf. ref. to the Spirit, Is 59^{21}, Ezk $36^{24ff.}$). St. Paul employs the term διαθήκη (Gal 3^{15}), but in the sense of an engagement on the part of God, which is, as he calls it, a promise. In the main he follows P, *e.g.* (1) in assuming that there is but one covenant, the

* Aristoph. *Av.* 439, is quoted as an ex. of the meaning 'convention,' mutual engagement. Had this sense established itself in the 'common' dialect of the 3rd cent. B.C.?

Abrahamic (Gn 17); (2) in regarding circumcision as the sign of it; and (3) in regarding the Sinaitic revelation as subordinate to the covenant and a means of realizing it—though in a different sense from P. The revelation at Sinai was not the making of a covenant, but the giving of a law. With Gn 17, however, he combines Gn 15, and the wider promise that all nations should be blessed in the seed of Abraham. The covenant with Abraham was a purely spiritual deed, and contemplated only spiritual ends. The promise of heirship of the world was given to Abraham and to his seed, which seed is Christ, in whom the promise has been fulfilled. Further, the promise was given to Abraham, the believer, and to his seed, which seed all believers are, who are heirs according to the promise, being, as one with Christ, joint-heirs with Him. In the institution of the Supper the term διαθήκη is also used, and combined with the sacrificial idea as in Ex $24^{5ff.}$, cf. He $9^{19ff.}$.

PHRASEOLOGY.—The usual phrase to make a covenant is 'to cut' (כָּרַת); in 2 S 23^5 'to appoint' (שִׂים). In P 'to give' (נָתַן Gn 9^{12} 17^2), and 'to set up a covenant' (הֵקִים), are common. The latter word often means 'to uphold,' but the sense 'set up' or make is undoubted; the determination of 'covenant' by pron. occurs also with נָתַן and כָּרַת (2 S 3^{12}). Of both parties it is said, 'they made a covenant' (Gn 21^{27} 31^{44}); the superior, or whoever takes the initiative, makes a covenant *with* (אֶת, עִם) the other (2 S 3^{12}, Gn 26^{28}). To make a covenant *to* or *for* (לְ) may mean to 'submit a covenant to,' *i.e.* for acceptance (Jos 24^{25}), or to make a covenant or undertake an obligation 'for the advantage of' one (Ex 23^{32}, 2 S 5^3). This construction is always used of covenants with the natives of Canaan (Ex 23^{32} $34^{12.15}$, Dt 7^2, Jg 2^2), and becomes very common in later style in conformity with the extended usage of prep. *to*. See more fully Valeton, xii. 2 ff., 227 ff.; Krætzsch. pp. 50 f., 205 ff., 247 ff.; *Oxf. He. Lex. s.v.*

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Bund' in Schenkel's and Riehm's *DB*. The OT Theologies: Riehm, p. 68 ff.; Schultz (Eng. tr.), ii. 1 ff.; Smend, pp. 24 ff., 294 ff.; Dillmann, pp. 107 ff., 419 ff. H. Guthe, *De foederis notione Jeremiana*, Leip. 1877; Valeton, *ZAW* xii. xiii. (1892–93); Candlish, *Expository Times*, 1892 (Oct., Nov.); Krætzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im Alt. Test.*, Marburg, 1896. On the Federal Theology see an art. by T. M. Lindsay, *Brit. and For. Ev. Rev.* July 1879. A. B. DAVIDSON.

COVER.—**1.** Following Sa'adya, Talm., and most Eng. VSS, AV gives 'covers . . . to cover withal,' as one of the vessels used in the tabernacle, Ex 25^{29} 37^{16}, Nu 4^7. RV (after LXX, Vulg., Syr., Targ., Luther) gives 'flagons . . . to pour out withal.' The same word (קְשָׂוֹת) is used in 1 Ch 28^{17} of one kind of vessels given by David to Solomon for the temple; EV 'cups.' **2.** In Jg 3^{24}, 1 S 24^3 'to cover one's feet' is a literal tr. of the Heb. (לְהָסֵךְ רַגְלָיו) euphemistically used for performing the offices of nature (so LXX, Jg 3^{24} ἀποκενοῦν τοὺς πόδας, but 1 S $24^{3\,(4)}$ παρασκευάσασθαι; Vulg. *purgare alvum*, and *p. ventrem*; Luther in Jg, *zu Stuhl gegangen*, but in 1 S, *Füsse zu decken*). On the scrupulous regard for decency among Orientals, see Ges. *Lex. s.v.* שְׁתָן. J. HASTINGS.

COVERT.—Scarcely now in use, except for game, and then generally spelt *cover*, 'covert' is used in AV for—**1.** 'A covered place,' 2 K 16^{18}; 'the c. for the sabbath that they had built in the house' (Heb. *Kth.* מֵיסַךְ, *kerê* מוּסַךְ, LXX τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς καθέδρας, RV 'the covered way for the sabbath,' RVm 'covered place'). **2.** Any shelter, as Is 4^6 'a c. from storm and from rain'; or hiding place, as Job 38^{40} 'the young lions . . . abide in the c. to lie in wait'; 1 S 25^{20} 'she [Abigail] came down by the c. of the hill,' that is, where the hill hid her from view; cf. 1 Mac 9^{38} 'hid themselves under the c. of the mountain.' J. HASTINGS.

COVET.—'The law had said, Thou shalt not covet' (Ro 7^7); 'Covet earnestly the best gifts' (1 Co 12^{31}), and 'covet to prophesy' (14^{39}). It is not St. Paul that offers this startling contradiction; he uses two different words, ἐπιθυμέω in Ro, ζηλόω in 1 Co; it is AV only. The older Eng. VSS have generally 'lust' in quoting the commandment, or where they have 'covet' they give some other word in 1 Co, as 1 Co 12^{31} Wyclif 'sue,' Rheims 'pursue'; 14^{39} W. 'love,' R. 'be earnest.' RV has 'desire earnestly' in 1 Co. 'Covet' (from Fr. *convoiter*, Lat. *cupere*, *cupiditare*), scarcely used now in a good sense, was at first quite neutral = eagerly desire, as Caxton (1483), 'She ever coveyted the pees and love of her lord.' 'Covet *after*,' as 1 Ti 6^{10}, is obsolete. (The Gr. in this place is ὀρέγω, and RV gives 'reach after,' a happy change, ὀρέγω and 'reach' being phonetically as well as idiomatically identical.) J. HASTINGS.

COVETOUSNESS.—The verb covet and its parts are used in a wider sense in the Scriptures than the noun covetousness, which has always a reference to property, and is a rendering of the Heb. בֶּצַע and the Gr. πλεονεξία. In OT there are found frequent denunciations of this sin, which is brought into close connexion on the one hand with violence (Jer 22^{17}, Hab 2^9), and on the other with fraud (Jer 8^{10}); and this connexion shows that action as well as desire to get another's goods is meant (Mic 2^2). The forms of the sin singled out for rebuke are usury, seizing the land of the weak and poor, selling debtors into slavery, and taking bribes to pervert justice. The judges to be chosen by Moses were to be men 'hating unjust gain' (Ex 18^{21}). Covetousness brought ruin on Achan and his house (Jos 7^{21}). Samuel in laying down office asserted his innocence of this sin (1 S 12^3).

Turning to NT, we find that Jesus warned men against covetousness, wherewith His opponents were charged (Lk 16^{14}), and enforced His warning with the parable of the Rich Fool (Lk $12^{13\text{-}21}$). St. Paul in several of his letters includes covetousness, which he calls idolatry (Col 3^5), among the very worst sins (Ro 1^{29}, Eph 5^3, 1 Co 6^{10}). He had to defend himself against the charge of covetousness in connexion with the collection for the poor at Jerus. (1 Th 2^5, 2 Co 8; cf. Ac 20^{33}). There were some teachers in the Church whose aim was worldly gain (2 P 2^3); and accordingly one of the necessary qualifications of a bishop was freedom from the love of money (1 Ti 3^3). The remedy for covetousness as for the anxiety about food and raiment, which hinders undivided service (Mt $6^{19\text{-}34}$), is trust in God's fatherly care and abiding faithfulness (He 13^5). Regarding the sense of 'covet' in the tenth commandment (Ex 20^{17}), it is held by some that it includes not only the desire to have another's property, but also the effort to make it one's own (Schultz, *O.T. Theol.*, Eng. tr. ii. p. 52). In Dt 5^{21} with its more inward morality, only the desire may be referred to. In St. Paul's reference the inwardness of the law is asserted (Ro 7^7). He might claim to be blameless in outward acts, but this commandment convicted him of sinfulness in his wishes, not for gain simply, but also for other unlawful objects.

A. E. GARVIE.

COW.—See CATTLE.

COZBI (כָּזְבִּי 'deceitful,' Χασβί).—The Midianitess slain by Phinehas (Nu $25^{15.18}$ P).

COZEBA (1 Ch 4^{22}).—See ACHZIB.

CRACKNELS.—Only 1 K 14^3 'take with thee ten loaves and cracknels.' The Heb. (נְקֻדִּים) is found elsewhere only Jos 9^5, of the 'bread' the Gibeonites carried with them on their pretended long journey. It is supposed to mean bread that *crumbles* easily, hence the Eng. tr., 'cracknel' being a dialectic variety of *crackling*. See BREAD.

J. HASTINGS.

CRAFT.—In the mod. sense of *guile*, Dn 8^{25}, 2 Mac 12^{24}, Mk 14^{1}; for already by 1611 the word had lost its orig. sense of 'power,' 'strength,' when it could be distinctly set against 'cunning,' as Caxton (1474), *Chesse*, 'Thou hast vaynquisshed them . . . by subtilnes. . . . But I that am a romayn shal vaynquisshe them by craft and strength of armes.' Elsewhere in AV 'c.' means 'trade,' an early application of the word (=that to which a man gives his strength). So '**Craftsman**'='tradesman,' as Rev 18^{22} 'no craftsman of whatsoever craft he be.' In *Rich. II.* I. iv. 28, Shaks. plays upon the double sense of 'craft'—

'Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles.'

Crafty and **Craftiness** are always used in the modern degenerated sense. J. HASTINGS.

CRANE.—The word סוּס *ṣûs*, or סִיס *ṣîs*, tr. in AV *crane*, should be tr. *swallow* (so RV). The first of these words occurs in Hezekiah's prayer (Is 38^{14}). Here (כְּסוּס עָגוּר כֵּן אֲצַפְצֵף) *ṣûs* is a *swallow*, and *'agûr* possibly an adjective which means *twittering*. The passage would then be tr. 'as a twittering swallow I chatter.' In the second passage (Jer 8^{7}) occurs the second form (כַּסִּיס וְעָגוּר), and here *ṣîs* is again a *swallow*, and *'agûr* the *twitterer* (?). If the passage be tr. 'as a swallow and a twitterer,' the latter probably refers to another species of swallow, or one of the twittering birds of passage, of which there are many in the Holy Land. In the passage in Jer. the allusion is to the migratory habits of the bird, and its note; in Isaiah to its note alone. Some of the swallows, as the swift or martin, are known to the Arabs by the name *ṣuṣ* or *ṣiṣ*, and utter a piercing shriek as they fly, but the allusion here is to the twittering of the birds in nesting time. By no stretch of imagination could the whoop or trumpeting of the crane be called twittering. Some have supposed that the *yanshûph* (Lv 11^{17}, Dt 14^{16}), tr. in AV and RV *great owl*, and *yanshôph* (Is 34^{11}), tr. in both *owl*, are the crane. But, in the absence of evidence in its favour, we must drop the crane from the fauna of the Bible.
G. E. POST.

CRATES (Κράτης), a deputy left in charge of the citadel at Jerusalem (Acra) when the regular governor, Sostratus, was summoned to Antioch by Antiochus Epiphanes, in consequence of a dispute with the high priest Menelaus (2 Mac 4^{29}). Crates is termed the governor of the Cyprians (*τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Κυπρίων*, RV 'who was over the Cyprians'): probably he was sent to Cyprus shortly afterwards, when, in 168 B.C., Antiochus obtained possession of the island. Some MSS read here *Σώστρατος δὲ κρατήσας τῶν ἐπὶ τ. Κυπ.*; so Vulg. *Sostratus prælatus est Cypriis.* H. A. WHITE.

CREATION.—See COSMOGONY, CREATURE.

CREATURE is the somewhat loose rendering of *nephesh* (נֶפֶשׁ), *breathing* being, in Gn and Lv (once in Gn—1^{20}—of *shereẓ* (שֶׁרֶץ), *swarming* being, or, as it is there put, *moving* creature), and, in Ezk, of *ḥai* (חַי), *living* being (rendered, in each case, *living creature*). In NT, quite accurately, it represents *κτίσμα*, and shares with *creation* the representation of *κτίσις*. Neither *κτίσμα* nor *κτίσις* is ever employed by the LXX as a tr. of *nephesh*, *shereẓ*, or *ḥai*, the favourite equivalents for these words respectively being *ψυχή*, *ἑρπετόν*, and *ζῷον*. In Gn the verb *bārâ'* (בָּרָא, 'create') is tr. solely by *ποιεῖν*: *κτίζειν* represents it first in Dt 4^{32}, and afterwards more usually than *ποιεῖν*; while both stand for it, sometimes side by side, in Deutero-Isaiah (*e.g.* 45^{7}). Since *ποιεῖν* is simply *to make*, while *κτίζειν* is (classically) *to found* (a city, a colony), and so *to make from the beginning, originally, for the first time* (not necessarily out of nothing), *κτίζειν* is especially fitted to express God's creative activity not only in the physical (Ec 12^{1}, Ro 1^{25}), but also in the spiritual sphere (Col 3^{10}. For an OT premonition of the spiritual sense, see Ps 51^{12}, where *create*, *κτίζειν*, and *renew*, *ἐγκαινίζειν*, recall together the *καινὴ κτίσις*, *new creature*, of 2 Co 5^{17}). The use of the subst. *κτίσις* exactly corresponds. In contradistinction to *κτίσμα*, which points to the creative act completed and embodied, it denotes sometimes the creative act in process (Ro 1^{20}), at other times the thing created, regard being paid to the process of its production. It is used (1) *physically* (*a*) of the *whole creation* (so invariably in OT and Apocr.; in NT, Ro 8^{22}), often with special reference to mankind as *the* creation (Mk 16^{15}, Col 1^{23}); (*b*) of the *individual creation*, the *creature* (like the purely physical *κτίσμα* of the Apocr. and NT), Ro 8^{39}; (2) *spiritually*, of the *new creature* (2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 6^{15}), and the *new creation* (Ro $8^{20\text{-}23}$) in Christ Jesus, the original and originator of the new race, and the renovator of nature as a whole. Cf. the rabbinical expressions *bĕrîyah ḥădāshāh*, 'new creation,' of a man converted to Judaism; and *ḥiddûsh ha'ôlām*, 'the new age' (lit. *newness of the age*) to be ushered in by the Messiah; also Isaiah's 'new heavens and new earth' (65^{17}), the *παλιγγενεσία*, *regeneration* (Mt 19^{28}), and the *ἀποκατάστασις πάντων*, *restitution of all things* (Ac 3^{21}). The classical sense of *κτίζειν*, *to found*, occurs only in 1 Es 4^{53}, but is traceable in the meaning of *κτίσις* in 1 P 2^{13}, *πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει*, 'every *institution*, i.e. *ordinance*, of man.'
J. MASSIE.

CREDIT.—1 Mac 10^{46} 'When Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credit unto them' (*οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοῖς*, RV 'credence'). Cf. Introd. to Rhemish NT, 'The discerning of Canonical from not Canonical, and of their infallible truth, and sense, commeth unto us, only by the credite we give unto the Catholike Churche.'
J. HASTINGS.

CREDITOR.—See DEBT.

CREED.—A creed is an authorized statement or definition of religious beliefs. The name is usually limited in its application to the three formulas known as the Apostles', the Nicene (or Constantinopolitan), and the Athanasian. The history of these documents has been the subject of minute and elaborate investigation. The most convenient collection of the materials for study is to be found in Hahn's *Biblioth. d. Symb. u. Glaubensreg. d. alt. Kirche*[3], 1897. The earliest traces of the Apostles' Creed are investigated in vol. i. pt. 2, of Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn's *Patr. Apost. Op.*, and Harnack, *Anhang* to Hahn (ed. 2); and the recent controversy as to its original meaning, and the source of certain clauses, is accessible in Harnack, *Apost. Glaubensbek.*, and Swete, *Apostles' Creed.* As Swainson has observed, it is necessary to remark that until the tenth century the name 'apostles'' or 'apostolic' was applied to the Nicene as well as to the Western symbol to which it is now appropriated; both were regarded as embodying the apostolic teaching, and the epithet 'apostolic' does not always entitle us to say that the Latin symbol is the one meant. But the purpose of this article is not to enter on the origin and history of the creeds, but to indicate their biblical suggestions or anticipations.

Pagan religion was a rite rather than a doctrine; if the ceremonial were duly performed, the worshipper was at liberty to interpret it, or leave it unexplained, as he pleased. The myths which in a certain sense rationalize ritual do not amount to a doctrine; there is nothing in them binding the reason or faith of the worshipper; and pagan religion has no theology or creed. Neither has it a historical basis, which might be exhibited and

guarded by a solemn recital of sacred facts. In both respects it is distinguished from the religion of revelation. This rests upon facts, which have to be perpetually made visible, and upon an interpretation of those facts, without which they lose their value and power as a basis for religion. This is true both of OT and NT stages in revelation, but it is in the latter only that we can be said to see the first approaches to the formation of a creed. The Ten Words, with their demand for monolatry, if not their proclamation of monotheism, might be regarded as the 'symbol' of the ancient religion: the *Shema*—Hear, O Israel, J" our God is one J"—in Dt 6[4] is the nearest approach to the enunciation of a doctrine. In NT there are various more distinct indications, sometimes of the existence, sometimes of the contents, of what would now be called a creed. The emphasis which Jesus lays upon faith in Himself makes Him, naturally, the principal subject in these. The Christian creed is a confession of faith in Him; there is nothing in it which is not a more or less immediate inference from what He is, or teaches, or does. The early confession of Nathanael (Jn 1[49]), 'Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel,' is the germ of a creed. There is probably more, though not everything, in Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi (Mt 16[16]), 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' The exclamation of Thomas in Jn 20[28] goes further still. We may infer from such passages as 1 Co 12[3] ('Jesus is Lord') and Ro 10[9] ('If thou shalt confess with thy mouth that Jesus is Lord, and believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead'), that a confession of the exaltation of the crucified Jesus was the earliest form of Christian creed. Cf. Ac 2[36]. Some such confession seems to have been connected from the beginning with the administration of baptism. This appears from the ancient interpolation in Ac 8[37] in which the eunuch is made, before his baptism, to say, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God'; but still more from Mt 28[19]. The formula, 'into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,' which is here prescribed for baptism, is undoubtedly the outline on which both the Western (Apostolic) and the Eastern (Nicene) symbols were moulded; and candidates for baptism were at a very early date required to profess their faith, sometimes in the very words of those symbols, sometimes in forms virtually equivalent to them. (See BAPTISM.) It has indeed been pointed out that where baptism is mentioned historically in NT, it is 'into the name of the Lord Jesus' (Ac 8[16] 19[5] etc.), not into the triune name of Mt 28[19]; but the surprise of St. Paul in Ac 19[3] that any one could have been baptized without hearing of the Holy Spirit, is fair evidence that the Holy Spirit *was* mentioned whenever Christian baptism was dispensed (observe the force of οὖν in Ac 19[3]). Expansions of this trinitarian formula constituted what Irenæus calls 'the canon of the truth which one receives at baptism' (Iren. *Hær.* I. x. 1, and the note in Harvey's ed. vol. i. p. 87 f.). Such expansions, however, are hardly to be found in NT. The brief summaries of Christian fundamentals are usually of a different character. Thus St. Paul mentions, as the elements of his gospel in 1 Co 15[3f.] Christ's death for sins, His burial, and His resurrection. In 1 Ti 3[16] there is what is usually considered a liturgical fragment, defining at least for devotional purposes the contents of 'the mystery of godliness,' the open secret of the true religion. There the first emphasis is laid on the Incarnation—He who was manifested in the flesh; and the last on the Ascension—He who was received up in glory. As in the individual confessions mentioned above, Christ is the subject throughout. It is difficult to say whether the summaries of his gospel in which St. Paul delights, sometimes objective as in Ro 1[3f.], sometimes subjective as in 2 Th 2[13f.], Tit 3[4-7], influenced the formulation of Christian truth for catechetical purposes, or were themselves due to the need for it; but it is obvious that outlines of gospel teaching, such as the apostles delivered everywhere, must soon have been required and supplied. Such an outline may be referred to in 2 Ti 1[13]—*ὑποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑγιαινόντων λόγων*—though it may well be the case that something is denoted much more copious than anything we call a creed: a catechist's manual, for instance, such as might contain the bulk of one of our gospels. It is usual to assume that by *παραθήκη* or *παρακαταθήκη* (1 Ti 6[20], 2 Ti 1[13]) is meant 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' in the sense of a creed or deposit of doctrine; and though good scholars dispute this, and suppose the ref. to be to Timothy's vocation as a minister of the gospel, the assumption is probably correct. For in the first passage the *παραθήκη* is opposed to 'profane babblings and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called, which some professing have erred concerning *the faith*'; and in the second, it is evidently parallel to the 'form' or 'outline of sound words.' There are several passages in which St. Paul uses the word *κήρυγμα* to denote the contents of his gospel (Ro 16[25], Tit 1[3] *κήρυγμα ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγώ*) in a way which suggests that idea of the gospel which would naturally find embodiment in a creed. The *τύπος διδαχῆς* of Ro 6[17] is evidently wider than anything we mean by creed. There is one passage in NT (He 6[1f.]) in which the elementary doctrines of the Christian religion are enumerated, partly from a subjective point of view (repentance and faith), partly more objectively (resurrection and judgment). In one place the reality of the Incarnation is expressly asserted as the foundation of the Christian religion, and as a test of all 'spirits,' in a tone which had immense influence on early Christian dogma (1 Jn 4[2f.]). The creeds of Christendom go back to these small beginnings. The tendency to produce them is plainly as old as the work of Christian preaching and teaching; and their legitimate use, as all these NT passages suggest, is to exhibit and guard the truth as it has been revealed in and by Jesus. If it be true that *the* dogma of Christianity is the Trinity, and that this is the central content of the creeds, it must be remembered that the trinitarian conception of God depends upon the revelation of the Father, and the gift of the Spirit, both of which are dependent on the knowledge of the Son. In other words, it is truth 'as truth is in Jesus.' But on this view of the content of the creeds, we should have to refer for the Scripture basis of them to such passages (besides those quoted above) as 1 Co 12[4-6], 2 Co 13[14], Eph 2[18], Jude 20[-21], Jn 14–16. Apart from the authenticity of Mt 28[19], these are sufficient to show how instinctive is the combination of Father, Son, and Spirit in the thought of NT writers, and how completely the problem is set in Christian experience to which the Church doctrine of the Trinity, as embodied in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, is an answer. The historical, as opposed to theological, statements in the creeds claim to rest on direct Scripture authority.

LITERATURE. — Swainson, *Apostolic and Nicene Creeds*; Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*; Caspari, *Ungedruckte*, etc., *Quellen z. Ges. d. Taufsymbols u. d. Glaubensregel*; Lumby, *Hist. of Creeds*; Zahn, *Apost. Symb.* (1892); and the works of Hahn, Harnack, and Swete referred to above.

J. DENNEY.

CREEPING THINGS.—Much confusion is sometimes occasioned by the fact that two distinct Heb. terms are (frequently) represented by this expression in the EV.

(1) The term which is most correctly so represented is *rémes* (רֶמֶשׂ), from *rāmas*, to *glide* or *creep*:

under this term 'creeping things' are mentioned Gn $1^{24.25}$ (as created, together with 'cattle,' and 'beasts of the earth' [*i.e.* speaking generally, herbivora and carnivora], on the sixth day); 1^{26} (as given into the dominion of man, together with the 'fish of the sea,' the 'fowl of the air,' the 'cattle and all beasts [Pesh.] of the earth'); $6^{7.20}$ $7^{14.23}$ $8^{17.19}$ (as spared, usually together with 'cattle' and 'fowl,' on occasion of the Flood); in other allusions to the animal kingdom, often by the side of 'beasts,' 'cattle,' 'fowl,' or 'fishes,' 1 K 4^{33} (5^{13}) 'He spake also of cattle, and of fowl, and of *creeping things*, and of fishes,' Hos $2^{18\,(20)}$; Hab 1^{14} (the Chaldæan makes men to be 'as the fishes of the sea, as the *creeping things*, over whom is no ruler'), Ezk 8^{10} (figures of them worshipped by Israelites), 38^{20}, Ps 148^{10}. In Gn 9^{3} [RV *moving thing*], where the term stands by itself, it is used more generally of all gliding or creeping things (cf. the verb in Gn 1^{28} 7^{21} 8^{19} [RV *moveth, moved*]; Ps 104^{20}): and in Ps 104^{25} of gliding *aquatic* creatures (cf. the verb in Gn 1^{21}, Lv 11^{46}, Ps $69^{34\,(35)}$ [RV *moveth*]); so also perhaps (note the context, esp. v.[15]) in Hab 1^{14}. The corresponding verb is often found closely joined to it, Gn 1^{26} 7^{14} 8^{17}, Ezk 38^{20}; or used synonymously, Gn 1^{30} 7^{8} 9^{2} (RV *teemeth*), Lv 20^{25} (RV *id.*), Dt 4^{18} (by the side of cattle, fowl, and fish), cf. Lv 11^{44} (RV *moveth*). These are all the occurrences of either the subst. or the verb. From a survey of the passages in which *rémes* occurs, especially those (as Gn 1^{26}, 1 K 4^{3}) in which it stands beside beasts, fowls, and fishes, in popular classifications of the animal kingdom, it is evident that it is the most general term denoting *reptiles*, which, especially in the East, would be the most conspicuous and characteristic of living species, when beasts, fowls, and fishes had been excluded. Dillm. and Keil (on Gn 1^{24}) both define it as denoting creatures moving on the ground 'either without feet, or with imperceptible feet.' It is often defined more precisely by the addition of 'that creepeth upon the earth,' or (Gn 1^{25} 6^{20}, Hos 2^{18}) 'upon the ground.' The term not being a scientific one, it included also, perhaps, creeping insects, and *possibly* even very small quadrupeds: but the *limitation* of *rémes* to the 'smaller quadrupeds of the earth' (to the *exclusion* of reptiles), which has been devised (Dawson, *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, 1888, p. 28) for the purpose of 'harmonizing' Gn 1 with the teachings of palæontology, is arbitrary, and cannot be sustained.

(2) The other term, also sometimes unfortunately rendered 'creeping things,' is *shéreẓ* (שֶׁרֶץ): this is applied to creatures, whether terrestrial or aquatic, which appear in swarms, and is accordingly best represented by *swarming things*. It occurs (sometimes with the cognate verb) Gn 1^{20} 'let the water *swarm* with *swarming things*,' cf. v.[21] 'every living soul [see SOUL] that creepeth, wherewith the waters *swarmed*'; 7^{21} (beside fowl and cattle and beast) 'every *swarming thing* that *swarmed* upon the earth'; Lv 5^{2} 'the carcases of unclean *swarming things*'; 11^{10} 'of all the *swarming things* of the waters'; v.[20] (=Dt 14^{19}), vv.[21.23] 'winged *swarming things*' (*i.e.* flying insects: locusts are instanced); v.[29] '*swarming things*, that *swarm* upon the earth' (the weasel, the mouse, and various kinds of lizards are instanced), cf. v.[31] 'among all *swarming things*'; vv.[41.42.43] 'every *swarming thing* that *swarmeth* upon the earth'—including (v.[42]) insects with more than four feet; v.[44] 'any *swarming thing* that creepeth upon the earth'; v.[46] 'every living soul that glideth (cf. above, No. 1) in the waters, and every living soul that *swarmeth* upon the earth'; 22^{5} 'whoso toucheth any *swarming thing* by which he may become unclean.' The cognate verb *shāraẓ* occurs also Ex 8^{3} (7^{28}) 'the river shall *swarm* with frogs' (cf. Ps 105^{30}); Ezk 47^{9} 'every living soul that *swarmeth*' (viz. in a river); and fig., of animals generally, Gn 8^{17} (RV *breed abundantly*), and of men, 9^{7} (RV *id.*) Ex 1^{7} (of the Israelites multiplying in Egypt: RV *increased abundantly*). *Shéreẓ* thus denotes creatures that appear in swarms, whether such as teem in the water, or those which swarm on the ground or in the air, *i.e.* creeping and flying insects, small reptiles, such as lizards, and small quadrupeds, as the weasel and the mouse. *Shéreẓ* and *rémes* are not co-extensive; for, though particular animals, as small reptiles, would no doubt be included under either designation, *rémes* would not be applied to flying insects, or (at least properly) to aquatic creatures, nor is it *certain* that it was applied to small quadrupeds, or even to creeping insects; while *shéreẓ* would not probably be used of large reptiles, or of any, in fact, which did not usually appear in swarms.

S. R. DRIVER.

CREMATION.—It is sometimes stated that burning was the ordinary mode of disposing of the dead among all ancient nations, except the Egyptians, who embalmed them; the Chinese, who buried them in the earth; and the Jews, who buried them in the sepulchres. This statement requires a good deal of qualification. Lucian tells us that the Greeks burned their dead while the Persians buried them (*De Luctu*, xxi.); and it is certain that among the Greeks bodies were often buried without being burned (Thuc. i. 134. 6; Plat. *Phædo*, 115 E; Plut. *Lyc.* xxvii.). Among the Romans both methods were in use; and Cicero believed that burial was the more ancient (*De Legibus*, ii. 22. 56). So that Persians, Greeks, and Romans must be added as, at any rate, partial exceptions. Whether religious, or sanitary, or practical reasons were uppermost in deciding between the different methods is uncertain. Where fuel was scarce, cremation would be difficult or impossible.

That the Jews' preference for sepulchres was determined by a belief in the resurrection of the body is very doubtful. The doctrine itself seems to have been of late development; and modern Jews, who accept the doctrine, do not object to cremation. Nevertheless, their forefathers rarely practised it, and perhaps then only as an alternative to what would be more distasteful. The bodies of Saul and his sons were burned by the men of Jabesh-gilead (1 S 31^{12}), perhaps to secure them from further insult by the Philistines, and to make it more easy to conceal the bones. Am 6^{10} gives a horrible picture of a whole household having died, and a man's uncle and a servant being the only survivors left to burn the last body. But we are probably to understand a plague, or something exceptional. That bodies were burned in the valley of Hinnom in times of pestilence is an assertion which lacks support. However large the number of the dead, burial was the manner of disposing of them (Ezk 39^{11-16}). The 'very great burning' made for Asa at his burial (2 Ch 16^{14}) is not a case of cremation, but of burning spices and furniture in his honour (comp. Jer 34^{5}). 'When R. Gamaliel the elder died, Onkelos the proselyte burned in his honour the worth of seventy *minæ* of Tyrian money' (T.B. *Aboda Zara* 11*a*). Comp. 2 Ch 21^{19}. Nor is 1 K 13^{2} an allusion to cremation. Bones of men previously buried are to be burned on the altar to pollute it and render it abominable.

In the NT there is no instance of cremation, whether Jewish, Christian, or heathen; and there is abundant evidence that the early Christians followed the Jewish practice of burial, with or without embalming (Minuc. Felix, *Octav.* xxxix.; Tert. *Apol.* xlii.; Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, i. 12, 13). It was to outrage this well-known Christian senti-

ment that persecutors sometimes burned the bodies of the martyrs and scattered their ashes in mockery of the resurrection (Eus. *H.E.* v. 1. 62, 63; comp. Lact. *Inst.* vi. 12). The example of the Jews, the fact that Christ was buried, the association of burning with heathen practices, and perhaps rather material views respecting the resurrection, have contributed to make cremation unpopular among Christians. But there is nothing essentially anti-christian in it: and charity requires us to adopt any reverent manner of disposing of the dead which science may prove to be least injurious to the living. A. PLUMMER.

CRESCENS.—A companion of St. Paul in his final imprisonment, sent by him to Galatia (2 Ti 4^{10}), *i.e.* either to Asiatic Galatia,—a view supported by St. Paul's usage elsewhere, and by the context, in which all the other places mentioned lie east of Rome (so *Const. Apost.* vii. 46; Tillemont, *Mémoires sur St. Paul*, Note 81; Smith, *DB*^{2} *s.v.*); or possibly to Gaul (so ℵ C, reading Γαλλίαν; Euseb. *HE* iii. 4; Epiph. *Hær.* 51. 11; Theodore and Theodoret ad 2 Ti 4^{10}; Lightfoot, *Gal.* pp. 3 and 30). A late Western tradition treats him as the founder of the Churches of Vienne and of Mayence (Gams. *Series Episc.*). His memory is honoured in the Roman martyrology on June 27, in the Greek Menologion on May 30, and there he is treated as one of the seventy disciples, and a bishop of Chalcedon. [*Acta Sanctorum*, June 27; *Menologion*, May 30.] The name is Latin, and is found among the freedmen of Nero (Tac. *Hist.* i. 76), the centurions (*Ann.* xv. 11), and the priests of Phœbus (*Inscr. Græcæ*, Sic. et Ital. 1020). W. LOCK.

CRESCENTS.—RV tr. of שַׂהֲרֹנִים Jg $8^{21.\ 26}$ (AV 'ornaments'), Is 3^{18} (AV 'round tires like the moon'). As clearly indicated by its etym. (from Aram. *sahrâ*, 'moon,' with *ôn* as diminutive termination, — for which see Barth, *Nominalbildg.* § 212),—the *sahărôn* was a crescent or moon-shaped ornament of gold (Jg 8^{26}), introduced presumably by Syrian traders from Babylonia. In OT we find these crescents worn by Midianite chiefs (Jg 8^{26}), by the ladies of Jerus. (Is 3^{18}), and hung by the former on the necks of their camels (Jg 8^{21}). They were in all probability worn on the breast by a chain round the neck, like the crescents (*hilâlât*) of a modern Arab. belle (see Del. and Dillm. on Is 3^{18}; Keil, *Bibl. Archæol.* Eng. tr. ii. 149; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 129; cf. Jg 8^{26b}, where the crescents seem to be distinguished from the chains by which they were suspended). Others (*e.g.* Moore, *Comm. in loc.*) consider the latter to have been 'necklaces or collars, the elements of which were little golden crescents.' Originally the crescents were amulets or charms (W. R. Smith in *Journ. of Philology*, xiv. 122–123; * Wellh. *Skizzen*, iii. 144), although by Isaiah's time they may have become more purely ornamental. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CRETE.—Crete, the modern Candia, is an island in the Mediterranean, 60 miles to the S. of Greece. Its greatest length from E. to W. is 156 miles, while its width varies from 30 to 7 miles. The orig. inhabitants were prob. a kindred race with those of Asia Minor. C. plays a prominent part in the legendary, as well as in the early historical period. Lying as a convenient stepping-stone between the continents of the Old World, the island was probably colonised by the Dorians in the 3rd generation after their conquest of the Peloponnesus. Homer numbers them together with the Achæans and Pelasgians among the inhabitants. Some striking points of resemblance are noticed by Aristotle (*Politics*, ii. 10) between the institutions of Sparta and those of C., prominent among them being the military training, and the system of common meals. The mythical king Minos, round whom so many legends cluster, is alluded to as a historical person by Thucyd. (i. 4. 8) and Aristotle. He was the first to gain command of the sea; he insured the payment of tribute by the suppression of piracy, and finally failed in an attempt to conquer Sicily. C. was mountainous, fertile, and thickly populated. Its cities were said to be 100 in number (Hom. *Il.* ii. 649; Virg. *Aen.* iii. 106), and elsewhere 90 (Hom. *Od.* xix. 174), the most important being Gnossus, Gortyna (1 Mac 15^{23}), Cydonia, and Lyctus. The warlike spirit of the inhabitants, due to their position and training, was fostered by their internal disputes and their fondness for service as mercenaries. Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2) says that the Jews were fugitives from C., and connects their name, Ἰουδαῖοι, with the mountain in the island called Ida. This probably arose from a confusion between the Jews and Philistines, the latter of whom are called Caphtorim, from Caphtor (Dt 2^{23}, Am 9^{7}), the country from which they migrated to Pal., and may possibly be identified with the Cherethites mentioned 1 S 30^{14}, Ezk 25^{16}. In Jer 47^{4} the passage 'the Philistines, the remnant of the isle of Caphtor,' has marginal alternative in RV 'of the sea-coast' for 'isle'; and in the LXX (Zeph 2^{5}) πάροικοι Κρητῶν is found and is tr. 'inhabitants of the sea-coast, the nation of the Cherethites' (RV), and Κρήτη (Zeph 2^{6}) = 'the sea-coast.' Caphtor may have been a part of Crete, possibly Cydonia on the N. coast, which contained a river, Jardanus (cf. Jordan), Hom. *Od.* iii. 292. In any case C. was prob. a primitive settlement of the Caphtorim, and the Cretan character resembles in some respects what we know that of the Philistines to have been. The capture of Jerus. by Ptolemy Soter, and the forced emigration of the Jews, B.C. 320, drove many doubtless to C. as well as to Egypt. C. is mentioned in 1 Mac 10^{67}. Demetrius Soter, an enemy of the Jews, had retired to a life of self-indulgence in Antioch, and was defeated and killed by the usurper Balas. The latter was in turn attacked by Demetrius Nikator, the son of Soter, who invaded Cilicia from C., and, though joined by Apollonius, the Rom. governor of Cœle-Syria, was defeated by Jonathan Maccabæus near Azotus, B.C. 148.

In B.C. 141 Simon Maccabæus, on the recognition of his authority, renewed the old friendship with the Romans, and obtained from the consul Lucius the promise of protection for the Jews from the inhabitants of Gortyna in C. (1 Mac 15^{23}). There is no doubt that, after this date, the number of Jews in the island increased greatly. Internal quarrels among the Cretans led to the invitation to Philip IV. of Macedon to act as mediator, but the effects of his intervention were not lasting. C. was taken by the Romans under Metellus, B.C. 67, and joined to Cyrene and made a Roman province. Under Augustus, Creta-Cyrene became a senatorial province governed by a proprætor and a legatus.

Cretans are mentioned (Ac 2^{11}) among the strangers present at Jerus. at the Feast of Pentecost.

St. Paul touched at C. in the course of his disastrous voyage to Rome. Starting from Myra in Lycia, in the charge of a centurion, on board a corn ship of Alexandria, since the winds prevented a straight course, he sailed under the lee of C., *i.e.* S. instead of N. of the island. Skirting the promontory of Salmone (Ac 27^{7}) on the E. side, and coasting along the S., the vessel reached an anchorage called Fair Havens, a little to the E. of Cape Matala. Five miles to the E. some ruins have

* Smith suggests that the *sahărônîm* may have been of horse-shoe form, 'so that this is the same kind of amulet which is still often found on stable doors.'

been discovered which may be those of Lasea. This harbour was not considered safe for wintering in, though St. Paul recommended keeping to it. It was getting late in the year. The Fast, *i.e.* the great Day of Atonement, on the 10th day of the 7th month Tisri, about the time of the autumnal equinox, had passed, and the ancients did not usually sail after the setting of the Pleiades, Oct. 20 (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 619) or the beginning of Nov. The centurion, however, preferred the advice of the master and the owner of the vessel, who wished to reach the shelter of Phœnix on the S.W. of the island. This has usually been identified with Lutro, said to have been called by the ancients Phœnike, the only secure harbour on the S. coast which faced E. (RV). There is no harbour existing at that spot now, but one is marked in some Admiralty charts of the middle of the last cent., and called Lutro. In order to identify Phœnix (Ac 27[12]) with this roadstead, the forced interpretation of the words *κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον*, 'down the S.W. wind and down the N.W. wind,' found in the RVm is adopted. It is better, however, to take the words as in AV in their usual sense, 'lying toward S.W. and N.W.,' esp. as there is a harbour opposite Lutro called Phineka in that position.

On a gentle S. wind springing up, the attempt was made to reach Phœnix, and the vessel coasted along the S. shore of C. There suddenly, however, blew down from the island (*κατ' αὐτῆς*) a wind, Euraquilo E.N.E., in the teeth of which it was found impossible to sail, so the ship was allowed to scud before the gale to the lee of Cauda (or Clauda, AV), 20 miles S. of Cape Matala, the southernmost promontory of the island. Fourteen days later the vessel was wrecked on the coast of Melita.

It is not known who planted Christianity in C. If St. Paul did so, it must have been before his first imprisonment, possibly in the course of a visit while he was staying at Corinth or Ephesus. Perhaps the Church in the island had been founded by Christian converts. St. Paul seems to imply from his words to Titus (Tit 1[5]), 'For this cause left I thee in C.,' that he had been to the island. The fact that Titus was left to supply all omissions and appoint elders in every city, shows that the Church had been established long enough to admit the presence of irregularities, and had been imperfectly organised.

The untrustworthy character of the **Cretans** (*Κρῆτες*, Ac 2[11] AV Cretes, Tit 1[12] AV Cretians) was proverbial. St. Paul quotes from one of their own poets, Epimenides (Tit 1[12]), who lived about B.C. 600, and is called by Plato 'a divine man,' that 'they were always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons.' Witness to their avarice is also borne by Livy (xliv. 45) and Plutarch Æmilius (§ 23), 'the Cretans are as eager for riches as bees for honey'; to their ferocity and fraud by Polybius and Strabo; and to their mendacity by Callimachus, Hymn in *Jov.* 8, who begins a line *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται* with the same words as Epimenides.

LITERATURE.—Bunbury, *Hist. of Ancient Geog.*; Weldon's tr. of Aristotle's *Politics*; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*; and the Comm. on Acts, esp. Page, Blass, and Rendall.

C. H. PRICHARD.

CRIB (אֵבוּס).—The earliest meaning of the Eng. word (of which the origin is unknown) is 'a barred receptacle for fodder used in cowsheds and foldyards; also in fields, for beasts lying out during the winter.' And that is precisely the meaning of the Heb. word *'ēbhûs* (fr. אָבַס to feed), which is used Is 1[3] of a crib for the ass, Pr 14[4] for the ox, Job 39[9] for the 'unicorn,' *i.e.* wild ox.

J. HASTINGS.

CRICKET.—See LOCUST.

CRIER.—In this form the word is not found in the Bible, but the verb from which it is derived (קָרָא, *βοάω*) is sometimes used in the sense of *crying aloud*, or *proclaiming*. Of Wisdom it is said that she 'crieth in the chief place of concourse,' Pr 1[21]; and in answer to the question of the Jews, 'Who art thou?' the Baptist calls himself 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness,' Jn 1[23]. In ancient times, when men were illiterate, and could not read written mandates, public criers proclaimed the orders of the king or men of authority. In the Middle Ages *heralds*, preceded by trumpeters who announced their mission, made public proclamations. This custom is still carried out in the E. In every town and village a public crier, distinguished for his loud voice, is appointed to give notice on the part of governors or other authorities of some fresh order. Or, going through the streets, or standing on some height, he announces the loss of some article,—sometimes the straying of a young child,—giving a description of the lost object, offering sometimes a reward, and always concluding with a reminder of the divine promise of a 'reward in heaven.' Of this class of public criers is the *muezzin* among Moslems, who at the five appointed times of prayer mounts the minaret, and, after proclaiming the unity and greatness of God, calls men to 'prayer and eternal happiness.' In the quiet watches of the night this cry, heard from many a minaret, is often very impressive.

J. WORTABET.

CRIME.—About 1611 and earlier, 'crime' was used, like Lat. *crimen*, in the sense of charge or accusation; as Grafton (1568), *Chron.* ii. 92, 'The common people raysed a great cryme upon the Archbishop,' and Milton, *Par. Lost*, ix. 1181—

> 'But I rue
> That error now, which is become my crime
> And thou th' accuser.'

In three out of the four occurrences of c. in AV, this is the meaning. In Job 31[11] (וָמֶה) the Heb., and presumably the Eng., is crime in the mod. sense. But in Ezk 7[23] 'the land is full of bloody crimes,' the Heb. (מִשְׁפַּט דָּמִים) is 'accusation of bloodshed,' or as RVm, 'judgment of blood.' In Ac 25[16] 'the c. (RV 'matter') laid against him,' the Gr. *ἔγκλημα* means an accusation, and is so used distinctly in the only other occurrence in NT, Ac 23[29] (AV and RV 'charge'). Lastly, in Ac 25[27] 'to signify the crimes laid against him,' the Gr. *αἰτία* certainly means 'accusation' (RV 'charge') as always in class. Greek. Cf. Ac 25[18] Geneva, 'Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought no crime of such things as I supposed.'

J. HASTINGS.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.—*A.* CRIMES.—The term occurs in the Scriptures as a tr. of the foll. words:—מִשְׁפָּט, Ezk 7[23]; וָמֶה, Job 31[11]; אָשָׁם, Gn 26[10]; *αἰτία*, Ac 25[27], changed in RV to 'charges,' and 'fault' in AV Jn 18[38] 19[4, 6] to 'crime'; *ἔγκλημα*, Ac 25[16], changed in RV to 'matter.' Crime is an act that subjects the doer to legal punishment; a grave offence against the legal order; wickedness; iniquity. In the Bible such an act is regarded as an offence against (1) God or (2) man. The distinction cannot always be maintained, for an injury to the creature is obnoxious to the Creator. For convenience of reference the list appears in alphabetical order.

Adultery in general terms was forbidden in the seventh commandment (Ex 20[14]). It usually denotes sexual intercourse of a married woman with any other man than her husband, or of a married man with any other than his wife. More specifically in the Isr. as well as Rom. law, the term was confined to illicit intercourse of a married or betrothed woman with any other man than her

husband. Other unchaste relations were disapproved, but they were described by different words. It was deemed an outrageous crime, striking at the laws of inheritance and inflicting a spurious offspring on the husband, and was to be punished with death, Lv 20[10] 19[20-22], Ezk 16[38. 40], by the act of stoning, Jn 8[5]. It has been seriously doubted whether the extreme penalty was executed, Lightfoot failing to find the record of a single instance, except of a priest's daughter who was burnt according to the order, but she was unmarried. A bondmaid was only scourged (Lv 19[20]). Mutilation of nose and ears is mentioned (Ezk 23[25]). See **Mutilation.** Divorce became a substitute for severer penalties. The word is used to describe the unfaithfulness of the covenant people who dissolved their relation with God (Jer 2[2] 3[14] 13[27] 31[32], Hos 8[3]), and those who rejected Christ are described as an 'adulterous generation' (Mt 12[39] 16[4], Mk 8[38]).

Affray.—He who inflicted an injury was required to pay for loss of time and the medical expenses, and an especial consideration for a pregnant woman indirectly injured (Ex 21[18. 19. 20-22]). A certain form of vicious attempt was to be summarily and pitilessly punished (Dt 25[11. 12]).

Assassination.—See **Murder.**

Assault, resulting in damage, incurred the penalty of retaliation. The *gêr* as well as the home-born was protected (Lv 24[19-22]).

Bestiality, treated as a rank and mortal offence (Ex 22[19], Lv 18[23] 20[15. 16]). The Talm. gives as a reason for slaughter of the beast, that all memory of the low transaction might be obliterated. The crime was charged on the Canaanites, and was said to exist in Egypt.

Blasphemy.—An irreverent use of the name of God, accompanied with cursing (Lv 24[10-14]); a presumptuous deed, or, RV, an act done 'with a high hand' (Nu 15[30]); contempt towards God. See separate article.

Breach of Covenant.—In this term are included: (1) A failure to observe the Day of Atonement (Lv 23[29]); work on that day (Lv 23[28]). (2) The Sacrifice of Children to Molech (Lv 20[3]). (3) Neglect to Circumcise the holy seed (Gn 17[14], Ex 4[24]). (4) An unauthorized manufacture of the holy Oil (Ex 30[33]), and (5) Anointing a Stranger therewith (Ex 30[33]). (6) Neglect of the Passover (Nu 9[13]).

Breach of Ritual.—(1) Eating Blood, whether of fowl or beast (Lv 7[27] 17[14]); because God has sanctified the life to Himself. (2) Eating Fat of the beast of sacrifice (Lv 7[25]); regarded as insanitary. (3) Eating Leavened Bread during the passover (Ex 12[15. 19]). (4) Offering a sacrifice after the appointed time (Lv 19[8]). See 7[15-18]. (5) Failure to bring an Offering when an animal is slaughtered for food (Lv 17[4]). The notion that such was dedicated to a deity existed even in Egypt. (6) Offering a sacrifice while the worshipper is in an Unclean condition (Lv 7[20. 21] 22[3. 4. 9]). (7) Manufacturing holy Ointment for private use (Ex 30[32. 33]). Perfume was regarded by the Semites as a holy thing (Pliny, xii. 54; see W. R. Smith, *RS* p. 433). (8) Using the same for Perfume (Ex 30[38]). (9) Neglect of Purification in general (Nu 19[13. 20]). The offender 'defileth the tabernacle of the Lord.' Cf. 1 Co 3[17]. (10) Slaughtering an animal for food away from the door of the Tabernacle (Lv 17[4. 9]). The order was designed to enforce religious proprieties in eating, and to prevent formal worship elsewhere. Even the *gêr* must comply. (11) Touching holy things (RV the sanctuary) illegally (Nu 4[15. 18-20]). See 2 S 6[7], 2 Ch 26[21].

Breach or **Betrayal of Trust,** including false dealing 'in a matter of deposit, or of bargain, or of robbery, or oppression,' and involving the concealment of stolen goods, was regarded as a crime to which not only a penalty was attached, but a sacrificial service was required for expiation (Lv 6[2-7]). In this may be included breach of contract, which was also severely condemned in the religion of the ancient Persians (Zend. *Farg.* iv.). The removal of landmarks as set by God is an offence that exposes to the divine curse, Dt 19[14] 27[17] (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 18.). It was wrong to move them when set by the fathers (Pr 22[28] 23[10]).

Bribery in general was forbidden, Ex 23[8], Dt 16[19], and condemned, 2 Ch 19[7], Job 15[34], Ps 26[10], Pr 6[35] 17[23], Is 1[23] 33[15], Ezk 22[12]. It was a vice to which rulers seem to have been addicted (1 S 8[3] 12[3], Am 5[12]).

Burglary.—See **Robbery.**

Debt, while it might be a misfortune, could be incurred so as to expose to penalty where the insolvency was the result of fraud or neglect (Mt 5[26] 18[28-34]). Perhaps punishment was inflicted to deter others, rather than as a vindictive act against the offender. In Egypt he was subjected to the bastinado (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 1854, ii. 211). See separate article.

Divination.—See MAGIC and sep. art.

Drunkenness, a vice which, in view of its consequences, may be regarded as a crime (Is 28[1. 3. 7] 56[12], Ezk 23[42] RV). Religious abstinence from strong drink was viewed in the same light as refraining from unclean meats (W. R. Smith, *RS* 465). Teetotalism was required of a Nazirite, Jg 13[4], and commended, Jer 35[19]. Inebriety is forbidden in the Koran. See STRONG DRINK and DRUNKENNESS.

Fornication, a sexual vice that was common before the time of Moses, being grossly prevalent in Egypt, as shown in Gn 39[7] and the evidence of the monuments; also in Babylonia (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 30). Prostitution, a heinous crime (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 9), was not tolerated by the Sin. code, being an abomination in the sight of God (Lv 19[29], Dt 23[17. 18]). Its price could not be accepted in the sanctuary, Mic 1[7], and death by stoning was the penalty for an unmarried woman who had concealed her crime, Dt 22[20. 21]. It would seem from the term 'strange woman,' in Pr 2[16], that harlots were procured from foreigners. By the Koran a courtesan was not allowed to testify, and, according to the Zendavesta, she might be killed without warrant, like a snake. Her vile methods and their terrible effects are severely portrayed in Pr 2[16-19] 5[3-6] 7[5-27], and as arousing the displeasure of God, Jer 5[7], Am 2[7] 7[17]. Such excesses were very common among the heathen in the time of the apostles (1 Co 5[1. 9. 10] 6[9], Gal 5[19], Eph 5[3]). Terms for this vice are frequently used in a symbolical sense, the chosen nation being represented as a harlot or adulteress (Is 1[21], Jer 2[20], Ezk 16, Hos 1[2] 3[1]). Idolatry itself is so designated (Jer 3[3. 9], Ezk 16[26. 29] 23[37]). Fornication is a type of unholy alliances in the Bk. of Rev, especially in chs. 17, 18, and 19.

Homicide, which consists in taking human life without hatred or thirst of blood, or by mistake or accident, included cases like that of the owner of an ox which gored a man when it was not known to be vicious (Ex 21[28]); the slaying of a thief overtaken in the night (Ex 22[2. 3]); taking life without premeditation, or by casting a stone or missile at random (Nu 35[22-23]), or by the slipping of an axe-head from its helve (Dt 19[5]). See Dt 22[8] and art. GOEL.

Idolatry.—See separate article.

Incest.—Carnal intercourse is treated as criminal when between a man and his mother, step-mother, half-sister, grand-daughter, step-sister, aunt, wife of an uncle, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, step-daughter, step-grand-daughter (Lv 18[6-18]); or his mother-in-law (Dt 27[20. 23]). Mention of an own sister is omitted as too gross to consider.

Infanticide.—See **Murder.**

Kidnapping was a mortal offence (Dt 24[7]).

Lying, an attempt to deceive by speaking an untruth, was forbidden in the Mosaic law (Lv 19[11]), and included in the category of sins against God. It was a common evil among Oriental people, but considered very disgraceful (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, 1854, ii. 207). The prophets especially fulminated against the effort to lead the people astray by false teaching (Is 9[15] 28[15. 17], Jer 14[14] 27[10. 14. 15. 16], Ezk 21[29], Mic 1[14], Zec 13[3], and many other passages). Falsehood is severely rebuked in Ps 62[4] 119[69], Pr 14[5. 25] 19[5. 9]. In NT it is regarded as a sin odious to God (Ac 5[3. 4]); contrary to the essence of the gospel (1 Jn 1[6] 2[21. 27]); and disqualifying the perpetrator for the new order (Rev 21[8. 27] 22[15]). It is associated with perjury (1 Ti 1[10]). See OATH, WITNESS, and LYING.

Malice, that was made apparent in tale-bearing, lying in wait for blood, secret hatred, and bearing a grudge, is condemned (Lv 19[16-18]).

Murder, according to the divine word, is a crime against which all nature revolts (Gn 4[10. 23. 24]). The sanctity of human life is founded on the fact that man was made in the image of God (Gn 9[6]). Murder may be instigated by hatred (Nu 35[20. 21]); or by thirst for blood, prompted by premeditated design (Dt 19[11]); or accomplished by deceitful stratagem (Ex 21[14]). **Assassination** is an aggravated form in which life is destroyed by surprise or unexpected assault and treacherous violence (2 S 4[5. 6]), and the following instances occur: Eglon, Jg 3[20-22]; Ishbosheth, 2 S 4[5. 6]; Nadab, 1 K 15[27. 28]; Sennacherib, 2 K 19[37], 2 Ch 32[21]; Gedaliah, Jer 41[2]. In the times of Felix and Festus there appeared a fanatical faction of Jewish patriots known as Sicarii, armed with daggers, *siccæ*, who, flitting about unobserved among the crowds during festival seasons, removed opponents by assassination, and then feigned deep sorrow to avert suspicion. See Ac 21[38] (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 5, *Wars*, II. xiii. 3, II. xvii. 6, IV. vii. 2, ix. 5, VII. viii. 1, x. 1, xi. 1; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 178, 185). There is no mention of **parricide** and **infanticide** in the Mosaic code, as if these crimes were not known to exist or be possible. In Egypt the parent was doomed to embrace the corpse of the child for three days (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 209); and while the Koran condemned prenatal murder as well, E. H. Palmer states in a note to Koran vi. 137, that female children were buried alive in Arabia. The following cases of **suicide** appear: Saul and his armour-bearer, 1 S 31[4. 5]; Ahithophel, 2 S 17[23]; Zimri, 1 K 16[18]; Judas Iscariot, Mt 27[5]; also Ptolemy Macron, 2 Mac 10[13], and Razis, 2 Mac 14[41-46]. It could be treated as a crime by the Jews (Jos. *Wars*, III. viii. 5), but there is no mention of penalty in the Scriptures. Murder in all its forms is forbidden in Ex 20[13], Dt 5[17]. No sanctuary was to be allowed to the criminal (Ex 21[12], Lv 24[17. 21], Nu 35[16. 18], Dt 19[1-13], 1 K 2[28-34]). In poetic thought the voice of blood shed cried for vengeance until the murderer was punished (Gn 4[10]). A woe is pronounced on the city that is regarded as guilty (Ezk 24[6-8]); and when unsuccessful, after the most diligent efforts, in detecting the criminal (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 16), it must by an elaborate and impressive ceremony exonerate itself (Dt 21[1-9]). So sacred was the regard for human life, that the owner of an ox known to be vicious and causing death was held guilty of a capital crime, and the ox was stoned (Ex 21[29]). In Egypt, he who witnessed a murder without giving information of it was considered *particeps criminis*.

Irreverence and Unkindness to Parents.—The command to honour father and mother (Ex 20[12]), also inculcated in the Koran (xvii. 24. 25), rests on a sacred relation corresponding to that of the divine creation. God's majesty is violated when parents are dishonoured (Ex 22[14]). Hence the following are prohibited: (1) Cursing father or mother (Ex 21[17], Lv 20[9]). Examples of this offence in practice are condemned in Mt 15[4-6], Mk 7[9-12]. (2) Striking (Ex 21[15]). This was a capital crime (Dt 21[18-21]). It is possible that insolence to parents was condonable by reformation, and there are evidences that the laws were not invariably executed with extreme rigour. Jos. (*Ant.* XVI. xi. 2) recounts an ineffectual attempt of Herod at Berytus to get rid of his sons on this charge.

Prophesying Falsely.—See PROPHECY.

Prostitution.—See *Fornication*.

Rape, a foul crime that demanded capital punishment (Dt 22[25]). See *Seduction*.

Robbery, when the act is accompanied with violence, as burglary, placed the offender beyond protection (Ex 22[2]). The Egyp. law was similar. Various degrees of the crime were recognized, it being a capital offence to take the 'devoted thing' (Jos 7[25]), or to steal a man (Ex 21[16], Dt 24[7]). See *Kidnapping*.

Sabbath-Breaking.—See SABBATH.

Seduction consisted in the enticement of an unbetrothed virgin, for which restitution was to be made by subsequent marriage, unless the father interposed an obstacle, but then the usual dowry was exacted (Ex 22[16]). In Dt 22[28] it is stated that a fine of 50 shekels was required, and there is no hint of possible compromise. Selden (*Heb. Laws*) states that the Sanhedrin added other mulcts, because this was so insignificant: one for the shame and dishonour; one for the loss of virginity and the vitiating of the body, and still another if force had been used; and some account was taken of the quality and station of the person injured (see W. R. Smith, *RS* 276). An offending bondmaid was scourged, and her enticer, besides paying the fine, must make a trespass-offering (Lv 19[20-22]).

Slander was prohibited, though no punishment is named (Ex 23[1]) except when a wife's chastity was falsely impeached (Dt 32[13-19]). See separate article.

Sodomy was delicately but positively condemned in Gn 13[13] 19[5. 7], and regarded as an abomination (Lv 18[22] 20[13]). On this crime the Koran and Zendavesta likewise are very severe. The Israelites were not always innocent. It was an evil practised in religious ceremonies, as appears from the terms קָדֵשׁ and קְדֵשָׁה (Gn 38[21] and Hos 4[14]), which show that both males and females were set apart for such flagitious uses; but if allowed in heathen temples, it was never to be permitted in the worship of J", Dt 23[17], 1 K 14[24] 15[12] 22[46], 2 K 23[7], Job 36[14], Hos 4[14] (W. R. Smith, *RS* 133).

Speaking Evil of Rulers.—In the theocracy rulers are regarded as standing in the place of God, and so all reproachful words are prohibited. In Ex 22[28], Jg 5[8], 1 S 2[25], Ps 82[1. 2. 6] the term אֱלֹהִים is used so as to imply that judges or legal officers are divine representatives.

Swearing Falsely was never excusable even on behalf of the poor (Ex 20[16] 23[1-3]); but when it was directed against the innocent, it was so aggravated a crime as to permit of no reprieve or pity (Dt 19[16-21]). See LYING and OATH.

Theft involved the culprit, when convicted, in fines of varying grades, and it has been thought, from Pr 6[30. 31] compared with Ex 22[1], that the evil was more prevalent in the later history of the people. Harmer (*Observations*, ii. 194) shows that it was shameful to steal in a caravanserai (Sir 41[19]). In later times it was not considered a crime to steal from a Samaritan or another thief.

Uncleanness as the result of incontinence, lack of restraint, or self-abuse, was forbidden directly (Lv 18[19] 20[18]); marked with the divine displeasure (Gn 38[10]); and indirectly disapproved (Lv 15[1-18]). The Zendavesta pronounces a similar condemnation,

and allows of no atonement for the last-named. See separate article.

Usury might not be taken from Isr. brethren, although the foreigner (*nokhri*) was expressly excluded from this and similar privileges (Ex 22^{25}, Dt $23^{20.21}$). The practice was forbidden by Egyp. laws, and is reproved in the Koran (xxx. 38). In various passages those who abstain from the evil are commended (Dt 15^{7-11} 24^{13}, Ps 15^{5} $37^{21.26}$ 112^{5}, Pr 19^{17}, Ezk 18^{17}). Extortionate and oppressive dealing is condemned (Job 22^{6} $24^{3.7}$). See sep. article.

B. PUNISHMENTS.—Punishment is defined as 'pain or any other penalty on a person for a crime or offence by an authority to which the offender is subject; any pain or detriment suffered in consequence of wrong-doing' (*Standard Dict.*). This article will describe some forms of suffering inflicted on victims who might not be guilty of legal offences. Various words in OT are tr. by 'punishment,' but the Heb. word that most frequently represents the idea is פָּקַד, in the sense of 'visit.' In NT the word is employed generally as a tr. of κόλασις and τιμωρία; also of δικὴ (2 Th 1^{9}), ἐπιτιμία (2 Co 2^{6}), ἐκδίκησις (1 P 2^{14}). Its purpose is not so much to execute vengeance as to deter from further violations, so that the offender 'will hear and fear and do no more presumptuously' (Dt 17^{13} 19^{20}). It was the belief of the Israelites that crimes were encouraged by indulgence (Jos. *Ant.* VI. vii. 4). The ancient Parsees taught that crime was punished in the next as well as in this world (Darmesteter, *Sac. Bks. E.* p. xcvi). The term is properly restricted to penalty for violation of law; but suffering has often been imposed on the innocent and weak, as if these had transgressed order, when it meant no more than the arbitrary will of one in superior authority. Punishment may extend to the forfeiture of life, and is then known in common law as Capital. In the Bible one thus liable is described as having committed a sin of death (Dt 22^{26}); a sin worthy of death (Dt 21^{22}). Such as he are said to be 'sons of death' (1 S 20^{31} 26^{16}, 2 S 12^{5}), or 'men of death' (19^{28}). 'He shall be put to death for his own sin' (Dt 24^{16}, 2 K 14^{6}). See also Jn $8^{21.24}$: 'Ye shall die in your sin.' Various modes of inflicting the penalty are mentioned, some of them as legally authorized among the chosen people, and others as administered by other nations or without regular warrant. The larger class of penalties was of secondary grade, and various means were devised to punish the offender and deter others from repeating the crime.

The following are either alluded to or mentioned in the Bible and the historical or literary works of the people of Israel:—

Anathema (ἀνάθεμα).—See sep. art. CURSE.

Banishment.—There was no provision in the Mosaic code for exile, unless it is to be understood that in some instances he who was cut off from the congregation was expelled from his country as well as from his people. Temporary exclusion was ordered in the case of Miriam (Nu 12^{15}). In the Pers. period it appears as a possible penalty, Ezr 7^{26} (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 194). The Rom. authority resorted to this measure in the case of John, the author of the Apoc. (1^{9}), and it was much dreaded by the Jews (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. i. 1). A wholesale deportation, as a military measure, was made by Sargon, king of Assyria (2 K 18^{11}). The flight of Absalom to Geshur to escape his father's displeasure after Amnon's assassination (2 S 13^{38} $14^{13.14}$), and of Jeroboam to Egypt to avoid king Solomon (1 K 11^{40}), are cases of voluntary exile, but not formal punishment.

Beating (τυμπανισμός, He 11^{35}).—The bastinado was in common use among the Egyptians for thefts, petty frauds, and breach of trust. With it the male adulterer was punished. In minor offences a stick was used. A debtor was often beaten (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 210 ff.). In Assyria a mace was used to crush the skull (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 458). Though designed as a chastisement for slaves by the Greeks, a criminal might be beaten to death (2 Mac $6^{19.28.30}$). See **Braying.**

Beheading.—A capital punishment not sanctioned in Mosaic law, but frequently practised among the Assyr., Pers., Gr., Rom., and others. A cut in Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies* shows the victim standing upright, while the executioner seizes him by a lock of the hair in despatching him. In this way the chief baker who incurred Pharaoh's displeasure may have suffered (Gn 40^{19}), the subsequent suspension of the body being an added reproach (see **Hanging**). It is doubtful whether the seven sons of Gideon were thus slain, Jg 9^{5} (see **Slaying with Spear or Sword.** Ahab's seventy sons lost their heads by command of Jehu (2 K 10^{6-8}). The head of John the Baptist was severed by order of Herod (Mt $14^{8.10}$, Mk 6^{27}). Thus also suffered James the Apostle (Ac 12^{2}). Many of the early martyrs were beheaded (Rev 20^{4}). The head of Ishbosheth was removed after death (2 S 4^{8}). Whether Sheba was slain before he was beheaded is not stated (2 S 20^{21-22}).

Blinding.—The only legal authority for putting out the eyes under the Mosaic dispensation would be found indirectly in the law of retaliation 'an eye for an eye' (Ex 21^{24}, Lv 24^{20}, Dt 19^{18-20}), and therefore the punishment would be seldom inflicted. There is an indistinct reference to something of this sort in boring out the eyes of the spies (Nu 16^{14}). As practised by foreign nations, the Assyrians and Babylonians sometimes using hot irons for the purpose, it was rather designed to incapacitate the victim from rebellion, revolt, or the power of doing further harm. Thus Samson suffered (Jg 16^{21}). Zedekiah lost his eyes partly as a vindictive visitation, but more to effectually unfit him for rulership (2 K 25^{7} and Jer 52^{11}). In Persia it was inflicted for rascality, thieving, and rebellion. Criminals were not permitted to look on the face of the king (Est 7^{8}). Nahash the Ammonite threatened that he would thrust out the right eyes of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead as a reproach on Israel, 1 S 11^{2} (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*; Harmer, *Observations*).

Branding and Burning.—It has been surmised that in some cases where burning was inflicted as the punishment for unchastity, it meant branding on the forehead as a mark of shame. If, however, the extreme penalty is intended, it is represented as of pre-Mosaic authority, and was proposed for Tamar (Gn 38^{24}). The Sinaitic law directs that a priest's daughter shall be burned for fornication (Lv 21^{9}); and that this shall be the form of punishment for incest with a wife's mother (Lv 20^{14}). Fire from the Lord supernaturally slew Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10^{1-3}). Burning alive or scorching was practised by the Phil. (Jg 14^{15}), and associated with a sort of confiscation (12^{1}); also by the Bab. and Chald. (Jer 29^{22}). Esarhaddon burned a king alive (G. Smith, *Assyr. Discov.*), and burning was attempted on Shadrach and his companions (Dn 3). There is an allusion to the practice in Is 43^{2}; see also 2 Mac 7^{5}. Tradition states that Nimrod cast Abraham into the fiery furnace for refusing to worship Chald. gods (Layard, *Bab. and Nin.*; Koran xxi. 68, xxxvii. 95). Cf. Gn 11^{31} with Neh 9^{7}, where אוּר, *'ur*, may be interpreted as light (of a flame). The pouring of molten lead down the throat (Jahn, *Bib. Arch.*) has no other authority than that of Rabbin. statement. Slaves were sometimes branded on the hand (Is 44^{5}), but such disfigurement was forbidden by Jewish law (Lv 19^{28}; cf. Gal 6^{17}). Branding accompanied deportation by the Persians (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 194).

Braying or Pounding in a Mortar.—This act is mentioned in Pr 27^{22} as unavailing in the cure of a fool. RV specifies that the victim may be bruised as with a pestle among corn (see Nestle, Cheyne, etc. in *Expos. Times*, 1897, viii. 287, 335, etc.). Tennant is authority for the statement that it still remains as a Cingalese penalty. The Turks have been charged with such cruelty, and a king of Canday is said to have compelled a wife to pound her infant child to death. There is probable allusion to this form of punishment in He $11^{35.\ 36}$, where the faithful are said to have been tortured or beaten (*ἐτυμπανίσθησαν*), and to have had trial of scourgings. It is said that Eleazar was beaten on an instrument like a drum (2 Mac 6^{30}), and Jos. (*De. Macc.* 5, 9) mentions a wheel (*τροχός*) as an instrument of torture. Hazael put men under sledges with iron spikes (2 K 8^{12} $10^{32.\ 33}$, with Am $1^{3.\ 4}$), to which also the Ammonites were probably subjected (2 S 12^{31}, 1 Ch 20^{3}). The Talm. is quoted by Lightfoot as saying that Nebuzaradan used iron rakes on some of his captives (Jer 39^{9} 52^{28-30}).

Confiscation.—An act for which no provision is made in the Mosaic economy, but authorized in a modified form by Pers. rule, so that a residence might be destroyed; but no mention is made of the forfeiture of property for the benefit of the State (Ezr 6^{11}, Dn 2^{5} 3^{29}). The act described in Ezr 7^{26} seems to convey the idea of modern confiscation.

Crucifixion.—See sep. art. CROSS.

Cutting Asunder.—In carrying out the threat as recorded in Dn 2^{5} and 3^{29}, the body might be cut in more than two pieces. The verb used in Mt 24^{51}, Lk 12^{46}, is *διχοτομεῖν*, which in its etymology signifies severing in two parts.

Cutting off from the People (כָּרַת מֵעַמָּיו, מֵעַמֶּיהָ, כ׳,* LXX *ἐξολοθρεύω*).—A term used in Gn 17^{14} as penalty for neglect of circumcision, and in the law to be employed as a punishment for certain breaches (1) in morals, (2) in the Abrahamic covenant, and (3) in the Levitical ritual. For immorality such as filial irreverence, incest, and unclean connexions, the offender, in at least seven cases, was unquestionably exposed to death (Lv 18^{29} 20^{9-21}). In like manner he who does aught presumptuously (RV 'with a high hand'), that is, wilful sin in general, was liable (Nu 15^{30-31}). In the breach of the covenant it may be doubted whether the extreme penalty of death was invariably inflicted, as in Ex 30^{33}, Lv $23^{29.\ 30}$, and Nu 9^{13}. There are instances where the punishment for offences that were kindred to such as are expressly designated as a breach of ritual, meant death. Such are the cases of (1) Nadab and Abihu (Lv $10^{1.\ 2}$); (2) Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Nu 16^{33}). These 'perished from the congregation' (see Nu 12^{12}, in which it is stated that Miriam, for leprosy, was 'as one dead' in her temporary exclusion). The punishment in general seems so severe that it has been suggested that it was possibly voidable either by an elaborate atonement on the offender's part (Nu 15^{27-31}), or by a divine commutation, the penalty being recorded but not executed. In some instances it meant, perhaps, only deprivation of certain civil and social privileges. There are two such cases: (1) when the people ate of the blood in one of Saul's campaigns (1 S 14^{32}); (2) when king Uzziah offered incense (2 Ch $26^{19.\ 20}$). On the other hand, in Ex $31^{14f.}$ the meaning of the penalty as attached to Sabbath-breaking is interpreted as death.†

* The plural עַמִּים apparently means 'kinsfolk,' 'relatives,' so that 'cut off from *his* (their) people' is a better rendering than 'from *the* people.'

† It may be questioned whether, when 'cut off from his people' stands alone, anything more is intended than to express strongly the divine disapproval under threat of excommunication. Cf. '*I* will cut off,' Lv 17^{10} $20^{3.\ 5.\ 6}$ [all H], and see Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 333 f. and Dillm. on Gn 17^{14}.

Divine Visitation.—In the theocratic economy there were certain sins for which the nation at large suffered. The punishment was considered as inflicted by the divine hand, the visitation itself being manifestly due to no human instrumentality, though man was sometimes the executioner of God's will. Divine condemnation was executed against idolatry, Sabbath-breaking, oppression of the poor, covetousness, and other sins which betokened a rebellious or unholy spirit, or for which an individual could not obtain redress. Human agencies might be employed in the administration of the penalty, but God Himself was regarded as the avenger of the wrong. He it was who led the people, for their wickedness, into captivity (Ezr 9^{7}, Jer 15^{2}, Am 9^{4}), threatened them with the curse (Dt 28^{15-20}, Jer 24^{9}), with consumption and fever (Lv 26^{16}), and inflammation and fiery heat (Dt 28^{22}), caused the drought (Dt 11^{17} $28^{23.\ 24}$, Is 5^{6}, Jer 14^{1-7} 50^{36}, Hag $1^{10.\ 11}$), and famine (Lv 26^{26}, Jer 24^{10} 34^{17}, Rev 6^{8}), kindled a consuming fire (Dt 4^{24}, Is 66^{15}, He 12^{29}), showed His indignation by hail and tempest (Is 30^{30}, Hag 2^{17}), inflicted pestilence and plague (Ezk 6^{11} 7^{15}), exposed to the taunt of proverb and reproach (Dt 28^{37}, 2 Ch 7^{20}, Jer 24^{10}), smote with scourge (Is 10^{26} $28^{15.\ 18}$), and with the sword in the hands of enemies, as shown in so many passages that the reader may consult a concordance for a complete view of these and all other providential punishments named. His displeasure at Korah was shown by the earthquake (Nu 16^{30}). Idolatry was punished by captivity. Delay of justice provoked war. Perjury invited wild beasts. Neglect of tithes was attended with drought and famine (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 91).

Drowning was not distinctively a Jewish punishment. It was the penalty in Babylonia for the wife who repudiated her husband (*Encyc. Brit.* art. 'Babylonia'). Jerome, however, says that offenders were thus sometimes put to death among the Jews as well as among the Romans. There is an allusion to this mode of dying in Mt 18^{6}, Mk 9^{42}. Jos. (*Ant.* XIV. xv. 10) states that some Galileans revolted and drowned the partisans of Herod.

Exposure to Wild Beasts.—Daniel and his enemies were cast into a den of lions (Dn 6), and the practice of thus dealing with offenders is said to be still in vogue in Fez and Morocco. In the use of a strong figure in Mic 4^{13} human beings are represented as being gored or trodden by beasts. The lion from whom St. Paul was said to be delivered (2 Ti 4^{17}) undoubtedly means Nero. No conclusive exegesis has been given of 1 Co 15^{32}. Many are of the opinion that human foes are described, but there is some plausible argument in favour of the literal view. The inroads of wild animals, as by an act of God, are to be regarded as a punishment of Israel for unfaithfulness (Lv 26^{22}, Dt 32^{24}, 2 K 17^{26}). The disobedient prophet, named Jadon according to Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. ix. 1), met death from God by a lion (1 K 13^{26}). Contrariwise, the righteous are protected (Job 5^{23}, Hos 2^{18}).

Fines were permitted at the option of the injured party as a special privilege to freedmen (slaves being punished), and in earliest times the money was presented to the priest or at the sanctuary. It was not in accordance with Sem. doctrine to compel the aggrieved to accept material compensation (W. R. Smith, *RS* 329, 378). In the case of a mortal result, the mulct which might be in lieu of corporal penalty was called 'ransom (RV 'redemption') of life' (Ex 21^{30}), but was never allowed for wilful murder (Nu $35^{31.\ 32}$). The specific amount was generally left to be determined by the judicial tribunal (Ex $21^{22.\ 30}$), but the sum for fatal injury by an ox to a servant was fixed at 30 shekels (Ex 21^{32}), for humbling an unbetrothed virgin at 50 shekels (Dt 22^{29}), and the highest amount named

is for slander against a wife's chastity, 100 shekels (Dt 22[19]). See **Restitution**.

Flaying is mentioned (fig.) Mic 3[2. 3]. It was a practice in Assyria, though the victim may have previously died (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 478; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*; *Mon. of Nin.*). The Persians would flay and then crucify (Rawlinson, iii. 246; also recognized in the Zendavesta). Herodotus (iv. 64, v. 25) states that Persians and Scythians used the skins so obtained.

Hanging consisted usually in the suspension of the lifeless form as a mark of reproach. By this David showed his disapproval of the slaughter of Ishbosheth (2 S 4[12]). The person whose body was so exposed was 'accursed of God' (Dt 21[23], Gal 3[13]), and for this reason it might not remain in view over night (Jos 8[29] 10[26]). This word is used for the act of impaling (ἀνασκολοπίζειν, Ezr 6[11]), a common custom in Assyria. A sharp-pointed stake in a perpendicular position penetrated the body just below the breast-bone (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 477). It was frequent in Persia. Darius impaled 3000 Babylonians (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 295 n.; Herodotus, iii. 159). The Philistines gibbeted (on crosses, Jos. *Ant.* VI. xiv. 8) the dead bodies of Saul and Jonathan (1 S 31[10], 2 S 21[12. 13]). Other Greek words used to represent this act are ἐξηλιάζειν and παραδειγματίζειν, for which the Vulg. uses *crucifigere* (see **Cross**); and so St. Paul, according to the accepted exegesis of the time, applied Dt 21[23] to the ignominy of Jesus. Execution on the gallows was not prescribed for any crime in the Mosaic code. There is a difference of opinion whether the chief baker (Gn 41[13]) lost his life by being hanged by the neck, or whether his body, after being despatched, was exposed to shame (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, ii. 213). In later history offenders were hanged by the hands (La 5[12], Targ. 12), and in 1 Mac 1[61] it is stated that dead children were hanged to the necks of their mothers. Ahithophel (2 S 17[23]) and Judas (Mt 27[5], Ac 1[18]) voluntarily, in chagrin and remorse, took their lives by hanging. There is an apparent allusion to this form of punishment in 1 K 20[31]). The Gibeonites may have adopted this method of avengement on the sons of Saul (2 S 21[9]), because it was in vogue among the aboriginal nations of the land. Stanley (*Hist. Jew. Ch.* ii. 37) says the victims were first crucified, then suspended. Under the Persian rule there was resort to the gallows (יָעַץ, but called 'tree' in Gn 40[19], Dt 21[22]) for punishing the conspirators against Ahasuerus (Est 2[23]), Haman (7[9. 10]) and his ten sons (9[14]); possibly the same as impalement.

Imprisonment.—Offenders were confined by the Israelites as well as other nations. The prison was often used merely for keeping a person in ward until the pleasure of the judicial power should be known. So Joseph by Potiphar (Gn 39[20. 21]); the son of Shelomith, for blasphemy (Lv 24[12]); the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath (Nu 15[34]); the apostles after healing the lame man (Ac 4[3]); St. Peter, by order of Herod, till a convenient time for his execution (Ac 12[4]). Incarceration was often accompanied with other punishments (cf. Samson grinding for the Philistines, Jg 16[21]), or it was regarded as an alternative (Ezr 7[26]). Jeremiah was smitten as well as imprisoned (Jer 37[15]). The murderer and debtor might be delivered both to prison and the tormentors (Mt 18[30]). Zedekiah used the prison for the protection of Jeremiah from his enemies (Jer 37[21]). He was then transferred to the princes, who cast him into the dungeon or pit (Jer 38[6]). For the Eng. word 'dungeon' or 'prison' in Gn 40[15] 39[20], 1 K 22[27], 2 K 25[29], 2 Ch 16[10], Ps 142[7], Ec 4[14], Is 24[22] 42[7], Jer 37[4. 15] 52[11], there are eight different roots in the Heb. which would imply that detention of those under accusation or in disfavour was regular and quite common, the confinement itself being for the purpose of punishment. Confinement in jail was inflicted as a preliminary punishment by Ahab on Micaiah, accompanied with spare bread and water diet (1 K 22[27]); by Asa on Hanani (2 Ch 16[10]). The motive of Herod in imprisoning John the Baptist is uncertain (Mt 4[12]). Barabbas was committed for insurrection, and it would appear as if this were intended to be final (Lk 23[19]). In the prison-house, which might contain cells (Jer 37[16]), there was sometimes a pit with or without water (Jer 38[6], Zec 9[11]), and the court of the prison is mentioned in Jer 37, 38, 39, and elsewhere. In some prisons there were stocks (Jer 20[2] 29[26], Ac 16[24]). To the Rom. prison there were three parts: *communiora*, *ulteriora*, where Paul and Silas were kept, and the *Tullianum* or dungeon, the place of execution (Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, i. 304 n.). There is an allusion to prisoners at labour in Job 3[18], and they might be held in chains (Ps 105[18] 107[10], Jer 40[4]).

Indignities.—There was resort to various means of heaping contumely on an offender; such as ignominious or obscure burial for a blasphemer (Jos. *Ant.* IV. viii. 6; 1 K 14[13], 2 K 9[10] 21[18. 26], 2 Ch 24[25], Jer 22[19]). Some victims were slain and left in the street or cast behind the walls (Ps 79[2. 3], To 2[3]). Heads of the slain were removed and carried in triumph (1 S 17[57] 31[9]). Dead bodies were burned (Jos 7[15. 25], Lv 20[14], Am 2[1]. See **Burning**) or hanged (2 S 4[12], Gn 40[17-19] [see **Hanging**], Nu 25[4. 5], Dt 21[22. 23]). Stones were thrown on the corpse, as on that of Achan (Jos 7[25. 26]), the king of Ai (Jos 8[29]), and on the tomb of Absalom (2 S 18[17]). Mohammedans still maintain the custom when passing by its supposed site (Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 61); but Harmer plausibly suggests that the 'heap of stones' was erected in honour. Some forms of execution were regarded as more disgraceful than others, as crucifixion (Jn 19[31]), but it was not the design of the Mosaic law to cover a sufferer with perpetual infamy. In Egypt a calumniator of the dead was subject to severe punishment (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.*).

Mutilation was practised, but not under direct sanction of the covenant law. The thumbs and great toes of Adonibezek were severed (Jg 1[6. 7]). The slayers of Ishbosheth (2 S 4[12]) lost their hands, but possibly after death. Nebuchadrezzar threatened to cut in pieces his offending counsellors (Dn 2[5]). At the command of Antiochus Epiphanes (acc. to 2 Mac 7[1-40]), seven brothers suffered horrible outrages, among others that of tearing out the tongue, a very common cruelty among the Assyrians. In Egypt robbers were sometimes deprived of the right hand for the first offence, the left foot for the second, and the left hand for the third; though the theft of food not quickly perishable was not so severely punished (Lane, *Mod. Egyp.*). To this act our Saviour's statement in Mt 24[51], Lk 12[46], seems to allude. An Egyptian victor was known to display severed hands as proof of the number of his trophies (see 1 S 18[27]). The town of Rhinocolura was said to be peopled by robbers who had lost their noses. The nose and ears of an adulterer were cut off (Diod. Sic. i. 78), and from Ezk 23[25] it appears that the usage was in vogue among the Babylonians. (On the horrible cruelties of Assurbanipal, as recorded on his cylinder, see *RP* iii. 39–50.) Rings were put in the lips or noses of captives (2 Ch 33[11] 'among the thorns,' RV 'in chains,' Is 37[29], Ezk 19[4. 9]; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 7; and see Am 4[2]).

Plucking off the Hair was a punishment inflicted on Jews who had indulged in mixed marriages (Neh 13[25]). It may have been intended simply for disfigurement. The prophet in Is 50[6] alludes to the judicial practice as common in his time. The effort was so vicious as described in 2 Mac 7[7], that the skin was torn off with the hair; but in scalping,

as practised by the N. American Indians, a knife was used. As an insult to David's servants, half of the beard was shaven off (2 S 10^4). The head was subjected to other indignities (Job 30^{10}, Mt 27^{30}, Mk 12^4).

Precipitation.—It is stated in 2 Ch 25^{12} that 10,000 Edomites were cast from a rock by the children of Judah. So two Jewish women are said to have suffered (2 Mac 6^{10}). Of the same sort are the acts mentioned in 2 K 8^{12}, Hos 10^{14} 13^{16}. On column iv. 100, 101 of Assurbanipal (G. Smith), it is stated that certain persons were thrown on the stone lions and bulls in a quarry, the fall designed to be fatal. Calmet is of opinion, with Jerome as authority, that this was the fate of Oreb and Zeeb (Jg 7^{25}). An attempt after this manner was made on the life of Jesus (Lk 4^{29}).

Restitution.—There was enacted an elaborate system for compensating an injured party under the sanction of Mosaism. As far as possible the restoration was identical with, or analogous to, the loss of time or power (Ex $21^{18\text{-}36}$, Lv $24^{18\text{-}21}$, Dt 19^{21}). He who stole and then slew or sold a live ox had to restore fivefold; if it was a live sheep fourfold. The penalty was designed in part to be prohibitory, because sheep were more exposed in the desert, while oxen were necessary and not so easily taken. In later history it appears as if sevenfold might be exacted (Pr 6^{31}. See also the LXX tr. of 2 S 12^6, where seven is substituted for four). If the identical animal was restored, another of equal value was all that the law required besides. Burglary doomed the culprit to unrequited death or to slavery. For breach of trust or for trespass, twenty per cent. additional to the original sum was demanded (Lv $6^{1\text{-}5}$, Nu $5^{5\text{-}10}$). He who was detected in the theft of a pledge, or was found guilty in the matter of trespass while the property was in his hand, must pay double. Pecuniary compensation must be furnished for damages by an animal, when not on its own ground (Ex 22^5); and when a fatality occurred in the case of a servant, thirty shekels must be paid to the loser (Ex 21^{32}; see Dt 22^{19}). One case only is mentioned of permitted commutation for bull-goring (Ex $21^{28\text{-}32}$). In case a married woman was killed, the fine was paid to her father's (instead of her own) family (Lewis, *Heb. Ant.*). Akin to restoration is redemption, referred to in Lv $25^{27.\ 28}$, Ezk $18^{7.\ 12}$. Remuneration was expected for loss by fire, through negligence, of a standing grain field; or for the loss or damage of a pledge (Ex $22^{6.\ 12.\ 13}$). Under Rom. law a jailer losing his prisoner was liable to the punishment which was to be inflicted for the crime on which the arrest had been made (Ac 12^{19} 16^{27}). In NT morals it was taught that the guilt of theft could not be compounded by restitution. 'Let him that stole steal no more' (Eph 4^{28}); but Zacchæus, on the occasion of his pardon, proposed to restore fourfold (Lk 19^8).

Retaliation was authorized in the code of Ex $21^{24.\ 25}$. It was in use among other nations, esp. the Egyptians (cf. the *lex talionis* of the Romans). It was not unequivocally approved by ancient authors, because it was apt to degenerate into mere revenge and would often be unfair in its operation. The possibility of its baneful consequences is shown by Thomson (*Land and Book*, i. 447, 449). Diodorus Siculus instances a one-eyed man as suffering more than the victim with two eyes. Favorinus shows the injustice of this principle in operation as contained in one of the Twelve Tables, in that the same member may be worth more to one man than to another, as the right hand of a scribe or painter compared with that of a singer. Hence it had to be administered with certain modifications. Thus Heb. law adopted the principle, but lodged the application with the judge (Ex $21^{22ff.}$, Lv $24^{19\text{-}22}$); and an aggressor, by the payment of a ransom, could compound with the aggrieved and be relieved from the full penalty of the law. A false accuser was required to suffer the same penalty that he proposed against the accused (Dt 19^{19}). Heb. law was milder in spirit than that of heathen jurisprudence. Moses would not allow parents or children to suffer for the offences of each other (Dt 24^{16}). This equitable exemption was not regarded by the Chaldæans (Dn 6^{24}), or even by the kings of Israel (1 K 21^{21}, 2 K 9^{26}).

Sawing Asunder.—In He 11^{37} the term is used to describe an ancient form of punishment, which was possibly a crushing under instruments of iron (Am 1^3); and it is said, on the authority of Justin Martyr (*Dial. with Trypho*), to have been practised on Isaiah. There is an allusion to something of this sort in Pr 20^{26} (RV) 'He bringeth the threshing wheel over them' (cf. Is $28^{27.\ 28}$). Saws are mentioned in 2 S 12^{31}, 1 Ch 20^3; and while it is painful to admit that David may have been guilty of such severity, the literal interpretation is the most plausible and accords with the usages of the times. (See, however, Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* 226 ff.). In Shaw's *Travels* a case is described where the victim was placed between two boards and dissevered longitudinally (Smith, *DB*), and another case is mentioned by Harmer (*Observations*) as occurring on Stewart's journey to Mequinez.

Scourging with Thorns (see also **Stripes**).—In the marginal reading of Jg 8^7, Gideon is represented as threatening to thresh the men of Succoth with thorns and briers, and in the margin to 8^{16} it is stated that they were thus punished, as Stanley (*Hist. Jew. Ch.*) suggests, with the acacia. The scorpions (עֲקְרַבִּים) mentioned in 1 K 12^{11} may have been knotted sticks, or ropes into which wire was plaited, or iron points or nails or cutting pieces of lead were inserted. Calmet guesses that David so treated the Moabites (2 S 8^2). Some attempt to solve the much-mooted difficulties of 2 S 12^{31} by a reference to this mode of punishment.

Slavery.—In Heb. law it was possible for a person to fall into servitude for a limited time. A thief, when unable to make restitution, was sold with wife and children (Ex 22^3). The misfortune of debt led to the same result (2 K 4^1, Neh 5^5). The statute of limitations mercifully provided against oppressive usage and permanent enslavement (Lv $25^{39\text{-}43}$, Dt 15^{12}, Jer 34^{14}). The Rabbins say a woman could not be sold for theft. Joseph proposed, as an Egyptian procedure, to make a slave of the detected pilferer of his cup (Gn 44^{17}). See separate article.

Slaying by Spear or Sword.—This was an expeditious method, sometimes adopted in an emergency. The spear, javelin, or dart (He 12^{20}) was to be used on trespassers at the foot of Sinai (Ex 19^{13}). Phinehas went so armed in eager and immediate punishment of the man found with a Midianitish woman (Nu $25^{7.\ 8}$). The sword was taken by the Levites against the worshippers of the golden calf (Ex 32^{27}), and in Dt $13^{13\text{-}15}$ authority is given for its use in the wholesale slaughter of a city for idolatry. Some cutting instrument was employed by Abimelech in the murder of his brethren (Jg 9^5). Samuel hewed Agag to pieces with the sword (1 S 15^{33}), and with the same Doeg massacred the priests in Nob (1 S $22^{18.\ 19}$). According to the *lex talionis*, the young Amalekite who claimed that he drew the sword to kill Saul was put to death with the same kind of implement (2 S 1^{15}), with which or the spear Ishbosheth was assassinated (2 S $4^{6.\ 7}$). The sword was used in the summary executions ordered by Solomon (1 K $2^{25.\ 29.\ 31.\ 34}$). By it Elijah slew the prophets of Baal (1 K 19^1), and it was common in regal and martial proceedings, becoming still more prominent in post-Bab. times. The sword or axe was employed to carry out the order of Jehu on Ahab's

sons (2 K 10[7]) (see **Beheading**). Thus Jehoram murdered his brethren (2 Ch 21[4]), and Jehoiakim despatched Urijah (Jer 26[23]). The sword as an instrument of punishment is specifically mentioned in Job 19[29]. See also **Divine Visitation**.

The Stocks (מַהְפֶּכֶת, ξυλόν πεντεσύριγγον). This machine, though probably of Egyp. origin, is not described in the Mosaic legislation, but in it Hanani, the seer, was put by Asa (2 Ch 16[10]), and Jeremiah was punished (Jer 20[2]). In Jer 27[2] RV uses 'bars' for AV 'yokes,' and in Jer 29[26] changes 'prison' to 'stocks,' and 'stocks' to 'shackles,' that is, the pillory. It usually contained five holes for the neck, arms, and legs, which sometimes were inserted crosswise. One form (כֶּלֶא) was designed for the legs only. The word 'stocks' is employed in Job 13[27] 33[11] and Pr 7[22], and this form of torture was probably in mind when Ps 105[18] was written. It was an infliction among the Romans as indicated by Ac 16[24].

Stoning was the ordinary formal and legal mode of inflicting punishment in the earlier history of the children of Israel, and was in vogue before the departure from Egypt (Ex 8[26]). Even beasts might be the victims, evidently as a spectacular example (Ex 19[13] 21[28, 29, 32]). Stoning was the penalty for taking 'the accursed thing' (Jos 7[25]); for adultery and unchastity, the death sentence being pronounced in Lv 20[10], and the means of carrying it out stated in Dt 22[21, 24], Jn 8[5, 7]; for blasphemy (Lv 24[10-24]), and on this specious charge Naboth (1 K 21[10]) and Stephen (Ac 7[58]) suffered, and an effort was made to show Jesus guilty by a feint to stone Him (Jn 10[31]); for divination (Lv 20[6, 27]), idolatry (Dt 13[10]), dishonour to parents (Dt 21[21]), prophesying falsely (Dt 13[5, 10]), and Sabbath-breaking (Ex 31[14] 35[2], Nu 15[35, 36]). Doubtless other capital crimes would thus be punished, and the city of Jerusalem was so threatened as if it were an individual culprit (Ezk 16[40]). In an orderly proceeding the witness was to cast the first stone (Dt 17[7], Jn 8[7]), and as the Rabbins say, on the chest; and if others were necessary to produce death, the bystanders hurled them. Lawless movements are mentioned or suggested, like that to which Moses thought himself exposed (Ex 17[4]), the accomplished acts on Adoram (1 K 12[18]) and Zechariah (2 Ch 24[21]), in the danger dreaded by the priests on account of their estimate of the Baptist (Lk 20[6]), and the assault on St. Paul in Iconium (Ac 14[5]). Poisoners among the Persians were laid on one stone and crushed by another (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 247; see Mt 21[44], Lk 20[18]).

Strangling was a later form of capital punishment among the Jews (W. R. Smith, *RS* 398), but there is no scriptural authority for it. The convict was immersed in clay or mud, and a cloth was twisted around the neck and drawn in opposite directions by two lictors, so as to take the breath. During the operation molten lead might be poured down the throat (Sanhedr. 10. 3). The proposed humiliation of the Syrians before Israel (1 K 20[31]) may hint at the practice. See **Hanging**.

Stripes.—The Mosaic economy ordained that an offender might be punished with stripes (Lv 19[20], Dt 22[18]), not exceeding forty (Dt 25[3]); and this limit was carefully observed, as on St. Paul (2 Co 11[24]), for a single stroke in excess subjected the executioner to punishment. The scourge was composed of three thongs, of which 39 was the largest multiple within the limit. It was the most common mode of secondary punishment, and the idea of disgrace did not seem to attach to it (but see Jos. *Ant.* iv. viii. 21). No station of life was exempt (see from Pr 17[26], indicating that the noble may be smitten, and 10[13] that a rod is proper for the vacant-minded). The bastinado may have been used on Jeremiah (20[2] 37[15]). Scourging was inflicted on a bondmaid overtaken in illegal intercourse (Lv 19[20]), on a husband who falsely accused his wife, on a person who used abusive language (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. x. 6), on ecclesiastical offenders in the synagogue (Mt 10[17], Ac 26[11]), and it might be used on the debtor (Mt 5[25] 18[34]). As to the method: the culprit lay on the ground while under castigation, in the presence of the judge, who during the infliction proclaimed the words in Dt 28[58, 59], and concluded with those in Ps 78[38]. In later times an adult male was stripped to the waist and in a bending posture lashed to a pillar; a female received the stripes while sitting with head and shoulders bent forward; and a boy was punished with his hands tied behind him. The Mosaic regulations were in pleasing contrast with those of the Zendavesta, which authorizes as many as 10,000 stripes for the murder of a water dog (Darmesteter, *Intro.*). The Porcian law forbade the scourging of Rom. citizens (Cic. in *Verr.* v. 53, Ac 16[37] 22[25]). Nevertheless, it was regarded as a wholesome punishment, and is zealously advocated in Pr 13[24] 23[13, 14]; see also Sir 30[1-13]. It is a symbol of divine correction (Ps 89[32]), and is regarded as a purifier (Pr 20[30]). The Moslems have a proverb that the stick is from heaven, a blessing from God.

Suffocation was a recognized Pers. mode of dealing with offenders. A case is described (2 Mac 13[4-8]): Menelaus was fastened to a revolving wheel in a standpipe 50 cubits high, filled with ashes, in which he was repeatedly immersed, until death ensued. Another description attributes a similar method to the Macedonians, the victim being placed on a beam, under which the ashes were constantly stirred until he was overcome with heat and dust (see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 246).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited in the art., the reader may consult Hamburger, *RE*, art. 'Lohn u. Strafe' (pp. 691–703) and 'Vergeltung' (pp. 1252–57); artt. on the various crimes and punishments enumerated above, in Riehm, *HWB*, Herzog, *RE*, and Schenkel, *Bibellex.*; Saalschutz, *das Mosaische Recht*; the *Bib. Archäol.* of Keil, Benzinger, and Nowack; Post, *Familienrecht*, 358 f.; Hartmann, *Enge. Verbind. d. A.T. mit d. N.* 197 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 90 ff.; W. R Smith, *OTJC*[2] 340 f., 368 f.; J. W. Haley, *Esther* (1885), pp. 122–130; Dillmann, *Com.* on the Pent., and Driver, *Deut.* (*passim*).

J. POUCHER.

CRIMSON. — Two words are tr. 'crimson' in both AV and RV, תּוֹלָע *tôlā'* (Is 1[18]), LXX κόκκινος, and כַּרְמִיל *karmîl* (2 Ch 2[7, 14] 3[14]). *Karmîl* is a later word used in place of the earlier שָׁנִי *shânî*. *Shânî* is rendered once (Jer 4[30] AV) *crimson*. In the same passage in RV, and in all other passages where it occurs in both VSS, it is rendered *scarlet*. In Is 1[18] שָׁנִים is rendered *scarlet*, LXX φοινικοῦν, and תּוֹלָע *crimson*, LXX κόκκινον. It is probable that the distinction of these two colours was not accurately made at that time, as indeed it has not been preserved in the VSS. See COLOURS; and for the *insect* producing both these colours see SCARLET.

G. E. POST.

CRIPPLE.—See MEDICINE.

CRISPING PINS (חֲרִיטִים, Is 3[22], RV 'satchels,' and 2 K 5[23], AV and RV 'bags'; see BAG 3*b*).—To 'crisp' is in mod. language to 'crimp,' that is, curl in short wavy folds. The word is often used in Shaks., Milton, and others, of the curl a breeze makes on the water, as *Par. Lost*, iv. 237, 'the crisped brooks'; cf. Byron, *Childe Harold*, iv. 211, 'I would not their vile breath should crisp the stream.' But the earliest ref. is to the hair; and a 'crisping pin' is an instrument for crimping the hair. Cf. Pocklington (1637), 'Fetch me my Crisping pinnes to curle my lockes.'

J. HASTINGS.

CRISPUS (Κρίσπος). — The chief ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth (Ac 18[8]). Convinced by the reasonings of St. Paul that Jesus was the Messiah, he believed with all his house. The

apostle mentions him (1 Co 1^{14}) as one of the few persons whom he himself had baptized. Tradition represents him as having afterwards become bishop of Ægina (*Const. Apost.* vii. 46). R. M. Boyd.

CROCODILE (RVm Job 41^{1}).—The crocodile is doubtless meant by leviathan in the above passage and Job 3^{8}. In Ps 74^{14} leviathan refers to Pharaoh, under the simile of a crocodile. Cf. Ezk 29^{3}, where Pharaoh is called 'the great dragon (*tannîm*, for the usual *tannîn*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers,' and 32^{2}, where he is compared to a 'whale (also *tannîm* AVm, RV text 'dragon') in the seas,' the reference being to the crocodile of the river (Arab. *baḥr* = sea, the usual Arab. way of speaking of their great river the Nile). See Leviathan, Dragon. The crocodile is a saurian, sometimes attaining a length of 20 feet. His back and sides are covered with an armour, impenetrable to spears, swords, slingstones, and arrows (Job $41^{7.15-17.26.28.29}$); not to be injured by clubs (RV for AV 'darts' v.^{29}), or even spherical bullets. The scales of which this armour is composed are beautifully marked. His jaws are set with numerous sharp-pointed teeth (v.^{14}). His neck is extremely powerful (v.^{22}). His tail is also very muscular, and a blow from it will crush a man. His legs are short. The toes of the fore feet are five, and of the hind feet only four. The inner two toes of the fore feet and the inner one of the hind feet are destitute of claws. The rest have strong claws (v.^{30}). The crocodile is well characterized as 'a king over all the children of pride' (v.^{34}). In one other passage (Jer 46^{6}) RVm gives 'crocodile' for *tannîm*, AV 'dragons.'

The **Land Crocodile** (Lv 11^{30} RV) is not a crocodile, but probably the Monitor (see Chameleon).

G. E. Post.

CROOKBACKT (Amer. RV 'crook-backed'), Lv 21^{20}. See Medicine.

CROSS is the tr. of the Gr. *σταυρός*, the name applied in NT to the instrument upon which Jesus Christ suffered death. Owing to the variety of the methods in which crucifixion might be inflicted, and the indefiniteness of the terms employed, it is impossible to determine with certainty the exact nature of the cross used in His case. *σταυρός* means properly a stake, and is the tr. not merely of the Lat. *crux* (cross), but of *palus* (stake) as well. As used in NT, however, it refers evidently not to the simple stake used for impaling, of which widespread punishment crucifixion was a refinement, but to the more elaborate cross used by the Romans in the time of Christ. Besides the *crux simplex*, or simple stake, we may exclude from consideration the so-called cross of St. Andrew, shaped like an X, the origin of which is much later, and concerning the actual use of which there is much doubt. There remain of the four varieties of cross usually enumerated only two, between which the choice must lie—the *crux commissa* or St. Anthony's cross, shaped like a T, and consisting of a single upright post, across the top of which is fastened a horizontal cross-bar; and the *crux immissa* or Lat. cross, in which the top of the upright shaft projects above the cross-bar, as in the form with which we are most familiar. In favour of the latter is not only the testimony of the oldest tradition, which in such a matter is entitled to great weight, but also the statements of the evangelists concerning the title nailed to the cross (Mt 27^{37}, Mk 15^{26}, Lk 23^{38}, Jn 19^{19-22}).

The upright post to which alone the name properly belongs, was usually a piece of some strong, cheap wood, pine or oak, of such length that when firmly planted in the ground the top was from 7½ to 9 ft. high. Most modern illustrations err in making the upright much too high. It was erected on some spot outside the city, convenient for the execution, and remained there as a permanent fixture, only the cross-bar or *patibulum* being carried to the spot, usually by the person who was to suffer death. This consisted sometimes of a single piece of wood, more often of two parallel bars joined at one end, between which the head of the victim passed, and to the ends of which his hands were fastened. The cross which Jesus carried was doubtless simply the cross-bar in one of these two forms. Keim argues in favour of the simpler, partly because Jesus is represented as clothed, which would hardly have been the case had He carried the double *patibulum*; partly because of the carrying of it by Simon, which he regards rather as a rude joke of the soldiers than as rendered necessary by the weight of the cross-bar, which could in no case have been very heavy (*Jesu von Nazara*, iii. 398, Eng. tr. vi. 125). Besides the *patibulum*, the cross was furnished with a support for the body called the *sedile*. This was a small piece of wood projecting at right angles from the upright, upon which the victim sat as upon a saddle. It was designed to bear part of the weight of the body, which would otherwise have been too great to be supported by the hands alone. Whether there was also a support for the feet, the so-called *ὑποπόδιον*, is still in dispute.

The origin of crucifixion must be sought in the E., probably among the Phœn., from whom it passed to the Greeks and Romans. The long list of peoples given by Winer (*RWB* i. 680), and often copied, includes many cases which prove no more than impaling (so the Persians, Egyptians, Indians). For the practice among the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Numidians we have good authority. We hear of Alexander on one occasion crucifying as many as 2000 Tyrians. Among the Romans this was a very common punishment. At first they confined it to slaves and seditious persons, but gradually extended its use, especially in the provinces, here following Punic examples. In Sicily, Verres crucified even Roman citizens. The same was done by Galba in Spain. But these were rare exceptions, and excited universal indignation. In Judæa the punishment was frequently used. Thus Varus crucified 2000 rioters after the death of Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. x. 10). Under Claudius and Nero, various governors, Tiberius Alexander, Quadratus, Felix, Florus, crucified robbers and rioters of political and religious character, including two sons of Judas Galilæus (*Ant.* xx. v. 2; *BJ* ii. xii. 6, ii. xiii. 2), and even respectable citizens and Roman knights (*BJ* ii. xiv. 9). Titus crucified so many after the destruction of Jerus. that there was neither wood for the crosses nor place to set them up (*BJ* v. xi. 1). Especially under Tiberius, who held that simple death was escape, was this method of punishment frequent.

The Jews did not practise the crucifixion of living persons. The case of Jannæus, referred to by Jos. (*BJ* i. iv. 6), was an exception which called forth universal reprobation. But the hanging up of dead bodies meets us frequently in OT. See Jos 10^{26} (the five kings), 2 S 4^{12} (the murderers of Ish-bosheth), 1 S 31^{10} (the Philistines and Saul, cf. 2 S 21^{12}), Ezr 6^{11} (the decree of Darius), and is distinctly authorized in the law (Dt 21^{22}, cf. Nu 25^{4}, where J″ commands this punishment in the case of the men who have led the people away to Baal-peor). In such cases the dead body became accursed, and must be buried before nightfall, that the land might not suffer pollution (Dt 21^{23}). Those who suffered crucifixion came under this curse, and hence the passage in Dt is applied to Jesus not only in the Talm., but also by NT writers. This explains the frequent reference to the cross in NT as the tree (*ξύλον*), that being the LXX tr. of the

Heb. עֵץ. (Cf. Ac 5^{30} 10^{39} 13^{29}, 1 P 2^{24}, and esp. Gal 3^{13} 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us; for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.')

The method of crucifixion is clearly described in NT. After condemnation, the victim was scourged with the *flagellum*, a punishment so terrible that men often died under it. In Jesus' case the scourging seems to have taken place before rather than after, possibly to excite pity (Jn 19^{1}). The cross-bar was then bound on the victim's back, or his head inserted in the *patibulum*, and he was led through the city accompanied by the centurion and four soldiers detailed to conduct the execution. The title, a piece of wood covered with white gypsum on which the nature of his offence was set forth in letters of black, was usually carried before the condemned person, so that all might know the reason for which he was to die. This custom of carrying the cross gave rise to 'the proverb *αἴρειν* or *λαμβάνειν* or *βαστάζειν τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ* which was wont to be used of those who on behalf of God's cause do not hesitate cheerfully and manfully to bear persecutions, troubles, distresses, thus recalling the fate of Christ, and the spirit in which He encountered it' (Thayer, *Lex.* p. 586). In this sense it is used by Jesus Himself in the well-known saying, 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me' (Mt 16^{24}, Mk 8^{34}, Lk 9^{23}; cf. Mt 10^{38}, Lk 14^{27}). Arrived at the place of execution, the prisoner was stripped, his garments falling to the soldiers as their booty. He was then bound to the *patibulum*, and both were raised on ladders until the cross-bar rested on the notch prepared to receive it. This was the more common custom. In a few cases the cross piece was fastened to the upright lying on the ground, and the whole then raised together. After the *patibulum* was firmly fastened, the hands were nailed to its extremities, and possibly the feet to the upright, although this was less frequent. Afterwards the title was fastened to the head of the cross, and the victim was left to the slow agonies of a death which might endure many hours, and even days.

All authorities agree that of all deaths crucifixion was the most abhorred. This was due not only to its pain, which was of the most intense character (see the account of Richter, quoted in Smith, *DB*), but also to its shame, which in the case of the Roman was due to its servile association, in that of the Jew to its rendering the sufferer accursed. Cicero in his oration against Verres (v. 66) declares that it is impossible to find a fit word to describe such an outrage as the crucifixion of a Roman citizen. '*Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum: scelus verberari: prope parricidium necari; quid dicam in crucem tolli? Verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest.*'

The shame of this death is often referred to in NT. So He 12^{2} 'Jesus, who endured the cross, despising shame'; He 13^{13} 'Let us therefore go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach'; cf. He 11^{26}. With more particular reference to its relation to the ceremonial law, Gal 3^{13} 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us; for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree'; 1 Co 12^{3} 'No man speaking in the Spirit of God saith Jesus is anathema.' Because of this character, the death of Jesus upon the cross, viewed in the light of His Messianic claims, became not merely foolishness to Greeks, but a stumbling-block to Jews (1 Co $1^{18.\ 23}$, cf. Gal 5^{11}). It was an outrage to Jewish propriety that He who had become accursed in the sight of the law by His death on the cross should claim to be the Messiah in whom the law was fulfilled. This element of ceremonial defilement has been particularly emphasized by C. C. Everett in *The Gospel of Paul* (Boston, 1893), as a clue to the understanding of St. Paul's view of the significance of Christ's death. This significance he finds not at all in its penal character, but in its character as ceremonial defilement. Christ by His death on the cross became accursed (anathema). Those Christians who accepted this accursed sufferer as the Messiah of God, shared His curse, and were in like manner cut off by the law. But this cutting off by the law brought with it also freedom from the law, since those who were thus outcast were no longer within its realm. Thus Christ's death under the law, followed by His resurrection, was God's way of showing that the Jewish law was done away, and a new method of salvation, even that through faith in Christ, ushered in.

The use of the word 'cross' in a theological sense, as a brief designation of Christ's saving work, is characteristic of St. Paul. The gospel of salvation is 'the word of the cross' (1 Co 1^{18}). Those who suffer persecution because of their faith in the saving efficacy of Christ's death, do so 'for the cross of Christ' (Gal 6^{12}). They who refuse this gospel are 'enemies of the cross of Christ' (Ph 3^{18}). The cross is not only the instrument of the reconciliation between God and man (Col 1^{20}, Eph 2^{16}), through the death of Him who there suffered (Col 1^{20} 'the blood of the cross'), but also between Jew and Gentile (Col 2^{14} the bond nailed to the cross), since by it the 'bond written in ordinances,' which up to that time had barred the way of the Gentiles to God, is put out of the way. It was through the cross, *i.e.* acceptance of the crucified Christ as Saviour, that the world was crucified to Paul, and Paul to the world (Gal 6^{14}). Thus crucifixion becomes not merely the means of salvation, but the type of that absolute renunciation of the world which characterizes the true Christian life (Gal 5^{24}).

LITERATURE.—The articles on *Cross* and *Crucifixion* in Smith, *DB* and in Herzog, *RE*. Monographs by Lipsius, *De Cruce*, Antwerp, 1595; Nicquetus, *Titulus s. Crucis*, Ant., 1670; Curtius, *De Clavis Dominicis*, Ant., 1670; Bartolinus, *De Cruce*, Amsterdam, 1670; and more recently by Zöckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, 1875, and Fulda, *Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung*, 1878. Much information is contained in the Lives of Christ of Keim and Hase. On the theological significance of the cross, cf. besides the *Biblical Theologies*, Everett, *The Gospel of Paul*, Boston, 1893.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

CROW occurs once in Apocr. (Bar 6^{54}), where the helplessness of idols is illustrated by the remark that 'they are * as crows (*κορῶναι*) between heaven and earth.' In Jer 3^{2} the LXX has *ὡσεὶ κορώνη ἐρημουμένη* for MT כָּעֲרָבִי בַּמִּדְבָּר ('as an Arabian in the wilderness,' RV), which implies the punctuation עֹרֵב ('raven') instead of עֲרָבִי ('Arabian'). The common LXX equivalent of עֹרֵב is *κόραξ*. See RAVEN.

J. A. SELBIE.

CROWN.—In OT (both AV and RV) *Crown* is used to translate several Heb. words, the particular meanings of which must be distinguished. **1.** The golden fillets or mouldings placed around the ark of the covenant (Ex 25^{11} 37^{2}), the table of shewbread (Ex 25^{24} 37^{11}) and its border (Ex 25^{25} 37^{12}), and the altar of incense (Ex $30^{3.\ 4}$ $37^{26.\ 27}$) in the Mosaic tabernacle are called Crowns (RVm 'rim or moulding'). The Heb. word (זֵר) means a cincture like a wreath, and describes rather the foliated appearance of the band than its position on the object to which it was attached. (LXX tr. it by a phrase meaning 'twisted golden wavelets' [*κυμάτια χρυσᾶ στρεπτά*] or 'twisted golden crown' [*στρεπτὴν στεφάνην χρυσῆν*]; Pal. Targ. by זֵיר a wreath; Vulg. by *corona*, whence Eng. translation. The later Rabbins also describe it as פְּאֵר a crown). The

* The Syr. VS reads 'are *not*.'

brevity of the description in Ex has occasioned differences of opinion among archæologists as to both its purpose and its position. Some imagine it a rim to prevent objects from falling off. But the border which passed round the table of shewbread, as well as the table itself, had a crown; nor would the ark need a rim for the purpose suggested. The crown therefore was ornamental. As to its position, Bähr (*Symbolik*, i. 377, 378) regards the crown of the ark as an ornamental design placed round its middle, but his arguments are not conclusive; and since the crown is said to be 'upon' (עָלָיו) the ark, we should doubtless imagine it as placed round the top of the sacred chest as it was round the top of the table of shewbread (see Neumann, *Die Stiftshütte*, p. 127). Bähr, however, also denies that 'the border of a handbreadth round about' the table (Ex 25[25]) had a crown of its own (*Symb.* i. 409, citing also the Rabbins Jarchi and Aben-Ezra; so Keil, *Archæol.* § 19, but not in his *Comm.*; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* ii. 60), but the language of Exodus seems clearly to state that it had (Jahn, *Archäol.* p. 421; Abarbanal cited by Bähr; Neumann, p. 96; Bissell, *Bibl. Antiq.* p. 292). The crown of the altar of incense likewise is placed by some round its top (Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* p. 273; Neumann, p. 120), by others round its middle (Bähr, i. 378, 419). But, whatever their positions, these crowns were evidently golden wreaths intended for decoration. Assyr. monuments afford examples of similar ornamentations (Neumann, p. 27; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 236, 354).

2. Another word tr. Crown (נֵזֶר) means *consecration*, and is applied to the symbolic ornament worn by the high priest upon his forehead over the mitre (Ex 29[6] 39[30], Lv 8[9] 21[12]); and to that worn upon the head by the Heb. monarch (2 S 1[10], 2 K 11[12], 2 Ch 23[11], Ps 89[39] 132[18], so also Zec 9[16]). It is also used figuratively for dignity or honour (Pr 27[24], Nah 3[17] 'crowned ones'). The high priest's crown (LXX τὸ πέταλον, Vulg. *lamina*) was a narrow plate (צִיץ) of pure gold, on which was engraved 'Holy to J".' Tradition represents it as about two fingers broad. It was fastened 'upon the mitre above' by a piece of blue lace (Ex 28[37] 39[31]). The Rabbin. commentators suppose three ribbons of lace—two from the ends and one from the top of the front of the crown—all tied together at the back of the head. Jos. (*Ant.* III. vii. 6) describes the high priest's crown as of three rows, one above another, upon which were carved cups of gold like the calyx of the plant Hyoscyamus, while the plate with the inscription covered the forehead; but he probably refers to an ornamentation introduced at a late period. Acc. to 1 Mac 10[20] a crown was given to the high priest Jonathan by Alex. Epiphanes. Braunius (*De Vestitu Sacerd. Heb.* ch. xxii.) admits that Ex gives no support to Josephus' description. The crown was the symbol of the high priest's special consecration, as the people's representative, to make atonement for sin (Ex 28[38]). The same term is also applied to the symbolic headtire of the Heb. king, but no description of it is given (LXX τὸ βασίλειον, *léξερ*, ἔξερ, τὸ ἁγίασμα). It was prob. a light, narrow fillet of silk, perhaps studded with jewels, like the early diadems of E. kings (see DIADEM). It was light enough to be worn in battle (2 S 1[10]). The term indicates that the king, as well as the priest, was divinely consecrated to his office. Hence it is attributed to the ideal Davidic King (Ps 89[39] 132[18]), and His people are called the stones of their Saviour's *Crown* (Zec 9[16]).

3. The commonest use of *Crown* in OT (generally as tr. of עֲטָרָה, LXX στέφανος, but in Est of פְּתֶר, Gr. κίδαρις or κίταρις, LXX διάδημα) corresponds with the use of the word in mod. times. It is applied to crowns worn by kings (2 S 12[30], 1 Ch 20[2], the crown of the king of Rabbah, which weighed a talent of gold; Est 1[11] 2[17] 6[8] 8[15], the tiaras of the king and queen of Persia, probably high, jewelled turbans; see also Is 62[3], Jer 13[18], Ezk 21[26]); to wreaths worn at banquets (Ca 3[11], Is 28[1. 3. 5], Ezk 23[42]); and fig. as an emblem of honour or victory (Job 19[9] 31[36], Ps 8[5] 21[3] 65[11] 103[4], Pr 4[9] 12[4] 14[18] [פְּתֶר][24] 16[31] 17[6], La 5[16], Ezk 16[12]). In Is 23[8] Tyre is called 'the crowning city' because ruling over kingdoms and dispensing crowns. Some have supposed that the kings of Israel had two crowns—the light diadem mentioned above, and a heavier one for state occasions. It has also been inferred from 2 S 12[30] that the crown taken by David from the king of Rabbah became the state crown, and Jos. (*Ant.* VII. vii. 5) enlarges the biblical account by stating that 'this crown David ever after wore on his own head.' But there is no positive evidence for this, and only the term נֵזֶר is used in the Bible for the crown of the Heb. kings. In Zec 6[11. 14] a crown (עֲטָרָה) is represented as placed on Joshua, the high priest, to indicate the union of the royal and priestly offices; but the usual word for the kingly crown of Israel is in this instance apparently avoided because it described also, as has been stated, that of the high priest. The crowns used at banquets were doubtless wreaths of flowers (see Is 28[1], also Wis 2[8], 3 Mac 4[8] 7[16]). Heroes were also received with them (Jth 3[8]), and dwellings decorated (1 Mac 4[57]).

4. In 1 Mac 10[29] 11[35] 13[39] allusion is made to crowns due from the Jews to the Syrian kings, by which are meant, not coins so named, but money tribute, which represented allegiance as formerly the presentation of a crown had done (1 Mac 13[37], 2 Mac 14[4]; Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3, στεφανίτης φόρος; see Levy, *Gesch. der Jüd. Münzen*; Madden, *Jewish Coinage*).

The Heb. has other words synonymous with those mentioned (as פְּאֵר head-dress; צָנִיף turban; צְפִירָה diadem; לְוָיָה garland), but their consideration does not fall here. The later Jews spoke of three crowns, of the law, the priesthood, and the king, and added 'the crown of a good name' as best of all (Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* p. 60; Braunius, *De Vestitu*, p. 634). The word is also used in AV for the top of the head (Gn 49[26], Dt 33[20], 2 S 14[25], Is 3[17], Jer 2[16] 48[45]; tr. *pate* Ps 7[16], *head* [RV 'crown of the head'] Dt 33[16], *scalp* Ps 68[22]).

In NT the AV gives 'Crown' for two words (στέφανος and διάδημα) which RV properly distinguishes. Στέφανος was not applied by the Greeks to a king's crown. 'It is the crown of victory in the games, of civic worth, of military valour, of nuptial joy, of festal gladness . . . the *wreath* in fact, or the *garland* . . . but never, any more than *corona* in Latin, the emblem and sign of royalty' (Trench, *Syn. of NT*, xxiii.; see, too, Lightfoot on Ph 4[1]). Roman law likewise regulated the bestowment of special *coronæ* as rewards of military valour and civic service; and while it was customary to use crowns on ceremonial and festive occasions, they never symbolized royalty. The word for the latter was *diadema* (see DIADEM). This distinction is observed in NT, though not always in the LXX (see 2 S 12[30], 1 Ch 20[2], Ps 21(20)[3], Ezk 21[26], Zec 6[11. 14]). In NT a crown is an emblem of victory or reward. It describes the Christian's final recompense (1 Co 9[25], Rev 3[11] 4[4. 10]), specifically called a crown of righteousness (2 Ti 4[8]), of life (Ja 1[12], Rev 2[10]), of glory (1 P 5[4]). St. Paul applies it to his converts as being his reward (Ph 4[1], 1 Th 2[19]). Hence in the Apoc. a crown is represented on the conquering Christ (Rev 6[2] 14[14]), on the symbolic locusts (Rev 9[7]), and on the 'woman' of ch. 12, as a sign of victory. In 12[3] 13[1] 19[12], on the other hand, the 'dragon' and the 'beast' and the kingly Christ have diadems, the 'many diadems' signifying Christ's universal empire (see v.[16]). Thus *Crown* in NT is the emblem of attainment, the

reward of service. Even the 'crown of thorns' was probably a mock symbol of victory, suggested to the soldiers by the *coronæ* of military or civic service; though Trench remarks that 'woven of such materials as it was, *διάδημα* could not be applied to it.'

While the use of crowns among the Greeks and Romans seems to have originated with the athletic games,—allusions to which are made by St. Paul in the places cited above,—and while the crown does not appear in Homer as an emblem of victory, later traditions attributed its invention to one or other of the gods. Those traditions are collected by Tertullian in his tract *De Corona*, in which he violently inveighs against the use of crowns by Christians.

LITERATURE.—Paschalius, *Coronæ*; Meursius, *De Coronis*; Fabricius, *Bibliographia Antiquaria*; Reland, *Antiquitates sacr. veter. Hebr.*; Braunius, *De Vestitu sacerd. Hebr.*; Jahn's and Keil's *Bib. Arch.*; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* G. T. PURVES.

CROWN OF THORNS.—See THORN. **CRUCIFIXION.**—See CROSS.

CRUELTY. — The habits and sentiments of Gentiles and average Israelites, both in OT and NT, are often tainted with gross cruelty. Even acts of divinely appointed leaders of Israel, utterances of the psalmists and prophets, and ordinances of the inspired Law, sometimes seem inhuman when judged by the highest standards of modern Christianity. These standards require the righteous man to treat human life as sacred, and to refrain scrupulously from inflicting unnecessary pain. But Christianity has only recently secured any widespread practical recognition of these principles, and even now they prevail only with minorities in a few of the most advanced communities. Moreover, civilization has developed a sensitiveness which often renders the punishment of a criminal really as severe as in ancient times; the mitigation of physical cruelty has been compensated for by the refinement of mental torture. The constant tendency of inspired teaching is towards humanity, and ordinances which seem inhuman often mitigate prevailing barbarity.

The facts are as follows. The extermination of enemies is frequently commanded, Dt 20^{17} etc., and such extermination is described with apparent approval, Jos 6^{21} etc. David massacred the Ammonites with great barbarity, 2 S 12^{31}, 1 Ch 20^{3}, cf. 2 K 15^{16}. Amongst the Israelites themselves the Law ventures to impose only a moderate limitation of blood-revenge. Ex $21^{20.\ 21}$ (JE) forbids the actual beating to death of a male or female slave, but does not feel it possible to deal with cases in which the victim survives a day or two. Death is to be inflicted for a large number of offences, some of them slight, *e.g.* sabbath-breaking, Ex 35^{2} (P). An incestuous person, Lv 20^{14} (H), and an unchaste woman of the priestly clan, Lv 21^{9} (H), were to be burnt to death. The OT records great cruelty on the part of Gentiles, barbarous outrages on women and children, 2 K 8^{12}, Hos 13^{16}, Am 1^{13}, and cruel mutilation, 2 K 25^{7}. These are more than borne out by the sculptures of the Assyrians, who delighted to depict flaying alive and other tortures inflicted upon their enemies, *e.g.* upon the Elamite prisoners on slabs 48–50 in the Kouyunjik Gallery of the British Museum. In the NT we meet with the barbarous Roman punishments of scourging and crucifixion. W. H. BENNETT.

CRUSE.—See FOOD. The English word, now archaic though not quite obsolete, is apparently of Scandinavian origin, and means an earthenware jar for holding liquids; less freq. for drinking from, as Skelton (1526), 'Then he may drink out of a stone cruyse.' In AV it holds water (1 S $26^{11.\ 12.\ 16}$, 1 K 19^{6}), oil (1 K $17^{12.\ 14.\ 16}$), honey (1 K 14^{3}), and salt (2 K 2^{20}). J. HASTINGS.

CRYSTAL.—**1.** In Job 28^{17} וְכוּכִית is rendered in AV 'crystal' (*i.e.* rock-crystal); and as it occurs in a passage descriptive of the treasures of mines, this is probably to be accepted as correct. (See, however, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and RV which tr. 'glass'). **2.** In Ezk 1^{22} another word קֶרַח is also tr. 'crystal' (RVm 'ice'), and, in this case, there is no certainty whether rock-crystal or ice is referred to (cf. Davidson, *ad loc.*); the same remark applies to *κρύσταλλος* in Rev 4^{6} 21^{11} 22^{1}; but this is immaterial in the case of poetic imagery, as the two substances are similar as regards transparency and absence of colour; hence the Greeks applied the same word (*κρύσταλλος*) to both. **3.** In Job 28^{18} RV substitutes 'crystal' for 'pearls' of AV as tr. of גָּבִישׁ.

Rock-crystal is pure quartz, crystallizing in hexagonal prisms with pyramidal apices, and is abundant in veins amongst the older rocks in nearly all countries. It was used in ancient times for ornamental purposes, and being softer, could be cut by the diamond or corundum. It is possible that the Heb. word (יָהֲלֹם) tr. 'diamond' as one of the stones on the breastplate of the high priest was really rock-crystal, as it was engraved with the name of one of the tribes (Ex 28^{21}). [See, however, art. STONES (PRECIOUS), and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, where the jasper or the onyx are suggested as equivalents of יָהֲלֹם.] E. HULL.

CUB (בּוּב, AV **Chub**), in Ezk 30^{5}, is almost certainly a corruption of לוּב (*i.e.* Lybia) as was read by LXX. The 'Lybia' of AV is a mistranslation of Put (see RV). Cf. Nah 3^{9}, where Lybians are mentioned along with Cush (Ethiopia), Egypt, and Put, as here; also 2 Ch 12^{3} 16^{8}. Identifications which assume the correctness of the text lead to no satisfactory result, and hardly deserve notice. J. SKINNER.

CUBIT.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CUCKOW (שַׁחַף *shaḥaph*, *λάρος*, *larus*). — The Heb. word is from a root signifying *leanness*. It occurs only in Lv 11^{16} and Dt 14^{15}, in the list of unclean birds. No scholar now renders it by *cuckow* (*cuckoo*). Various slender birds have been proposed, as the *stormy petrel*, the *shearwater*, the *tern*, and the *gull* or *seamew*. The RV, following the LXX and the Vulg., has *seamew*. It is probably to be understood generically for birds of the *Laridæ*, the *gull* family. G. E. POST.

CUCUMBER (קִשֻּׁאִים *kishshu'îm*, *σίκυοι*, *cucumeres*). —Cucumbers are universally cultivated in the E., and are a favourite article of food. Two species or varieties are common, *Cucumis sativus*, L., which is the ordinary green or whitish cucumber, and *C. Chate*, L., which is originally an Egyptian plant. The former is called in Arab. *khiyâr*. It has a very delicate flavour, and is more wholesome than the European variety. The latter is known by the name *kiththâ* or *miḳtî*, which is a modification of the Heb. קִשֻּׁא, and is doubtless the vegetable referred to as one of the good things of Egypt (Nu 11^{5}). It is longer and more slender than the common cucumber, being often more than a foot long, and sometimes less than an inch thick, and pointed at both ends. It has a thick, hairy, mottled or striped green rind, with a less juicy pulp than the *khiyâr*, but a similar, though less delicate, flavour. Although originating in Egypt, it is everywhere

cultivated in the East. It is esteemed coarser than the *khiyâr*, and sold cheaper.

A cardinal difference between the *ḳiththâ* and the *khiyâr* is that the latter cannot be cultivated without constant irrigation. The *ḳiththâ*, while often cultivated on watered soil, and then attaining a large size, grows on perfectly dry soil also, without a drop of water through the hot summer months, during which it flourishes. The word *khiyâr* is said to be of Persian origin.

A 'LODGE IN A GARDEN OF CUCUMBERS.'

The expression 'garden of cucumbers' (Is 1[8]) is מִקְשָׁה *miḳshâh*, a noun of place, meaning the place of *ḳishshu*, and is exactly reproduced in the Arab. *miḳtha'at*. The lodge is the booth of the man who watches the patch. This booth is made of four upright poles, 6 or 8 ft. high, planted in the ground, and tied by withes of flexible bark to four horizontal poles at their tip. Over the frame made by these horizontal poles are laid cross poles, and, over all, branches of trees. Sometimes a floor is made by tying four other horizontal poles at a few inches or feet above the ground, and laying over them a flooring of cross poles. Walls are sometimes made of wattled branches, more or less enclosing the frail tenement. Such booths are to be seen in all the cucumber and melon patches, and in vineyards and other cultivated land which requires watching. They are fitting emblems of instability, as the withes with which they are tied together give way before the winds of autumn, the branches are scattered, and the whole structure soon drops into a shapeless heap of poles and wattles, themselves soon to be carried off and used as firewood, or left to rot on the ground.

G. E. POST.

CULTURE.—Only 2 Es 8[6] AV and RV, 'give us seed unto our heart, and culture to our understanding, that there may come fruit of it.' The Eng. word is a direct and accurate tr. of the Lat. (*cultura*), and is used in its own earliest sense of the cultivation or tillage of the soil. Coverdale, Matthew, and the Bishops have 'build,' Geneva 'prepare,' but Douay 'give tillage to' the understanding. J. HASTINGS.

CUMBER (from old Fr. *combrer*, 'to hinder,' which is from low Lat. *cumbrus*, i.e. *cumulus*, 'a heap'; thus c. = 'put a heap in the way').—**1.** To harass, worry, Lk 10[40] 'Martha was cumbered about much serving.' Cf. Coverdale's tr. of 1 K 21[5] 'What is ye matter that thy sprete is so combred?' The usual prep. is 'with'; here 'about' is a lit. tr. of the Gr. περί (περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν). RVm gives 'distracted,' like Ostervald's *distraite*, and as 1 Co 7[35] 'without distraction,' AV and RV (ἀπερισπάστως). 'Cumbered' is Tindale's; Wyclif has 'martha bisied aboute the oft seruyse'; Coverdale, 'Martha made hir self moch to do to serue him.' **2.** To 'block up,' 'burden,' Lk 13[7] 'Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?' again from Tindale (and scarcely obsolete in this sense); Wyclif 'ocupieth,' fr. Vulg. *occupat*; Geneva, 'why kepeth it the ground baren?' a better tr. of the Gr. here (καταργέω, a favourite word with St. Paul, elsewhere only in this passage and He 2[14], AV 'destroy,' RV 'bring to nought'). Cf. Bunyan, *Holy War* (Clar. Press ed. p. 47), 'Thou hast been a Cumber-ground long already.' **Cumbrance,** only Dt 1[12] 'your c.' (טָרְחֲכֶם), and Is 1[14] RVm 'your new moons . . . are a c. unto me' (הָיוּ עָלַי לִטְרְחָה, AV and RV 'trouble'). The mod. forms 'encumber,' etc., are not quite equivalent, being too wholly passive. As Davies (*Bible Eng.* p. 211) remarks, Spenser's 'cumbrous gnattes' (*F. Q.* I. i. 23) seems now a singularly inappropriate epithet. J. HASTINGS.

CUMI.—See TALITHA.

CUMMIN (כַּמֹּן *kammôn*, κύμινον, *cyminum*).—The seed of *Cuminum cyminum*, L., an umbelliferous plant cultivated in Bible lands. It is known in Arab. by the same name as in Heb., *kammûn*, and is used in cookery as a condiment, esp. in the dishes prepared during the fasts, which, being made without meat, require more seasoning to make them palatable. It has also carminative properties, and is used in poultices for the dissipation of swellings. It has a penetrating odour and savour, not over-agreeable to most Europeans. It is twice mentioned in Scripture. Once the reference is to the mode of threshing it (Is 28[25. 27]) by a rod instead of the *môrag*. This is still practised with this and other seeds of plants cultivated in small quantities. It is also mentioned as subject to tithe (Mt 23[23]). G. E. POST.

CUN (כּוּן), 1 Ch 18[8].—See BEROTHAI.

CUNNING.—The Anglo-Saxon *cunnan* meant both 'to know' and 'to be able,' whence both *can*, which Bacon uses as a finite verb, *Essays* (Gold Treas. ed. p. 40), 'In Evill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can'; and also *cunning*, which is really the pres. ptcp. of the A.-S. *cunnan* as it appears in its Middle-Eng. form *cunnen*, to know. 'Cunning,' then, up to and after 1611, is generally knowledge, skill. Cf. Purvey's Preface to the Wycliffite Version of 1388, 'the Holy Spyrit author of all wisdom and cunnynge and truth'; Bp. Barlowe's translation of Ja 3[13] (*Dialoge* [1531], ed. of 1897, p. 34), 'Who that among you is wyse endued with connynge'; and Shaks. *Othello*, III. iii. 50, 'That errs in

ignorance, and not in cunning.' In AV the subst. 'cunning' occurs only Ps 137[5], 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.'* The adj. is common, applied to men who are skilful in some work, or to the work they do skilfully. Thus Ex 35[35] 'the c. workman . . . and . . . those that devise c. work.' Once to women, Jer 9[17], in ref. to their skill as hired mourners (on which see Thomson, *Land and Book*, iii. 403). But in Eph 4[14] 'c. craftiness,' 2 P 1[16] 'cunningly devised fables,' the meaning is probably 'wily,' 'deceitful.' Amer. RV prefers 'skilful' where cunning has that meaning (except Is 3[3] 'expert'). J. HASTINGS.

CUP.—**1.** In OT the rendering of various words, the precise distinction between which, either as to form or use, is unknown to us. The usual word is כּוֹס *kôs* (ποτήριον, *calix*), the ordinary drinking-vessel of rich (Gn 40[11. 13. 21]) and poor (2 S 12[3]) alike, the material of which varied, no doubt, with the rank and wealth of the owner. Numerous illustrations are found on the reliefs of the Assyrian palaces, such, *e.g.*, as the cups in the hands of Assurbanipal and his queen, in a scene often reproduced. With these compare the specimens of pottery actually found on Jewish soil, in Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, Nos. 174, 181, etc., and the illustration cited below.

Joseph's divining cup (גָּבִיעַ Gn 44[2ff.]) was of silver, and, we may infer, of elaborate workmanship, since the same word is used for the bowls (AV) or cups (RV), *i.e.* the flower-shaped ornamentation, on the candlestick of the tabernacle (which see for details, also BOWL). That the גָּבִיעַ was larger than the *kôs* is clear from Jer 35[5]. The קְשׂוֹת *kĕsâvôth*, of 1 Ch 28[17] (Phœn. קסס, see Bloch's *Phœn. Glossar, sub voce*), were more probably flagons, as RV in Ex 25[29] 37[16] (but Nu 4[7] RV cups). The *'aggān* (אַגָּן Is 22[24]) was rather a basin, as Ex 24[6], than a cup (EV).

In NT ποτήριον is the corresponding name of the ordinary drinking-cup (water Mt 10[42] etc., wine 23[25] etc.). The 'cup of blessing' (1 Co 10[16]) is so named from the כּוֹס הַבְּרָכָה *kôs habbĕrâkhah* of the Jewish Passover (which see, also LORD'S SUPPER). The cup represented on the obverse of the so-called Maccabæan shekels may be a cup such as was used on this occasion.

2. The word cup has received an extended figurative application in both OT and NT. (*a*) As in various other literatures, 'cup' stands, esp. in Psalms, for the happy fortune or experience of one's earthly lot, mankind being thought of as receiving this lot from the hand of God, as the guest the wine-cup from the hand of his host, Ps 16[5] 23[5] 73[10] etc. But also conversely for the bitter lot of the wicked, Ps 11[6] (cf. *c*, below), and in particular for the sufferings of Jesus Christ, Mt 20[22. 23], Mk 10[38. 39] 14[36], Lk 22[42], Jn 18[11]. (*b*) Another figure is the 'cup of salvation' (lit. 'of deliverances'), Ps 116[13]. The reference is to the wine of the thank-offerings (שְׁלָמִים), part of the ritual of which was the festal meal before J" (cf. vv.[14a. 17ff.]). A striking parallel is found in the inscription of יחומלך of Gebal (Byblus), who is figured on his stele in the act of presenting such a cup of thanksgiving to the local deity (see his inscription in *CIS* i. 1). (*c*) By a still bolder figure the punitive wrath of the offended Deity is spoken of as a cup which the guilty, Israelites and heathen alike, must drain to the dregs. So Jer 25[15ff.] (the wine-cup [of] fury), Ezk 23[32-34], Is 51[17ff.] ('the cup of trembling' RV 'staggering'), Zec 12[2] (RV 'cup of reeling'), Ps 75[8], Rev 14[10] 16[19] 18[6], for all which see the commentaries. (*d*) Lastly, we have 'the cup of consolation (ποτήριον εἰς παράκλησιν)' offered to the mourners after the funeral-rites were performed, Jer 16[7] (cf. Pr 31[6] and see Commentaries *in loc.* and Schwally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode*, § 8).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CUPBEARER (מַשְׁקֶה).—An officer of considerable importance at Oriental courts, whose duty it was to serve the wine at the table of the king. The first mention of this officer is in the story of Joseph (Gn 40[1-15]), where the term rendered 'butler' (wh. see) in EV is the Heb. word above, rendered in other passages *cupbearer* (Arabic *es-sâḳi*). The holder of this office was brought into confidential relations with the king, and must have been thoroughly trustworthy, as part of his duty was to guard against poison in the king's cup. In some cases he was required to taste the wine before presenting it. The position of Nehemiah as cupbearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus was evidently high. Herodotus (iii. 34) speaks of the office at the court of Cambyses, king of Persia, as 'an honour of no small account,' and the narrative of Neh. shows the high esteem of the king for him, who is so solicitous for his welfare that he asks the cause of his sadness (2[2]). The cupbearers among the officers of king Solomon's household (1 K 10[5]) impressed the queen of Sheba, and they are mentioned among other indications of the grandeur of his court, which was modelled upon courts of other Oriental kings. The Rabshakeh, who was sent to Hezekiah (2 K 18[17]), was formerly supposed to have been cupbearer to Sennacherib, but the word (רַבְשָׁקֵה) means *chief of the princes* (see Del. on Is 36[2], and Sayce, *HCM* p. 441). Among the Assyrians, the cupbearers, like other attendants of the king, were commonly eunuchs, as may be seen from the monuments; and such was the case generally at Oriental courts. The Persians, however, did not so uniformly employ eunuchs, and probably never so degraded their own people or the Jews who served them. Certainly, Nehemiah was not a eunuch. Herod the Great had a cupbearer who was a eunuch (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. viii. 1).

H. PORTER.

CUPBOARD (κυλίκιον, 1 Mac 15[32]).—A sideboard used for the display of gold and silver plate. This is the earliest meaning of cupboard, a board or table for displaying cups and other vessels; cf. Greene (1592), 'Her mistress . . . set all her plate on the cubboorde for shewe.' J. HASTINGS.

CURIOUS.—Of the many meanings which once belonged to this word only two now remain, *inquisitive* and *peculiar*. Of these the first is found in Apocr., 2 Es 4[23] (*interrogare*) 9[13] (*curiosus esse*), Sir 3[23] (μὴ περιεργάζου, RV 'Be not over busy'), 2 Mac 2[30] (πολυπραγμονεῖν). In OT curious occurs as a description of 'the girdle of the ephod' in Ex 28[8. 27. 28] 29[5] 39[5. 20. 21], Lv 8[7], for which RV substitutes 'cunningly woven,' Amer. RV 'skilfully woven.' 'Curious girdle' (AV) or 'cunningly woven band' (RV) represents one word in Heb., חֵשֶׁב *ḥêshebh*, which comes from חָשַׁב *ḥâshabh*, to think, devise, invent ingenious or artistic things; whence also חֹשֵׁב *hôshêbh*, tr[d] 'cunning workman'; and כַּחֲשָׁבָה *maḥăshâbhah*, device, invention, tr[d] 'curious works,' Ex 35[32] (RV 'cunning works'),

* The Heb. is simply 'let my right hand forget' (תִּשְׁכַּח יְמִינִי), which may be dealt with in three ways. 1. As a passive: so LXX, ἐπιλησθείη ἡ δεξιά μου; Vulg., oblivioni detur dextera mea; Luth., so werde meiner Rechten vergessen; Ostervald, que ma droite s'oublie elle-même; Coverdale, 'let my right hande be forgotten.' But the Heb. as it stands cannot be tr[d] passively. 2. As a corrupt text. The simplest emendation is proposed by Delitzsch, תִּשָּׁכַח, which gives the pass. at once, and with which may be compared Jer 23[40]. Other suggested emendations will be found in Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*, crit. n. *in loc.* But Wellhausen (in Haupt) leaves the Heb. untouched and unnoticed. 3. As an ellipsis. So Del. as an alternative, 'let my right hand show itself forgetful' (cf. Wyclif's tr. 'my rigt hond be gouun [given] to forgeting'; Cheyne, 'let my right hand deny its service' (but in parchment ed. 1884, 'let the strength of my right hand dry up'); Geneva, 'forget to play'; Bishops' Bible, AV, and RV 'forget her cunning.'

'Crafty,' 'cunning,' and 'curious' were all used formerly in the sense of clever, ingenious; cf. Barbour (1375), *Bruce*, x. 359—

'A crafty man and a curiouss';

and as a good parallel to the passages in Ex, Shaks. *Cymb.* v. v. 361—

'He, sir, was lapp'd
In a most curious mantle, wrought by the hand
Of his queen mother.'

The same thought is found in Ps 139[15] 'I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth.' The Heb. here (רֻקַּמְתִּי) means 'variegated'; 'the body or the fœtus is described as woven together of so many different-coloured threads, like a cunning and beautiful network or tapestry'—Perowne.

The only other occurrence of 'curious' is in Ac 19[19] 'c. arts,' meaning 'magical arts,' as RVm (Gr. *τὰ περίεργα*, lit. 'superfluous things,' 'things better left alone' (Page); cf. Sir 3[23] above, and see BUSYBODY). 'Curious' here is due to Wyclif, 'curiouse thingis,' a literal tr. of Vulg. *curiosa*; Tindale, 'c. crafts'; Geneva, 'c. artes' (Vulg. marg. *curiosas artes*). From this place it has passed into English literature, as Bacon, *Essays*, 35, 'the Q. Mother, who was given to Curious Arts, caused the King her Husbands Nativitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name.' J. HASTINGS.

CURSE.—Under this title an account is given of the ideas connected primarily with the Heb. words חֲרֶם and חֵרֶם (*ḥērem*), and with the Gr. word *ἀνάθεμα* (*anathema*), so far as it is representative of the latter. The Heb. words are variously rendered in AV: 'the *accursed* thing' in Jos 7[1. 11 etc.]; 'everything *devoted*' in Nu 18[14]; 'every *dedicated*' thing in Ezk 44[29]; 'and I will *consecrate* their spoil' in Mic 4[13]. RV has in all these places 'devote' or 'devoted thing'; where the object is personal, it has usually 'utterly destroy' (see Driver on Dt 2[34] 7[2] or *Sam.* p. 100 f.). A thing which is חֵרֶם is irrevocably withdrawn from common use. This may be done in two ways, or at least may have two kinds of result. In the one case, the devoted thing becomes God's; it falls irredeemably to Him, or to His sanctuary or His priests. In this sense, as has been pointed out, to 'devote' a thing is to make a peculiar kind of vow concerning it. The most instructive passage, in illustration of this sense, is Lv 27[28f.] 'No devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that he hath, whether of man or beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted from among men, shall be ransomed; he shall surely be put to death.' In the second and third of the passages quoted above (Nu 18[14], Ezk 44[29]), it is said expressly that every devoted thing in Israel is the priest's: this might include the spoil of conquered nations, carried into the temple treasury, as perhaps in Mic 4[13], or property of any other description which a man irrevocably alienated. But the last words in Lv 27[29] (he shall surely be put to death) point to the second, and much the commoner, use of the words חֲרָמִים and חֵרֶם. To 'devote' a thing means to put it under the ban, to make and to execute a vow of extermination, so far as that thing is concerned. It is this meaning that has occasioned the Eng. rendering for חֵרֶם—the accursed thing. Whatever is devoted to utter destruction is regarded as under a curse. Things which are so devoted are in a sense inviolable; in the old, morally neutral sense of holiness, it may be said that a peculiar degree of holiness attaches to them. The thing called חֵרֶם is at the same time קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים לַיהוָה (compare the seemingly opp. meanings of *sacer* in Latin, and the idea of *taboo*). It was common in ancient warfare to 'devote,' or put under the ban, the enemy and anything or everything which belonged to him. All wars were holy wars; warriors were consecrated (Is 13[2]); and the ban, which seemed natural in the circumstances, might be of greater or less extent. In Dt 2[34], which speaks of the conquest of Sihon's kingdom, we are told that Israel 'utterly destroyed (devoted) every inhabited city, with the women and the little ones,' and the same terrible account is given in Dt 3[6] of Og and Bashan. In Dt 7[2] this is even laid down as the law for the conduct of the sacred war against the Canaanites. But it is only human beings that are here put under the ban: 'The cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves, with the spoil of the cities which we had taken.' In some cases the ban was more stringent. In Dt 7[25] it is specially extended to the precious metal on the images of the Canaanites: this is an abomination to J"; and 'thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house, and become a devoted thing (חֵרֶם) like it . . . for it is a devoted thing.' It was a ban, or curse, of this stringent type which Achan violated at the conquest of Jericho, and Hiel the Bethelite, long afterwards, when he rebuilt the town. He who appropriates what is חֵרֶם, as Achan did, becomes himself (Dt 7[25], Jos 6[18]) חֵרֶם: the ban, or sentence of extermination, is extended to him, and he is ruthlessly destroyed, with all the persons and property that attach to him. It was a similar ban which Saul violated, or allowed the people to violate, in the war with Amalek; and his action is represented as equally serious, though not followed on the instant by such tragical results. In point of fact, it was not practicable for the Israelites to 'devote' the Canaanites wholesale (1 K 9[21]); and the proclamation of ruthless warfare, under the auspices of a god, was no peculiarity of theirs. The same thing is affirmed of the Assyrians in 2 K 19[11], and of Mesha on the Moabite stone. It is more interesting to note that God Himself is sometimes the subject who proclaims this war, or pronounces this sentence of destruction. Thus in Is 34[2] 'The Lord hath indignation against all the nations . . . He hath devoted them (הֶחֱרִימָם), He hath given them up to the slaughter.' So in v.[5] Edom is עַם־חֶרְמִי the people whom I have devoted. And in Mal 4[6] God threatens to come and lay the earth under a ban.

It is usual to point to Ezr 10[8] as an instance marking the transition between the ancient and awful use of חֵרֶם, and that post-biblical use in which it is equivalent to **Excommunication.** We are told here that all the substance of a man who did not answer a certain summons should be forfeited (יָחֳרַם), and he himself separated (יִבָּדֵל) from the congregation. Probably this is the first trace of Jewish ecclesiastical usages, of which hints are to be found in NT in such passages as Mt 18[17], Jn 9[22] 12[42] 16[2], Lk 6[22]. Though such usages, no doubt, would influence the practice of the Christian Church, it is not likely that they have anything to do with that 'delivering' of offenders 'to Satan,' of which we read in 1 Co 5[5], 1 Ti 1[20]. The suggestion in both these cases, and especially in the first, which has been interpreted of a sentence of death, is rather of a severity resembling that of the ancient 'ban'; but with the significant difference, that in both the purpose of this solemn exclusion from the Christian community is remedial. Both the incestuous person at Corinth, and Hymenæus and Alexander in Asia, are to profit eventually by their discipline.

The true succession to חֵרֶם is represented in NT by those passages in which *ἀνάθεμα* (**Anathema**) is found. This is the usual LXX rendering of the word. Thus in Dt 7[26] referred to above, the Gr. is *ἀνάθεμα ἔσῃ ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦτο*: thou shalt be 'accursed' like the accursed thing which thou takest. Cf. Jos 6[17f.], Zec 14[11].

Even the place-name Hormah (Nu 21[3]) is rendered *ἀνάθεμα*; a variant is *ἐξολέθρευσις*. In NT the word is used only by St. Luke and St. Paul (Rev 22[3] quotes Zec 14[11], but with the form *κατάθεμα*). In Ac 23[12. 14. 21] we read of men who '*ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν ἑαυτούς*'—bound themselves with imprecations on their own heads—neither to eat nor to drink till they had killed Paul. The same verb is used in Mk 14[71] with *ὀμνύναι* to describe Peter's profane denial of Christ: he wished he might be cursed or damned if he knew the man. But the serious passages are in St. Paul. In 1 Co 12[3] we have, No man speaking in the spirit of God says, Jesus is *ἀνάθεμα*. This *may* mean that no man speaking in the spirit of God can do what Paul once tried to get Christians to do—blaspheme Christ, *i.e.* speak profanely of Him, without defining more precisely how (Ac 26[11]). Or it may mean that no one speaking in the spirit of God can speak of Christ as an object of hatred to God, as Jews with the cross in their minds might do. For illustrations of the passage, see Edwards, *ad loc.* (*Com.* on 1 Cor.), and Harnack's note on *Didache*, xvi. 5 (*ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος*). In Ro 9[3] St. Paul says he could wish himself to be *ἀνάθεμα* from Christ for his brethren's sake. This is exactly the חֵרֶם of OT: he could wish to perish that they might be saved—'a spark from the fire of Christ's substitutionary love.' It is only the other side of this passion which is seen in the other passages where the word is used: 1 Co 16[22], Gal 1[8f.]. 'If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be *ἀνάθεμα*': the apostle assents to God's will that no part in bliss, but only utter perdition, can be his who does not love the Saviour. So again, when he says, and says deliberately and repeatedly, of the man or the angel who preaches another gospel than he has preached, 'let him be *ἀνάθεμα*,' he expresses in the strongest possible style his assurance that the gospel he preaches is the one way of salvation, that to preach another is to make the grace of God vain, to stultify the death of Christ and to delude men, and that for such sins there can be nothing but a final irremediable judgment, to which he assents. The vehemence is like that with which Christ says, that better than a man should make one of His little ones stumble would it be for that man to have a millstone hanged about his neck, and be cast into the depths of the sea. In both cases the passion of indignation is the passion of sympathy with the love of God, and with the weak, to whom an irreparable injury is being done.

The word 'curse' is also used in the English Bible as the tr. of קְלָלָה and *κατάρα*. The interest of this centres in the passage Gal 3[10-13], and in the ref. there to Dt 21[23]. The non-observance of the law, St. Paul teaches, puts men (some limit it to the Jews) under a curse; from this curse Christ redeems them by becoming Himself a curse (*κατάρα*) on their behalf. The proof that Christ did become a curse is given in the form of a reference to the Crucifixion: it is written, 'cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree' (Dt 21[23]). The Heb. is קְלָלַת אֱלֹהִים, the LXX *κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ*; and it has been often remarked that St. Paul does not introduce 'by God' into his quotation. Some seem to think that he shrank from doing it, as if it would have been equivalent to saying *ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς*. But he does not shrink from saying that God made Christ to be sin for us (2 Co 5[21]), which, in its identification of Christ with, or its substitution of Christ for, the sinner, is exactly the same as His becoming a curse in Gal 3[13]. The important thing is not that St. Paul omits the *ὑπὸ θεοῦ*, but that, as Cremer remarks, he avoids the personal *κεκατηραμένος* of the LXX, and employs the abstract *κατάρα*. In His death on the cross He was identified under God's dispensation with the doom of sin: He became curse for us; and it is on this our redemption depends. See CROSS.

LITERATURE.—Besides the comm. on the various passages quoted, see Merx in Schenkel, *Bibel-Lex. s.v.* 'Bann'; Ewald, *Ant. of Isr.* pp. 76–79 (Eng. tr.); Smend, *A.T. Religionsgeschichte*, § 334; W. R. Smith, *RS*, p. 434 f.; Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, 137–139; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 60 ff., 157.

J. DENNEY.

CURTAIN.—1. The ordinary tent of the Semitic nomad, in modern times, is made by sewing together a number of narrow lengths of a water-resisting material, as a rule cloth woven from yarn of goats' and camels' hair mixed with sheeps' wool. And so it must have been in ancient times.* Hence we read of a Heb. country maid being 'black as the tents of Kedar' (Ca 1[5]). The name of these lengths of tent-cloth was in the Heb. יְרִיעוֹת (AV and RV 'curtains'). The weaving of them, as well as the previous spinning of the yarn, was and is one of the chief occupations of the women of the tribe (Ex 35[25. 26]; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, i. pp. 81, 125; Doughty, see footnote). With a more advanced civilization men also took to weaving as a trade (1 Ch 4[21]); indeed this particular branch, the weaving of goats' hair cloth, is well known to have been one of the staple industries of Tarsus, which has led many scholars to interpret *σκηνοποιός* (Ac 18[3]) as 'a weaver of tent-cloth' (see art. 'Paulus' in *PRE*[2] xi. 359).† In OT we find that ten of these *yĕrî'ôth* or curtains, of special width and workmanship, were to be 'coupled together,' in two sets of five, to form the innermost covering of the tabernacle proper (the *Mishkān*), as given in detail Ex 26[1ff.]. Above this was a more ordinary covering, composed of eleven curtains of the usual goats' hair, and constituting the אֹהֶל or tent of the tabernacle (Ex 26[7ff.]). For further particulars about these curtains see TABERNACLE. *Yĕrî'ôth* is also used in OT of the curtains or tent-cloth of ordinary nomad tents (Jer 49[29]) and of the gala-tents of king Solomon (Ca 1[5]), and often stands in poetic parallelism with אֹהֶל 'tent,' Is 54[2], Jer 4[20] 10[20], Hab 3[7]. The sing. יְרִיעָה is even used of the tent erected by David for the ark on Mt. Zion, 2 S 7[2] (LXX *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς σκηνῆς*, but 1 Ch 17[1] יְרִיעוֹת plur.).

2. In AV the portière (מָסָךְ) which closed the entrance to the Holy Place of the tabernacle, and is elsewhere in AV tr[d] 'hanging,' is once rendered curtain (Nu 3[26]). The same Heb. word is also applied to the similar curtain at the entrance of the court of the tabernacle. The uniform tr[n] in RV is 'screen,' even when the name is applied to the 'veil of the screen' which separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies, cf. Ex 26[36] 35[12] etc. See further TABERNACLE.

3. Is 40[22] the word tr[d] curtain (דַּק) seems from its etymology to denote some fine material such as gauze (so RVm, Dillm., Duhm).

4. In the Book of Judith we read of Holofernes possessing a very magnificent *κωνωπεῖον* (EV 'canopy,' Jth 10[21] 13[9. 15] 16[19]) 'of purple and gold and emerald and precious stones inwoven.' This, as the name and the context of 10[21] imply, must have been a mosquito-curtain. See CANOPY.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CUSH (כּוּשׁ).—**1.** In the hieroglyphs Kash, Kaish, Kish, Keshi, Kesh, or Kesha, a nation to which frequent reference is made in the Bible. Its

* 'The tent-stuff is seamed of narrow lengths of the housewives' rude worsted weaving; the yarn is their own spinning, of the mingled wool of the sheep and camels' and goats' hair together. Thus it is that the cloth is blackish,' Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 225.

† *σκηνοποιός*, *loc. cit.*, is more probably a synonym of *σκηνορράφος*, one who prepared and put together the lengths supplied by the weavers. See Ramsay and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) 109, 153, 286.

founder is given in the ethnological tables of Gn (10[6]) as son of Ham, and brother of Mizraim (Egypt), Put, and Canaan. Though the form Kush is not found in the hieroglyphs, there is no doubt of the identity of the nation ordinarily referred to in the Bible, and located by Ezk 29[10] S. of Egypt, with the *Kesh*, whose home was in Ethiopia, but who were known to the Hebrews through the prominent part they played in Egyp. affairs. This country, 'embracing the territories S. of Egypt originally inhabited by negro tribes called Nahs. u' (Brugsch, *Geographie der Nachbarländer Ægyptens*, p. 4), and extending S. from the first cataract, though repeatedly invaded by Egyp. kings of the early dynasties, was formally enrolled in Egypt by Tahutmes I. of the 18th dynasty, and put under a governor called the prince of Kesh (Egyp. *seten-si en Kesh*, king's-son of Cush), who from the 18th dynasty regularly figures in the Egyp. records by the side of the king of Egypt. Somewhere about 1000 B.C., during the wars between the high priests of Amon (descendants of Hrihor) and the Tanites, the Upper Nile was lost to Egypt, and it is probable that descendants of Hrihor, escaping to Napata, on Mt. Barkal (according to some authorities, the Heb. נף, which is more probably to be identified with Memphis), founded a dynasty. These kings took the same titles as the Egyp. monarchs; at about B.C. 800, at the end of the reign of Sheshonḳ II., they occupied Thebes; and about 775, under the king Pi'anchi, they had spread as far S. as Hermopolis, while all important towns had Eth. garrisons. An attempt made by Tefnaht of Sais (whose name survives in Gr. authors under the form Τνέφαχθος) to unite the petty princes under whose rule Lower Egypt had now fallen, in resisting them, was defeated at Memphis, (the great stele of Pi'anchi, edited by Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, and tr. by Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyp.* 682–707, in which this event is described, is one of the most important of the hieroglyphic monuments), although for reasons not known Pi'anchi afterwards made terms with Tefnaht, whose son Bokenranf, or Bocchoris, is represented by Manetho as the founder of the 24th dynasty. During the reign of this king (about B.C. 728), a successor of Pi'anchi (probably after some intermediate reigns), Shabaka, son of Kashtu, called in the Bible סוא *So'* (2 K 17[4], which should rather be read Sava, representing the name without the definite article), himself on the mother's side a descendant of Osorkon III. of the 23rd dynasty, invaded Lower Egypt, defeated Bocchoris, and put him to death; and, unlike his predecessor Pi'anchi, succeeded in obtaining a permanent hold on the country, whence he and his two successors are regarded as constituting a 25th, or Eth. dynasty. The conspiracy between this king and Hosea of Isr. against the Assyr. led to the defeat of the former at Raphia in 720, and to the captivity of the ten tribes; and the identification of Egypt with Ethiopia at this time is alluded to in Is 7[18], where the 'fly that is in the uttermost part of the river of Egypt,' *i.e.* Ethiopia, is made co-ordinate with Assyria as a first-rate power; and in Is 20[4f.] the names Cush and Mizraim are used as synonyms. (See especially Lenormant, 'Mémoire sur l'époque Eth.' *Rev. Archéologique*, 1870). Under Shabaka's son Shabataka, or Sebichos (perhaps the *Sabteca* of Gn 10[7]), it is probable that anarchy again broke out in the Delta, a state of things reflected in the prophecy of Is 19. The king Shabataka, who had acceded in 716, was followed in 704 by Taharka (the תִּרְהָקָה of the Bible, 2 K 19[9]), who is said to have murdered his predecessor and to have married Shabaka's widow, acknowledging her son as co-regent. As in 2 K 19[9] he is officially described as king of Cush only, it is probable that his authority was not at first recognized in Egypt. During his reign occurred the famous conspiracy which led to Sennacherib's invasion of Pal., terminating most probably in the defeat of the Egyp. forces at Altaku, although, as the Assyr. were unable to follow up their victory, peace was made between the two powers, giving Taharka time to consolidate his authority; until in 671 a fresh quarrel with the Assyr. led to the invasion of Egypt by Esarhaddon, who conquered the country as far S. as Thebes; and a fresh attempt of Taharka to turn out the Assyr. at the accession of Assurbanipal in 668 led only to a fresh invasion and renewed disasters in the following year. Taharka's son and successor Tanuatama, or Urdamani, who acceded in 664, would seem to have made one more attempt to free the country from the Assyr., but without more success than his predecessors, and in the following year the Eth. rule came finally to an end. Their own country was invaded by Cambyses in B.C. 525, whence in the lists of Darius the Cushiya figure as a subject race. Though the Persians could not permanently occupy the country, they would seem to have destroyed Napata, the chief town after this time being Meroë or Barua, slightly N. of Shendi on the Upper Nile, which Herodotus regards as the chief city, although Napata was long regarded as the sacred city. The ancients tell us about the elective nature of the Eth. monarchy, their statements being, in part, confirmed by the monuments of Napata; and it would seem that the kings were chosen out of certain families by the god, *i.e.* by the priests, who also had the right to command the king to put an end to his life if they thought fit—a right which was finally abolished by king Erkamon, or Ergamenes, early in the 3rd cent. B.C. This custom, which has been illustrated from the practice of tribes still existing in Africa, may be regarded as specifically Eth., as also the female rule, which at most periods of Eth. history seems to have had theoretical or practical recognition; in Rom. times they were governed by queens, called always Candace (cf. Ac 8[27]), apparently associated with their sons; but even in their earlier history the important position given to the kings' mothers and sisters anticipates this practice. Otherwise, Eth. culture, art, and religion, as well as the official language, would seem to have been directly borrowed from Egypt; and while the idea that Egyp. culture was Eth. in origin must be distinctly rejected, the theory of Lepsius, that the Cush were the nation who circulated that culture through the ancient world, would seem to rest on no secure foundation. 2. The fact that Cush in Gn 10[8] is represented as the father of Nimrod, probably comes from the confusion of the Kesh with the *Cossæi*, or Kashshu, a tribe who had possession of Babylonia between the 16th and 13th cent. B.C.* 3. For the names of the sons of Cush in Gn 10[7], see SEBA, HAVILAH, SABTAH, RAAMAH, and SABTACA.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CUSH (כּוּשׁ, LXX Χουσεί).—Mentioned only in the title of Ps 7. The older translators appear to have read כּוּשִׁי (Aq. Symm. Theod. Jer.). 'As the name of a person, the word is of uncertain meaning' (Delitzsch). Cush is described as a Benjamite, and was probably a follower of Saul who opposed David. The seventh psalm sheds no light on name, person, or character. W. T. DAVISON.

CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM (כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם, Χουσαρσαθάιμ, AV Chushan-rishathaim), king of Mesopo-

* Hommel, however (*Expository Times* [1897], viii. 378) would regard the tribe mentioned here as one existing in Central Arabia, to which he finds further reference in 2 Ch 14[9], where Zerah the Cushite is said to have invaded Judah in the days of Asa (cf. LXX both here and in 2 Ch 21[16], where he finds the Arab. tribe Μασονῖται, *Mazin*, mentioned). The name Zerah (or Dirrih) is found as a title of early Sabæan kings. It may be doubted, however, if the LXX readings really preserve either the original text or an ancient tradition respecting its meaning.

tamia or Aram-naharaim, was the first of those oppressors into whose hands God delivered Israel for their apostasy in the days of the Judges (Jg 3[8-10]). For eight years they were in bondage to this king, till they were delivered by Caleb's younger brother Othniel. Of Cushan-rishathaim nothing more is known directly, and his name has not yet been found on the monuments. The country over which he ruled, 'Aram of the Two Rivers,' was in all probability the territory lying between the Euphrates and the Chabōras, the last of the tributaries of the Great River. (See Aram-naharaim in art. ARAM, p. 138[b].) Its two cities mentioned in Scripture are Haran (Gn 28[10]) and Pethor (Dt 23[4], Nu 22[5]). It is known as Nahrina on the Egyptian monuments, and Nahrima in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the native name of its people being Mitanni. Sayce (the soundness of whose argument, however, is denied by Moore and Driver) finds a remarkable correspondence between the notice of Cushan-rishathaim in Jg and the history of the reign of Ramses III. 'The eight years,' he says, 'during which the king of Aram-naharaim oppressed Israel would exactly agree with the interval between the beginning of the Libyan attack upon Egypt and the campaign of the Pharaoh against Syria. We know from the Egyptian records that Mitanni of Aram-naharaim took part in the invasion of Egypt; we also know from them that the king of Mitanni was not among those who actually marched into the Delta. He participated in the southward movement of the peoples of the north, and nevertheless lingered on the way. What is more probable than that he again sought to secure that dominion in Canaan which had belonged to some of his predecessors?' See further OTHNIEL.

LITERATURE.—Moore, *Judges*, pp. 84–89; Driver, *Contemp. Rev.* (1894), p. 420 ff.; Sayce, *HCM*, pp. 297–304.

T. NICOL.

CUSHI, CUSHITE (כּוּשִׁי, כּוּשִׁי).—The word occurs with the article in Nu 12[1], 2 S 18[21]; without the article in Jer 36[14], Zeph 1[1]. **1.** With the article it is probably merely an expression of nationality, 'the Cushite' (see CUSH). That in both instances it was a sufficient designation of the person in question, seems to show that there were but few Cushites among the Israelites. In both, the foreign character of the person intended is indicated by the narrative. It was looked upon as a disgrace that Moses should have married a Cushite. In 2 S 18[23] the stranger is unacquainted with the short-cut made use of by Ahimaaz. **2.** Without the article the word is used merely as a proper name. It is borne by (1) the great-grandfather of Jehudi, the latter one of Jehoiakim's courtiers (Jer 36[14]); (2) the father of the prophet Zephaniah (Zeph 1[1]).

F. H. WOODS.

CUSTOM (τέλος, Mt 17[25], Ro 13[7], comp. 1 Mac 10[31] 11[35]), toll, tax upon goods, generally *ad valorem*, as distinguished from κῆνσος and φόρος, tribute, an annual tax on houses, lands, and persons. Custom ordinarily went into the treasury of the native government. Thus in Palestine the Herods in Galilee and Peræa received the custom, whereas in Judæa it was paid to the procurator for behoof of the Roman government. The custom (τέλος) was collected by the tax-gatherer (τελώνης). For full details see PUBLICAN and TAXES.

J. MACPHERSON.

CUTH, CUTHAH (כּוּת, כּוּתָה; B Χουνθά, Χούθ; A Χουά).—One of the cities from which Sargon brought colonists to take the place of the Israelites whom he had deported from Samaria, B.C. 722 (2 K 17[24. 30]). These colonists intermingled with the Israelite inhabitants who were left by Sargon; and their descendants, the Samaritans, were in consequence termed by the Jews Cuthæans (כּוּתִים). According to the old Arabic geographers, Cuthah was situated not far from Babylon, and there seem to have been two cities of the same name close to each other (de Sacy, *Chrest. Arab.* i. 331). This view as to the site of Cuthah is borne out by the Assyrian inscriptions, from which we learn that *Kutî* (or *Kutû*) was a city of Middle-Babylonia. It has now been identified with the modern *Tell-Ibrâhîm*, N.E. of Babylon, where remains of the temple of Nergal (cf. v.[30]) have been discovered (see Schrader, *COT*, i. 270 f.). Cuthah has also been identified as the name of a country near Kurdistan, possibly = *Ur Kasdim* (Gn 11[31])—Neubauer, *Géogr.* p. 379; while others consider 'Cutheans' to be another form of 'Cossæans,' a tribe dwelling in the Persian province Jutipa, the modern Khuzistan, E. of the mouth of the Tigris.

J. F. STENNING.

CUTHA (A Κουθά, B om., AV **Coutha**), 1 Es 5[32].—His sons were among the temple servants who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Neh. The name may be taken from the Babylonian town Cuthah or Cuth (2 K 17[24. 30]).

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH.—i. In the legislation of Dt (D) and in the *corpus* known as the 'Law of Holiness' (H), the Hebrews are forbidden to 'cut themselves' (לֹא תִתְגֹּדְדוּ Dt 14[1]) or to 'make any cutting' (lit. an incision שָׂרָט Lv 19[28], שָׂרְטָה Lv 21[5], LXX ἐντομίς) in their flesh 'for the dead.' The prohibition in question is aimed at one of the most widely-spread tokens of grief at the loss of relatives or friends. To scratch and beat one's self to the effusion of blood, nay, to gash and hack one's self of set purpose, may be said to be an all but universal custom among uncivilized and semi-civilized races at the present day. It must suffice to refer to such well-known works as Waitz's *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* (*passim*), and H. Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 163 ff., 277, 292, etc. (see also authorities named at the close of this art.). The prevalence of the custom is equally attested for nearly all the nations of antiquity, the Egyptians being the most notable exception (Herod. bk. ii. 61, 85; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* [1854] vol. ii. p. 374). Thus Herodotus tells us that the Scythians of his time on the death of their king 'cut off their ears, shear their hair, and make incisions all over (περιτάμνονται) their arms' (iv. 71). Xenophon gives a similar account of the Armenians and Assyrians (*Cyrop.* iii. 1. 13). The legislation of Solon, acc. to Plutarch, forbade the women of Athens to beat themselves to the effusion of blood (ἀμυχὰς κοπτομένων . . . ἀφεῖλεν, *Sol.* 21), and the same is affirmed of the laws of the Twelve Tables ('mulieres genas ne radunto'—quoted by Cicero, *de Leg.* ii. 23). Among the ancient Arabs, further, the practice forbidden at Athens and Rome was associated, as it was among the Heb. (see below), with the cutting off of the hair (*Kitâb al-Aghâni*, xiv. 101, 28—this and other reff. in Wellh. *Skizzen*, iii. 160 f.). Thus the poet Lebîd 'says to his daughters, When I die, do not scratch your faces or shave off your hair,' xxi. 4 [ed. Huber and Brockelmann].* The earliest reference to this custom of making cuttings in the flesh among the Hebrews is in what appears to be the orig. reading in Hos 7[14] (see RVm), where several MSS (see De Rossi, *Var. Lectt. Vet. Test. in loc.*) have יתגודדו, which was also the reading of the Greek translators (κατατέμνονται). It was widely prevalent in the time of Jeremiah, not only among his countrymen of the South (16[6]) and those of the central highlands

* Quoted by Driver, *Comm.* on Deut. 14[1], p. 156, from a MS note of the late Professor W. R. Smith.

(41[5]), but also among the neighbouring Philistines (47[5]), and Moabites 'upon all the hands shall be cuttings' גְּדֻדוֹת 48[37]. The passages cited, taken along with the abundant evidence for the usually associated practice of shaving the head (Am 8[10], Is 3[24] 15[2] 22[12], Mic 1[16], Jer 48[37], Ezk 7[18]), clearly prove that the customs in question were universally practised by the Hebrews in pre-exilic times. And further, the remarkable phraseology of Is 22[12] 'J″ *called* to weeping and to mourning and *to baldness*' (with which cf. Mic 1[16]), seems to show that the prohibition of D was unknown in the age of Hezekiah. The attitude of this code to both the above-mentioned practices is very decided: 'Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead' (Dt 14[1]). H, incorporated in the priestly legislation of P, re-states the prohibition in more technical language, both for the people generally (Lv 19[28]) and *à fortiori* for the priests in particular (21[5]).

ii. When we inquire as to the *raison d'être* of these prohibitions we find considerable difference of opinion. We may, however, at once set aside as entirely inadequate the view that their purpose was to restrain that exuberance of emotion which the Hebrews shared with other Oriental peoples; in other words, to prohibit certain extravagant manifestations of grief as such. To say, for example, that 'the practices here (Dt 14[1]) named seem to be forbidden . . . because such excesses of grief would be inconsistent in those who as children of a heavenly Father had prospects beyond this world' (*Speaker's Comm.* on Dt 14[1]), is quite unscientific, inasmuch as considerations are here introduced altogether foreign to this stage of revelation. Nor yet is it sufficient to regard these prohibitions —for we must remember that artificial baldness and tattooing the skin (see below) stand in the same category with the more drastic cuttings in the flesh—as *primarily* directed against the disfigurement of the human body which is God's handiwork. It cannot be denied that both the explanations just adduced have a certain amount of force and truth, but they do not seem to reach the original significance of the prohibitions in question.

In our search for the real origin of the latter, two points have to be kept in mind: both the cuttings and the baldness are expressly stated to be 'for the dead,' and, not less explicitly, to be incompatible with Israel's unique relation to J″, a relation at once of sonship (Dt 41[1]) and of consecration (קדש ליי 14[2]). Now it is admitted on all hands (1) that such mutilations of the body as are here condemned have in almost all countries formed part of the religious rites of heathenism. And, in particular, they must have been familiar enough in the Pal. of those days where such self-inflicted bloodshed formed part of the everyday ritual of the Canaanite Baal (see 1 K 18[28], the only passage not already cited where the Heb. word has this signification, and note 'after their manner'). (2) Both the shedding of the blood and the dedication of the hair are found, as we have seen, in the most intimate connexion with the ritual of heathen burial and the belief in the necessity of propitiating the spirit of the deceased. Thus (to give but a single example) we are told that 'a Samoan ceremony, on the occasion of a decease, was "beating the head with stones till the blood runs"; and this they called "an offering of blood" for the dead' (quoted from Turner's *Samoa* by Spencer, *Princip. of Sociol.* p. 166).

In view of the facts now stated, we are led to the conclusion that both the tokens of grief prohibited by the Heb. legislation were so prohibited because they carried with them associations of a character incompatible with the pure religion of J″. Whether we hold with Stade and others that a developed ancestor-worship was practised by the primitive Hebrews or not, there can be little doubt that the gashing of the body and the shaving of the head as practised by the Semitic peoples generally must, *in the last resort*, be traced to the desire to propitiate the *manes* of the departed, and 'to make an enduring covenant with the dead' (W. R. Smith, *RS*[1] p. 305). But while we are forced by the evidence to this conclusion as to the ultimate origin of the practices in question, we would not have it supposed that any such animistic conception was present to the minds of the contemporaries of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In nothing is mankind so conservative as in all that concerns the respect due to the dead, and so, to the spiritually-minded at least, the practices prohibited were but the wonted outward signs of excessive grief. All excesses, then—so we conclude—such as making incisions in the hand (Jer 48[37]) or other part of the body to the effusion of blood, and shaving the head in whole or in part, were strictly forbidden by the legislation of D and of H, not merely or even chiefly *quâ* excesses, but as being alike in origin and association unworthy of those who had attained to the dignity of the sons of J″.

iii. Under the head of 'cuttings in the flesh' falls to be considered also the particular practice forbidden in Lv 19[28b] [Ye shall not] 'print any marks (קַעֲקַע, LXX γράμματα στικτά, Vulg. *stigmata*) upon you.' The expression does not occur elsewhere, but we may be sure that the reference is to the ancient and widely-spread custom of tattooing or branding. Which of these two modes of marking is to be understood here it is impossible to say with absolute certainty, the verbal stem, קעקע, having both meanings in post-biblical Heb., while the same ambiguity attaches to στίζω and its derivatives, στίγμα, etc. In favour of tattooing, however, the following may be urged: (1) the exegetical tradition; Rashi, for example, explains the marks in question as made with a needle (*Comm. in loc.*); (2) the probable origin of the custom, as advocated by the acute author of *RS*. 'In Lv 19[28], where tattooing is condemned as a heathenish practice, it is immediately associated with incisions in the flesh made in mourning or in honour of the dead, and this suggests that in their ultimate origin the *stigmata* are nothing more than the permanent scars of punctures made to draw blood for a ceremony of self-dedication to the deity' (p. 316, note 1).

The best-known illustration of the prevalence of the practice of tattooing or making *stigmata* in Syria is supplied by the priests of 'the Syrian goddess' in Lucian's treatise of that name, who were tattooed on wrist and neck (ch. 59—on which cf. the classical work of John Spencer, below). Philo (*De Monarch.* i.) refers to the allied practice of branding, familiar to us in the case of slaves and criminals, as practised by certain misguided idol-worshippers in his own time. In 3 Mac, also, Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) is represented as having the contumacious Jews branded with the ivy-leaf, the symbol of Dionysus (2[29]). These passages, then, show that it was not an unusual practice to have tattooed or branded in one's flesh the name or symbol of the deity to whom one was specially devoted—a practice which at once gives us the true explanation of the interesting passage, Is 44[5] (another shall mark on his hand 'Yahweh's,' cf. RVm, also Gal 6[17] στίγματα Ἰησοῦ). Jewish tradition, we may add, has it that the obscure phrase of the Chronicler with regard to Jehoiakim, 'that which was found in him' (2 Ch 36[8]), refers to his breach of the command in Lv 19[28b], letters having been discovered tattooed on his flesh, presumably the name of some heathen deity (Midrash *Levit. Rabba* 19—quoted by Strack, *Comm. in loc.*; Jerome, *Quæst. Heb. in Paralipom. l.c.*).

Here, then, we have another heathen custom forbidden to the worshippers of J″; and the unmistakable evidence of its unworthy associations being the cause of its prohibition—although in itself a thing indifferent (Dillm. *Theol. d. A.T.* p. 428)—strengthens the view above advanced as to the historical *raison d'être* of the ancient custom, here (Lv 9^{28a}) forbidden along with it, as alike incompatible with whole-hearted loyalty to J″.

LITERATURE.—Martin Geier, *De Ebræorum Luctu* (ed. 3, 1683), and (esp. for the *stigmata*) John Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* (ed. 2, 1686) lib. ii. cap. xiii. *Lex contra carnis incisuram lata* and cap. xiv. *Lex stigmata prohibens*; Knobel-Dillmann, *Exodus-Leviticus* on Lv 19^{28}; Driver, *Deut.* on 14^{1}; Lightfoot, *Gal.* on 6^{17}; W. R. Smith, *RS*, Lect. ix.; Schwally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode*, 1892, Kap. i. §§ 3, 5; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* § 23; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. § 33. See also the works of Waitz and H. Spencer (mentioned above), and Tylor's *Primitive Culture* for the customs of savage tribes.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CYAMON (Κναμών), Jth 7^{3}.—The same as JOKNEAM, which see.

CYMBAL.—See MUSIC.

CYPRESS (בְּרוֹשׁ *tirzâh, ilex*).—As in the case of the box tree (*tĕashshûr*), there is nothing in the philology to indicate what tree is signified. The root, which is obsolete in Heb., signifies in Arab. to be *strong* or *hard*. The tree is mentioned (Is 44^{14}) in connexion with the cedar and the oak. It might be any of the numerous coniferous or cupuliferous trees of Bible lands, but there is no means of telling which. The LXX gives us no help, the sentence being confused, and not a tr. of the Hebrew. The cypress, *Cupressus sempervirens*, L., is abundant, and suitable as to hardness, but we have no certainty that it is intended. Furthermore, it is probable that *Cupressus sempervirens* is the *fir*. See FIR. Under these circumstances, the best way would be to transliterate, as in the case of the *algum* and *almug*, and call the tree *tirzah*.

G. E. POST.

CYPRUS lies in the N.E. corner of the Levant (34° 33′—35° 41′ N. lat., 32° 17′—34° 36′ E. long.), between the convergent coasts of Cilicia and Syria. On its N. coast Cape Kormakíti is only 46 Eng. miles from Cape Anamur, in Cilicia, and its E. extremity, Cape Andrea, only 60 (miles) from Latakia on the Syrian coast. Consequently, the whole line of the Cilician coast is easily visible from the sea-level in C., and *vice versâ*, while the Lebanon can be seen at sunrise even from Stavrovúni near Larnaka (2260 ft.).* Its greatest breadth, from Cape Gata to Cape Kormakíti, is 60 Eng. miles, and its extreme length, from Cape Drepano to Cape Andrea, is 145; but the latter includes the Karpass promontory, which, though 45 miles long, is nowhere more than 10 miles across. The nearly straight N. coast from Cape Kormakíti to Cape Andrea measures about 100 miles. The area of C. is 3707 square miles, or about equal to that of Norfolk and Suffolk; it is larger than Corsica or Crete, but smaller than Sicily or Sardinia.

C. consists of two mountain masses, separated by a broad low-lying plain: (1) The S.W. half of the island is occupied by a range composed of crystalline and metalliferous rocks, which in its western and highest section is called Tróodos (6406 ft.), and is continued through Mádhari (5305 ft.), Papútsa (5124 ft.), and the Mákhaera range (4674 ft.) to the almost isolated Stavrovúni (2260 ft.), about 12 miles from Larnaka. The same rocks reappear in the plateau of limestone and gypsum beds between Larnaka and Famagústa, but never rise to more than 300 ft. (2) The Messaorià or 'midland' plain extends along the N. and N.E. side of Mákhaera from the Bay of Mórphu to that of Famagústa. A very low watershed divides the basin of the Serákhis, flowing towards Mórphu, from that of the Pediàs (Πεδιαῖος) and Yaliàs, which rise from the N. side of Mákhaera and reach the sea at Salamis through extensive marshes. (3) The N. range is a straight, narrow, and abrupt ridge of the Anatolian limestone, and extends 100 miles from Cape Kormakíti to Cape Andrea. Its highest peak is Buffavénto (3135 ft.), crowned by a Byzantine fortress. H. Elías or Kórnos (3106 ft.) and Trýpa Vunò (3085 ft.) are conspicuous peaks in the West. Pentedáktylo, farther E., rises to 2405 ft., and Olymbos to 2431 ft.; but in the Karpass nothing is higher than Sina Óros (2380 ft.), close to the fortress of Kantára (161 ft.). Pámbulos, near Rhizokárpaso, reaches only 1194 ft. The northern coastland E. and W. of Kerynia is narrow, but well watered and very fertile.

The only accurate map of C. is the Government Trigonometrical Survey (Stanford, 1885), incorporated in the subsequent editions of the Admiralty Chart of Cyprus (No. 2074).

The principal resources of C. in ancient and mediæval times were copper and timber. The former, which in fact derives its name from that of the island, was worked in great abundance on the N. side of Tróodos and Mákhaera, from Límni near the Bay of Khrýsokhu, to Frángissa (Tamassòs) and Lithrodónda; and in less quantity near Tremithushà (Tremithus). The principal centres of export were Soloi (Karavostási) and Marion (Póli dis Khrýsokhu). The supply was finally exhausted some time in the Middle Ages. Iron was worked from the 9th cent. B.C. onwards in the country about Mákhaera, though it never rivalled copper in commercial importance. Pliny (xxxiv. 2) says that only inferior qualities were worked in his time. Much glass was made in Roman times at Tamassos and elsewhere (Pliny, xxxvi. 193).

The forests of C. had not wholly disappeared even in imperial times, though they were already very much reduced in area by the continuous export of timber (Strabo, xiv. 5). The cypress (AV 'fir') or Karamanian pine is the principal forest tree; and the juniper (?, the 'cypress' [*tirzah*] of Is 44^{14}.) probably formerly attained great size in C., and still grows freely between Larnaka and Famagústa. Besides these, C. has always produced much wine and oil; and carobs, anise, and madder are considerable crops. It grew enough corn for its own population in the time of Augustus (Strabo, xiv. 5), and exports it now. Ladanum and resin were exported under the Roman Empire (Pliny, xii. 74, xiv. 123, xxiv. 34). Both Pliny (xxvii. 23. 58. 121, etc.) and Strabo (iii. 15) record the occurrence of precious stones; and the former, mines of alum and gypsum (xxxvi. 183). Salt is made in lagoons near Larnaka (Kition), and Pliny records the manufacture here (xxxi. 75) and at Salamis (xxxi. 84).

HISTORY.—The copper and the timber of C., so long as the supply lasted, gave the island an importance in commerce and civilization out of all proportion to its size. From the earlier part of the Bronze Age Cyprus maintained a large population and an art and culture distinct and in many respects highly developed, and exported copper to Syria, Cilicia, and probably to Egypt, to the farther parts of Asia Minor, and even to Central Europe. The influence also of Cypriote pottery was felt in Syria, and widely in Asia Minor; some of the finer varieties have been found in Egypt, South Palestine, Thera, Athens, and the Troad.

C. was invaded by Tahutmes III. of the 18th dynasty of Egypt (B.C. 1503–1449), and appears to have remained tributary to Egypt for some time.

* Cf. Is 23^{1}, where the homeward-bound merchantmen first see the smoke of burning Tyre from their last anchorage at Kition: 'from the land of Kittim it is revealed to them.'

It has been suggested by Maspero and others that the Keftiu (cf. OT 'Caphtor') include the inhabitants of C.; but the usual Egyp. name for C. is Asi (Flinders Petrie, *Hist. Eg.* ii. 118. 124).

The next period of Cypriote art and civilization is of great importance, but very obscure. Mycenæan settlements have been found on a number of sites, and the contact with their higher art and culture brought about a profound change in that of Cyprus. About the same time the abundant deposits of iron began to be worked, at first for ornaments, but very soon for weapons and tools. Greek tradition asserted a very early colonization of C., and esp. of Kurion and Salamis, both of which are now known to have been Mycenæan centres; and tradition is confirmed by the primitive 'Æolic' dialect of Greek which was spoken, and the peculiar syllabic script, which was not displaced by the Greek alphabet until the 4th cent. On the other hand, Phœn. inscriptions have been found in C. of the 9th cent. and onwards, and there are indications that the culture of the Syrian coast had influence in C. even earlier. The natural centre of Phœn. influence was Kition (mod. Larnaka), but Phœnicians and Greeks seem to have settled side by side all over the island. Kition (and perhaps all C.) appears to have been irregularly tributary to Tyre in the 10th to 8th cent. (Jos. *c. Ap.* I. 18; *Ant.* VIII. v. 3, X. xiv.). Consequently, C. was involved in the conquest of Phœnicia in 709 by Sargon, an important inscription of whom has been found at Kition (Berlin Museum). Later, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal record tribute received from twelve kings of C., some of whom appear to bear Greek names, while the island itself appears as *Javnan* ('Ionian').

About 560 C. was conquered and attached to Egypt by Amasis (Hd. ii. 182), and on his fall in 525 passed, with Egypt, to Cambyses of Persia (*id.* iii. 19. 21). In 501 the Greeks of C., in sympathy with those of Ionia, rebelled against Persia (*id.* v. 105 f.), but in so mixed a population united effort was impracticable; the revolt was soon put down, and in 480 C. furnished 150 ships to the fleet of Xerxes (*id.* vii. 90). During the 5th cent. C. remained under Persia, in spite of Cimon's repeated attempts to attach it to the Athenian League; but a brisk copper trade was maintained with Athens, which sent fine pottery and bronze work in return. Early in the 4th cent. Evagoras succeeded in making Salamis the leading state in C., and in 387 openly revolted from Persia. But the Phœnician interest was wholly against him; the Greeks, as usual, were divided, and the attempt failed. Alexander the Great, however, received the voluntary submission of all the states of C. after the battle of Issus, and efficient help at the siege of Tyre from their fleets, and supplies of timber. At his death (323) C. fell, with Egypt, to the share of Ptolemy, but was seized by Demetrius Poliorcetes, after a desperate sea-fight (Diod. Sic. xx. 759–761) and vigorous siege of Salamis. In 295, however, Ptolemy reconquered the island, which long remained closely attached to Egypt. It is under this régime that we first hear of Jewish settlers in C. (1 Mac 15^{23}). It was for a few years (B.C. 107–89) a separate but dependent kingdom under Ptolemy Lathyrus, but in B.C. 58 was annexed by Rome, as security for financial loans to the bankrupt Ptolemy Auletes. After reorganization by M. Cato it was first attached to the province of Cilicia, but was made a separate province by Augustus after Actium. As long as serious danger was to be apprehended in the East, the new province, with its neighbours, remained imperial, and was governed by a proprætor (Dio. Cass. liii. 12; Strabo, xiv. 683 [καὶ νῦν]). No monuments remain of this period. But very soon afterwards C. was transferred to the Senate (Dio. Cass. liii. 12, liv. 4); consequently, Ac 13^{7} is strictly accurate in describing Sergius Paulus as proconsul (*ἀνθύπατος*) in A.D. 46. Of this Sergius Paulus no coins are known, but an inscription exists at Karavostasi, which is dated *ἐπὶ Παύλου [ἀνθ]πάτου* (Hogarth, *Devia Cypria* p. 114). Several other names of proconsuls are known, *e.g.* Julius Cordus, *CIG* 2631, L. Annius Bassus, his successor, A.D. 52, *CIG* 2632 (quoted Conybeare and Howson, i. p. 187). See Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, Appx., for a complete list.

The seat of government was at **Paphos** (wh. see), which had been the capital of the Ptolemaic priest-king, deposed in B.C. 58, and was most easily accessible from the west, though **Salamis** (wh. see) was by far the largest and most important town in the island, owing to its proximity to the Syrian coast. Paphos was connected with Salamis by two roads—one inland and north of Tróodos, *viâ* Soloi, Tamassos, and Tremithus, about four days' journey; the other easier, and along the south coast, *viâ* Kurion, Amathus, and Kition, about three days.* Neither of these was a Roman military road, but both followed well-worn native tracks.

Jews appear to have settled in C. in large numbers under the Ptolemaic régime, and probably more were attracted thither under the early Empire by the fact that Herod the Great farmed the Cypriote copper mines (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. iv. 5, cf. xix. 26, 28). They seem to have had more than one synagogue in Salamis (Ac 13^{5}).

The dispersion after the death of Stephen carried Christians as far as Cyprus (Ac 11^{19}), and shortly afterwards Cypriotes were preaching in Antioch (Ac 11^{20}). Of Cypriote Christians, two are known by name: Mnason, 'an original convert' (*ἀρχαῖος μαθητής*, Ac 21^{16}), and Joseph the Levite, surnamed Barnabas, the friend and companion of St. Paul (Ac 4^{36}).

In A.D. 117 the Jews of C. revolted, massacred 240,000 pagans, and destroyed a large part of Salamis. Hadrian, afterwards emperor, suppressed the disorder, and expelled all Jews from Cyprus (Milman, iii. 111, 112).

The Christian Church of C. was divided into thirteen bishoprics; in the 4th cent., in consequence of the supposed discovery at Salamis (wh. see) of St. Matthew's Gospel in the tomb of Barnabas, it was made autonomous, and the Patriarch has ever since enjoyed the right to sign his name in red ink. The Council of C. in 401 was summoned, on the suggestion of Theophilus of Alexandria, to prohibit the reading of the works of Origen.

The word 'Cyprus' does not occur in OT, but the island and the town Kition are frequently alluded to as 'Kittim,' which is identified with Cyprus by Jos. (*Ant.* I. vi. 1), *Χέθιμα . . . Κύπρος αὖτη νῦν καλεῖται* (cf. Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 25). See KITTIM.

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J. L. MYRES.

CYRENE (Κυρήνη), the chief city in Libya in N. Africa, about half-way between Carthage and

* The Peutinger Table gives (*α*) Paphos—xi—Palæphato (Palæpaphos)—xxii—Curio—xvi—Amathus—xxiiii—Cito—[xxiiii]—Salamina: (xcvi in all). (*β*) Paphos—xxiii—Soloe—xxix—Tamiso—xxiiii—Thremitus—xviii—Cito—[xxiii]—Salamina: (cxvi in all).

Alexandria, was the capital of a small province corresponding to the modern Tripoli. Although in Africa, it was a Greek city, dating from B.C. 631. It was famous for its beauty of situation, its commerce, and its culture. Alexander the Great granted the rights of citizenship in it to Jews on equal terms with Greeks, and it became an important centre of the Jews of the Dispersion, the fourth of the population being Jewish according to Josephus. In the reign of Manasseh, Psammitichus, king of Egypt, carried off many Jews and settled them in the parts of Libya about C., while one of the Ptolemies transported 100,000 Jews to Pentapolis in the same district. Like other communities of the Hel. Jews, the Cyrenians had a synagogue of their own in Jerus., and seem to have been more Jewish than the Jews themselves (Ac 6^{9}). There were Cyrenians among the first preachers of the gospel, and they were associated with the great forward movement of preaching it for the first time to the Gentiles (Ac 11^{19-21}).

Lucius of C. (Ac 13^{1}) is said by tradition to have been the first bishop of his native district. Tradition also connects St. Mark with the first establishment of Christianity in this part of Africa. An interesting speculation gathers round the name of Simon of C. (Mt 27^{32}). He is referred to as the father of Alexander and Rufus, evidently well known to Mark's readers (Mk 15^{21}); while St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans refers to one Rufus as holding an honourable position among the brethren there, 'Salute Rufus, chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine' (Ro 16^{13}). From this it has been conjectured that while St. Paul was studying at Jerus. he enjoyed the motherly care of Simon's wife.

After Alexander's death, the district of which C. was capital became a dependency of Egypt. Under the Rom. rule it was called Cyrenaica, and was politically connected with Crete. In the 4th cent. the city was destroyed by the Saracens, and is now desolate.

Cyrenian (Κυρηναῖος).—Two Cyrenians are mentioned in Scripture: Simon who bore our Lord's cross (Mt 27^{32}), and Lucius a Christian teacher (Ac 13^{1}).

W. MUIR.

CYRENIUS.—See QUIRINIUS.

CYRUS (כּוֹרֶשׁ, Κῦρος).—The name of Cyrus is written Kuras in Bab. cuneiform, Kurush in Old Persian. Ctesias stated on the authority of Parysatis, the wife of the Persian king Ochus, that her younger son was named Cyrus from the sun, as 'the Persians call the sun Κῦρος' (*Epit. Phot.* 80; Plut. *Artax.* 1). In Zend, however, the 'sun' is *hvare*, which could not take the form Κῦρος in Old Persian, though in modern Persian it is *khur*, and in certain Aram. dialects of the Pamir it is *khir* and *kher*. According to Strabo (xv. 3), the original name of Cyrus was Agradates, his later name being adopted from that of the river Cyrus. But this is contrary to the fact that his grandfather's name was also Cyrus.

The classical writers have given contradictory accounts of his birth and rise to power. Herodotus (i. 95) says that he knew of three accounts different from the one he himself adopted, which was that Cyrus was the son of a Persian nobleman named Cambyses and Mandanê, a daughter of the Median king Astyages, who had caused her to marry beneath her station in consequence of a dream which the magi interpreted as predicting danger to himself from her son. A second dream induced him to order his relative Harpagus to kill the child. Harpagus gave it to the herdsman Mithridates to expose, but he and his wife Spako brought it up as their own. Subsequently Cyrus was recognized by Astyages, who, in consequence of the advice of the magi, sent him back to his parents, but punished Harpagus by giving him the mutilated limbs of his own son to eat. Harpagus therefore persuaded Cyrus to lead the Persians into revolt; after which the infatuated Astyages appointed him the general of the Median army. The result was an easy victory on the part of Cyrus; Astyages, however, impaled the magi who had advised him to let his adversary go, raised another army, and himself led it into the field. But he was defeated and captured, though his life was spared, and Cyrus became king of Media as well as of Persia.

Xenophon, in the romance of the *Cyropædia*, gives a wholly different account. He makes Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, king of Persia. Cyrus is educated first in Persia and then by his grandfather Astyages; and when the latter is succeeded by his son Cyaxares, Cyrus acts as his general, subduing the Lydians, Babylonians, and other nations, and finally succeeding him in the natural course of things. His first victory over the Babylonians was when he was sixteen years old, when Evil-Merodach wantonly invaded Media; the second when he was forty, when Neriglissar, the ally of Crœsus of Lydia, attacked Cyaxares. His final conquest of Babylonia took place before the death of the king of Media.

Nicolaus of Damascus (vii. fr. 66) asserts that Cyrus was the son of a Mardian bandit named Atradates, whose wife Argostê tended goats. He began his career as a servant in the palace of Astyages. Here he was adopted by Artembares, the cupbearer, and recommended to Astyages, who raised him to power and wealth. Cyrus now made his father Atradates satrap of Persia, and urged by a 'Chaldæan' began to plot against Astyages, with the help of Œbares a Persian. Eventually, after obtaining leave to visit Persia, where everything had been prepared for a revolt, he defeated at Hyrba the troops which had been sent against him. In a battle before Pasargadæ, however, he and his general Œbares were driven within the walls, and his father was captured and soon afterwards died. The Persians now fled to the precipitous mountain-peak where Cyrus had been reared, and there, excited by the taunts of their wives, they utterly overthrew their Median assailants and destroyed the kingdom of Astyages.

Ctesias calls Astyages Astyigas, and states that after his defeat by Cyrus he fled to Ecbatana, where he was concealed in the palace by his daughter Amytis and her husband Spitamas, whom Cyrus ordered to be tortured, along with their children Spitakes and Megabernes, to make them confess where he was. Astyages was put into fetters by Œbares, but released by Cyrus, who married Amytis after putting her husband to death.

All these versions have been shown to be unhistorical by contemporaneous cuneiform inscriptions. The most important of these are—(1) a cylinder inscription of Nabonidus, the last king of the Bab. empire, from Abu Habba (Sippara); (2) an annalistic tablet written shortly after the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus; (3) a proclamation of Cyrus of the same date.

The inscription of Nabonidus was composed soon after the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus in B.C. 549. Nabonidus calls Astyages (Istuvigu) king of the Manda or 'Nomads,' whom the Assyr. texts identify with the Gimirrâ or Cimmerians. He states that the temple of the moon-god at Harran had been destroyed by the Manda, but that Merodach had ordered him in a dream to restore it, assuring him that within three years 'Cyrus the king of Anzan, their little servant, with his small army, shall overthrow the widespread people of the Manda; Istuvigu, the king of the people of the Manda, he shall capture, and bring him a prisoner to his own country.'

The annalistic tablet, which, when complete, began with the first year of the reign of Nabonidus, tells us that in the seventh year of the latter's reign (B.C. 549) Astyages had marched against 'Cyrus, king of Ansan,' but that his army revolted against him and delivered him to Cyrus, who then marched to Ecbatana, captured it, and carried its spoil to Ansan. Three years later (B.C. 546), Cyrus bears for the first time the title of 'king of Persia,' so that he must have gained possession of Persia between B.C. 549 and 546. In the latter year he crossed the Tigris below Arbela and conquered northern Mesopotamia as well as Armenia.

In B.C. 538, aided by a revolt in southern Babylonia, he attacked Nabonidus from the north. A battle was fought at Opis, which resulted in the defeat of the Bab. army; and a few days later, on the 14th of Tammuz (June), 'Sippara was taken without fighting.' Nabonidus fled and concealed himself in Babylon, followed by Gobryas, the governor of Kurdistan, with the army of Cyrus. On the 16th, Gobryas entered Babylon without resistance, and Nabonidus was captured. The daily services went on as usual in the temples of the city, and the contract-tablets show that there was no disturbance of trade. On the 3rd of Marcheshvan (October), Cyrus came to Babylon, and henceforth bore the title of 'king of Babylonia.' 'Peace to the city did Cyrus establish; peace to all the province of Babylon did Gobryas his governor proclaim. Governors in Babylon he appointed.' On the 11th of the month the wife* of Nabonidus died, and for six days there was mourning for her. On the 4th of Nisan, Cambyses conducted her funeral in the temple of Nebo. After this, offerings to ten times the usual amount were made to the Bab. deities.

The proclamation of Cyrus justifies his seizure of the Bab. crown, and declares that he had been called to it by Bel-Merodach, who was angry with Nabonidus. He describes himself as 'king of the city of Ansan,' the son of Cambyses, king of Ansan, grandson of Cyrus, king of Ansan, and great-grandson of Teispes, king of Ansan, and says that he had restored to their homes the exiles who were in Babylonia as well as their gods. He concludes by praying that the deities he has thus restored may daily intercede for him before Bel-Merodach and Nebo, whose 'worshipper' Cyrus professes himself to be.

It is clear that the Greek writers have confounded the Manda or nomad Scyths and Cimmerians with the Madâ or Medes. Cyrus, moreover, like his ancestors, was not king of Persia, but of Ansan or Anzan, one of the most important divisions of Elam, which is stated in a cuneiform tablet to be the equivalent of Elam, and of which the native kings of Susa called themselves rulers. Teispes, the son of the Persian Achæmenes, seems to have conquered it at the time of the fall of the Assyr. empire. The fact explains Is 21^2, as well as the use of Susian as one of the three official languages of the Persian empire. At Behistun, Darius states that eight of his ancestors had been kings 'in a double line.' As Teispes was the father of his great-grandfather Ariaramnes, we should have exactly the eight kings, if we suppose that while the line of Cyrus was ruling in Anzan, that of Darius was reigning in Persia.

Another fact which is due to the cuneiform texts is, that the account of the siege of Babylon by Cyrus, given by Herodotus, is a fiction, derived probably from one of the sieges of the city by Darius Hystaspis. The date of the conquest of Astyages is also fixed. The conquest of Crœsus and the Lydian empire probably took place before that of Babylon, as well as the reduction of the Greek cities in Asia Minor by the Medes, Mazares and Harpagus.

Before his death the empire of Cyrus extended from the Mediterranean to Bactria, and was thus larger than that of the Assyrians. Different stories are told of his death. Herodotus, who knew of more than one, says that he was slain when invading the Massagetæ. According to Ctesias, he had invaded the Derbikes, and after gaining a victory over them by stratagem, and capturing the son of their queen, Tomyris, was killed in a second engagement in which his troops were defeated. Diodorus asserts that he was taken prisoner by Tomyris, who crucified him; while Xenophon makes him die peacefully, and be buried at Pasargada, seven years after the death of Cyaxares.

The Bab. contract-tablets, on the contrary, prove that he reigned nine years over Babylon and 'the empire,' dying in July B.C. 529. A year before his death he had made his son, Cambyses, king of Babylon. According to Herodotus, Cambyses was the son of Cassandana, the daughter of Pharnaspês. The supposed tomb of Cyrus at Murghâb can hardly belong to the great conqueror: it is difficult to reconcile its character and position with the account given by Arrian (vi. 29), and the figure on a neighbouring column, above whose head is the inscription, 'I am Cyrus, the king, the Akhæmenian,' is that of a winged demi-god who wears an Egyptian head-dress. It can hardly, therefore, have been sculptured before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. The most probable view is that it represents Cyrus the younger.

The proclamation of Cyrus shows that he was not a Zoroastrian like Darius and Xerxes, but that as he claimed to be the successor of the Bab. kings, so also he acknowledged the supremacy of Bel-Merodach the supreme Babylonian god. Hence the restoration of the Jewish exiles was not due to any sympathy with monotheism, but was part of a general policy. Experience had taught him the danger of allowing a disaffected population to exist in a country which might be invaded by an enemy; his own conquest of Babylonia had been assisted by the revolt of a part of its population; and he therefore reversed the policy of deportation and denationalization which had been attempted by the Assyr. and Bab. kings. The exiles and the images of their gods were sent back to their old homes; only in the case of the Jews, who had no images, it was the sacred vessels of the temple which were restored (Ezr 1^{7-11}). See *RP*, New Series, v. pp. 143 ff.

* Or, according to the reading of Pinches, the son.

LITERATURE.—Herodotus i. 95, 108–130, 177–214; Xen. *Cyrop.*; Ctesias, *Persika*, ed. Gilmore, vii.–xi.; *Nicolaus Damascenus*, frg. 66–68 (Müller's Fragm. iii. pp. 406 ff.); Diodorus Siculus, xxxi. 19, *Exc.* pp. 239 f.; *RP* new ser. v. pp. 143–175 (where references are given to the various editions of the cuneiform texts); Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, i. ii.; Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iv. ch. vii.; Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, Eng. ed. v.; Büdinger in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Vienna, xcvii. 711 (1880); Halévy in *Rev. des Études Juives* i. (1880); Floigl, *Cyrus and Herodot* (1881); Bauer, *Die Kyrossage und Verwandtes* (1882); Keiper, *Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus* (1882); Sayce, *Le Muséon* (1882), pp. 548, 596, *Herodotus* i.–iii. pp. 386 f., 438 ff.; Evers, *Emporkommen der persischen Macht unter Kyros* (1884); Justi, *Gesch. der orient. Völker im Altertum*, pp. 371 ff. (1884); Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* iv. 35 (1886); Winckler, *Untersuch. zur altorient. Gesch.* i. pp. 109–132; Sayce, *HCM* ch. xi. (1893); Prášek, *Medien und das Haus des Kyaxares* (1890), *Kambyses und die Ueberlieferung des Alterthums* (1897); Tiele, 'Cyrus de Groote en de godsdienst van Babel,' in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez* (1896). The latest ed. of Cyrus' Annalistic Tablet is by Hager in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyr.* ii. (1891), 215 ff.

A. H. SAYCE.

D

D.—In critical notes on the text of the Gospels and Acts this symbol is used to indicate the readings of *Codex Bezæ*, a Græco-Latin MS of the 6th cent. preserved in the Cambridge University Library. The text, both Greek and Latin, is written stichometrically, *i.e.* in lines of unequal length, divided according to the sense—the Greek on the left, the Latin on the right hand page of each opening.

The Gospels are arranged in the order, Mt, Jn, Lk, Mk—an order found also in many old Latin MSS, the Gothic version, and in *Const. Apost.* ii. 57.

Between Mk and Ac there is a gap which, according to the original numbering of the quires, must have contained 67 leaves (8 quires and 3 leaves). It closes with a fragment of a Latin version of 3 Jn$^{11\text{-}15}$. Clearly, therefore, the Epp. of Jn occupied part of the vacant space (14 or 15 leaves). What else the missing leaves contained it is impossible to say. The other Catholic Epistles, if they were all present, would require about 36 leaves. This would leave 16 leaves (=2 quires) unaccounted for; and it is possible, though not very likely, that, as Scrivener suggests, the scribe had made a mistake of 2 in numbering his quires at this point in the MS.

About 37 leaves are missing in other parts of the MS, and 12 are more or less mutilated. It is also mutilated at the end. The following passages are in consequence wanting in the Greek Text—Mt 1$^{1\text{-}20}$ [3$^{7\text{-}16}$] 6^{20}–9^{2} 27$^{2\text{-}12}$, Jn 1^{16}–3^{26} [18^{14}–20^{12}], [Mk 16$^{15\text{-}20}$], Ac 8^{29}–10^{14} 21$^{15\text{-}18}$ 22$^{10\text{-}20}$ 22^{29} end. The gaps in the Latin are Mt 1$^{1\text{-}11}$ 6^{8}–8^{27} 26^{65}–27^{1}, Jn 1^{1}–3^{16} [18^{2}–20^{1}], [Mk 16$^{6\text{-}20}$]. The passages in square brackets have been supplied by a 9th cent. hand.

The MS was written in all probability in Gaul, and Rendel Harris has given good reason for believing that it did not travel far from its birthplace for the first 1000 years of its existence. During this period it was corrected at various times by eight or nine different hands.

Its modern history begins with the Council of Trent, whither apparently it was taken in 1546 by the Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne. Stephens, in his 1550 edition, published readings from it derived from collations made for him by his friends in Italy—perhaps during this visit to the Council. When Beza presented the MS to the University of Cambridge in 1581, he stated that it had been taken from the Abbey of St. Irenæus in Lyons at the sack of that city in 1562. It is for the most part the only witness among Greek MSS to a type of text which we know from the evidence of patristic quotations and the earliest versions to have been widely current as early as the 2nd cent. It has in consequence, especially in recent years, received a great deal of attention, notably in a most ingenious work by J. Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezæ* ('Texts and Studies'), 1891, and in two careful but not altogether convincing volumes, *The Old Syriac Element in Codex Bezæ*, 1893, and *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, by F. H. Chase, 1895. The problems raised by these writers will require fuller treatment in connexion with the whole subject of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.

An excellent edition of the MS, including a complete transcription of the text and a full introduction, was published by Scrivener in 1864, and this year (1897) the University of Cambridge has undertaken to bring out an edition in photographic facsimile.

D_2.—In the Epistles of St. Paul the same symbol—written more properly D_2 to avoid confusion—is used to denote the readings of the MS in the National Library at Paris, the *Codex Claromontanus*. This is also a Græco-Latin MS of the 6th cent. written stichometrically. It seems clear that it was the work of a Greek scribe, and that it remained for some time in scholarly Greek hands; but there seems no decisive evidence to fix either the place where it was written or its first home. The remarkable list of the canonical books of OT and NT inserted between Philemon and Hebrews—known as the Claromontane stichometry—points on the whole to a Western origin,—Carthage, Rome, or Gaul. The Latin version is of great importance throughout. In Hebrews it is the main representative of the old Latin version of the epistle.

It contains all the Pauline epistles virtually complete—including Hebrews. It has been most carefully collated both by Tischendorf and Tregelles, and sumptuously edited by Tischendorf, 1852.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

D.—The symbol ordinarily used in criticism of Hex. to signify the work of the Deuteronomist; often so as to include also his school, although this creates confusion, which may be avoided by using for this sense D^2, D^3, and similar symbols. See HEXATEUCH.

F. H. WOODS.

DABBESHETH (דַּבֶּשֶׁת), Jos 19^{11}.—A place on the borders of Zebulun. The line is difficult to follow, but the extreme limits on N. and S. seem to be defined by the names Dabbesheth and Jokneam. In this case the ruin *Dabsheh*, on the hills E. of Acco, may be intended, the only place where this name (meaning 'hump,' cf. Is 30^{6}) occurs. See *SWP*, vol. i. sheet iii.

C. R. CONDER.

DABERATH (דָּבְרַת), Jos 19^{12} 21^{28}, 1 Ch 6^{72}.—A city of Zebulun given to the Levites, noticed as the extreme point on the S.E. border; now the village *Debûrieh* at the foot of Tabor on the W. In the record of the conquests of Ramses II. (Brugsch, *Hist.* ii. p. 64) we learn that, about 1325 B.C., he attacked places in the Amorite country, named Dapur, Shalama (Shunem), Maroma (Meirûn), Ain Anamim, Kalopu (perhaps Shalabûn), and Beitha Antha (Beth Anath); and of these places Shunem was in Lower Galilee, and Beth Anath and Meirûn in Upper Galilee. Dapur is thought to be Tabor or Daberath, and is represented as a walled town. But in Egyptian the letters L and R are not distinguished, and the name may have been Dapul. In the latter case *Dibl* in Upper Galilee would be the site. See DIBLAH. The site of Daberath on Tabor was known in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Dabira), but wrongly identified with Debir. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet vi.

C. R. CONDER.

DABRIA.—One of the five scribes who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14^{24}).

DACUBI (A Δακουβί, B om., AV **Dacobi**) = AKKUB, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

DAGGER (Jg 3^{16} AV, 'sword' RV, Heb. חֶרֶב *ḥerebh*). — The Heb. word means in most cases a short weapon used for stabbing (cf. 2 S 20$^{8.\ 10}$). The Arab '*khanjar*,' still in use E. of Jordan, has a curved blade, and inflicts by a downward stab

just such a horrible wound as is described in 2 S 20[10]. See SWORD. W. E. BARNES.

DAGON (דָּגוֹן, Δαγών).—The principal deity of the Philistines, whose worship, however, seems to have extended beyond the Phil. country, as is proved by the geographical name Beth-dagon (which see), and perhaps by the later name Dagon (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 1; *Wars*, I. ii. 3).

It has commonly been held by scholars that the name is a diminutive, and so a term of endearment, from *dag*, which signifies fish, and hence that D. was worshipped under the form of a fish. He has been generally identified with a Bab. god who is represented on seals and elsewhere as having in part that form. And though there is nothing in the biblical account to confirm this view, there is also nothing to contradict it. D. had face and hands, and, according to the Sept., feet also (1 S 5[4]); but this is not inconsistent with his having in part the shape of a fish. The pictures of the Bab. fish-god show face and hands, and in some instances feet. Indeed, one is strongly tempted to find in the phrase 'only D. remained,' the meaning 'only little fish remained,' the point being that, after the head and hands of D. were cut off, nothing was left of him save the fish-shaped part. Nevertheless, Sayce and others now insist that D. was not a fish-god, and that the resemblance of name is a mere coincidence. The Bab. fish-god was Ea, the patron god of the city of Eridu, the god of the ocean, of water, of wisdom. In some sense Ea was god of the sea, Anu of the sky, and Bel (Baal) of the earth and the under-world. Bel is closely associated with Anu, but not with Ea. And D. appears in the inscriptions as one of the names or one of the forms of Bel.

The name and worship of D. were upon either theory imported into Pal. from Babylonia. The name is held to have been originally Sumerian, but a Semitic derivation was found for it in connexion with its use to designate the god of *agriculture*. D. was identified with *dagan*, the Heb. word for corn, when corn is thought of as an agricultural product.

Presumably, D. was worshipped in Phœnicia as well as in Philistia. There is a Phœn. cylindrical seal of crystal now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, on which, according to Sayce, the name Baal-dagon is written in Phœn. letters, with an ear of corn engraved near it, and other symbols, such as the winged solar disc, a gazelle, and several stars, but no figure of a fish. Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 6) quotes Philo Byblius of the 2nd cent. A.D. as citing the ancient Phœn. legends that go under the name of Sanchoniathon, to the effect that Ouranos (Anu) married his sister the earth, 'and by her had four sons, Ilus (El), who is called Kronos, and Betylus, and D., which signifies "corn," and Atlas.' 'D., after he had discovered bread-corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrios.'

The Phœn. Dagon, then, like the Bab., is properly 'Zeus of the plough.' With this agree all the notices found in OT in regard to the Phil. Dagon. He had temples in Gaza and Ashdod (Jg 16[23], 1 S 5[1. 2]), and presumably in the other Phil. cities. His worship among the Philistines was national, and not merely local (1 Ch 10[10], 1 S 5[3–6.12]). His worship did not exclude that of other Baals (2 K 1[2. 3]). The Philistines regarded him as giving them victory over their enemies, rejoicing before him when Samson was in their power, and placing Saul's head in his temple (Jg 16[23], 1 Ch 10[10]). But he was eminently the god of agriculture; they acknowledged J"'s victory over him through the mice that marred their fields, and offered golden mice in token of the acknowledgment (1 S 6[4. 5]).

Apparently, the worship of D. among the Philistines was conducted with a highly developed and technical ritual. We may infer this from the elaborate discussions and arrangements for returning the ark, as described in 1 S 5. 6, the golden mice and golden tumours as a guilt-offering, the new cart, the new milch kine with their calves shut up at home. The worship of D. at Gaza continued to a late period. During the Maccabæan wars Jonathan destroyed the temple of D. there (1 Mac 10[83. 84] 11[4]; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 4, 5).

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *HCM* 325–327; Sayce in *SS Times*, May 27, 1893; Smith, *HGHL* 164; Moore, *Judges*, 358 f.; Wellh. and Driver on 1 S 5[4]; *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.* W. J. BEECHER.

DAISAN (B Δαισάν, A Δεσ-), 1 Es 5[31].—Called REZIN, Ezr 2[48], Neh 7[50]. The form in 1 Es is due to confusion of ר and ד.

DALAN (A Δαλάν, B 'Ασάν, AV **Ladan**), 1 Es 5[37] = DELAIAH, Ezr 2[60].

DALE.—See KING'S DALE.

DALETH (ד).—Fourth letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 4th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

DALLY.—Only Wis 12[26] 'correction, wherein he dallied with them.' By a bold anthropomorphism God is described as only sporting with the Egyptians in the lighter plagues that fell on them. The Gr. is παιγνίοις ἐπιτιμήσεως, lit. 'play-games of correction'; Vulg. *ludibriis et increpationibus*, Cov. 'scornes and rebukes,' Geneva 'scornful rebukes,' RV 'a mocking correction as of children.' 'Dally' has now chiefly the sense of 'delay,' which easily arose from the older sense of 'sport,' as in Milton, *Of Reformation* (Prose Works, ii. 410), 'Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full blessing'; and Bunyan, *Heavenly Footman* (Clar. Press ed. p. 270), 'it is not good dallying with things of so great concernment, as the Salvation or Damnation of thy Soul.' J. HASTINGS.

DALMANUTHA (Δαλμανουθά) is mentioned only in Mk 8[10]. The corresponding statement of Mt (15[39] RV) gives Magadan. In Tatian, *Diatessaron* (Hill's ed. p. 134), it is Magheda. Rendel Harris (*Study of Codex Bezæ*, p. 178) suggests that Dalmanutha may be simply a corruption from the Syriac; but see Chase, *Bezan Text of the Acts*, p. 145 n[2]. On the variants in Mk see Chase, *Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, p. 97 f. The common reading Magdala is probably a substitution of a better for a less known place. Ewald suggested that Magadan stands here for Megidon = Megiddo; but Eusebius says this Magadan was near Gerasa. Thomson places Dalmanutha at Ed-Delemîyeh, one mile N. of the Jarmûk, at the S.E. corner of the Sea of Galilee. As the scene of the second Feeding of the Multitude is uncertain, and as there is nothing said to indicate in what direction the boat into which our Lord went was steered, the site of Dalmanutha cannot be determined with certainty. Tristram suggests a site 1½ mile from Migdel (Magdala), and Sir C. Wilson thinks it was not far from that.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned above, consult Keim, *Jesus of Nazara* (Eng. Tr.), iv. 238 n.; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*[2] (1887), ii. 67 ff.; Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, ed. 1892, p. 338; Herz and Nestle in *Expos. Times*, viii. 563, ix. 45, 95. A. HENDERSON.

DALMATIA (Δαλματία) in apostolic times was an ill-defined mountainous district on the E. coast of the Adriatic, stretching towards Macedonia. In its more exact use, the name, which is not known

to the earlier Greek writers, was used of the S. portion of the Rom. province Illyricum, between the Drinus and the sea. In its more indefinite use it was practically another name for Illyricum. St. Paul preached the gospel in the district, or, at any rate, in its neighbourhood (Ro 15[19]), and during his last imprisonment in Rome it was visited by Titus (2 Ti 4[10]). In our ignorance of the place where the apostle was arrested, we cannot determine either the exact time when Titus was sent to D. or the reason why he was sent; but it has been conjectured that, having failed to find St. Paul at Nicopolis as he expected (Ti 3[12]), he went on to Dalmatia. W. MUIR.

DALPHON (דַּלְפוֹן, Est 9[7]), the second son of Haman, put to death by the Jews. In the LXX Δελφών.

DAMARIS (Δάμαρις). — The name of a woman who, with Dionysius the Areopagite and certain others, is mentioned as having been converted by St. Paul at Athens (Ac 17[34]). Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 252) points out that it is not stated that she was of good birth (in contrast with 17[12] and 13[50]); that this arose from the fact that women of social position in Athens would certainly not have the opportunity of hearing St. Paul; and that her name suggests that she was a foreigner, perhaps 'one of the class of educated *Hetairai*.' This suggestion seems to go rather beyond the evidence. The name is said to be a corruption of δάμαλις, a heifer, which is the reading of one Lat. MS (*et mulier nomine Damalis*, Flor.). Chrys. (*ad loc.*) suggests quite erroneously that she was the wife of Dionysius; this could not be the tr. of καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δ. These words and all mention of this woman are omitted by Codex Bezæ. Ramsay (*Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 161) quotes this in proof of his assertion that the reviser to whom we owe the Western text was a Catholic who objected to the prominent position assigned to women in the Acts; 'this was, firstly, pagan rather than Christian; and, secondly, heretical rather than Catholic.' (See also 17[12] and the variation there.) A. C. HEADLAM.

DAMASCUS (דַּמֶּשֶׂק, Δαμασκός).

This city is the contemporary of all history. Its origin is lost in antiquity. Jos. (*Ant.* I. vi. 4) says it was founded by Uz, grandson of Shem. It is first mentioned in connexion with Abraham's pursuit of the defeated Chedorlaomer (Gn 14[15]). Then (Gn 15[2]) his servant is called Dammesek Eliezer, where both the Chaldee and the Syr. have 'Eliezer the Damascene.' It occurs in 2 S 8[6] as אֲרָם דַּמֶּשֶׂק, Aram Dammesek, which suggests comparison with the modern Arabic name, *Dimashk esh-Shâm*. As it was the capital of Aram, so it is the chief city of *esh-Shâm*, the modern Syria. *Esh-Shâm*='the left,' *i.e.* the country on the left; as *el-Yemen*, Arabia Felix, is on the right of the Arabian looking northward. A Moslem tradition makes Eliezer the founder of the city, and Abraham king for some years before he went south to Palestine. So also Nicolaus of D., quoted by Jos. (*Ant.* I. vii. 2). He mentions a village called 'the Habitation of Abraham,' which may be identical with *el-Burzeh*, 3 miles N. of the city, where there is a *wely* sacred to the patriarch.

1. HISTORY.—The history of D. really begins for us with its capture by David. Coming to succour Hadadezer, king of Zobah, the Damascenes were themselves overthrown. David smote of the Syrians 22,000 men, took and garrisoned the city, and 'the Syrians became servants to David, and brought presents' (2 S 8[3-6]). Nicolaus of Damascus says the battle was fought on the Euphrates. Rezon, son of Eliada, a follower of Hadadezer, escaped, gathered a company around him, possibly fugitives like himself, and obtained possession of Damascus. 'He was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon.' His experience on the Euphrates possibly led him to abhor Israel (1 K 11[23-25]). But soon again the sceptre passed to the family of Hadad. Syria and Israel were in league against Judah. Hard pressed by the king of Israel, Asa bought the friendship of Benhadad with costly presents, and induced him to break with Baasha and invade his territory. A successful raid into the northern dominions of Israel called off Baasha and relieved Judah (1 K 15[16-21]). Benhadad seems to have followed up his advantage in the reign of Omri. Retaining the captured cities, he held the right to 'make streets' in the new capital, Samaria (1 K 20[34]). 'Streets' may have meant quarters for a permanent embassy, or simply accommodation for Syrian merchants, who, like the Tyrians in Memphis, would congregate in one quarter. It was a concession to a power which could enforce it if necessary. Benhadad, son of this monarch, led a great expedition against Samaria. There were with him thirty-two subject kings, with horses and chariots. Conducting the siege with a contemptuous carelessness, born of a sense of absolute superiority, he was surprised by a sudden attack, and his army routed, he himself escaping with difficulty on horseback. Meeting Israel again at Aphek, he was defeated and his army destroyed. Taken by Ahab, his freedom was granted on most humiliating terms (1 K 20). In about three years' time we find them again at war, fighting for possession of Ramoth-gilead; and there Ahab was slain (1 K 22). From D. came Naaman, to be healed of leprosy (2 K 5). Again the Syrians invaded Israel, and a company sent to arrest Elisha at Dothan was led by him, blinded, into Samaria (2 K 6[8-23]). Unaffected by their chivalrous treatment, we find Benhadad directly again besieging Samaria. The city was reduced to the most appalling straits by famine, when, by a miraculous discomfiture of the Syrians, it was delivered, and plentiful supplies provided (2 K 6[24]–7[20]). From the cuneiform inscriptions we learn that the Assyrians also harassed Benhadad, and were too strong for him and his allies. His reputation suffered heavily from these disasters, making it easier for a strong man to usurp his place. Falling sick, he sent a messenger laden with gifts to consult Elisha. To this man, Hazael, the prophet promised the kingdom. On his return he secured the swift fulfilment of the promise by the murder of his master (2 K 8[15]). In his encounters with the great Assyr. power, the new king was not more fortunate than his predecessor; but elsewhere success waited upon his standards. Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah attacked Ramoth-gilead. Hazael repulsed them, the former being seriously wounded (2 K 8[28. 29]). He then laid waste the whole country east of the Jordan (2 K 10[32. 33]). He captured Gath (*ib.* 12[17]), and threatened Jerusalem. Jehoash purchased immunity from attack, stripping the temple and the palace of all valuables for this purpose (*ib.* 12[18]). Hazael also prevailed against Israel, and superiority was maintained by his son Benhadad (*ib.* 13[3]). Ultimately Jehoash, son of Jehoahaz, asserted his independence, and recovered the cities Hazael had taken (*ib.* 13[25]). Jeroboam II., son of Jehoash, the great warrior-king of the northern monarchy, extended the borders of Israel, recovering D. and Hamath, probably making their kings tributary to Israel (*ib.* 14[28]). D. and Samaria next appear in league against Jerusalem (2 K 15[37] 16[5]). Rezin of D. reconquered Elath, driving out 'the Jews.' Meantime the Assyrians, under Tiglath-pileser III., whose Bab. name was Pul or Pulu (2 K 15[19]), were rapidly extending their sway, threatening the independence of D. and Samaria alike. To consolidate their power against Assyria, Rezin and Pekah sought to attach Judah to their cause by dethroning Ahaz, and setting up 'a king in the midst of it, the son of Tabeel' (Is 7[6]). The

attempt not only failed: it hastened the disaster they wished to avert. Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser, who at once 'went up against D. and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir,' Rezin himself being slain (2 K 16^9); and Assyr. colonists were placed in it (Jos. *Ant.* IX. xii. 3). This was the heaviest blow the city had yet received, and for a time she seems to have been crushed by it. To this period probably refer the prophecies of Isaiah and Amos, 'The riches of D. . . . shall be carried away before the king of Assyria' (Is 8^4), 'Behold, D. is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap' (Is 17^1), 'I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, and it shall devour the palaces of Benhadad . . . and the people of Syria shall go into captivity to Kir, saith the Lord' (Am $1^{4.5}$; see also Jer 49^{23-27}). Ahaz came to D. to do homage to Tiglath-pileser. Here he saw the great altar, of which, at his order, a duplicate was made by Urijah the priest, and put in the temple to supplant the brazen altar (2 K 16^{10-16}). For the important issues of this act see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 265, 443, *RS* 359, 466 ff.

A city occupying the position of D. could not be permanently overwhelmed. During the Persian period she displayed afresh her perennial vigour, playing a distinguished part (Strabo, xvi. 2. 9). When Darius advanced against Alexander at Issus, he sent his harem and treasures to D. for safety. After his defeat and inglorious flight, the city was treacherously surrendered to Alexander's general, Parmenio (Arrian, *Exped. Al.* ii. 11). During the Greek occupation D. yielded to Antioch on the Orontes the rank of first city in Syria. In the course of the wars with Egypt, D., with Palestine and Cœlesyria, fell at times into the hands of the Ptolemies. On the division of Syria (B.C. 111) between Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, D. fell to the latter. Against this prince Hyrcanus made a successful stand (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 1–3). The next king was Demetrius Eucærus, who, assisted by Ptolemy Lathyrus, established himself in D., and divided the rule of Syria with his brother Philip (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 4). Invited by discontented Jews, he marched against Alexander Jannæus, and defeated that prince near Shechem, returning immediately to war with Philip. The latter, assisted by Arabs and Parthians, was victorious. Demetrius was sent to Mithridates, king of Parthia, and remained with him till his death. A younger brother, Antiochus Dionysus, now seized the throne of Damascus. He fell in an encounter with Aretas, king of Arabia; and this monarch, invited by the inhabitants, entered D. and assumed the reins of government. Against Ptolemy Mennæus, 'who was such a bad neighbour to the city,' Alexandra, widow of Jannæus, sent an expedition to D., under her son Aristobulus, which achieved nothing (*Ant.* XIII. xvi. 3). Tigranes, king of Armenia, obtained temporary possession. The Romans under Metellus took the city, and here, B.C. 64, Pompey received ambassadors from the neighbouring kings, who brought him presents; among others, a golden vine from Aristobulus, valued at 500 talents. In B.C. 63 the whole of Syria became a Roman province; and, while the proconsul usually resided in Antioch, D. began to assume her old ascendency. Herod, while still a young man, escaping judgment from the Sanhedrin, came here to visit Sextus Cæsar, and was made by him general of the army of Cœlesyria (*Ant.* XIV. IX. 5). Later, according to Jos. (*BJ* I. xxi. 11), he showed his magnanimity by adorning many cities, not only within but also beyond his own dominions. To D. he added the attractions of a gymnasium and a theatre. It was on the way to D. that the miraculous event occurred through which Saul of Tarsus was converted to Christianity; and in this city he first testified for Christ (Ac 9^{2-27}). It was then under the Arabian Aretas, and governed by an ethnarch, whose vigilance Paul escaped, being let down over the wall in a basket (2 Co 11^{32}). Hither the apostle returned, after his sojourn in Arabia (Gal 1^{17}). It was reckoned to the Decapolis (Pliny, *HN* v. 16). Josephus curiously remarks that Scythopolis was the greatest of these cities. After Herod's time he says little of D.; but there must have been a strong Jewish colony there: at one time some 10,000 of these were slain by the populace (*BJ* II. xx. 2). Under Trajan, D. attained the rank of a Roman provincial city. Since that time, although she has often changed hands, her career of prosperity has hardly been interrupted, save perhaps when she fell before the ferocious Tamerlane (1399). D. is still the chief city in Syria, with a population of not less than 150,000. Christians have always been fairly numerous in the city. Theodosius transformed the great temple into a Christian church. On the advent of Islam it was changed into a Moslem mosque. D. was originally subordinate to Antioch, which was the seat of the patriarch; but this official, still taking his title from Antioch, now resides in Damascus. The darkest blot on the history of the city is the massacre of some 6000 Christians in the summer of 1860.

ii. GEOGRAPHY.—One of the most beautiful and fertile plains in the world is that which lies to the east of the Anti-Lebanon range, at an elevation of about 2200 ft. above sea-level. Great Hermon, *Jebel esh-Sheikh*, a vast snowy bank filling all the horizon, forms the western boundary. A chain of hills, thrown off to eastward from Anti-Libanus, runs along the northern edge. *Jebel el-Aswad* and *Jebel Mâni'* shut it in on the south. Three marshy lakes mark the eastern frontier of fertility; and away beyond them rises a range of low hills, which definitely cuts off this district from the sandy wastes of the Arabian desert. These surrounding hills, all bare and forbidding, save in the deeper and shadier wadies, enclose within their rocky arms a broad expanse of rich waving green.

This plain owes its fertility almost entirely to the river *el-Barada*, 'the cool,' which bursts through the limestone ramparts on the north, to fling itself in many a refreshing stream over its surface; and to the waters of *el-A'waj*, 'the crooked,' which, coming down from the eastern slopes of Gt. Hermon, flows through the southern meadows. Something is also due to the protection of the desert hills in the east, which in a measure bar the way against the drifting sand-storms from the wilderness. In the plain the natives distinguish five districts. The western portion, extending about two hours east of the gorge of the *Barada*, is divided by that river into the northern and southern *Ghautah*. To the east is the *Merj*, also divided by the *Barada* into north and south; while all lying between these districts and *Jebel el-Aswad* and the valley of *el-A'waj*, is known as *Wady el-'Ajam*. Scattered over this tract are some 140 villages. A population of about 50,000 are engaged almost exclusively in agricultural pursuits. Clumps of olives, and many varieties of fruit trees pleasantly diversify the landscape, while between them, in season, far and wide, wave seas of golden grain. On the edge of the plain, east of *el-Barada*, just under *Jebel Ḳasiûn*, which rises some 1700 ft., lie the famous orchards, some 30 miles in circumference, which encircle with luxuriant foliage the ancient city of Damascus. From afar are seen the white roofs, domes, and minarets, in striking relief against the green. The scene of rich beauty here

presented, with the shade of fruitful trees, and on every hand the music of running water, has ever inspired the Arab with admiration; and when he dreamed of Paradise—'the garden' *par excellence*—his imagery was drawn from the gardens and streams of Damascus. Nor need we wonder if, coming from the dreary monotony of the burning desert, the Bedawi, fascinated by its delights, thinks himself in the midst of an earthly Paradise. Even for the eye accustomed to the fresh beauty and fruitfulness of the West, it possesses many a charm, although the descriptive language of the Arab may appear somewhat exaggerated. There are few places where so rich a variety of fruits is brought to maturity within a similar area. In the vicinity of the city are large vegetable gardens; and in the fields beyond different kinds of grain, tobacco, cotton, flax, hemp, madder-roots, and vicinus are grown. The olive is plentiful, and much of the oil used in the city is made in the neighbourhood. Tall, graceful poplars line the banks of the streams, yielding excellent timber for building purposes. Firewood is mostly made of the olive and the apricot. There are also the cypress, the plane tree, and the stately palm. But the charm of D. is felt chiefly in her gardens, and under the shadow of her far-stretching thickets of fruit trees. There, in generous rivalry, are found the orange, the lemon, and the citron; the apple, the pear, and the quince; plums and prunes, grapes and figs, pomegranate and mulberry, almonds and walnuts, hazel-nuts and pistachios.

D. is situated about 60 miles from the coast. Its exact position is 33° 30′ N. lat., 36° 18′ E. long. It is now most easily approached by the magnificent French diligence road from Beirût, which scales Mount Lebanon, crosses *el-Beḳa'*, and then follows the easy passes through Anti-Lebanon to the plain of Damascus. The routes by which of old she communicated with the seaboard varied with political conditions. The way to Tripoli lay past *Ba'albeḳ* and Bĕsherreh. That to Beirût followed closely the line of the present road; while the great height of the two Lebanons lay also between D. and Tyre and Sidon. When the way was clear, she found the most convenient outlet at Acre. This road led to the south-west past *Sa'sa'* and *Kuneiterah* over the *Jedûr* uplands, crossed the Jordan below lake *Ḥûleh* by *Jisr Benât Ya'ḳûb*, traversed the rolling downs of the upper Jordan valley, and splitting towards the west, one arm took the difficult but direct route by way of *Ṣafed*; the other swept southward past *Khân Jubb Yusif* to the plain of Gennesaret at *Khân Minyeh*, and, following an easy line by the wadies to the north-west, joined the *Ṣafed* road at *Er-Râmeh*. From Gennesaret a branch of this highway ascended the uplands west of the Sea of Galilee to *Khân et-Tujjâr*, and, passing round the base of Tabor, crossed the plain of Esdraelon to Megiddo, and thence to the Philistine plain and Egypt. Another branch kept the valley along the shore of the lake, and southward past Bethshan to Jericho. This was crossed by a road, which, leaving D. in a more southerly direction, traversed the level reaches of the *Ḥaurân*, came down into the valley from the *Jaulân* highlands east of the sea, by way of Aphek, and here dividing, one limb crossed the Jordan below the lake, climbed the hills to westward, and reached Acre by way of Kefr Kennah; the other passed up the vale of Jezreel, and again bifurcating, one branch went straight to the sea over Esdraelon: the other, bending to the south-west, is identified with the ancient caravan road from Gilead, which passes by Dothan, and comes down upon the plain of Sharon. The old gold and frankincense caravan road from Arabia the Happy has frequently changed its course in the northern reaches. The traffic has long been confined to the passing of the *Ḥaj*, the Moslem pilgrimage to and from *El-Ḥaramein*, *El-Medînah*, and *Mecca*. The great road from Aleppo in the north is split as with a wedge at Emesa by the Anti-Lebanon ridge. It throws an arm round either side of the mountain, that on the west traversing the valley of Cœlesyria by way of *Ba'albeḳ*, and unites again at Damascus. Eastward lay the highways across the desert to Palmyra and Baghdâd. Thus the great avenues of communication between north and south, east and west, along which flowed the commerce and marched the armies of the ancient world, lay through the heart of the city. Resting in the midst of a beautiful oasis on the edge of the changeless desert, surrounded by desert hills, she formed the natural harbour whither steered the argosies from the sea of sand, bearing the treasures of the East: whence again the sombre mariners set forth upon their dreary voyage homeward. Herein we have the secret of her perennial greatness. A strong position she never was, and often has she bowed beneath the stroke of the conqueror, becoming 'a servant to task work.' But, ever as the tides of war rolled back, she has arisen again, fresh and vigorous as of yore. She has been the meeting place and mart of the nations; and as she has been of use to all, to the desert nomad and to the more civilized and settled peoples alike, so the necessities of all have conspired to perpetuate her prosperity.

iii. TRADE.—It seems probable that the chief source of income to the people of D. would be the constantly passing caravans. But that they also traded on their own account is shown in Ezk 27[18], the 'handyworks' of Tyre being exchanged for 'the wine of Helbon and white wool.' *Ḥalbûn*, a village about 12 miles north of D., is still famous for its vine produce; and the mountain shepherds of Anti-Lebanon would always have a supply of white wool for the D. merchants. From Am 3[12] (RV) we may gather that the city was already known for silken manufactures. Our word 'Damask' is derived from a product of the looms of Damascus. At a later time her armourers also achieved wide fame, and the 'Damascus blade' was highly prized. They were carried off *en masse* by Tamerlane, and settled in Samarkand.

iv. ANTIQUITIES.—The main stream of *El-Barada*, the true creator of the city, enters from the N.W., and, passing under the great square, part escapes to water the gardens on the north, while the rest is carried off through multitudinous conduits to supply the houses of the inhabitants. The distribution of the water has always been a matter requiring the exercise of both care and tact among these excitable people: so it has come to be a common saying, that 'every drop of the water of *El-Barada* has to run according to law.' The ancient city was built on the southern bank of the stream. Much more ground is now covered to the north, and especially to the S. and S.W., while the long limb of *El-Mĕdân*, terminating in the 'Gate of God,' *Bawwabet Ullah*, whence issue the pilgrims for *Mecca*, stretches far to the S. The old walls may be traced, however, along the edge of the stream, and through the centre of the modern city, in circumference about 4 miles. For a city of such extraordinary age, D. is not rich in antiquities. The castle, a rectangular building of great extent, standing at the N.W. corner of the old wall, probably dates only from the Middle Ages, although the substructures are ancient. To the S. of the eastern gate part of the wall is very old. The gate itself dates from Roman times; and the line of the *Via Recta*, 'the street called straight,' may be traced from this to the western gate. It is still called *Derb el-Mus-*

takîm, straight street, by the natives (*Derb es-Sulṭâny*, 'the king's highway,' is the name given to every important road in the country). This is the straight street common to all Syro-Greek and Syro-Roman cities, of which fine examples are still to be seen at *Boṣrah* and *Shuhbah*. The great mosque possibly occupies the site of the temple of Rimmon (2 K 5^{18}). It is in accordance with the conservatism of the Orient, that the spot has preserved its religious character under the dominion of successive faiths. It was a spacious Greek temple, then a Christian church, and finally it became a Moslem mosque; the only remaining evidence of Christian use being the Greek inscription over the southern gateway, 'Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth for all generations.' The Moslems say that the head of John the Baptist was buried here; but Christian tradition has it that the church was dedicated to John Damascenus, whose tomb was within it; and there his body was miraculously retained, when an effort was made to remove it. Of this mosque, which for centuries had been the pride of the Moslem world, a large part was destroyed by fire in October 1893.

The traditions associating certain spots with Abraham, Naaman, and Elisha are of the most shadowy character. Hardly more reliable are those relating to the experiences of St. Paul. A spot about half a mile E. of the city is shown as the scene of his conversion. It is now the Christian burying-ground. But tradition has several times contradicted itself as to the scene of this miracle: in any case it could not be here, as the traveller from the S. would not enter the city from the E. Between this and the gate is the grave of St. George, the kindly porter who connived at St. Paul's escape, and suffered martyrdom. The spot where the apostle was let down over the wall in a basket, 'the house of Judas' in Straight street, and also the house of Ananias, are pointed out; but considerable uncertainty attaches to them all.

W. EWING.

DAMN, DAMNABLE, DAMNATION. — These words have in the course of time suffered a process of degeneration, for which, says Bishop Sanderson, 'we are not so much beholden to good acts as to bad manners.' The Lat. *damnare* signified 'to inflict loss on one,' 'to condemn.' But, under the influence of theology, the Eng. words thence derived soon acquired the sense of 'condemnation to eternal punishment'; and this special application ran alongside the orig. meaning from the 14th cent. to the 18th. In the 1619 ed. of the Bishops' NT, the translation of 1 Ti 5^{12} is 'having damnation, because they have cast away their first faith'; and there is added this note: 'S. Paul doth not here speake of the everlasting damnation, but by this word damnation, doeth rather understand the shame that those wanton widowes shall have in the world for breaking their promise.' Thus even then the sense to which the words are now wholly confined was the most familiar. But in earlier English it was not so. To Wyclif's ear the words must have had a very different suggestion, for he not only uses 'damn' freely in the sense of 'condemn,' as in his tr. of Job 9^{20} 'If I wole make me iust, my mouth shall dampne me,' but even uses it of our Lord Himself, as in Mk 10^{33} 'For lo! we stien to Jerusalem, and mannus sone schal be bitraied to the princis of prestis, and to scribis, and to the eldre men; and thei schulen dampne hym bi deth.'

In AV 'damned' occurs as tr. of *κατακρίνω* Mk 16^{16}, Ro 14^{23} (RV 'condemned'), of *κρίνω* 2 Th 2^{12} (RV 'judged'). 'Damnable' is found only 2 P 2^{1} 'damnable heresies,' Gr. *αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας*, RV 'destructive heresies,' RVm 'sects of perdition.' 'Damnation' is the tr. of *κατάδικη* Wis 12^{27} (RV 'condemnation'); of *ἀπώλεια* 2 P 2^{3} (RV 'destruction'); of *κρίσις* Mt 23^{33}, Jn 5^{29} (RV 'judgment'), Mk 3^{29} (RV 'sin,' reading *ἁμάρτημα*); and of *κρίμα* Mk 12^{40}, Lk 20^{47}, Ro 3^{8}, 1 Ti 5^{12} (RV 'condemnation'), Ro 13^{2}, 1 Co 11^{29} (RV 'judgment'), while Mt 23^{14} is omitted from RV. Thus the words are never used in AV in the sense now attaching to them, and they are completely banished from RV. See more fully Roberts in *Expos. Times*, iii. 549 ff., and the art. JUDGMENT.

J. HASTINGS.

DAMSEL, now archaic or poetical, is freely used in AV; and it is retained in RV, except where the Gr. is *παιδίον* (Mk $5^{39.\ 40\ bis.\ 41}$ 'child') or *παιδίσκη* (Mt 26^{69}, Jn 18^{17}, Ac 12^{13} 16^{16} 'maid').* In Gn 34^{3} one word (נַעֲרָה *naʿărâh*) is twice tr^{d} in AV 'd.,' in v.^{4} another (יַלְדָּה *yaldâh*); and again in Mk $5^{39.\ 40\ bis.\ 41}$ we have one word (*παιδίον*), in vv.$^{41.\ 42}$ another (*κοράσιον*). RV preserves the distinction in St. Mark.

J. HASTINGS.

DAN (דָּן 'judge,' Δάν).—The elder of the two sons borne to Jacob by Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid. The origin of the name, given in Gn 30^{6} (E), is that, after her long barrenness, God had judged Rachel and had given her a son, the son of her handmaid counting as her own. No details of his history are given in the patriarchal narratives. Modern critics usually regard him as, like the other sons of Jacob, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Dan. These tribes are divided into two main branches, the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes. Dan belongs to the latter; but the representation of Dan and Naphtali as sons of Bilhah implies that they were inferior members of the Rachel group. That the tribe was quite small appears from various indications. Only one son is mentioned in Gn 46^{23} Hushim (in Nu 26^{42} Shuham), that is, the tribe consisted of a single clan. It is referred to as a 'family' in the important narrative of its migration to Laish, Jg $18^{2.\ 11.\ 19}$. The fighting men on this expedition are only 600, and they seem to have been the majority of the tribe. It is unnecessary to attach much importance to the characteristic statement of P, which places the fighting men of Dan, during the wilderness wandering, at more than 60,000 (Nu 1^{39} 26^{43}).

After the settlement in Canaan, the clan seems to have broken off from the main Joseph group in order to secure a district for itself. In this it was only partially successful. Its territory lay to the S.W. of Ephraim, and joined that of Benjamin and Judah. It seems to have stretched forward towards the fertile lowlands, but whether it ever occupied any portion of them or not is uncertain. The reference in the Song of Deborah (Jg 5^{17}) is itself very obscure, and the chronology of the period so uncertain, that we learn little from it. We do not know whether it refers to the northern or the southern settlements. The most obvious sense of the words is that Dan had pushed forward to the sea. But we have no other evidence that it ever reached the coast. Nor is it certain that the words require this interpretation. Moore translates: 'Dan, why does he live neighbour to ships?' and explains—Why does he live as a dependent under the protection of Phœnician seafarers? He thinks the northern Danites are meant. G. A. Smith thinks Deborah may speak 'in scorn of futile ambitions westward, which were stirred in Dan by the sight of the sea from the Shephelah,' but admits that Dan may have reached the coast at some time (*Hist. Geog.* p. 220). RV, 'Dan, why did he remain in ships?' is not satisfactory. It is most probable that the tribe never reached the sea; but even if it did so, it

* The spelling of AV 1611 is never 'damsel'; 'damsell' occurs in Gn 24. 34, and Damsell Mt 14^{11}, while 'damsels' is found Gn 24^{61}, Jg 19^{9}. Elsewhere it is either 'damosel' or (most freq.) 'damosell,' with 'damosels' for plural and possessive. This is nearer the Lat. *dominicella*, dim. of *domina*, 'mistress,' and the Fr. *demoiselle*.

must have been soon compelled to retreat. Not only so, but we learn that it was forced back even from the lowlands by the Amorites (Jg 1^{34-36}). Wellhausen thinks that it was really the Philistines who drove them back into the hill country. But it seems safer to accept the statement of the text, though possibly the Philistines forced back the Amorites, who, in turn, pushed Dan back. We find the tribe after this living in the vales of Aijalon and Sorek, in and about the towns of Zorah and Eshtaol (Jg 18, cf. 13). The lot of the tribe as given in Jos 19^{41-46} includes very much more. But it cannot be taken as proving that Dan's territory ever included, even in idea, during its actual history, all the towns mentioned. It is the work of the Priestly Writer, and therefore very late. Not only so, but the general account of the territories of the tribes makes it clear that the whole land of Palestine was regarded as occupied by the Hebrews, though the actual history was very different. In this case the method of the writer has been to specify places actually occupied by Dan (Zorah, Eshtaol, Shaalabbin, Aijalon), and to add all the adjacent places which were not assigned to other tribes, though strangely Eshtaol and Zorah are assigned to Judah as border towns (15^{33}).

Although the tribe still retained this small district, it was so cramped in it that it became necessary to seek a new home. We have a most valuable account of this expedition in Jg 18. The narrative in this chapter and the preceding, of which it is a continuation, is probably composite. Budde prints his analysis (which has been followed in the main both by Kittel and by Moore) in his *Richter und Samuel*. It is not, however, important for our purpose to follow the analysis, as the outlines of the story are quite clear. A small party of spies was sent northward, and found in Laish (Leshem, Jos 19^{47}, which Wellhausen thinks was originally Lesham), a city which from the fertility of the district was very inviting, and from its isolation, and the peaceful, unsuspecting character of the inhabitants, was likely to fall an easy prey. Six hundred armed men with their families and goods set out for Laish. On their way they plundered the sanctuary of Micah, an Ephraimite, of its images, and took his priest with them. He pursued them with a few neighbours; but his remonstrance was met with a grimly humorous warning that unless he was silent he might irritate them into killing him and his family, a hint which Micah discreetly took. The Danites then moved on to Laish, which they captured and burnt, while they butchered the inhabitants. They built a new city and called it Dan. Probably only a small remnant was left behind in the south, but at least a remnant, with its home between Zorah and Eshtaol in the camp of Dan (Jg 13^{25}, in Jg 18^{12} Mahaneh-dan is said to be in Kiriath-jearim, but this is less likely). That a remnant was left is made probable by the story of Samson, who belonged to this tribe. That it was small seems clear from the subsequent history. It plays no part in the later history of Israel. It is omitted from the tribes in the genealogies of Chronicles and in the list of the Apocalypse.

The character of the tribe is sketched in the blessings of Jacob and Moses. In the former we read—

> 'Dan shall judge his people,
> As one of the tribes of Israel.
> Dan shall be a serpent in the way,
> An adder in the path,
> That biteth the horse's heels,
> So that his rider falleth backward.
> I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord' (Gn 49^{16-18}).

The first sentence has been variously understood, but probably the meaning is that Dan shall take his part with the other tribes in defending Israel. The writer probably has Samson in mind. The comparison in v.[17] is to the stealthy tactics adopted by Dan in war or on marauding expeditions, by which, weak tribe though it was, it secured a victory over foes of superior strength. The attack on Laish is a good example. In the Blessing of Moses we read—

> 'Dan is a lion's whelp,
> That leapeth forth from Bashan' (Dt 33^{22}).

Here, too, the point of the metaphor is the suddenness with which the tribe would attack. The reference is not so much to war, probably, as to attacks on caravans, for which it would lie in wait. Although the second line refers to the 'lion's whelp,' yet the mention of Bashan makes it probable that the northern portion of the tribe is in the author's mind. From 2 S 20^{18}, where we should probably read 'in Abel and in Dan,' it seems that Dan was regarded as a tribe that held fast to the good old Israelite customs.

The gentilic name **Danites** (הַדָּנִי) occurs Jg 13^{2} $18^{1.\ 11}$, 1 Ch 12^{35}.

A. S. PEAKE.

DAN (דָּן, Δάν).—A city which marked the most N. point of Pal., and naturally became linked with Beersheba, the boundary town in the south. The phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' was at once picturesque and suggestive of dimension, and in times of national crisis emphasized the fact that amid all tribal distinctions there was a common inheritance —the whole land of Israel (Jg 20^{1}, 1 S 3^{20}, 2 S 3^{10}). The chief independent notice is the account of the Danite invasion given in Jg 18, where the change of name from Laish or Leshem is accounted for. In all likelihood it is the same place that is referred to in the census-journey of Joab as **Danjaan**, 2 S 24^{6}. If the reading *ja'ar* instead of *ja'an* be accepted, it would indicate the first point of contact with the rocky ground and oak scrub of Lebanon, which the Arabs call *wa'ar*.

At Dan Jeroboam set up one of the calves of gold (1 K 12^{29}). Dan disappears from Scripture after the invasion of Benhadad (1 K 15^{20}, 2 Ch 16^{4}). It is referred to by Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome in terms that identify it with the present Tell el-Ḳadi (although G. A. Smith prefers to locate Dan at Banias). The mound rises out of a close jungle of tall bushes and rank reeds, with larger trees on the higher slopes, until an irregular oblong plateau is reached, about 40 ft. high on the N. side and 80 ft. on the S., and resting upon one of the broad fringe-like terraces with which the skirts of Hermon sweep down towards the plain of Huleh (L. Merom). On the W. side, amid the rough boulders and blocks of ancient masonry that cover the ground, there gushes out the immense fountain (Leddan) that forms by far the largest source of the Jordan current, where 5 miles down it meets the waters from the upper springs of Hasbeya and Banias.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Smith, *HGHL* 473, 480 f.; Moore, *Judges*, 390; see also art. CALF (GOLDEN).

G. M. MACKIE.

DANCING is, in its origin, an expression of the feelings by movements of the body more or less controlled by a sense of rhythm. It was practised, therefore, long before it was raised to the dignity of an art, being simply a natural development of the tendency to employ gesture, either as an accompaniment to, or a substitute for, speech. We may distinguish three stages in the early history of dancing, as exemplified in the practice of ancient nations: (1) Its rudest and most unstudied form, the outward expression of exuberant feeling; (2) the pantomimic dance, in which, *e.g.*, the movements of hostile armies were represented; (3) the dance pure and simple, the exhibition of

the poetry of motion, of all the grace of attitude and all the flexibility of which the body is capable. Social dancing, as we now understand it, was almost, if not altogether, unknown in ancient times.

Whatever view we may hold of the presence or position of Israel in Egypt, we have no evidence to show that the Hebrews borrowed thence their love or their methods of dancing. They never seem, in ancient times, to have reached the third of the stages which we have enumerated. We hear nothing of performances by professional artists, similar to those represented on the Egyp. monuments, and supposed by Lane to have been the direct ancestors of the modern Ghawazee. There is no mention of solo or figure dancing, of contra-dances (unless we attach this meaning to the מְחוֹלַת הַמַּחֲנָיִם, Ca 6^{13}), or of anything approaching in elaboration the performances associated with the Feast of Eternity. Still less can we expect a reasoned appreciation of the exercise as a means of developing the mind and body, such as we have in Plato's Laws. All the allusions point to spontaneous movements; in processions these would be impromptu on the part of the leaders, and more or less closely imitated by the others. Three ideas are represented in the vocabulary: leaping, circling, and making merry. Thus רָקַד, רִקֵּד (Ec 3^4, 1 Ch 15^{29}), to leap; כָּרַר, to circle (2 S $6^{14.\ 16}$); חוֹלֵל (Jg 21^{23}, Ps 87^7), to twist oneself; צָחַק, שָׂחַק (Jg 16^{25}, 1 S 18^7, 1 Ch 15^{29}), *lit.* to laugh. It is self-evident that these words might be used in a looser and in a more technical sense. They were applied to the artless play of the children (Job $21^{11ff.}$), as well as to the dancing of the adults.

Few as are the references in the Bible, they show that almost any occurrence might be associated with dancing: the return of the prodigal, the commemoration of an hist. event, the welcoming of a hero on his return from battle, the ingathering of the vintage,—whatever called for an expression of joy or excited the heart to gladness. Of dancing for its own sake, of its practice as an art, there is no trace. Leyrer sees a possible exception to this in Ca 6^{13}, but the passage is too obscure to admit positively of such an explanation. Whether we should look on Mahanaim as the name of a place, or as descriptive of a dancing in which two rows of performers took part, or whether, with Delitzsch, we should understand an allusion to the angels, must remain a matter of doubt. The only unmistakable instance of artistic dancing is that mentioned in Mt 14^6, the performance of Herodias' daughter 'in the midst' of the guests assembled on Herod's birthday. This was due, however, to the introduction of Greek fashions, through contact with the Romans, who had adopted them, and hardly belongs to our subject.

It is with dancing in connexion with the religious rites and ceremonies of the Hebrews that we are mainly concerned in this article. Their religion was, esp. in pre-exilic times, predominantly social and joyful. It found its proper æsthetic expression in a merry sacrificial feast, which was the public ceremony of a township or clan. Then the crowds streamed into the sanctuary from all sides, dressed in their gayest attire, marching joyfully to the sound of music. Universal hilarity prevailed; men ate and drank and made merry together, rejoicing before their god (W. R. Smith, *RS* 236 ff.). To such a religion dancing would be a natural adjunct. The cultus was not a system of rites, artificially contrived to express and maintain theological doctrines, but the free outcome of the religious feelings, which found vent in the way suggested by, and in harmony with, the disposition and genius of the people. It is not surprising, however, that we find comparatively few references to this part of the cultus in OT, or that no provision is made for it in the regulations contained in the recognized standards of the priests. There is no trace of the existence among the Hebrews of any class of priests corresponding to the Salii of ancient Rome, and their vintage and other festivals are far from possessing the significance of the great carnivals of the pagan world. The fact seems to be that the priestly historians and legislators resolutely excluded, as far as possible, everything that could infer any similarity between the worship of J" and that of heathen deities. Nevertheless, enough remains to show that dancing was practised and acknowledged as part of the Heb. ritual. The dancing of Miriam and the women of Israel (Ex $15^{20f.}$) may have been due to an ancient ceremony connected with the Passover. In any view of it, the dance formed an essential part of an act of worship (cf. Is 30^{29}). At the annual vintage festival at Shiloh—'a feast of the Lord'—the maidens came out and joined in dances in the vineyards (Jg 21^{19-21}). When David took part in the procession at the removal of the ark, he did so in a priestly capacity: he wore the linen ephod, the official dress of the priests (2 S 6^{14}). These passages exhaust the list of religious dances in OT. But the allusions in the Psalms and Prophets, and the references to the rites in honour of idols, point in the same direction; *e.g.* the dance round the golden calf (Ex 32^{19}), and at the altar of Baal (1 K 18^{26}).

The people retained in later times their fondness for dancing in connexion with religious rites, as is shown by the ceremonies connected with the Feast of Tabernacles and the Day of Atonement. On the latter day, and on the 15th Ábib, the maidens of Jerus. are said to have gone in white garments, specially lent them for the purpose so that rich and poor might be on an equality, into the vineyards close to the city, where they danced and sang. The following fragment of one of their songs has been preserved, and is thus given by Edersheim—

> 'Around in circle gay, the Hebrew maidens see;
> From them our happy youths their partners choose.
> Remember! Beauty soon its charm must lose—
> And seek to win a maid of fair degree.
> When fading grace and beauty low are laid,
> Then praise shall her who fears the Lord await;
> God does bless her handiwork—and, in the gate,
> "Her works do follow her," it shall be said.'

The other dance festival was held on the day preceding the Feast of Tabernacles, and is said to have been instituted by Judas Maccabæus. At the appointed time everyone went to the 'house of the Sho'ēbah,' carrying branches with lemons attached, for the procession round the altar. In the court were large candelabra, each with four arms; four priests, or youths of priestly descent, climbed ladders, filled the vessels with oil, and lit the wicks, which were made of cast-off belts of the priests. All Jerus. was lighted from the fires. The whole multitude joined in the laudations that followed. Men famous for their piety and good works danced with lighted torches, and great scholars like Hillel were not above exhibiting their dexterity and agility to the admiring crowd. Meanwhile the Levites, standing on the steps that led from the court of the men to that of the women, accompanied the performance with psalms and canticles, and the sound of the *kinnôrs* and cymbals was heard, with trumpets and other musical instruments. The whole festival is proof of that irrepressible love of display and hilarity which revealed itself in the popular religion of Judaism.

LITERATURE.—Spencer, *De Leg. Rit.* iv. 4; Voss, *Gesch. der Tanzkunst*; Grove (etc.), *Dancing*, in 'Badminton Library'; Leyrer, *PRE*^{2} xv. pp. 206–208; Wetstein, *Zeitschr. für Eth-*

nologie, 1873, p. 285 ff.; Smith, *RS*[2] p. 432; Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, pp. 207–210; Delitzsch, *Iris*, pp. 189–206; Conder, *Tent Work*, pp. 306, 326, 346. J. MILLAR.

DANDLE (prob. from It. *dandola* or *dondola*, a doll), to 'toss gently,' is found Is 66[12] 'be dandled upon her knees.' Cf. Palsgrave (1530), 'I dandyll, as a mother or nourryce doth a childe upon her lappe'; and Bp. Hall (1614), 'If our Church, on whose lappe the vilest miscreants are dandled.' It is doubtful, however, if this tr. is accurate enough, though RV retains it. The Heb. (שָׁעַע) is to stroke or caress, rather than to toss or dandle. The older versions have 'be joyful upon her knees'; except Wyc. 1380, 'daunte you,' 1388, 'speke plesauntly to you,' and Douay, 'speake you fayre.' J. HASTINGS.

DANGER.—In Apocr. (Ad. Est 14[4], Sir 3[26] 29[17] 34[12] 43[24], 2 Mac 15[1]) and in Ac 19[27. 40] 'danger' has its modern meaning; and so the adj. 'dangerous,' Sir 9[18], Ac 27[9]. But in the other passages in which 'danger' occurs (Mt 5[21. 22 *ter*], Mk 3[29]) it is used in the obsol. sense of 'power,' 'control'; Gr. ἔνοχος, fr. ἐν-ἔχω, *held in* the power of some person or thing, hence (1) 'guilty of,' as Ja 2[10], 1 Co 11[27]; (2) 'liable to,' as here. RV retains 'in danger of,' except Mk 3[29] 'guilty of an eternal sin,' for AV 'in danger of eternal damnation,' reading ἁμαρτήματος for κρίσεως.

The Lat. *dominus* 'lord,' was contracted in old French in various ways, of which one was *dans*, and was thence adopted into Eng. in the form *dan*. Spenser, *F. Q.* IV. ii. 32, has—

'Dan Chaucer, well of English undefyld.'

Chaucer himself uses 'dan' freely as a title of respect=sir. From this word was formed *danger* (first in late Lat. or Fr., and then adopted into Eng.) by adding the term. *ger*, seen in passenger, messenger. This 'danger' became a great legal word in mediæval Eng., signifying a lord's rights or sway, the extent of his jurisdiction. Hence 'power,' 'control,' as Chaucer, *Prol.* 663 (Oxf. ed.)—

'In daunger hadde he at his owne gyse
The yonge girles of the diocyse.'

Cf. More, *Utopia*, p. 116, l. 5 (Lumby), 'so disdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites'; and Shaks. *Mer. of Ven.* IV. i. 180—

'You stand within his danger, do you not?'

Thus 'to be in one's danger' passed easily into the meaning of 'be liable to' punishment or the like, and then 'be exposed to' any harm, the mod. meaning. J. HASTINGS.

DANIEL, דָּנִיֵּאל (in Ezk 14[14. 20] 28[3] דנאל, *kerê* דניאל), meaning 'God is my judge,' occurs in OT as the name of three (or four) persons.

1. David's second son, 'born unto him in Hebron' 'of Abigail the Carmelitess' (1 Ch 3[1]). In the parallel passage, 2 S 3[3], the name is Chileab (כִּלְאָב); and since this is the evident source of the chronicler's list, the name D. probably arose from a corruption of the text. This apparently can be traced through the LXX, which in each passage has Δαλουιά (B Δαμνιήλ in 1 Ch 3[1]) (בלאב, דלאה, דניאל) (Kittel on 1 Ch 3[1] in Haupt's *OT*).

2. A priest of the line of Ithamar who returned in the time of Artaxerxes with Ezra to Judæa (Ezr 8[2]), and sealed the covenant drawn up by Nehemiah (Neh 10[6]), unless two distinct persons are mentioned.

3. The hero and traditional author of the Bk. of Daniel. According to this book, D. was a youth of noble descent and high physical and intellectual endowments, carried by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim from Jerus. to Babylon, and with other Jewish youths, esp. three companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, assigned for education at the king's court (Dn 1[1-7]). D. and his companions refused to defile themselves with the royal food, and for their fidelity were rewarded by being fairer in appearance 'than all the youths which did eat of the king's meat,' and in their final examination before the king by being superior in understanding and wisdom to all the magicians and enchanters of the realm (Dn 1[8-20]). In the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, D. revealed and interpreted, on the failure of all the other wise men, the king's dream of the composite image, and was made ruler over the whole province of Babylon and chief ruler over all the wise men (Dn 2). He also interpreted the king's dream of the tree (Dn 4). After the death of Nebuch. he seems to have lost his high office and gone into retirement; but when the handwriting appeared on the wall of the palace during Belshazzar's feast (Dn 5[1. 5]), again D. was, on the failure of the other magicians, summoned at the instigation of the queen (vv.[10-12]). He interpreted the writing, and was then clothed with purple, decked with a chain, and proclaimed the third ruler in the kingdom (v.[29]). Under Darius the Mede, D. was appointed one of three presidents over 120 satraps, and was distinguished above all the others; 'and the king thought to set him over the whole realm' (Dn 6[3]). Through this favour he incurred the enmity of his fellow-officers, who, finding no occasion of accusing him, persuaded Darius to pass a decree that for 30 days no one should present a petition unto any god or man except himself on pain of being cast into a den of lions. As they expected, D. faithfully continued his custom of praying unto his God three times a day. Thus an accusation was brought against D.; and although the king tried to rescue him, yet he was cast into the den of lions (vv.[12-16]), but was miraculously saved (v.[22]). D.'s accusers were then cast into the den and quickly devoured, and the king decreed that all men should fear and tremble before the God of D. (vv.[24-27]). 'So this D. prospered in the reign of Darius and the reign of Cyrus the Persian' (v.[28]). This is the story of D. in Dn 1–6. In chs. 7–12 he appears as the recipient of a series of divine apocalyptic revelations respecting the future of Israel, for whose welfare he is extremely concerned. Two additional stories, that of Bel and the Dragon and that of Susanna, are also related concerning him in the Apocrypha.

This narrative of D. is evidently an example of Jewish *Haggadoth* (see next art.). Whether D. represents in any way a real hist. character cannot be absolutely determined. In Ezk 14[14. 20] a D. is mentioned with Noah and Job as a pre-eminently righteous character, and in Ezk 28[3] as an example of the highest wisdom. This association and allusion imply that the D. in the mind of the prophet was an ancient worthy in the traditions of Israel. (We can with difficulty conceive of Ezekiel speaking thus of a younger contemporary. See Cheyne in *Expositor*, July 1897, p. 25.) Of this D. of Jewish tradition we are entirely ignorant; yet probably he was the prototype of the D. of the Exile, and many features of this ancient character probably reappear in the later one. Ewald supposed that the D. of Ezk was a Jewish exile of the ten tribes who lived at the court of Nineveh and had acquired there a reputation for wisdom and righteousness, and whom later Jewish tradition transferred to Babylon. Or it is possible that there was such a distinguished Jew at Babylon, who enjoyed the favour first of Nebuch. and then of the Persian conquerors, who was actually named D., or owing to his wisdom and righteousness was so called by his countrymen after the ancient worthy alluded to by Ezk, and thus a real historical character may have been the basis of the hero of the Bk. of Daniel.*

The story of D. appears to have been written in imitation of that of Joseph—history, however, often repeats itself; yet, if the story is historical, it is strange that no reference is made to D. in the

* Cheyne suggests a connexion between D. and Zoroaster, the name having been coined out of the Zend *dânu*, 'wise' or 'wisdom' (*Bamp. Lect.* on Psalter, 105 ff.).

OT narrative of the restoration; that no post-exilic writer before the Maccabæan age knows anything about him; that no one else shared his expectations; and that he, with all his patriotism, did not avail himself of the opportunity of returning to Pal.; and that Ben-Sirach, writing about B.C. 170, should entirely omit him from the worthies of Israel, and also write (Sir 49[15]), 'Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph, a governor of his brethren, a stay of the people.' E. L. CURTIS.

DANIEL, THE BOOK OF, in the Heb. Canon, is placed among the Hagiographa, between Est and Ezr, but in the LXX, Vulg., and Eng. Bible as one of the four great prophets, immediately after Ezekiel. It falls into two divisions: chs. 1–6, the history of Daniel; chs. 7–12, visions and revelations given to Daniel. In the original, 2[4b]–7[28] is written in Aramaic instead of Hebrew. In literary character the Bk. of Dn is mainly an apocalypse, representing in visions under symbolical forms various historical epochs. The beginning of this kind of writing appears in Ezk and Zec; but Dn is far more complete and elaborate, and exercised a great influence upon subsequent Jewish and Christian literature.

i. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—The visions (chs. 7–12) are represented as given in the words of Dn (7[2] 8[1] 9[2] 10[2]), hence the inference that he wrote the entire book. This was the ancient Jewish opinion,* and the prevailing Christian one, until within recent years.† Now, however, it has generally been abandoned, and in its place are quite a variety of views all agreeing in this, that the book *in its present form* must be assigned to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175–163); and there is a growing consensus of opinion that the book as a whole belongs to that period, for the following reasons:—

1. *Acquaintance with Ant. Epiphanes.*—Ch. 11 shows a clear acquaintance with minor events in his reign and in those of his predecessors. In the veiled form of a revelation of the future it gives an outline of history from the time of Cyrus to near the death of Antiochus.‡ There are sketched the Persian period (v.[2]), the rise and conquest of Alexander the Great (v.[3]), the dismemberment of his empire (v.[4]), and then principally the varying relations of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties to each other and of the latter to the Jews (vv.[5-39]). Attention is called in succession to Ptolemy I. and Seleucus Nikator (v.[5]), Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus II. (v.[6]), Ptolemy Euergetes (vv.[7-9]), Antiochus the Great (vv.[10-19]), Seleucus Philopator (v.[20]), and Antiochus Epiphanes (vv.[21-45]). While, from the obscurity of the history and the difficulty of determining the meaning of the Heb. text, some references are not perfectly plain, yet it is easy to point out definitely the accessions of these sovereigns, their alliances, intrigues, campaigns, victories, defeats, bestowment of gifts, treacheries, acts of violence, and frequently untimely deaths. The older commentators regarded these details as signal examples of divine prediction; but since such a revelation of the future is without analogy elsewhere in Scripture, and without any apparent moral or spiritual import, this chapter or insertions in it are now allowed, even by those who regard Daniel as the author of his visions or the rest of the book, to belong to the period of Antiochus Epiphanes.* Similar references elsewhere, however, seem to require these to be taken with their natural force, indicating the true date of the entire book, and not as later additions. In ch. 8 is a clear description of the conquests of Alexander (vv.[5-8. 21]) and the division of his empire (vv.[8. 22]), and of Antiochus Epiphanes (vv.[9-12. 23-25]). These appear again, acc. to the most probable interpretation (see below), in ch. 7, the fourth beast representing Alexander's kingdom and its succession in the Seleucid dynasty (with which alone the writer here is concerned), culminating in Antiochus Epiphanes (vv.[8. 20-25]). The descriptions are very exact. While the numbers of the kings, ten and three (v.[24]), might be taken relatively or symbolically, yet the correspondence to the Seleucidæ is so precise that these kings seem evidently meant.† The eleventh corresponds exactly to Antiochus Epiphanes. Another clear reference to this sovereign seems also to appear in 9[26f.].‡ Thus throughout all these

* The Talm. statement (Baba bathra 15), that the men of the Great Synagogue 'wrote' Dn, does not necessarily imply the contrary or express the idea of a later editing: it may simply mean a 'recording' of the book.

† Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist († 303), wrote a treatise denying the genuineness of Daniel's prophecy. His views are known from the Commentary of Jerome, who refuted them. Porphyry had no followers in the Christian Church. The first systematic modern rejection of Daniel's authorship was by Corrodi in 1783 and 1792. He was followed by Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Bleek, De Wette, Ewald, *et al.*; while the genuineness was stoutly defended by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Auberlen, Keil, Pusey, *et al.* Cf. for history of the criticism, Bleek's *Einleitung*; Zöckler's *Comm.* in the Lange Series, and Hengstenberg on *Genuineness of Daniel.*

‡ Vv.[40-45] are perhaps an ideal description of events which the writer expected.

* Zöckler in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, 1869; C. H. H. Wright, *Introd. to OT*, 1890; Köhler, *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Gesch.* vol. ii. p. 545, 1893.

† We do not know, of course, just how the author reckoned these kings. Two main schemes have been suggested: (*a*) (Hitzig, Kuenen, Cornill, Bevan, *et al.*), (1) Alexander, (2) Seleucus I. Nikator, (3) Antiochus I. Soter, (4) Antiochus II. Theos, (5) Seleucus II. Callinicus, (6) Seleucus III. Ceraunus, (7) Antiochus the Great, (8) Seleucus IV. Philopator, (9) Heliodorus, (10) Demetrius I. Soter, or an unknown elder brother; (*b*) (Bertholdt Von Lengerke, Delitzsch, Meinhold, *et al.*), (1) Seleucus I. Nikator, (2)-(9)=(3)-(10) of (*a*) (10) Ptolemaus VI. Philometor. (8) (9) (10) of either (*a*) or (*b*) fulfil the conditions of the three kings put down (v.[24]). Seleucus IV. Philopator was assassinated (the Jews may have thought by the connivance of Ant. Epiphanes). Heliodorus, who seized the government, was overthrown by Antiochus; Demetrius, the rightful heir, was thrust aside, and Ptolemy, who laid claim to it, was bitterly humbled. For Demetrius, who never became king, Kuenen, after Von Gutschmidt (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 175–179), was inclined to place an elder brother who acc. to a fragment of John of Antioch was put to death by Antiochus.

‡ Antiochus Epiphanes, to the Jewish mind, was the incarnation of wickedness, arrogance, and blasphemy (cf. 1 Mac 1[10. 21] 2[62], 2 Mac 9[7-10. 28]), and every term mentioned in the above references in Dn is most appropriate to describe him and his career. The eyes (7[8. 20]) and 'understanding dark sentences' (8[23]) indicate his vigilance and cunning; 'the look more stout than his fellows' and 'the fierce countenance' (7[20] 8[23]), the terror he inspired, and his cruelty; 'the mouth speaking great things' (7[8. 20] 11[36]), his boastful arrogance, seen in the assumption of the title Epiphanes, 'the illustrious'—changed to Epimanes 'the mad' by his subjects,—and the title Theos, 'the god,' on some of his coins. His fearful persecution of the Jews and his suppression of their laws and sacred days are clearly indicated in 7[25] 8[24]. The following outline (abridged from *LOT* p. 461 f.) gives the leading events of his reign and the references to them in Dn:—

B.C.

176. Accession (1 Mac 1[10]), Dn 7[8. 11. 20] 8[9. 23] 11[21].
175. Jason intriguing against Onias III. procures from Antiochus the high priesthood. Rise of Hellenizing party in Jerus. (1 Mac 1[11-15], 2 Mac 4[7-22]).
172 [171]. Onias III. murdered (2 Mac 4[32-35]), Dn 9[26a] 11[22b].
171. 1st expedition of Antiochus against Egypt (1 Mac 1[16-19]), Dn 11[22-24].
170. 2nd expedition against Egypt (1 Mac 1[20]), Dn 11[25-27]. Antiochus on his return plunders the temple and massacres many Jews (1 Mac 1[21-28], 2 Mac 5[11-21], Dn 8[9b-10], 11[28]).
169. 3rd expedition against Egypt. Rom. legate Popilius Lænas obliges Antiochus to retire, Polyb. xxix. 1; Livy, xliv. 19, xlv. 12; Dn 11[29-30a].
169–8. Fresh measures against Jerusalem. City surprised on Sabbath day. Many inhabitants slain or captured and sold as slaves. Syrian garrison placed in citadel. God-fearing Jews flee. All practices of Jewish religion prohibited. Temple worship suspended, and, on 15 Chislev, B.C. 168, 'the abomination of desolation' (a small heathen altar erected on the altar of burnt-offering). Books of the law burnt, and women who had their children circumcised put to death (1 Mac 1[29-64], 2 Mac 6–7, Dn 7[21. 24b. 25] 8[11f. 13b. 24. 25] 9[26b. 27a] 11[30b-32a] (renegade Jews) [32b-35] (the faithful) [36-39] 12[1. 7. 11]).
167. Revolt of the Maccabees (1 Mac 2), Dn 11[34] (the little help).
165. After victories by the Maccabees (1 Mac 4[28-35]), temple puri-

chapters there are indications of the same kind of knowledge of Antiochus and of previous history as in ch. 11. Antiochus and his persecution of the Jews and defilement of their sanctuary seem ever present before the writer (cf. 1 Mac 1). When, however, he touches upon a subsequent period he gives nothing which need be interpreted as referring to specific historical events, but only symbolizes the general Messianic hope of Israel ($2^{44f.}$ 7^{27} $12^{1ff.}$). Hence the conclusion that chs. 7–12 belong to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes appears warranted, and then also chs. 1–6 if by the same author.

Unity of Authorship has been the prevailing view among scholars of all schools.* That chs. 1–6 belong to one author is evident. Ch. 1 is a necessary introduction to the others. Without it $2^{14ff.}$ and 2^{49} would be unintelligible, and 3^{12} requires 2^{49}; and $5^{10ff.}$ require chs. 2 and 4. Ch. 6 is closely connected with the preceding ones. The visions (chs. 7–12) require an account of D.'s personality and life, and the unity of the two sections is seen from the fact that the substance of the dream of the composite image (ch. 2) is repeated in the vision of the four beasts (ch. 7), and that 'they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men' (2^{43}) is evidently a reference to the unhappy marriages of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ ($11^{6.\ 17}$). The homiletical or didactic purpose of each section is also the same.†

2. *Historical Statements.* Daniel, according to 1^{1}, began his career as a youthful student at the Bab. court in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim, and lived at least until the 3rd year of Cyrus, *i.e.* from 606 or 605 to 536 or 535 B.C. Within this period are mentioned as kings of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar (2^{1}), Belshazzar ($5^{1.\ 30}$), Darius the Mede (5^{31} $6^{25.\ 28}$), and Cyrus (6^{28}). Events are dated by the years of these kings (2^{1} 7^{1} 8^{1} 9^{1} 10^{1}), showing that the writer must have regarded all of them as reigning sovereigns, and not in any way as subordinate rulers. Belshazzar is further described as the son of Nebuchadnezzar ($5^{11.\ 18}$) and king of Babylon at its capture by the Medes and Persians, when (acc. to $5^{30f.}$) he was slain and Darius received the kingdom. But history knows nothing of a Babylonian king **Darius the Mede** preceding Cyrus. The reigning monarchs within this period were Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, Nabunahid, and Cyrus. No Darius reigned in Babylon until a score of years later. The person whom Belshazzar represents was undoubtedly Bîl-sar-usur, son of Nabunahid and commander of the Babylonian army during the last years of his father's reign (*COT* ii. p. 130 f.). Being more active and energetic than his father, he seems to have supplanted him in tradition as sovereign. In reality, however, he was never king. This is proved by the long series of contract tablets, 'which, dated month by month and almost day by day from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Xerxes,' make no mention of an intermediate ruler between Nabunahid and Cyrus (Sayce, *HCM* p. 528). Belshazzar also was not a son of Nebuchadnezzar even by descent, for his father, Nabunahid, belonged to a different family.* In introducing Darius the Mede the writer shows the same confused idea of the order of events as the Greek writers.† Cyrus, we now know from the cuneiform inscriptions, obtained possession of Babylon peaceably. During the reign of Darius (B.C. 521–486) Babylon rebelled, and Darius was obliged to besiege the city, and took it by stratagem. In the tradition followed by Herodotus this siege is transferred to Cyrus (Her. i. 191). In Dn both the king and the siege seem to have been transferred to the earlier period.‡

A further confusion about Darius appears in 9^{1}, where he is called the son of Ahasuerus or Xerxes. Darius I. was the father of Xerxes.

Another apparently inaccurate statement is that of Nebuchadnezzar's siege and capture of Jerus. in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim, B.C. 605 (Dn 1^{1}). The historical books relate no such event, and that it did not happen seems implied in Jer 25^{1-9}, and necessary from the movements of Nebuchadnezzar. Shortly after the battle of Carchemish (605) he returned to Babylon to secure his accession to the throne. The conquest of the West occupied four years more, since not until 601 or 600 did Jehoiakim begin to pay tribute (Tiele, *Bab. und Assyr. Gesch.* p. 425 f.).§

A class of wise men or magicians are called Chaldæans ($2^{2.\ 4.\ 10}$ 4^{7} $5^{7.\ 11}$). 'This signification is foreign to Assyrian and Babylonian usage, and did not arise till after the fall of the Babylonian empire' (*COT* ii. p. 125). These Chaldæans are also represented as addressing Nebuchadnezzar in Aramaic (2^{4}), which probably was not spoken then at the Bab. court, and, in no case, in the western Aramaic dialect which the writer gives.‖

In 9^{2} D. is said to have 'understood by the books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet.' This expression

fied and public worship re-established just *three years* after its desecration (1 Mac 4^{36-61}), Dn $8^{14b.}$.

164 [163]. Antiochus dies somewhat suddenly in Persia (1 Mac 6^{1-16}, but see also Polyb. xxxi. 11), Dn $7^{11.\ 26}$ $8^{14b.\ 25\ end}$ $9^{26b.\ 27b}$ $11^{45b.}$

(The explanation of 11^{22-24} is uncertain, for we do not know whether they refer to an Egyp. campaign or to conduct in Assyria. On Antiochus the student should consult J. F. Hoffmann, *Ant. Epiph.*, Leipzig, 1873.)

* That of Gesenius, De Wette, Bleek, Cornill, Kuenen, Driver, König, *et al.*, as well as Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Keil, Pusey, Fuller, *et al.* Diversity of authorship has, however, been held, both by those holding the late authorship and by those regarding chs. 7–12 as genuine. Of the former, Bertholdt thought the book to have been written by nine authors. Strack and Meinhold regard 2^{4b-6} as by an earlier writer, about B.C. 300. Of the latter, Sir Isaac Newton thought Daniel wrote only chs. 6–12. Köhler (*Lehrbuch der biblischen Geschichte*, ii. p. 537, 1893) holds that chs. 1–6 were written some time after the reign of Cyrus by the editor of chs. 7–12.

† No reason is clearly perceptible why the book is partly written in Heb. and partly in Aramaic. The following have been suggested: (1) Diversity of origin (Strack, Meinhold, see fn. above); (2) portion of the original Heb. lost and replaced by the Aram. translation (Lenormant, Bevan, Haupt); (3) the Aram. language a secret sign that the Chaldæans represented the Syrians, *i.e.* Antiochus and his followers (mentioned by König, *Einleit.* p. 382); (4) author preferred to give the speeches of the heathen in Aram. rather than in the sacred Heb., and being more at home in that language continued to use it (Behrmann).

* The remote possibility that B. was a grandson of N. on his mother's side has been urged as an explanation of the author's statements. This, however, is highly improbable, and an unnatural interpretation (cf. Bar $1^{11f.}$).

† They have given four different accounts of the origin of Cyrus and his relation to the last king of Media, no one of which is entirely correct (art. 'Cyrus,' *Ency. Brit.* 9th ed.).

‡ Ch. 5 implies no peaceable surrender of Babylon, but its capture by assault or stratagem. That Darius should be called a Mede may have arisen from Is 13^{17}, Jer $51^{11.\ 28}$, where it is predicted that the Medes will conquer Babylon. The Medes also were allies of Cyrus, and Gobryas, to whom the city surrendered, and whom Cyrus placed in command, was governor of 'Gutium,' a Median province (*Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, Delitzsch and Haupt, vol. ii. p. 223). The older commentators generally saw in Darius, Cyaxares II. of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. This probably was the view of Jos. (*Ant.* x. xi. 4). But the *Cyropædia* is a romance, and modern hist. investigation has failed to find a place for this king. The story of festivities at the time of the fall of Babylon is given in Herodotus, i. 193. The cuneiform tablets mention a religious festival in connexion with the account of the capture of Babylon, but earlier than the entrance of Cyrus or Gobryas into the city.

§ The writer perhaps drew his statement from a combination of 2 K $24^{1f.}$ and 2 Ch 36^{6}, misunderstanding the three years in Kings and reckoning them from the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign. Or by reckoning backward he may have regarded the 3rd year of Jehoiakim as the beginning of the 70 years of captivity. That the author of Dn, both here and elsewhere, does not seem to have rightly apprehended or presented recorded facts of OT history, is no more surprising than the similar variations between the statements of Kings and Ch, and esp. the departures in NT from the Heb. text. Cf. Gn 11^{31} $12^{1.\ 4}$ (Haran) with Ac 7^{2} (Ur), Dt 10^{22} (70 souls) with Ac 7^{14} (75), Gn 23 (Ephron in Hebron) with Ac 7^{16} (Hamor in Shechem), Ex 12^{40} (430 years in Egypt) with Gal 3^{19} (430 years in Canaan and Egypt).

‖ The word אֲרָמִית='in Aramaic' (v.^{4} RVm), may be a gloss. So Lenormant, Bevan, Kautzsch-Marti, P. Haupt (*Bk. of Dn.*, Crit. Heb. Text, p. 16), *et al.*

implies that the prophecies of Jer. belonged to a well-known collection of sacred books, and suggests (this is the prevailing interpretation) the second division of the Heb. Canon, which was formed a century or more after the Exile. See art. CANON.

Thus the Bk. of Dn contains a series of historical statements which imply a misconception of the exilic period, and that their author lived considerably later, and may well have written during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

3. *The Language* of Dn points likewise in the same direction.* The Heb. is distinguished from that of the exilic Ezk and the immediately following Hag and Zec, and resembles more nearly that of 1 and 2 Ch written about B.C. 300, and certainly does not belong to an earlier period. The Aram. also, as far as can be determined, is of the same late date. Persian words appear in both sections, some in connexion with the description of Bab. institutions before the conquest of Cyrus (see list, *LOT* p. 469). This indicates a period long enough after that conquest for Persian words to have become a part of the Jewish language. Three Gr. words, the names of musical instruments (קיתרס, *κίθαρις*, flute; פסנתרין, *ψαλτήριον*, psaltery; and סומפניה, *συμφωνία*, dulcimer or bagpipe, $3^{5.\ 7.\ 10.\ 15}$), also occur. One of these, *συμφωνία*, as the name of a musical instrument, is peculiar to late Gr., and according to Polybius was a favourite instrument with Antiochus Epiphanes (Bevan, p. 41). This evidence brings the composition of Dn to a date at least later than the conquest of Alexander, unless the supposition be made that the Gr. musical instruments had at an earlier period through channels of trade found their way into the East, and their names become domesticated in the Aram. language. This, however, is unlikely.†

4. *The Doctrines* of Dn with respect to angels and the resurrection are the most developed in the OT. Angels have special personal names (8^{16} 9^{21} $10^{13.\ 21}$ 12^{1}), special ranks ($10^{13.\ 20}$ 12^{1}), and the guardianship of different countries ($10^{13.\ 20.\ 21}$). These representations go far beyond those of Ezk and Zec, and are relatively identical with those of Tobit and other Jewish writings of the 1st cent. B.C. Dn plainly teaches a personal resurrection both of the righteous and the wicked (12^{2}). This also is a decided advance upon the doctrine elsewhere in OT, and is mentioned by later Jewish tradition in connexion with the Maccabees (cf. 2 Mac $12^{43ff.}$). Thus, while the determination of the date of an OT writing from its religious doctrines is always a delicate procedure, yet, as far as a doctrinal development can be found in OT, the Bk. of Dn comes after all the other OT writings, and approximates most closely to the Jewish literature of the 1st cent. B.C.

5. *The Homiletical Purpose* of the Bk. of Dn is most agreeable to the Antiochian period. The narratives in chs. 1. 3. 6 are exhortations to keep the Jewish law and to remain faithful to the worship of J". While such teaching might be appropriate at all times, it was esp. so then in its peculiar form. The question of eating meat was at that time a test of faith. Then pious Jews 'chose to die that they might not be defiled with food, and that they might not profane the covenant' (1 Mac $1^{62f.}$). The lessons of the 'fiery furnace' and the 'lions' den,' chs. 3 and 6, never could have been more fitly presented than when 'came there forth out of Isr. transgressors of the law, and persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the nations that are round about us' (1 Mac 1^{11}), and when Antiochus commanded the worship of foreign deities on pain of death (1 Mac 1^{41-50}). The stories of the humbling of Nebuch. (ch. 4) and the fall of Belshazzar (ch. 5) would also be fraught with particular consolation when Israel was oppressed by the heathen. The visions (chs. 7–12), whatever view is taken of their date, are universally acknowledged to have been primarily designed for consolation during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

6. *The External History* of the Bk. of Dn likewise favours its composition at the time of Antiochus. There is no evidence in any OT or Apocr. writing of its earlier existence. The testimony of Josephus, written near the close of the 1st cent. A.D., that the book was shown to Alexander the Great (*Ant.* XI. viii. 5), prob. represents only a Jewish legend, and historically is of no decisive value. The earliest possible reference is in the Sibylline Verses, iii. 388 ff. (about B.C. 140), where there may be an allusion to Antiochus Epiphanes and the ten horns (Dn $7^{7.\ 20.\ 24}$; Schürer, *HJP* div. ii. vol. iii. p. 280). The next reference is 1 Mac $2^{59f.}$ where Matthias is reported in his dying exhortation to have said 'that Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael believed and were saved out of the flame. Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.' While this might simply indicate a knowledge of these stories, it is probable that the author of 1 Mac (about B.C. 100), who evidently composed the speech of Matthias, was acquainted with our book. From this period on there are abundant evidences of its being well known. Its influence is very appreciable in NT, esp. in Rev, but it is only once directly mentioned (Mt 24^{15}).*

The place of the Bk. of Dn among the Hagiographa favours also its late composition. If it had been written during the Exile, notwithstanding its apocalyptic character, it naturally would have been placed among the Prophets.

The Conclusion, then, in favour of the Maccabæan date, in view of this accumulation of concurrent facts, seems abundantly warranted. The exact date of composition is usually placed within the year B.C. 165. The 'abomination of desolation,' 168, is clearly before the writer, and also the Maccabæan uprising in 167, but not the re-dedication of the temple in Dec. 165, and the death of Antiochus in 163.

The great difficulty, of course, in assigning the Bk. of Dn to the late date is the fact that chs. 7–12 are represented as revelations of the future given to Daniel during the Exile. But this difficulty vanishes the moment one considers how prevailing in OT and among Jewish writers was the custom of representing present messages as given in the past through ancient worthies. Thus the law of Deut. is given as though spoken by Moses in the land of Moab, and the legislation of P as though revealed to Moses in the wilderness. The Bk. of Eccles. is written as the experience of Solomon. While in 2 Es, Bar, the Bk. of Enoch, and the Jewish Apocalypses generally, this method of composition is abundantly illustrated, and was evidently a favourite one with the devout and pious of the centuries immediately preceding and following Christ.

Assigning the entire book to the Maccabæan period, destroys, it is true, the hist. reliability of chs. 1–6. These chapters must be regarded as a species

* Delitzsch, art. 'Daniel,' *PRE* (1878), Driver, *LOT* pp. 469–476 (1891); König, *Einleit.* § 80 (1893); Bevan, *Com.* pp. 26–42 (1892); Behrmann, *Komm.* pp. i–x (1894).

† Additional evidence in language appears also in the proper names Nebuchadnezzar 1^{1}, Belteshazzar 1^{7}, and Abed-Nego 1^{7}, since their spelling and formation show a lack of acquaintance with the language and gods of Babylon during the Exile (*COT* ii. $12^{4ff.}$; Sayce, *HCM* p. 532).

* This passage, like other similar NT ones, reflects the Jewish opinion of the 1st cent. A.D., but has no further weight in deciding the question of authorship. Christ or the writer of the Gospel naturally expressed himself according to this opinion, for we have no reason to believe that the Divine Spirit ever led either of them to instruct or correct their contemporaries on questions of literary and historical criticism.

of the later Jewish Haggada, or method of inculcating moral and spiritual lessons by tales of the imagination. Here, again, we meet with striking parallels in the OT Bk. of Jonah and in the Apocr. stories of Tobit and Judith. A *quasi* defence of chs. 1–6 is frequently made on the ground that the writer used authentic written material of the Exile which he revised. This, of course, is possible, but it is a mere hypothesis, and it is more probable that his material was only traditions or tales.*

The view which has been presented of the Bk. of Dn doubtless will appear to some to destroy its religious value and render it unworthy of a place within the sacred Canon. No one, however, under the modern view can read the book without being taught lessons of sublime faith, and having a firmer assurance of the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God. The book has in the past been blessed as an instrument of the Holy Spirit for the strengthening of the Church, and, interpreted in the light of its real origin, this will continue and be enhanced. Great difficulties in receiving its lessons will be removed, and the Church will be spared endless profitless discussion and exegesis necessitated by the old view.†

ii. THE INTERPRETATION.—The Bk. of Dn contains three representations of the world's history more or less closely related to each other, which, with their interpretations, may be outlined as follows:—

	Ch. 2	Ch. 7	Ch. 8	
A.	Golden head	= The lion		= Babylonian Empire.
	Silver breast	= The bear	= The ram	= Medo-Persian ,,
	Brazen belly and thighs	= The leopard	= The he-goat	= Grecian ,,
	Iron and clay feet	legs = The fourth beast		= Roman ,,
B.	Golden head	= The lion		= Babylonian Empire
	Silver breast	= The bear	= The ram	= Medo-Persian ,,
	Brazen belly and thighs	= The leopard	= The he-goat	= Macedonian ,,
	Iron and clay feet	legs = The fourth beast		= Syrian ,,
C.	Golden head	= The lion		= Babylonian Empire
	Silver breast	= The bear	= The ram	= Median ,,
	Brazen belly and thighs	= The leopard		= Persian ,,
	Iron and clay feet	legs = The fourth beast	= The he-goat	= Grecian ,,

The parallelism between the composite image (ch. 2) and the four beasts (ch. 7) shows that they were designed to represent the same world-powers. In this interpreters are generally agreed. The historic fact that after the fall of the Bab. kingdom there was no distinct Median kingdom, but Media was united to Persia, naturally gave the interpretation of Medo-Persian to the silver breast and the bear, and such a united kingdom appeared in the two-horned ram of ch. 8. The brazen belly and thighs and the leopard then well symbolized the Grecian kingdom of Alexander and his successors, who acc. to ch. 8 were represented by the he-goat. While the legs of iron and feet of iron and clay and the fourth beast with the ten horns, in connexion with which appeared the final everlasting kingdom (2^{44} 7^{27}), would represent the Roman Empire in whose days the Christ appeared. Elsewhere, both in OT and NT, there were indications of great wars and distress, and even an Antichrist to precede the final consummation of the kingdom of J". Hence the interpretation A was most plausible, and became almost universal in the early Jewish and the Christian Church.*

The prevailing modern interpretation is C (B has had few advocates). The reasons for the adoption of C are as follows: Whatever may have been the facts of history, the author does distinguish between the Median and Persian kingdoms. After the Babylonian he places the Median represented in the reign of Darius ($5^{30f.}$ 6^{1} 9^{1}), who has the position of an independent and absolute sovereign, and then follows the reign of Cyrus the Persian (6^{28} 10^{1}). A Medo-Persian kingdom could scarcely have been designated by the writer as *inferior* to Nebuchadnezzar or the Babylonian (2^{39}), while this would aptly describe the short-lived Median of his scheme. This kingdom seems also well represented in the bear (7^{5}). The kingdom of brass which shall rule over all the earth (2^{39}), or the leopard to which dominion was given (7^{6}), with its four wings

* An argument often repeated rests on the assertion that the whole colouring and character of the book are Oriental and esp. Babylonian, impossible to an age so unfamiliar with them as the Maccabæan, and reference is made to the colossal image, the fiery furnace, the martyr-like boldness of the three confessors, the decree of Darius, the lions' den, the dreams of Nebuch., and his demands of the Chaldæans, etc. (Fuller, art. 'Daniel,' Smith, *DB*²). Such a view had the countenance and authority of Lenormant (*La Divination*, pp. 169–267). The truth is, however, that the Bk. of Dn contains no allusions to Bab. customs which might not have been known to a Jewish writer of the 2nd cent. B.C. (who even might have visited Babylon), or have been preserved in the tales from which he drew his material; while, on the other hand, there are the statements already given which seem to prove the author's real lack of acquaintance with Babylon during the Exile. In addition to these may be mentioned the statement of Daniel's appointment as 'chief governor over all the wise men of Babylon' (2^{48}). This, owing to the exclusiveness of Bab. sacred caste, even Lenormant regarded as impossible, and hence held the words 'all the wise men' to be an interpolation. Indeed, Lenormant's or any similar theory of the composition of the book (*i.e.* an early work thoroughly revised in the Greek period) is worthless for a defence either of the truth of its narrative or of its genuineness, because the line of separation between the early and late contents cannot be determined. The account of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity (ch. 4) has been thought to receive confirmation by a story given in a fragment of the historian Abydenus (preserved in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 41). The story relates that Nebuch. on the roof of his palace was inspired by some god or other, and announced the future calamities of Babylon and then suddenly vanished. In this announcement there is a wish that the author of these calamities might be driven into the desert where the wild beasts seek their food, and wander among the mountains and rocks alone. The similarity between this and the biblical narrative is not very great, and yet enough perhaps to show that the same story originally was the basis of each (Bevan, p. 87 ff.; Schrader, *JPT*, 1881, pp. 618–629).

† The following from Farrar is worthy of quotation in this connexion: 'Though I am compelled to regard the Bk. of Dn as a work which in its present form first saw the light in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and though I believe that its six magnificent opening chapters were never meant to be regarded in any other light than that of moral and religious *Haggadoth*, yet no words of mine can exaggerate the value which I attach to this part of our Canonical Scriptures. The book, as we shall see, has exercised a powerful influence over Christian conduct and Christian thought. Its right to a place in the Canon is undisputed and indisputable, and there is scarcely a single book of the OT which can be more richly profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, completely furnished to every good work. Such religious lessons . . are not in the slightest degree impaired by those results of archæological discovery and criticism which are almost universally accepted by the scholars of the Continent and many of our chief English critics. Finally unfavourable to authenticity, they are yet in no way derogatory to the preciousness of this OT Apocalypse' (*Bk. of Dan.* p. 3 f.).

* Indeed it is difficult to see how a different interpretation could have been given according to the prevailing exegesis which ignored the original historical situation and meaning of OT prophecies, and sought some fulfilment agreeable to the actual history or expected future of the Church. Christ had applied to His second coming the words of Dn 7^{13} (Mk 13^{26} 14^{62}), hence His parousia was regarded as preceded by the little horn of v.^{8}, which thus became the Antichrist. Many commentators sought hist. kingdoms to represent the 10 horns, and since the Reformation the papal power has very often been regarded as the Antichrist. The numbers three, four, and ten have also been freq. interpreted symbolically (so Briggs, *Mess. Proph.* § 105).

representing rapid and successive conquests, and with its four heads (corresponding to the four kings of 11^2), symbolizes particularly well the Persian kingdom which advanced so widely and rapidly under Cyrus and Cambyses, and whose dominion was so great under Darius I. and his successors. It must also be noted that the two horns of 8^3, one of which comes up last, which are interpreted as the kings of Media and Persia (8^{20}), can as well represent two successive kingdoms, the power of one of which entered into the other, as one consolidated empire. The fourth kingdom of the image, which shall be strong as iron and break in pieces and crush (2^{40}), and the beast terrible and powerful with great iron teeth, that devoured and brake in pieces and stamped the residue with his feet (7^7), seem identical with the he-goat of furious power (8^{5-7}) interpreted as Alexander (8^{21}). The feet, part of clay and part of iron (2^{42}), represent well the successors of Alexander, often 'externally allied but inwardly disunited'; and the ten toes (2^{42}) seem to be reproduced in the ten horns, which fitly represent the Seleucidæ (see footnote, p. 552). The mingling of the seed seems to refer to the futile endeavours of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ to form stable alliances by marriages (cf. $11^{6.\ 17}$?). *But the clear description of Antiochus Epiphanes in the little horn* ($7^{8.\ 20.\ 24f.}$) *is decisive for the modern interpretation.* The introduction of the Messianic kingdom immediately in connexion with or following events of the author's own time, is fully in accord with other OT representations. Isaiah places the advent of the Messianic king in immediate connexion with a deliverance from Assyr. oppression (Is 8^{16}–9^7 10^{33}–$11^{1ff.}$), likewise Micah (5^{4-6}); and Deutero-Isaiah blends in one picture the release and restoration from Bab. captivity, and the final consummation of the divine purposes for Israel. The same principle is illustrated in Christ's eschatological discourse in Mt 24.

Corresponding with the interpretations of the four beasts are those of 'one like unto a son of man' ($7^{13f.}$). The prevailing Christian and Jewish interpretation has referred these words to the Messiah. In favour of this view is their application by Christ to Himself (Mt 26^{64}, Mk 14^{62}, Lk 22^{69}, cf. Mk 13^{26}, Lk 21^{27}, Mt 16^{28}, Lk 12^{40} 18^8, Rev 14^{14} *et al.*), and the repeated designation of Christ in NT by the term 'the Son of Man.' The Bk. of Enoch applies the same expression to the Messiah (46^{1-6} 48^{1-3} 62^{5-9} 69^{26-29}),* and this is the general exposition of our passage by the Jewish Rabbins, also in the Talm. (*Sanh.* p. 98, col. 1). A growing modern view, however, finds in 7^{13} a symbolization of the kingdom of Israel, and this probably was the intention of the writer. The expression 'son of man' (Aram. בַּר אֱנָשׁ = Heb. בֶּן־אָדָם) acc. to a common Heb. idiom is synonymous for man or one of mankind (cf. Ps 8^4, Ezk 2^1 $3^{1.\ 4.\ 10.\ 17}$ *et al.*), and stands here evidently for one in human form representing Israel, in contrast with the beasts symbolizing the heathen powers. A striking parallel occurs in Ps 80, where in v.^{17} 'son of man' symbolizes Israel, and 'the boar' v.^{13} the heathen. The interpretation in v.^{27} seems also decisive for this view. The kingdom is given to 'the people of the saints of the Most High; his (the people's) kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him (the people).' Again, no other possible similar Messianic allusion appears elsewhere in Daniel. The 'coming with the clouds of the heaven' is in evident contrast to the heathen kingdoms 'rising out of the sea' (7^3). The latter appearance is fig., indicating earthly origin; the former indicates then, by parallelism, a source in the special power of God, just as the stone cut out of the mountain without hands ($2^{34.\ 45}$) stands in contrast to the image, an evidently human or earthly product. That later writers, esp. those of the NT, should find in this passage a direct allusion to the Messiah, is in exact accord with their interpretation of other OT figures which primarily denote mankind or Israel (cf. Ps $8^{4ff.}$ and He 2^{6-9}, Hos 11^1 and Mt 2^{15}, Gn 12^7 and Gal 3^{16} *et al.*).

iii. THE 'TIMES' OF DANIEL (7^{25} 8^{14} 9^{24-27} $12^{11.\ 12}$) are difficult of interpretation. They are mainly an endeavour under the Antiochian persecution to answer the anxious thought and piercing cry, 'Lord, how long? When wilt Thou restore the kingdom to Israel? When will the Messianic hope be realized?' They express the thought that the time of the fulfilment of the divine promise is very near at hand. The glorious assurances of Is 40–66 had never been realized. The Jews, in their pitiful poverty and national smallness, and above all in this hour of persecution, seemed still in their captivity, still within the period of the seventy years mentioned by Jeremiah (Jer 29^{10}), and an explanation of their duration and the announcement of their end is the evident endeavour of our author in 9^{24-27}.

Of the weeks subdivided into $7+62+1$ (9^{25-27}), as in the case of the image (ch. 2), and the four beasts (ch. 7), there are two main interpretations differing generally according to the view taken of the Bk. of Dn as a whole, or esp. according to the historical and prophetic references in (*a*) 'the anointed one, the prince' (^{25}), (*b*) 'the anointed one cut off' (^{26a}), (*c*) the destruction (^{26b}), (*d*) the maker of the covenant (^{27a}), (*e*) the desolation (^{27b}). The prevailing view in the past in the Christian Church has seen in (*a*) (*b*) and (*d*) the Messiah, and in (*c*) and (*e*) the destruction of Jerus. by Titus, 70 A.D. The view received at present, agreeably to the Maccabæan date of Dn, refers (*a*) to Cyrus (cf. Is 45^1), (*b*) to Onias III. (2 Mac 4^{34}), (*d*) to Antiochus Epiphanes, (*c*) and (*e*) to the havoc and desolation wrought by Antiochus at Jerusalem. In the case of both interpretations a week has usually been held to represent seven years, but a difficulty has always been experienced in fixing the termini, and the various solutions proposed for adjusting the $49+434+7$ years have been almost endless. The more prevailing one, in the old view, places the advent of Christ at the end of 69 weeks (v.^{25} AV and RVm), and refers the commandment to the decree of the 7th year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 457 or 458 (cf. Ezr 7^{6-26}), and then 483 yrs. later is A.D. 25 or 26, the date usually assigned for Christ's baptism, which, from His anointing with the Holy Spirit, might represent His proper Messianic advent (Pusey, *Lect. IV.*). This view and all other similar ones presented by those holding the genuineness of the Bk. of Dn contain their own refutation, for the *termini a quo* must be later than the period of the prophet, who would have died many years at the latest before the commencement of the 490 years or the 70 weeks B.C., and such a date could not have been taken as the basis of his reckoning, unless the history of Israel after his death had been revealed to him in detail.

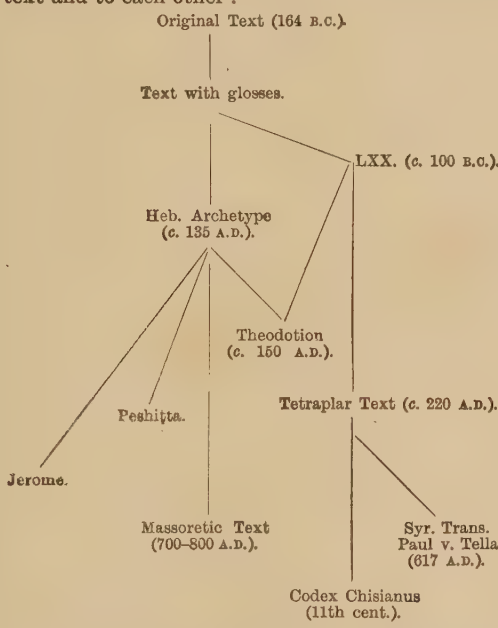
Under the other view the natural interpretation would be as follows: To the decree of Cyrus seven weeks (v.^{25}), *i.e.* $586-49=537$. From this decree the city stands rebuilt during 62 weeks of 434 years, but after this period (v.^{26}) the anointed priest Onias III. shall be cut off in B.C. 171 (*i.e.* $537-434=103$. This should be 171; see below). During the next seven years, the last week (v.$^{26bf.}$), occur the havoc and ruin wrought by Antiochus. The sacrifice ceased, and the heathen altar was set up in the sanctuary. The latter event was in Dec. 168 (1 Mac 1^{54}); but the former, with the terrible

* The references given from the Bk. of Enoch are by some regarded as belonging to a Christian addition to the original Jewish work (see art. ENOCH, BOOK OF).

ruin and slaughter (1 Mac 1^{29-40}), occurred probably some months earlier. The temple was re-dedicated in Dec. 165 (1 Mac 4^{52}). These three years and some months represent the half week of the ceasing of the oblation, mentioned in the time, times, and half a time (7^{25}), in the 2300 evenings and mornings (8^{14}), *i.e.* 1150 days, and in the 1290 days (12^{11}) and the 1335 days (12^{12}). The representations, of course, are not exact, *i.e.* the number of days exceed in each instance $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, or half a week. Did we know all the circumstances of the times, we might see a clear solution, or possibly the author designed an enigmatic surplus or remainder to be interpreted only through the future course of events, even as he had endeavoured to interpret the 70 weeks.

In the above interpretation the actual period between the decree of Cyrus and the death of Onias is shorter than the 62 weeks, *i.e.* 366 years instead of 434. This probably has arisen from the defective chronology of the writer. He placed the reign of Cyrus too early * (Bevan, Cornill, Schürer). Owing to the great difficulty of finding any consistent explanation of the 'times' of Dn, many writers have regarded the numbers as entirely symbolical.

iv. VERSIONS.—The LXX text of Dn has been preserved only in one MS, Codex Chisianus, which cannot be older than the 9th cent., and is perhaps much later (Bevan). In place of the LXX the Greek VS of Theodotion was used (even by Irenæus, † 202). There is no Targ. on Daniel. The following diagram (from Behrmann, p. xxx) shows tentatively the relation of the VSS to the original text and to each other :—



v. ADDITIONS.—There are three Apocr. additions to Dn: (1) The Song of the Three Children, preceded by the Prayer of Azarias, in LXX and Vulg. at 3^{24-90}; (2) The Story of Susanna, in Vulg. ch. 13, in LXX a separate book (?); (3) The Story of Bel and the Dragon, in Vulg. ch. 14, in LXX a separate book (?). (See sep. artt.)

LITERATURE.—The literature on Daniel is exceedingly voluminous. 'On no other book' (says C. H. H. Wright) 'has so much worthless matter been written in the shape of exegesis.' The most important *Commentaries* are those of Bertholdt, 1806–8; Von Lengerke, 1835; Hävernick, 1832; Hitzig (*Kgf. Hndb.*), 1850; Stuart, 1850; Ewald (*Proph. d. AB*), 1867, Eng. tr., 1881; Keil, 1869, Eng. tr., 1872; Zöckler (Lange's *Bibelwerk*), 1870, Eng. tr. and add. by Strong, 1875; Fuller (*Speaker's Com.*), 1876; Meinhold (*Kgf. Kom.*), 1889; Bevan, 1892; Behrmann (*Hand-Kom.*), 1894; Farrar (*Expositor's Bible*), 1895.

Special Treatises and Articles.—Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, 1831, Eng. tr., 1848; Tregelles, *Defence of Authenticity*, 1852; Auberlen, *Der Prophet Daniel und Offenbarung Johannes*, 1854–57, Eng. tr., 1857; Pusey, *Dan. the Prophet*, 1864, 3rd ed. 1869; Fuller, *Essay on the Authenticity of Daniel*, 1864; Lenormant, *La Divination chez les Chald.* (pp. 169–236), 1875; Cornill, 'Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Skizzen*, 1889; Schrader, 'Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebuch.' *JPT*, 1881; Kamphausen, 'Das Buch Daniel,' in *Neu. Geschichtsforschung*, 1893; Margoliouth in *Expos.* Apr. 1890; Fuller in *Expos.* 3rd series, vols. i. and ii.; Sayce, *HCM* (pp. 495-537), 1893; Terry, *Proph. of Dan. Expounded*, 1893; C. Bruston, *Études sur Dan. et l'Apoc.* 1896.

In add. to these works, the student will find valuable material on Dn in Kamphausen's *Daniel* in Haupt's *OT*, in the *OT Introductions* of Cornill, Driver, König, Strack, *et al.*, and the *OT Theologies* of Dillmann, Schultz, Smend, *et al.*, and the *Messianic* or *OT Prophecies* of Briggs, Delitzsch, Hofmann (*Weissagung u. Erfüllung*), Orelli, Riehm, *et al.*, and in the *Histories of Israel* or *the Jews* of Ewald, Grätz, Köhler, Kittel, Stade, Schürer, *et al.* See also art. APOCRYPHA. E. L. CURTIS.

DAN-JAAN.—Joab and his officers in taking the census came 'to Dan-jaan and round about to Zidon' (דָּנָה יַעַן וְסָבִיב אֶל־צִידוֹן), 2 S 24^{6}. No such place is mentioned anywhere else in OT, and it is generally assumed that the text is corrupt. It has indeed been proposed to locate Dan-jaan at a ruin N. of Achzib which is said to bear the name *Khan Dâniân*; but this identification, although accepted by Conder, has not made headway. The reference is more probably to the city of Dan which appears so frequently as the northern limit of the kingdom. Three leading emendations of the text have been proposed. (1) Wellhausen (*Sam. ad loc.*) instead of the MT יַעַן וְסָבִיב would read וַיִּתְּנוּ סָבִבוּ ('They came to Dan) *and from Dan they went about.*' This is accepted by Driver (*Sam. ad loc.*, cf. *Deut.* p. 421), Budde (in Haupt's *OT*), Kittel (in Kautzsch's *AT*). (2) Klostermann would read וְעִיּוֹן וַיִּסַּבּוּ . . . 'and to Ijon and they went about.' Ijon and Dan are associated in 1 K 15^{20} (cf. 2 K 15^{29}). (3) Gesenius would change יַעַן into יַעַר . . . 'to Dan *in the wood*' (cf. Vulg. *silvestria*). After *εἰς Δάν* LXX reads, B *Εἰδὰν καὶ Οὐδάν*, A *Ἰαρὰν καὶ Ἰουδάν*. This does not help us much, but Wellh. points out that it indicates at least that the translators found דן twice in their text and had a verb in place of וסביב. J. A. SELBIE.

DANNAH (דַּנָּה), Jos 15^{49}.—A town of Judah mentioned next to Debir and Socoh. It was clearly in the mountains S.W. of Hebron, probably the present *Idhnah*. This place is noticed in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon, s.v.* Jedna) as six Roman miles from Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrîn*). It is now a small village on the W. slopes. See *SWP*, vol. iii. sheet xxi. LXX has *Ρεννά*. C. R. CONDER.

DAPHNE (*Δάφνη*).—A place mentioned in 2 Mac 4^{33} to which Onias withdrew for refuge, but from which he was decoyed by Andronicus and treacherously slain. Its site, which has been identified with the mod. *Beit el-Mâ*, or House of Waters, is placed by Strabo and the Jerus. Itinerary at a distance of 40 stadia, or about 5 miles, from Antioch. This grove, which owed its establishment to Seleucus Nikator, was famous for its fountains, its temple in honour of Apollo and Diana, its oracle, and its right of asylum. (See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xxiii.)

R. M. BOYD.

DARA, דָּרַע 1 Ch 2^{6}, *Δάρα* AB; but codd. Heb., Luc. *Δαραδέ*, Pesh., Targ. presuppose דַּרְדַּע DARDA (which see).

DARDA (דַּרְדַּע, *Δαραλά* B, *Δαραά* A, *Δαρδαέ* Luc.)—Mentioned with Ethan the Ezrahite, Heman, and Calcol as a son of Mahol, and a proverbial type of

* Josephus fell into a similar error, also the Jewish Hellenist, Demetrius (Schürer, *HJP* II. vol. iii. p. 53 f.).

wisdom, but yet surpassed by Solomon (1 K 4^{31}). In 1 Ch 2^{6} apparently the same four (Dara is probably an error for Darda. See DARA) are mentioned with Zimri as sons of Zerah, the son of Judah by Tamar (Gn 38^{30}). So Targ. in 1 K 4^{31} interprets 'the Ezrahite' as זרח בר 'the son of Zerah.' This statement of Ch need not conflict with that of K, 'sons of Mahol,' since Zerah, as is suggested by the title 'the Ezrahite,' may have been the remoter ancestor, Mahol the immediate father. See MAHOL. C. F. BURNEY.

DARIC.—See MONEY.

DARIUS (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ, Δαρεῖος).—**1.** Darius, the son of Hystaspes (Vistáshpa), written Dârayavaush in Old Persian, was the true founder of the Persian empire. The usurpation of the crown by the Magian Gaumáta, who pretended to be Smerdis the brother of Cambyses, had thoroughly shaken the empire of Cyrus, and the murder of the usurper by Darius and six others (B.C. 521) caused it to break up. The nations of which it was composed revolted under different pretenders, and had to be reconquered and reorganized by Darius. The history of all this is given in the trilingual inscription he caused to be engraved on the rock of Behistun (Bagistana). First Susiana rebelled under Atrina, then Babylon under Nidinta-Bel, who pretended to be Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus. Contract-tablets show that the latter pretender reigned from October B.C. 521 to August B.C. 520, when Babylon was taken and Nidinta-Bel himself put to death. Next came the revolts of Martiya in Susiana; of Phraortes in Media, who called himself Khshathrita, descendant of Uvakhshatara; of the Armenians; of Chitrantakhma in Sagartia, who said he was a descendant of Uvakhshatara; of Phraortes in Parthia and Hyrcania, where Hystaspes was satrap; of Frâda in Margiana; of a second false Smerdis in Persia itself; and of the Armenian Arakha, son of Khaldita, in Babylon, who professed to be Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus. But the revolts were all suppressed and the leaders impaled, though many months of hard fighting were needed for the work. D. ascribes all his successes to the help of Ahuramazda (Ormazd), the supreme god of the Zoroastrian faith.

He now set about the organization of the empire, which he placed under a bureaucracy centralized in himself. The provinces were governed by satraps appointed by the king, and each province was required to furnish the royal treasury with a fixed amount of annual tribute. Justice was administered by royal judges who went on circuit.

The second revolt of Babylon probably took place in B.C. 514, as no Bab. contract-tablets have been found dated in the seventh year of Darius, and after its suppression a part of the walls of the city were pulled down. Soon afterwards Darius overcame Iskunka the Sakian or Scyth, and henceforward the Sakians formed part of the Persian army. The expedition against the Scyths of Europe was still later. Darius crossed the Danube near Ismail by a bridge constructed by the Ionians, who had already performed the same service in the case of the Bosphorus, and, leaving it in charge of the Ionian 'tyrants,' he marched eastward to the Don. Eight fortresses were built on the banks of the Oarus (probably the Volga), and Darius then returned through a desert country to the Danube, harassed by the Scyths. Histiæus of Miletus saved his army by dissuading the Greeks from destroying the bridge. Histiæus was afterwards the indirect cause of the Ionian revolt, which led to the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, and the determination of Darius to punish Athens and annex Greece. Thrace and Macedonia had already submitted. Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, was sent against Attica; but his ships were wrecked off Mount Athos, and he was compelled to return. Another army was despatched accordingly the following year. Eretria was pillaged; but the Persian host was utterly defeated by the Athenians at Marathon (B.C. 491), and compelled to retreat. Darius now fitted out another expedition on a larger scale, but just as it was ready to start Egypt revolted.

D. had already explored the Indian Ocean. Skylax of Karyandria sailed down the Indus, and, after a voyage of thirty months, reached Suez. One of the results of the expedition was the subjugation of the Indians.

The Egyptian revolt was followed by the death of the king, B.C. 486. He had married the daughter of Gobryas in early life, and Artobarzanes, his eldest son by her, was not allowed to succeed him, as he had been born while Darius was still a private citizen. After his accession he married Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus and wife of Cambyses and of the pseudo-Smerdis, as well as Parmys the daughter of Smerdis, and Phædyma the daughter of Otanes. Xerxes, his son by Atossa, was his successor to the crown.

It was in the reign of Darius that the second temple of Jerusalem was finished. The work had languished till the second year of his reign, when Haggai and Zechariah excited Zerubbabel, 'the governor of Judah,' and the high priest Joshua to undertake it afresh (Ezr $5^{1f.}$). This made Tattenai, the Persian governor of Syria, inquire by what authority they acted (v.$^{3ff.}$). On being told that it was a decree of Cyrus, he wrote to Darius, who had search made for the decree, which was found in the palace of Ecbatana. Darius caused it to be published, and added that money for the building should be given out of the revenue of the province, as well as cattle and other things for the temple services, 'that they may offer sacrifice . . . and pray for the life of the king and of his sons.' Accordingly, the temple was completed on the 3rd of Adar, in the sixth year of Darius (6^{1-15}).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* XI. i. 3), whose narrative rests on chs. 2 and 3 of 1 Es, the goodwill of Darius towards the Jews went back to the time when he was a private individual, and had vowed that if he became king he would restore the sacred vessels to the temple of Jerusalem. He and Zerubbabel were old friends, and, after the return of the Jewish prince from Jerusalem, Darius made him one of his bodyguard. In this capacity Zerubbabel was called on to amuse the king one night when he was sleepless, in the first year of his reign, by determining the relative strength of 'wine, kings, women, and truth.' His explanation that truth was the strongest pleased Darius, who promised to grant whatever he asked. He therefore reminded the king of his promise to build Jerusalem and its temple, and Darius thereupon did all he could to further the work, giving fifty talents towards it, and relieving the Jews of all taxation.

2. DARIUS *the Persian* (Neh 12^{22}). Which king of Persia is meant is uncertain. Some commentators have supposed it to be Darius II. (Nothus) B.C. 423–404, but it was more probably Darius III. (Codomannus), the last king of Persia, and the contemporary of the high priest Jaddua, who is mentioned in the same verse. Darius III. reigned from B.C. 336 to 330, when he was overthrown by Alexander of Macedon in the decisive battle of Arbela, and the Persian empire destroyed.

3. DARIUS in 1 Mac 12^{7} AV is a false reading for the Lacedæmonian Areus. See ARIUS.

4. DARIUS *the Mede.*—See next article.

LITERATURE.—Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften* (1881).

A. H. SAYCE.

DARIUS THE MEDE (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ הַמָּדִי Dn 11[1], Aram. דָּרְיָוֶשׁ מָדָאָה (*Kethibh*), דָּרְיָוֶשׁ מָדָאי (*Kerê*) 6[1] [Eng. 5[31]]), the son of Ahasuerus (=Xerxes), 'of the seed of the Medes' (9[1]), is said (5[31]) to have succeeded to the Bab. kingdom after Belshazzar's violent death, and to have been 62 years old when he 'received the kingdom.' His first year only is mentioned (5[31] 9[1] 11[1]).

Who this D. was, is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Besides other proposals, D. the Mede has been identified with (1) Cyaxares II., the son and successor of Astyages (Jos. *Ant.* X. xi. 4), but no proof is given to support this theory; (2) Darius Hystaspis; (3) Astyages himself; but all these identifications seem quite untenable. It is true that D. Hystaspis conquered Babylon, but that was some thirty years later. Besides this, he was a Persian, not a Mede; and he was about thirty-six years old, not sixty-two, when he began to reign.

The passage in Dn 5[31] where he is described as having received the kingdom (RV) leads one to ask whether, in spite of the title of king which is given to him (6[6. 7] etc.), he may not have been really governor only. In the Gr. historians and in the *Bab. Chronicle* the name of D. the Mede does not occur, he who preceded Cyrus to Babylon, on the occasion of the siege and capture of that city, being Gobryas, who may thus be regarded as having 'received the kingdom for him.'* Gobryas, like Darius the Mede (6[1]), appointed governors in Babylon, and seems also to have been in the attack which resulted in Belshazzar's death (*Bab. Chronicle*, Rev. col. i. l. 22). It will thus be seen that Cyrus gave great power to Gobryas, who was, in fact, his viceroy.† Apparently, therefore, the later Jewish writers looked upon Gobryas as having as much authority as Belshazzar, whom they regarded likewise as king, though he does not appear ever to have reigned. The confusion of the names of D. the Mede and Gobryas of Gutium (he being governor of that place, which is regarded as having included a part of Media), may have been due to the scribes, who, being more familiar with the Gr. form of the name of D. (the end of which, when carelessly pronounced, bears a certain resemblance to that of Gobryas in that language) than with the Heb. form *Daryawesh*, wrote one name for the other; and there is also the possibility that one of Gobryas' names was Darius,‡ which would account for the mistake. Under these circumstances we must accept, until further proof, the explanation, that D. the Mede was no other than Gobryas of Gutium, who, being practically viceroy, may have been regarded as king during the absence of Cyrus from Babylon, and who, under the name of D. the Mede, by which he was known to the Hebrews later on, conquered and entered Babylon on the 16th Tammuz, called Daniel to the very high dignity of 'one of the three presidents who were placed over the hundred and twenty satraps,' and issued a decree, after Daniel's miraculous deliverance, enjoining 'reverence for the God of Daniel' throughout his dominions. Josephus gets rid of all difficulties presented by the title of 'king' which is given to D. the Mede in Daniel, by explaining that he took Daniel the prophet with him into Media, and that it was there that he appointed him one of the three presidents whom he set over his 'three hundred and sixty' provinces. According to this authority, therefore, D. the Mede was in fact never ruler of Babylonia.* I. A. PINCHES.

* He brought the army of Cyrus to Babylon on the 16th Tammuz, Cyrus arriving nearly four months later, on the 3rd Marcheshvan.

† It is noteworthy that Xenophon (*Cyrop.* N. 6) says that Gobryas was 'a man in years.'

‡ Jos. (*Ant.* X. xi. 4, says that Darius (the Mede), whom he represents as the kinsman of Cyrus, 'had another name among the Greeks.' Apparently, the name of Gobryas was present to his mind when he wrote this.

DARKNESS (Heb. חֹשֶׁךְ and אֹפֶל [and their cognates], עֲרָפֶל, Gr. *σκότος*, *σκοτία*, *ζόφος*). Besides its literal meaning, darkness is frequently used in Scrip. metaphorically. Since God is light, because the perfect embodiment of rational and moral truth, and since the knowledge of Him is man's light, darkness is the natural antithesis of these ideas. Hence in OT it is emblematic of nothingness (Job 3[4. 5. 6]); more freq. it is equivalent to death (Job 10[21. 22] 15[23] 17[12. 13], 1 S 2[9], Ec 11[8] etc.), and to the unknown or undiscovered (Job 12[22] 28[3], Is 45[3] etc.). So, too, it is the emblem of mysterious affliction, and of the ignorance and frailty of human life (2 S 22[29], Job 19[8] 23[17], Ps 18[28] 107[10. 14], Is 9[2] 29[18] 42[7. 16] etc.); of moral depravity (Is 5[20] 60[2], Pr 2[13]), and of confusion and destruction visited on the wicked (Job 5[14] 15[30] 20[26], Ps 82[5], Pr 4[19] 20[20], Is 8[22] 59[9], Ec 2[14], Jer 2[31] etc.). It is also the symbol of that which causes terror and distress (Gn 15[12], Is 5[30] 47[5], La 3[2], Ezk 32[8] etc.). Since, moreover, God is incomprehensible, His ways mysterious, and His judgments severe, darkness is sometimes associated with His operations in providence (Ps 18[9. 11]), in punishing (Am 5[18], Zeph 1[15]), and in His self-manifestations generally (Ps 97[2], 1 K 8[12], 2 Ch 6[1]), even as the guiding 'pillar' was light to Israel but darkness to the Egyptians (Ex 14[20]), and Sinai was covered with dark clouds when J" descended on it (Ex 20[21], Dt 4[11] 5[23], Heb 12[18]). In NT darkness is prevailingly the emblem of sin as a state of spiritual ignorance and moral depravity (Mt 4[16] 6[23], Lk 1[79] 11[35] 22[53], Jn 1[5] 3[19] 8[12] 12[35. 46], Ac 26[18], Ro 2[19] 13[12], 1 Co 4[5], 2 Co 6[14], Eph 5[8. 11] 6[12], Col 1[13], 1 Th 5[4. 5], 1 P 2[9], 1 Jn 1[5. 6] 2[8. 9. 11]), but also of the desolation of divine punishment (Mt 8[12] 22[13] 25[30], 2 P 2[14. 17], Jude [6. 13]).

Two instances of special darkness, recorded in the Bible, call for notice. (1) The ninth of the plagues sent by God upon the Egyptians was a plague of darkness (Ex 10[21. 23]). Many commentators explain this as due to a storm of fine dust and sand driven from the desert by the S. wind, the *Ḥamsîn*, noted for such effects in the spring. The LXX seems to have taken such a view, describing it as 'darkness, thick cloud (*γνόφος*), storm (*θύελλα*).' Some have regarded it as wholly miraculous; but the other plagues seem due to God's use of natural agencies. (2) The darkness at the crucifixion from the sixth to the ninth hour (Mt 27[45], Mk 15[33], Lk 23[44. 45]). This the evangelists seem plainly to represent as supernatural. The true text of Lk 23[45] (*τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος* or *ἐκλιπόντος*, 'the sun failing' or 'having failed'; RV 'the sun's light failing') has indeed been thought to describe it as an **eclipse**. This reading and interpretation were noted by Origen, from whose remarks it appears that objectors to Christianity had so explained it. Origen rejected the reading, attributing it either to a scribe's wish to provide an explanation or to an enemy's wish to pervert the evangelical account (see WH, Notes on selected readings). Origen also rejected the view itself that an eclipse, natural or miraculous (for so some explained it), was intended by Luke, though his language elsewhere seems to imply the true text. The charge that it was a natural eclipse is put into the mouth of the Jews in the *Acts of Pilate*, contained in the pseudo-

* Driver, who in *LOT*[1] pp. 469, 479 n. maintained a cautious reserve, admitting the possibility that D. the Mede might prove to be a historical character, agrees in his later editions with Sayce, that the existence of such a ruler is completely excluded by the monuments (cf. Sayce, *HCM* 528 ff.). The latter, as well as P. Haupt (note on Dn 6[1] in Haupt's *OT*), and a host of modern scholars, argue that 'D. the Mede' is due to confusion with D. Hystaspis, who conquered Babylon (B.C. 520). On the theory of the Maccabæan date of Daniel, such a confusion is held to be quite explicable.

Gospel of Nicodemus. Eusebius (*Chronicon*) and later Fathers appealed also to the statement of Phlegon of Tralles (of the 2nd cent.) that in the 202nd Olympiad (July A.D. 29 to 33) there was the greatest eclipse of the sun ever known, that it became night at the sixth hour of the day, so that stars appeared, and that there was a great earthquake in Bithynia. These writers differ as to the year of the Olympiad, but Wurm and Ideler place it on Nov. 24, A.D. 29 (Wieseler, *Synopsis of Four Gospels*, p. 354; see, on the other hand, Whiston, *Testimony of Phlegon Vindicated*, Lond. 1732). The insuperable objections to its identification with the darkness at the crucifixion are, even apart from the above date, that at passover the moon was full, and the darkness lasted three hours. Seyffarth's view (*Chron. Sacr.* pp. 58, 59), that the Jewish calendar was so deflected that the passover actually fell at a new moon, has found no advocates, and is wholly improbable, since the Jewish calendar depended on observations of the moon. There is, however, no need to interpret Luke of an eclipse in the astronomical sense (WH, Notes on selected readings). It is simply a statement that the sun's light failed. See also LIGHT, PLAGUES.

G. T. PURVES.

DARKON (דַּרְקוֹן).—'Children of D.' were among those who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{56}, Neh 7^{58}). D. is called in 1 Es 5^{33} **Lozon**. See GENEALOGY.

DARK SAYING.—This is the tr^{n} of Heb. חִידָה *ḥîdhâh*, in Ps 49^{4} 78^{2}, Pr 1^{6}. Elsewhere *ḥîdhâh* is tr^{d} 'dark speech' Nu 12^{8}; 'dark sentence' Dn 8^{23}; 'hard question' 1 K 10^{1}, 2 Ch 9^{1}; 'riddle' Jg $14^{12.\ 13.\ 14.\ 15.\ 16.\ 17.\ 18.\ 19}$, Ezk 17^{2}; and 'proverb' Hab 2^{6}. See RIDDLE. In Wis 8^{8} we find 'dark sayings,' and in first Prologue to Sir 'd. sentences' (*αἰνίγματα*. This Gr. word is the LXX tr. of *ḥîdhâh* in Nu 12^{8}, 1 K 10^{1}, 2 Ch 9^{1}, Pr 1^{6}; it is found in NT only 1 Co 13^{12} *ἐν αἰνίγματι*, 'darkly,' marg. 'in a riddle'). In Jn $16^{25.\ 29}$ Amer. RV has 'dark saying' for AV and RV 'proverb' (*παροιμία*). Cf. Coverdale, *Letter to Cromwell* of Dec. 13, 1538, 'Pitie it were that the darck places of the text (upon the which I have alwaye set a hande) shulde so passe undeclared.'

J. HASTINGS.

DARLING.—This is the tr^{n} of Heb. יָחִיד *yâḥîdh*, in Ps 22^{20} 'Deliver . . . my d. from the power of the dog,' and 35^{17} 'rescue . . . my d. from the lions' (marg. 'my only one'). 'My darlings' is also found in Bar 4^{26} AVm (AV and RV 'my delicate ones,' Gr. *οἱ τρυφεροί μου*). Cf. Ro 1^{7} Wyclif, 'to alle that ben at rome, derlyngis of god and clepid holy'; and Latimer (*Works*, ii. 438), 'Christ Jesus, the dear darling and only begotten and beloved son of God.' The word, now too familiar for such usage, is formed from *dear* with suffix *-ing*, which became *-ling* through its freq. addition to words ending in *l*; so nestling, seedling, etc. The Heb. *yâḥîdh* is used for an only son, but in Ps 22^{20} 35^{17} it is poetically transferred to the psalmist's own life 'as the one unique and priceless possession which can never be replaced'—*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* For the Eng. use compare Shaks. *Othello*, III. iv. 70—

'Make it a darling like your precious eye.'

J. HASTINGS.

DART.—Joab is said to have thrust three 'darts' (שְׁבָטִים *shĕbhâṭîm*, LXX *βέλη*) into the heart of Absalom (2 S 18^{14}). *Shĕbheṭ* is, however, rather a shepherd's rod, which might be used as a club if one end were heavy and studded with nails (cf. Cheyne on Ps 23^{4}), or as a rough spear if one end were pointed. Hezekiah (2 Ch 32^{5}) made darts, שֶׁלַח *shelaḥ*, in abundance for the defence of Jerusalem.

In Job 41^{26} AV and RV give 'dart' for מַסָּע *maṣṣâ'*, a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* of uncertain meaning.

In 1 Mac 6^{51} two kinds of darts are referred to as employed at a siege, and cast by engines—(*a*) ordinary bolts or large arrows; (*b*) darts wrapped in some burning material. Ancient defences, being built largely of wood, were easily set on fire.

In Eph 6^{16} the suggestions of the evil one are called *βέλη πεπυρωμένα*, with an obvious allusion to the practice mentioned above. St. Paul opposes Faith to the suggestions, as the soldier would oppose the great shield (*θυρεός*) to the darts.

W. E. BARNES.

DATHAN.—See KORAH.

DATHEMA (Δάθεμα), 1 Mac 5^{9}.—A fortress in Bashan. It may perhaps be the modern *Dâmeh* on the S. border of the Lejjah district, N. of Ashteroth-karnaim. The Peshiṭta reads *Rametha* (Ramoth-gilead ?). See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 588 f.

C. R. CONDER.

DAUB.—To daub, from Lat. *dealbare* (*de* down, *albus* white), is properly to rub down a wall with whitewash. But in English the word has always been used for washing or plastering with any available substance. It is now used, even in its literal sense, contemptuously. It has always been used to describe bad writing, as *Marprel. Ep.* (1589), 'When men have a gift in writing, howe easie it is for them to daube paper'; or painting, as Foote (1752), *Works*, i. 9, 'How high did your genius soar? To the daubing diabolical angels for ale-houses'; or besmearing of any kind, but esp. with flattery, as South (1716), 'Let every one therefore attend the sentence of his conscience; for, he may be sure, it will not daub, nor flatter'; or to hide deformity. In AV daub occurs once literally, Ex 2^{3} 'she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch' (וַתַּחְמְרָה, from חֹמֶר, mortar, clay). Elsewhere only in Ezk ($13^{10.\ 12.\ 14.\ 15\ bis}$ 22^{28}) fig. of whitewashing Jerus. to hide its corruption, Heb. [טוּחַ], which is also found in Lv $14^{42.\ 43.\ 48}$ (EV 'plaister'), 1 Ch 29^{4} (EV 'overlay'), Is 44^{18} (EV 'shut,' margins 'daubed'). The subst. **daubing** occurs only Ezk 13^{12} 'where is the d. wherewith ye have daubed it?' (טִיחַ) for the plaster itself, a tr^{n} which has come from Wyclif.

J. HASTINGS.

DAUGHTER.—See FAMILY.

DAVID (דָּוִד, but דָּוִיד 1 K 3^{14} $11^{4.\ 36}$, Ezk 34^{23}, Hos, Am, Zec, Ca, Ezr, Neh, Ch [except 1 Ch 13^{6}]; LXX, NT, Δανείδ, but TR Δαβίδ).—The name, which in the Bible is given to no one except the great king of Israel, is perhaps a shortened form of Dodavahu (דּוֹדָוָהוּ 2 Ch 20^{37}), 'beloved of J",' or Dodo (דּוֹדוֹ 2 S 23^{24}, דּוֹדִי 2 S 23^{9}, *Kethibh*), 'beloved of him'; but, according to Sayce, was originally Dodo, a title of the sun-god (cf. דודה on Moabite Stone, l. 12). In the Tel el-Amarna tablets of the 15th cent. B.C. the form Dûdu is found. Our authorities for the life of David are derived entirely from the OT. The extra-biblical narratives, of which the earliest are the fragments of Eupolemus in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 30, and of Nicolas of Damascus in Josephus, *Ant.* VII. v. 2, are either dependent upon the OT, or are entirely legendary (cf. Stanley, art. 'David' in Smith's *DB*). The reign of D., according to the traditional chronology, is dated B.C. 1055–1015; but from Assyr. inscriptions it appears that Jehu is placed about 40 years too early in Ussher's chronology, and we must accordingly bring down the reign of D. by a period of from 30 to 50 years.

The biblical account of D. is to be found (i.) in the narrative of 1 S 16–1 K 2; (ii.) in 1 Ch 2. 3.

10–29; see also Ru 4^{18-22}; and (iii.) in the titles of many psalms. Of these three sources the first is alike the oldest and the primary authority; information derived from the other two can be used only sparingly.

A considerable portion of the history in 1 Ch is derived directly or ultimately from the Books of Samuel, and cannot be cited as an independent narrative, though it is often valuable for the restoration of the text. The fresh information given by the Chronicler consists mainly of lists of names and statistical details. In many cases the numbers given condemn themselves; where we have to deal with series of names, there is no absolute criterion to guide us; but it is to be noticed that the new narratives are nearly always marked by their late Heb. style, and by the characteristic language of the Chronicler, while the statements made are often more or less at variance with the older account in Samuel. It is rarely clear that the author had access to ancient documents other than the Books of Samuel, and his unverified statements must therefore be received with caution. The picture of D. presented by him differs in important respects from the earlier portrait; it is indeed the picture of an idealized David, such as was present to the minds of devout Jews of the 3rd cent. B.C., when the true founder of the Isr. monarchy was regarded as a model of piety; and the recognition of the full Priestly Code in the time of D. was a fact never questioned (see CHRONICLES).

Seventy-three psalms bear the title 'to David,' and in many cases, especially in Book II., there is a fuller inscription connecting the psalm with some particular event in D.'s life. Many of these titles recall the language of the Books of Sam., from which indeed they may be derived. The picture of D. which they suggest is not unlike that of Chronicles. On closer examination, however, it is seen that the contents of the psalm are often not suitable to the alleged occasion; and so frequently is this the case, that it becomes unsafe to accept the superscriptions, or even the Davidic authorship of 'Davidic' psalms, unless the titles are directly supported by internal evidence. But, without entering upon the wide question of the date and authorship of the Psalter (see PSALMS), it may be said that in a large number of cases the thoughts and language even of 'Davidic' psalms remind us of the teaching of the great prophets, and seem to be largely dependent on it; the circumstances of the psalmists are often those of the post-exilic Jews; and the religious ideas and spiritual tone of the Psalter as a whole differ widely from those which the most trustworthy authorities ascribe to D. himself, or to the period of the early monarchy. The tendency among the best scholars of the present day is to reduce the directly Davidic element in the Psalter to the narrowest limits. Hence it does not seem advisable to illustrate the history or character of D. by quotations from the Psalms.

For the history of D. we are thus practically reduced to the Books of Samuel (with 1 K 1. 2); but even this work contains elements of unequal historical value, and it is necessary to consider briefly the structure of the book, and to form a critical estimate of its contents.

One noticeable feature of the D. narratives contained in 1 S 16–31 is the existence of a number of 'doublets,' *i.e.* accounts of very similar events, or divergent accounts of the same event. These may be here enumerated. (1) The introduction of D. to Saul, 1 S 16^{14-23} and 17^{1}–18^{5}; (2) the slaying of Goliath of Gath, 1 S 17^{1}–18^{5} and 2 S 21^{19}; (3) Saul casts his spear at D., 1 S $18^{10.\ 11}$ and $19^{9.\ 10}$; (4) Jonathan's intercession for D., 19^{1-7} and 20; (5) the covenant between D. and Jonathan, $20^{12-23.\ 42}$ and 23^{16-18}; (6) the origin of the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' $19^{23f.}$ and 10^{10-13}; (7) D. at the court of Achish, 21^{10-15} and 27–28^{2} 29; (8) D. spares Saul's life, 24 and 26; (9) the death of Saul, 1 S 31 and 2 S 1^{1-16}. These parallels are not all equally convincing; in certain cases the divergent narratives may be harmonized more or less satisfactorily; in others it is possible that an event occurred more than once in D.'s life, though it would be strange that with reference, *e.g.*, to D.'s flight to Gath, or his sparing Saul's life, no allusion should be made in the narrative to a previous similar occurrence. We cannot, however, separate these peculiarities in the history of D. from similar phenomena in the history of Saul, where we find two accounts of his appointment as king, and of his rejection. We are therefore obliged to recognize the existence of two parallel narratives in the present 1 S, and these must be separated as far as possible, and compared, if we would gain a clear idea of D.'s earlier life. In 2 S the case is somewhat different. Of a double narrative there we have hardly any traces. On the other hand, we have a detailed and continuous narrative (ch. 9–20 with 1 K 1. 2), the work of a single writer, which describes the history of D.'s family and court at Jerus., and is a document of the highest importance. The earlier chapters (1–8) and the appendix (21–24) are of composite origin; there are indications that their contents have been partially rearranged; and later editors or redactors have left their mark on these chapters. The following analysis, taken mainly from Budde (*Richter und Samuel*), will be found useful. Some comments upon it will be found in the course of this article; for fuller particulars see SAMUEL, BOOKS OF.

A. (Budde, J) 1 S 16^{14-23} $18^{5.\ 20-30}$ $(6\text{-}8)^{9-11}$ 20. 22. $23^{1-14a.\ 19-29}$ 25^{2-44} 24. 27. $28^{1.\ 2}$ 29. 30. 28^{4-25} 31, 2 S $1^{1-4.\ 17-27}$ 2. 3$1^{.\ 6-39}$ 4. $5^{1-3.\ 17-25}$ (? 21^{15-22} 23^{8-39}) 5^{6-12} 6. 3^{2-5} 5^{13-16} 8^{16-18} = 20^{23-26} 9–20, 1 K 1. 2.

B. (Budde, E) 1 S 17. 18^{1-4} $(6\text{-}8)^{12-19}$ 19^{1-17} 21^{1-9} $23^{14b-18b}$; 26, 2 S 15^{1-16}.

Detached narratives of various dates:—2 S 21^{1-14} 24, 1 S 16^{1-13} 19^{18-24} 21^{10-15}, 2 S 7. 22. 23^{1-7}.

Editorial additions, based in part on older material:—2 S 8^{1-15}, 1 K $2^{(1-12)}$.

No account is taken here of minor interpolations and editorial additions.

Of these different authorities the oldest and most valuable is the family history of D. referred to above (2 S 9–20, 1 K 1. 2); its detailed descriptions and graphic touches do not indeed prove the writer to have been a contemporary of the events; but he clearly possessed trustworthy sources of information, and must be placed not very long after D.'s time. The remaining portions of A are not so detailed, and are apparently of somewhat later date. B is still later, and in several points less reliable than A; while of the shorter sections some are shown by their contents, and by the ideas there expressed, to be of high antiquity (2 S 21. 24), others are certainly later than B, and in part dependent on B. All, however, are earlier than the time of Josiah; and only in 2 S 7 (pre-exilic), in the Songs (2 S 22. 23^{1-7}) and the editorial additions, can we trace the influence of Deuteronomy.

David was the youngest son of Jesse, a Judæan of Bethlehem, who seems to have belonged to one of the principal families of his native town (yet cf. 1 S 18^{18}). No particulars as to the ancestry of Jesse are given in 1 Sam. (contrast the case of Saul, 1 S 9^{1}); but in the (later) genealogy in Ruth he is called the son of Obed, and grandson of Boaz, and his descent is traced back to the family of Perez (Ru 4^{18-22}; see also 1 Ch 2^{3-17}). The name of D.'s mother is nowhere given; his three elder brothers were called Eliab (? Elihu, 1 Ch 27^{18}), Abinadab, and Shammah (Shimeah, 2 S 13^{3}; Shimei, 2 S 21^{21}), see 1 S 16^{6-9} 17^{13}. 1 S $16^{10f.}$ and 17^{12} speak of eight sons of Jesse, and in 1 Ch 2^{14-16} three more names are given, Nethanel the 4th, Raddai the 5th, and Ozem the 6th, D. being there termed the 7th. The sisters of D., Zeruiah (the mother of Joab, Abishai, and Asahel) and Abigail (the mother of Amasa), were probably half-sisters, for in 2 S 17^{25} Abigail is called daughter of Nahash and sister to Zeruiah; cf. 1 Ch $2^{16.\ 17}$).

We first hear of D. when he was introduced to the court of Saul. The king had been attacked with morbid melancholy, called by the historian 'an evil spirit from J".' His servants suggested that a skilful player upon the harp should be brought to soothe the king with his music, and D., the son of Jesse, was chosen for this office. The narrative (1 S 16^{14-23}) is probably to be connected with the statement of 14^{52}, that Saul gathered round him every valiant warrior in Israel; and in like manner D., who is described as 'a mighty man of valour and a man of war,' was summoned to the court. In addition to being a skilful musician, he was prudent in speech (or business), a comely person, and one who enjoyed the favour of J". The young minstrel won the

favour of the king, who made him his armour-bearer (cf. 1 S $14^{1ff.}$ 31^{4-6}, 2 S 18^{15} 23^{37}), and kept him in attendance upon his person.

From another source, however, we have a different account of D.'s first introduction to Saul, in the beautiful and familiar story of the encounter with Goliath (ch. 17^{1}–18^{4}). Here David is represented as a mere lad, a goodly youth of fair countenance, inexperienced in war ($17^{33.\ 42}$), who used to tend his father's sheep. During a war with the Philistines, D. was sent by his father with a present to his three brothers, who were serving in Saul's army in the Valley of Elah. On reaching the camp he heard the defiant words of the giant, Goliath of Gath, and, undeterred by his eldest brother's reproaches, he inquired among the soldiers concerning the king's reward promised to any man who would overcome the Philistine champion. When brought before the king, the youth at once offered to go out against the Philistine, relating how he had protected his father's sheep from the lions and bears which had attacked them (tenses in $17^{34f.}$ frequentative, see Driver, *Text of Sam.*). Putting aside the armour offered by the king, he advanced to meet the giant. He brought his opponent to the ground by a stone slung against his forehead, and then cut off his head with his own sword. The fall of their champion was followed by the rout of the Philistine army. So far was D. at this time unknown to Saul, that the king instructed his chief commander, Abner, to inquire concerning the 'stripling's' parentage,—a question which D. answered for himself as he returned from the fray with the giant's head in his hand. From this time forward D. was kept at the court of Saul, while a close friendship sprang up at once between him and the king's son Jonathan.

Many attempts have been made to harmonize the two narratives. It is suggested that D. had returned home from his position as minstrel, and had since grown out of recognition; or that Saul's question to Abner related to D.'s family, but that he personally was known to Saul. Neither of these explanations can be regarded as satisfactory, nor do they account for the discrepancy between the skilled warrior of 16^{18} and the shepherd lad of $17^{33.\ 42}$. The difficulty attracted attention at an early period. 17^{15} seems to be a harmonistic addition by some later editor, and represents D. as going backwards and forwards between his home and the court. Similarly, 16^{19} 'which is with the sheep,' a clause which does not agree with v.^{18}, must be regarded as a later gloss. The LXX (cod. B) offers a more violent solution of the problem, omitting $17^{12-31.\ 41.\ 50.\ 55}$–$18^{5}$; it thus gets rid of the description of D. as sent to the camp by his father, and of Saul's question concerning the young hero, D. being represented (v.^{32}) as already in attendance upon Saul. The LXX text has been accepted as original by competent scholars (W. R. Smith, Stade, Cornill); but others with good reason adhere to the MT, and regard the omissions of the LXX as due to an attempt to reconcile chs. 16 and 17 (Driver, Cheyne, Wellhausen [*Composition*], Kuenen, Budde, etc.). Even in the LXX text D. is a shepherd lad (vv.$^{33.\ 42}$), not the warrior of $16^{18.\ 21}$; in language and style the omitted paragraphs do not differ from the rest of the chapter, while certain expressions which suggest a later hand (*e.g. assembly* v.^{47}, *Jerusalem* ^{54}) are found also in the LXX; and the original covenant between D. and Jonathan, to which allusion is made more than once subsequently, is related only in 18^{1-4}. In fact all these attempts to reconcile the two accounts of the first meeting of D. and Saul are unsuccessful; we can only recognize them as two versions of the history, and choose between them. And here we see the importance of the statement of 2 S 21^{19} that 'Elhanan the son of Jair (cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.*) the Bethlehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam' (cf. 1 S 17^{7}). The Chronicler indeed states that 'Elhanan slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath' (1 Ch 20^{5}), but the 'harder' reading of 2 Sam. is certainly to be preferred. It has been suggested that Elhanan was the original name of David (Böttcher, Sayce),—but of this there is no hint in either passage, and the father of Elhanan is Jair (or Jaûr), not Jesse;—or that the name of Goliath has been wrongly transferred to D.'s enemy, who, in 1 S 17, is usually termed simply 'the Philistine.' On the whole, however, it seems more probable that Goliath of Gath was slain at a later period by one of D.'s warriors, also a native of Bethlehem; and subsequently the victory was by tradition ascribed to D. himself, and put back to the period of his boyhood. In this case we must accept 1 S 16^{14-23} as giving the true narrative of D.'s first introduction to Saul; but the popular tradition has left its mark on other parts of the history of David.

A story of D.'s earliest life is given in 1 S 16^{1-13}, where we read how, after Saul's rejection, Samuel was sent in accordance with J''s instructions to Bethlehem. There he invited Jesse to a sacrifice, and, after sending a special summons to the young David, who was tending the sheep, anointed him in the midst of his brothers. This narrative now forms the introduction to the history of D.; it is the counterpart to 1 S $10^{1ff.}$ (the anointing of Saul by Samuel), and explains the coming of the Spirit of God upon D., and its departure from Saul; but, as it stands, the account can hardly be accepted as historical. Independently of any difficulties raised by the character and position here assigned to Samuel, which resemble what we find in the later narrative of the choice of Saul, the fact that D.'s anointing attracted so little attention has more than once been remarked as strange. His own brother Eliab seems unaware of it (17^{28}), while D. himself appears unconscious of his destiny (18^{18}), and always regards Saul as the Anointed of J'' (1 S 24^{6} 26^{9}, 2 S 1^{14}). The explanation that this anointing was only a mark of favour bestowed on the most honoured guest, and that D. was here given a place like that assigned to Saul at Ramah (9^{22}, so Klostermann, Ewald, W. R. Smith), does not do justice to the narrative, and anointing in the OT implies the conferring of some office.

Our authorities do not enable us to say how long D. continued in the position of Saul's minstrel and armour-bearer. His success in war against the Philistines; his popularity among the soldiers; the love of Michal and her marriage with D.; the strong friendship between D. and Jonathan, who entered into a covenant of brotherhood,—these facts are all attested by more than one passage in both the main narratives. But it is not quite easy to trace and explain the beginning of the distrust which Saul conceived for his young favourite, who had been promoted to the position of captain of the bodyguard (1 S 22^{14} LXX). It is only natural that there should be some want of definiteness in the narratives. The facts could be known only to those belonging to the innermost circle of the court, and all our records are written from the point of view of friends of David. If any ill-advised action on his part contributed to excite Saul's ill-will, we are told nothing about it. The main reason alleged for Saul's enmity is his jealousy of D.'s popularity and success in war, which is said to have been excited by the song of the women, who met the victorious warriors with the words, 'Saul hath slain his thousands, and D. his ten thousands.' But besides this there are hints

of a suspicion that D. had conspired with Jonathan to dethrone him (cf. 1 S $20^{30f.}$ 22^{13}). Everything that we are told of Jonathan goes to prove the baselessness of such a suspicion, and his continued affection for D. is evidence of D.'s innocence; but we can well imagine that the melancholy from which Saul suffered served to increase any jealousy or distrust when once aroused, and it is possible that he feared that his subjects might regard him, owing to his occasional attacks of madness, as no longer a fit ruler of the nation.

The chapter which describes the growth of the estrangement between Saul and D. lies before us in two forms. Here again the LXX has a shorter text, omitting from ch. 18 vv.$^{9-11.\ 12b.\ 17-19.\ 21b.\ 29b.\ 30}$. Thus the account of Saul's casting his spear at D. is omitted, and the promise of marriage with the elder daughter Merab; the gradual growth of Saul's jealousy is described, and each stage is appropriately emphasized with the words 'Saul was afraid of D.' (v.^{12}), 'Stood in awe of him' (v.^{15}), 'was yet more afraid' (v.^{29}); and on account of the clear and consistent picture given in this version, many scholars accept the LXX text as original (so Wellh., Kuenen, Stade, Driver, W. R. Smith, Kirkpatrick). But Cornill allows that the promise of Merab is the proper fulfilment of the king's promise to the slayer of Goliath (17^{25}); and Budde urges the inconsistency of adopting the LXX recension in ch. 18, and rejecting it (as Wellh., Kuenen, Driver do) in ch. 17. He accounts for the difficulties presented by the MT by analysing the chapter into sections derived from the two principal documents (so also Cheyne); and this seems to be the most satisfactory solution of the problem. Comparing the parallel narratives, we gather that D. was placed by Saul at the head of an armed force, either as a mark of favour (18^{5} A), or because of his growing distrust (v.^{13} B); that Saul's jealousy was excited on some occasion when D. returned from a victory over the Philistines (vv.$^{6-9}$, probably A and B,—note the double introduction to v.^{6}); that this did not prevent the marriage of D. to Saul's younger daughter Michal (vv.$^{20-30}$ A, cf. $^{17-19}$ B). Indeed it is not improbable that the estrangement is placed too early, and that Saul gave his daughter to the popular and successful officer in order to bind him to his interests, rather than that he already desired to compass D.'s death. Jonathan's intercession for his friend failed to effect a real reconciliation (19^{1-7} B, 20 A); and when Saul, in a fit of madness, hurled his spear at D. while he played the harp before the king, D. felt that his life was in danger, and that he must flee from the court ($19^{9.\ 10}$ B, $18^{10.\ 11}$ A, probably removed from its original position when A and B were combined).

The details given by the two narratives differ. According to A, Saul offered his daughter to D. as a mere snare, hoping that he might fall in battle, as the dowry was fixed at 100 foreskins of the Philistines; but D., without loss of time, procured twice the required number (18^{27} 200, MT; 100, LXX), and won his bride. After this (vv.$^{9-11}$), Saul in a frenzy attempted the life of his son-in-law, and, when D. complained to Jonathan, the latter repudiated the idea that his father had any real intention of harming him. To determine the king's true feelings, it was then agreed that D. should stay in hiding during the new-moon festival, while Jonathan was to excuse his friend's absence from the royal table on the pretext that he had been summoned to a family feast at Bethlehem. On the first day of D.'s absence nothing was said; on the next day, in answer to Saul's inquiries, Jonathan made the excuse agreed upon, whereat the king burst forth into furious reproaches against D. and his son, and hurled his spear at Jonathan, who attempted to intercede for his friend. In anger Jonathan left the table, and next morning went to the appointed place in the field. Under pretence of shooting at a mark, he sent an arrow beyond the stone where D. lay concealed; and while the boy carried back his master's weapons, the two friends took an affectionate farewell. On ch. 20, which has perhaps not reached us quite in its original form, it may be remarked that Jonathan's denial of any wish on the part of Saul to harm D. (20^{2}) is hardly appropriate after $19^{1-7.\ 11-17}$; and that while a mere act of frenzy ($18^{10f.}$ $19^{9f.}$) might leave D. uncertain as to Saul's intentions, he could not have any doubt after Saul had deliberately sent messengers to kill him (19^{11-17}), or be expected to appear at the king's table ($20^{5.\ 6.\ 27}$).

According to the second narrative (B), it was owing to Saul's jealousy that D. was removed from the position of armour-bearer to that of captain of a thousand (18^{13}), and when the time came for his promised marriage (cf. 17^{25}), Merab the elder daughter was given to Adriel of Meholah. Our account of D.'s marriage with Michal seems to be derived from the other source, but the obscure words at the end of v.^{21} are perhaps a fragment of the second narrative. Saul's ill-will towards his former favourite increased so greatly that he purposed to put him to death. Jonathan, however, pleaded to his father D.'s good deeds, and especially his victory over the Philistine (Goliath); and on Saul's relenting he brought D. out of his hiding-place in the field, and presented him to his father (19^{1-7}). The reconciliation, however, was of no long duration, for, shortly *after* Jonathan's appeal, Saul, in a fit of madness, cast his spear at D. as he played on the harp before him. D. fled to his house, but that night (19^{11} LXX) Saul sent messengers to watch the house, and, while respecting his sleeping enemy in accordance with Oriental custom, he ordered them to kill him in the morning. D. was saved by the faithful Michal, who lowered him through the window, while she placed in his bed the *teraphim* or household image, and covered it with the bed-clothes. Next morning the messengers brought word that D. was ill; but, when charged to bring him in the bed, the fraud was discovered, and Michal had to plead in self-defence that D. had threatened her life if she hindered his escape. With regard to this series of narratives it may be pointed out that the similarities between portions of 19^{1-7} and ch. 20 suggest, though they do not prove, that we have before us two different versions of the same event, while the reference to the victory over Goliath connects the former passage with ch. 17. Further, the difference of phraseology in $18^{10f.}$ $19^{9f.}$ (cf. also 20^{33}) favours the view that these verses are the work of independent writers, rather than that the former passage has merely been borrowed from the latter after the time of the LXX.

For the rest of Saul's reign D. was an exile from his home, and an outlaw (1 S 21–31). Some incidents during this period of his life are described with minute and graphic touches, which bear the evident stamp of genuineness; in other cases the accuracy of the narrative is more doubtful. The analysis of these chapters does not present many difficulties, and more than once the existence of double versions of the same story can hardly be doubted. It is only natural that many stories of D.'s adventures should have been current among the people long before they were written down; and many a place in the wilds of Judah would doubtless claim to be the site of some memorable event in the outlaw life of the great national hero; while from ch. 30^{26-31} it is clear that we possess but a fragmentary account of his many wanderings. According to the present Book of Samuel, D., after escaping from Saul's messengers, fled first to Ramah, where he took refuge with Samuel at a prophetic school. Thrice Saul sent messengers to capture him (cf. 2 K 1), but each time the men were overcome by the sacred minstrelsy of the prophets; and when Saul came in person, he too was filled with prophetic frenzy, and stripping off his clothes lay naked all the night (19^{18-24}). Grave doubts, however, have been raised against this narrative. For a Judæan like D., flight southwards was more natural from Gibeah than northwards to Ramah; the connexion between Samuel and the prophets is not that presented by the older history of Saul and Samuel, where indeed there is another explanation given of the proverb 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' ($10^{11f.}$); while the present narrative can hardly be by the author of ch. 15, who implies (v.^{35}) that Saul and Samuel did not meet again. The conception of the prophetic school as here described is probably later than the time of D.; and we must regard it as at least doubtful whether D. had any dealings with Samuel.

If we reject this narrative as of later origin, the first place visited by D. in his flight will be the priestly city of Nob, which lay south of Gibeah and due north of Jerusalem. To Ahimelech, the head of the priests of Eli's family, he alleged that he was bound on urgent business for the king, and accordingly obtained through him, as on previous occasions (22^{15}), an answer from the oracle. The

only provisions which the priest could offer was the sacred shewbread, removed that day from the sanctuary; and this David accepted, stating that he and his companions were ceremonially clean. Ahimelech is said also to have given to D. the sword of Goliath, which was kept wrapped in a cloth behind the EPHOD. This visit to Nob was followed by important consequences. Shortly afterwards, while Saul was holding court under the tamarisk in Gibeah, he complained to his Benjamite followers of their ingratitude in taking part against him with his own son and David. Hereupon the Edomite Doeg, the chief herdman of Saul, or rather 'the mightiest of his runners' (21^{7}, so Grätz, Driver), declared that he had seen D. at Nob, where Ahimelech had consulted the oracle on his behalf, and supplied him with food and weapons. Saul at once suspected that the priest also was party to a conspiracy against him, and perhaps that he had been consulting the oracle as to its success. He summoned to his presence Ahimelech and the priests of his family, and, refusing to accept their denial of any knowledge of a conspiracy, ordered his guards to put them to death. The guards hesitated, but Doeg carried out the king's orders. Eighty-five priests were slain, and the city of Nob completely destroyed. Only one member of Eli's family escaped the massacre, Abiathar, a son of Ahimelech, who fled to D., probably to Adullam; and the latter, feeling that the disaster was in some measure due to himself, promised the fugitive his protection. According to Budde, we have underlying 1 S 21^{1-9} 22^{6-23} two versions of D.'s visit to Nob, and the denunciation of Doeg : notice that $22^{10.\ 15}$ imply that Ahimelech consulted the oracle for David, whereas nothing is said of this in 21^{1-9}. Budde connects the earlier passage with B, the second with A, and regards the allusions to Goliath's sword in $22^{10.\ 13}$ as added to connect the two narratives. Others (Wellh., Kuenen, Stade) ascribe both chapters to the same writer, and reject $21^{8.\ 9}$ (Heb. $^{9.\ 10}$) 22^{10b} as later glosses. In any case, these verses presuppose the account of D. and Goliath in ch. 17.

Our present narrative represents D. as fleeing from Nob to Gath. Here, it is said, at the court of Achish, he was recognized as the Isr. warrior, and 'king of the land'; in consequence he feigned madness, drumming (v.^{13} LXX) on the doors, and letting the spittle fall on his beard, so that at the command of Achish he was driven away (21^{10-15}). It is doubtful, however, whether D. would really have taken refuge among the Philistines at such an early period of his wanderings; and when he appears at Gath at a later time, no hint is given of this earlier visit. Probably we have here again a 'doublet,' and our narrative represents a popular legend, the product of a desire to represent in a more patriotic light D.'s residence among the Philistines. Far more reliable is the account in $22^{1ff.}$, according to which D. fled (from Nob) to the cave, or stronghold (so Wellh., Stade, Budde; cf. v.^{4}), of Adullam. This place must be looked for, not, according to a tradition dating from the 12th cent. A.D., on the south of Bethlehem in the *Wady Khareitun*, but in the Shephêlah west of Hebron (cf. Gn 38^{1}, Jos 15^{35}; and see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 229 f.). Here the wild character of the country afforded him a hiding-place; he was among his own tribesmen, and on the extremity of Judah Saul's authority was weakest. The brothers and kinsmen of D., who had to fear Saul's vengeance, gathered round him, together with distressed debtors and discontented men of every class, so that D. soon found himself the leader of a band of some 400 men. Of these, several doubtless were not of Israelitish origin (cf. 1 S 26^{6} and perhaps 2 S $23^{37.\ 39}$); according to 1 Ch 12^{8-18} certain valiant Gadites and men of Judah and Benjamin joined him here, and not long afterwards (1 S 23^{13}) D.'s followers are reckoned at 600. His parents he placed under the protection of the king of Moab, a step which may perhaps be explained by reference to the Book of Ruth, where D.'s descent is traced from Ruth the Moabitess. According to 22^{5}, a verse of which the connexion is somewhat obscure, D., at the advice of the prophet Gad, removed from his stronghold to the forest of Hareth; but he is certainly again in the Shephêlah when we next hear of him. News came to D. that the Philistines were raiding Keilah, doubtless a frontier town west of Hebron, and perhaps south of Adullam. An opportunity now offered itself to him of at once assisting his countrymen and making a fresh name as a warrior. Having inquired of the priestly ephod, which Abiathar had brought from Nob, and received a favourable answer, D. marched down with his band, and drove away the Philistines from Keilah. To Saul it seemed that the time for capturing his enemy had now come. He summoned his army in order to besiege Keilah; but D., learning from the oracle that the inhabitants would save themselves by delivering over him and his men to Saul, escaped betimes, and Saul abandoned his expedition.

D. is next found in the wild and partially desert country to the south of Judah, or in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. The wilderness of Ziph and of Maon are especially connected with his wanderings. Here doubtless D. was welcome, and probably he was able to protect the inhabitants from the inroads of wild nomad tribes living farther to the south and east.

At this point the double narrative reappears, as is specially noticeable in the case of the two accounts of D. sparing Saul's life. That ch. 26 refers to a second occasion, although no reference is there made to a former proof of D.'s generosity, seems antecedently improbable; and this impression is confirmed on comparing the two narratives. Each is introduced by an offer of the Ziphites to betray D.'s hiding-place to Saul (23^{19} 26^{1}); each ends with a confession of D.'s noble conduct placed in the mouth of Saul; and a careful comparison of the language (see Kuenen, Budde) shows either literary dependence of one upon the other, or the dependence of both on some common tradition. Owing to the occurrence in ch. 26 of certain antique conceptions (esp. v.^{19}), it has commonly been supposed that this is the earlier chapter (so Kuenen, Wellh., Stade, Driver); Budde, on the other hand (so Cheyne), shows good reason for connecting ch. 24 with the A narratives, in which case it belongs to the earlier document, while the archaic colouring of ch. 26 may be due to the fact that it has undergone less editorial revision than the earlier chapter (see esp. $24^{20f.}$). Budde further argues from the scene of ch. 25 (Maon v.^{2} LXX^{1}, cf. $23^{24ff.}$) that this chapter came originally between chs. 23 and 24, probably having been transposed in order to separate the doublets, chs. 24 and 26. There are other traces of editorial revision in ch. 23, especially in the somewhat exaggerated language of v.$^{14f.}$, and the redundant description of D.'s haunts (*ib.*) is probably the result of conflation. Many regard the covenant of the two friends (vv.$^{16-18}$) as a mere doublet of 20^{11-23}; like that passage, the verses suggest the objection that Jonathan could hardly have thus definitely regarded D. as his father's successor. However this may be, the narrative proceeds smoothly after the account of Jonathan's visit, when the transposition above mentioned has been made.

While D. was hiding in the hill of Hachilah and the neighbouring desert, the Ziphites sent word of his haunts to Saul, and at the king's request began to watch his movements, while an army was being collected. D. meanwhile withdrew southwards to the wilderness of Maon, on the edge of the Arabah, whither he was pursued by Saul. At one time, we are told, a single rocky ridge separated the two forces; but while D. was endeavouring to make good his escape before his band was completely surrounded, Saul was unexpectedly recalled to repel a sudden raid of the Philistines. Popular tradition pointed out the cliff known as *Sela-hammaḥlĕḳôth* (*i.e.* prob. 'Rock of Divisions') as the scene of this narrow escape (23^{19-29}).

One of the most detailed and most reliable accounts which we possess of the whole period of D.'s wanderings relates to the time when he was

still in the region of Maon. Here dwelt a wealthy landowner named Nabal, belonging to the Calebites, a tribe closely connected with that of Judah, though originally distinct from it. His large flocks were pastured on Carmel, S.E. of Hebron; and not only were they unmolested by D.'s men, but the latter had served to protect them from the attacks of nomad tribes. Hearing that Nabal was shearing his sheep, D. sent ten men with a courteous request for a present for his band, but was met with a churlish refusal. In wrath D. at once commanded his men to arm; and while a third of the company was left in charge of the baggage, he marched with the rest to avenge the insult received from Nabal. Fortunately Abigail, Nabal's beautiful and prudent wife, had been warned by a servant of her husband's unseemly conduct. She immediately caused a large supply of provisions to be prepared, and without informing her husband rode to meet D. with her present. She met the armed band coming down the mountain side, and throwing herself at D.'s feet begged him to accept the gift, and to pay no heed to her husband's insults, while she expressed a hope that in time to come no remembrance of blood needlessly shed might rise up to trouble his mind. Her discretion and her pleadings were not lost on D.; he accepted the present from her hand, and abandoned his purpose of vengeance and bloodshed. When Abigail returned home, she found her husband drunk at a shearing feast, but next morning she told him of the danger which he had just escaped. Fear and vexation caused a shock, of which he died ten days later; and D., who felt that now J" had indeed defended his cause, took Abigail to wife. He thus established a powerful family connexion with the south of Judah, and he further increased his influence by marriage with Ahinoam of the southern Jezreel (cf. Jos 15^{56}). At the same time his first wife, Michal, was given by Saul to Paltiel, the son of Laish, of Gallim (1 S 25).

It seems to have been after this, according to the original history of A, that David removed to the desert tract west of the Dead Sea, and made his abode in Engedi, whither he was followed by Saul, after the retreat of the Philistines. We are told that on one occasion Saul entered a large cave for a necessary purpose, at a time when D. and his men were hidden in the recesses of the cave. Though urged by his followers to slay his pursuer, D. refused to harm the 'Anointed of J",' and contented himself with cutting off a corner of the long robe which lay spread out before and behind the owner. D. followed Saul as he left the cave, and, holding out the portion of his robe, showed the king how he had been at the mercy of the man whom he was so relentlessly pursuing; and he begged him no longer to listen to those who charged D. with conspiring against him. Saul was touched at this generosity; and in language which clearly reflects the thoughts of a historian of a later time, he is made to openly acknowledge his rival's superiority, and to recognize him as the future king of Israel (1 S 24). The other version of this story (ch. 26), which, though coming from a later document, has preserved many original features lost in ch. 24, places D. in the hill of Hachilah, and attributes his pursuit hither by Saul to the information of the Ziphites. One night Saul encamped in a deep valley surrounded by steep cliffs; but the place being discovered by D.'s spies, D., accompanied by Abishai, descended from the hills, and entered unobserved into the laager where Saul lay sleeping. Refusing to allow Abishai to smite a sleeping enemy, he bade him carry away Saul's spear and water-cruse; and when they had again climbed the hill above the camp, D. shouted aloud, and thus aroused first Abner, whom he blamed severely for his careless watch, and then Saul himself. To Saul, who recognized his voice, D. made a passionate appeal: 'Why did the king continually pursue him? if J" had stirred him up to do so, might he be propitiated with an offering: or were men seeking to drive D. out of J"'s land?' The king confessed that he had sinned, and promised to do D. no more harm, and the two parted their several ways.

Whatever be the exact details of this meeting, it is clear that D. felt himself no longer safe in Judah, and as a last resort he passed over to the national enemy, and took refuge with his family and his followers at the court of Achish, son of Maoch, king of Gath. A tried warrior at the head of 600 men, he was readily welcomed; but, not liking to dwell in the capital, he asked for a settlement of his own, and received the southern town of Ziklag, where he established himself as the vassal of his protector. It was now necessary for David to devise some means of ensuring the confidence of his master without injuring or estranging his own people. Accordingly, he made a succession of raids upon the Amalekites, Girzites, and other desert tribes living between Egypt and the south of Palestine. By putting to death all who fell into his hands, D. was able to represent to Achish that his frays were directed against Judah, and against the allied tribes of the Kenites and Jerahmeelites (1 S 27). He had been living at Ziklag some 16 months (v.^{7}), when the Philistines prepared for a decisive struggle against Israel. Achish called upon his vassal to accompany him to the war, and D. with professions of fidelity responded to the call. He had now placed himself in a false and dangerous position. Even if he were willing to aid the Philistines against his fellow-countrymen, success in the war would have effectually prevented him from becoming the accepted leader of Israel. Fortunately, the other Phil. leaders were less ready than Achish to trust him. When D. and his troops appeared in the rearguard with Achish at Aphek, as the Philistine hosts were mustering, the princes protested against the presence of the famed Israelitish leader, and urged that treachery to them in battle would be the surest way to a reconciliation with the king of Israel. Achish was therefore reluctantly compelled to bid D. depart, and next morning he turned homewards with his men (chs. $28^{1f.}$ 29). Two days later they reached Ziklag, to find that a sudden raid of the Amalekites had laid the town in ruins and carried the inhabitants captive. D. was the first to recover his composure, and, encouraged by an answer from J" given through the ephod of Abiathar, he started to pursue the foe. At the brook Besor, probably the *Wady Esheria* south of Gaza, 200 of his men were compelled to remain, overcome by fatigue. The pursuit, however, was continued, and an Egyp. slave, who was found half dead in the way, offered in return for a promise of life and liberty to guide D. to the enemy's encampment. The Amalekites were surprised at dusk while feasting, and few of the men escaped. All the captives were recovered, and a large booty was taken. On the return to the brook Besor, a dispute arose as to the right of the men who had been left there to share in the spoil. D., however, decided in their favour, and thus established the principle that those who fought and those who guarded the baggage should share alike. Of the rich spoil D. had a further use to make, for he sent costly presents to the elders of Hebron and other towns in the south of Judah, where he had been accustomed to find shelter during his earlier outlaw life (ch. 30). In this way he secured friends whose assistance was soon to be of the highest importance to him. It would seem, indeed, that these presents were sent *after* the

battle of Gilboa, for it was only two days after his return to Ziklag that D. heard of the defeat of Israel and the death of Saul and his three eldest sons. The tidings were brought by a young Amalekite, who is said to have presented to D. the royal crown and bracelet; but the account given by him of the death of Saul (2 S 1^{1-10}) cannot be reconciled with the more reliable narrative in 1 S 31. The messenger was rewarded for his tidings by being at once put to death (2 S 1^{13-16}, cf. 4^{10}); the defeat of Israel was commemorated with mourning and fasting, while D. himself expressed in a beautiful ode his grief for Saul and Jonathan. Of both he speaks in tones of warmest respect and affection; his love for Jonathan is expressed in a burst of passionate feeling; but it is noticeable that no religious thoughts are contained in the poem. Its genuineness is not unquestioned, but its Davidic authorship is accepted by Kuenen, Wellh., Stade, Budde, Cheyne, Driver, and others.

The opportunity had at last arrived for D. to return to his native country. After inquiring of J", he removed to Hebron, the ancient sacred city of Judah, accompanied by his family and his followers with their households. His presents had already gained him the goodwill of the Judæan elders; a renowned warrior of their own tribe was more likely to defend their interests than a younger descendant of the house of Saul; and D. was forthwith anointed king in Hebron (2 S 2^{1-4}). We hear of no opposition on the part of the Philistines. D. still retained Ziklag (1 S 27^{6}), and doubtless continued to be a Philistine vassal. A division of the Isr. kingdom was conducive to the Philistine supremacy. According to the Chronicler, he had received accessions to his forces, outside his own tribe, while still at Ziklag; twenty-two men are named of Saul's tribe (1 Ch 12^{1-7}), while of the tribe of Manasseh several chiefs are said to have deserted to D., when he came with the Phil. army against Saul, and to have assisted him against the Amalekites (*ib.* vv.$^{19-22}$). The Chronicler, indeed, makes no direct mention of the reign of Eshbaal (Ishbosheth), or of the division of the kingdom, but in reality there were still several years of fighting and waiting before D. was recognized as king over all Israel.

D.'s first public act was at once generous and politic. He sent messengers to the men of Jabesh-gilead, and thanked them for their loyal and courageous conduct in rescuing the bodies of Saul and his sons. But the adherents of the house of Saul still remained true to the family. The natural heir to the throne was the only surviving legitimate son of the late king, Ishbosheth, or rather Eshbaal (1 Ch 8^{33}), who was perhaps still under age; for the later gloss in 2 S 2^{10} is certainly incorrect. His kinsman Abner, Saul's powerful general, retired with him across the Jordan to the ancient city of Mahanaim, and there made Eshbaal king. His dominions extended over Gilead and Geshur (Vulg. and Syr.), and on the west of Jordan over Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin; but Abner was the real ruler and the support of the dynasty, and perhaps he, too, was compelled to recognize the over-lordship of the Philistines (so Kamphausen). Regarding the seven years during which D. reigned at Hebron we have but the scantiest information. He seems to have acted on the defensive, and probably felt that his cause would gain by waiting. Possibly, it was only by degrees that Abner extended his authority, so that some time elapsed before the rival forces were brought into collision. Only of one engagement is any account given; Joab's followers were victorious, but in the flight Abner killed Asahel, Joab's youngest brother. The cause of Eshbaal was declining even before he alienated his protector Abner, whom he reproached for taking one of his father's concubines. In anger Abner entered into communication with D., offering to bring over the whole kingdom into his hands. The only condition made by D. was the restoration of his wife Michal, through whom he doubtless hoped to support his claim as Saul's successor. Michal was sent back by Eshbaal's orders, and Abner conferred with the elders of the various tribes, who had already begun to recognize the inability of the house of Saul to defend them against their foes, and to look to D. as the one hope of the nation. Abner then visited Hebron, where he was entertained by D.; but on his departure he was murdered by Joab, in revenge for his brother Asahel. D. already began to find his loyal but unscrupulous nephew too strong for him. He could only express his abhorrence of the murder, which was indeed likely to alienate the supporters of Saul's house, and cause Abner to be honourably buried in Hebron, while he himself composed the funeral dirge—conduct which further increased the king's popularity (2 S 3). The death of Abner could not long delay the fall of Eshbaal; two Benjamite captains shortly afterwards murdered him during his mid-day sleep, and brought his head to D. in Hebron. The king commanded the instant execution of the murderers, while Eshbaal's head was buried in the tomb of Abner (ch. 4). D., who had formerly led Israel to victory against the Philistines, was now recognized as the natural leader of the people; the elders of the nation assembled at Hebron, a solemn league was made, and D. anointed king over the whole of Israel. He is said to have been at this time 37 years of age (2 S 5^{1-5}). The Chronicler gives an account of the bodies of men sent by the different tribes to make D. king, and of the three days' feast which they kept at Hebron (1 Ch 12^{23-40}); but the language used is that of a later time, the numbers given are in most cases certainly too large, while the position assigned to the contingent of priests and Levites does not increase our confidence in the narrative.

Except for the important record of events in D.'s family, our accounts of his reign are fragmentary and incomplete; our history is not arranged in a strictly chronological manner, and the time and order of events must be to some extent a matter of conjecture. In spite of the present arrangement of 2 S 5, there can be little doubt that the Phil. wars were the first important events after D.'s recognition by the whole nation. The task imposed upon him by his election as king was that of freeing his country from Phil. domination. It was no longer possible for him to continue a vassal to a foreign power, nor were the Philistines likely to acquiesce, when without their consent he assumed sovereignty over all Israel. When, therefore, 'the Phil. heard that they had anointed D. king over Israel' (2 S 5^{17}), they at once invaded the country. D. seems to have been unprepared, and was compelled 'to go down to the hold,' *i.e.* probably the old stronghold of Adullam, of such importance during his outlaw life, while the Philistines penetrated to the heart of the country and occupied Bethlehem and the Valley of Rephaim, probably between Bethlehem and Jerusalem (2 S 23^{13L}; so Stade, and Kittel who places the valley of Rephaim north of Jerusalem). Of the duration and progress of the war we have no certain information, but some detached notices of it have been preserved. It was while the Philistines had a garrison in Bethlehem that the three 'mighty men' forced their way to the well by the gate, to bring D. a draught of water for which he had expressed a wish; but the gift obtained at such a risk was too precious to drink, and D. poured out the water as an offering to J" (2 S 23^{13-17}). Other incidents of the

war are recorded in 2 S 21[15-22]. At Gob D. was nearly slain in combat with a giant, but rescued by Abishai, and in consequence D.'s men declared that he should no longer risk his life in battle. On another occasion Elhanan of Bethlehem slew Goliath of Gath, and other feats of D.'s heroes are recorded (2 S 23[8-12]). A decisive battle was fought at Baal-perazim, where D., encouraged by an oracle, attacked his enemies, and dispersed them 'like a breach of waters,' and the images of the enemy were carried off as booty (2 S 5[18-21], cf. Is 28[21]). Another decisive engagement took place in the valley of Rephaim. D. on inquiring of J" was bidden not to make a direct attack, *i.e.* from the south, but to take the enemy in the rear, and attack them when a rustling noise was heard in the *Baca* trees. He was again completely successful, and the Philistines were defeated from Gibeon to Gezer (1 Ch 14[13-17], 2 S 5[22-25]). Following up his victories, D. destroyed the Philistine supremacy, taking from them, as is said, 'the bridle of the mother city' (2 S 8[1]). The importance of these victories must have been far greater than the scanty notices of them would at first suggest.

The nation was now freed from external oppression: the next task was to weld it into one whole. A great step towards this end was the capture of Jebus, and the creation of a new capital. A Can. tribe still unsubdued occupied the district between Judah and Benjamin, settled round the city of Jebus, from which they derived their name. The strong fortress of Zion, standing on the eastern ridge between the Kidron and the so-called Tyropœan valley, protected their city (see JERUSALEM). Situated as it was in the centre of the land, and commanding the principal lines of communication between north and south, and between east and west, it was admirably suited for a capital; and here D. marched with his forces. The inhabitants, trusting in their strong walls, derisively declared that 'the blind and lame' would be sufficient to defend them. Nevertheless, the place was taken by storm (2 S 5[6-10]). According to 1 Ch 11[6] Joab was the first to scale the walls, and received in reward the post of commander-in-chief. The city was newly fortified, and here D. removed with his family and court. The importance of this step can hardly be overestimated. Gibeah of Saul and Hebron were merely tribal capitals; Jerus. stood on neutral ground, and was the capital of the whole nation, while, bordering alike on Judah and Benjamin, it would be regarded with favour by the king's own tribe and by that of his predecessor. The choice of the site is a signal proof of D.'s genius and statesmanship. Here gathered now inhabitants from all Israel, but mainly, no doubt, from Judah and Benjamin, while, to judge from the case of Araunah (2 S 24[18-25]), the original Jebusite population was allowed to retain its former possessions. The effects of the capture of Jerus. were felt beyond the borders of Israel. Hiram, king of Tyre, entered into friendly relations with D., and supplied him with builders and material for a palace in his new capital. In true Oriental fashion D. marked the fresh increase of his power by increasing his harem. While still in Hebron he had married four more wives, and had already six sons: Amnon the firstborn, the son of Ahinoam of Jezreel; Chileab the son of the prudent Abigail; Absalom the son of Maacah, daughter of Talmai, the Aramæan king of Geshur; Adonijah the son of Haggith; Shephatiah the son of Abital; and Ithream the son of Eglah (2 S 3[2-5]; cf. 1 Ch 3[1-3], where Daniel is put for Chileab). Michal, who had been restored to David, unfortunately bore no children; otherwise the grandson of Saul would have been the natural heir to the throne, and the subsequent disputes with regard to the succession would have been avoided. On removing to Jerusalem D. took fresh wives and concubines from this place, and the names of several more sons are recorded (2 S 5[13-16], 1 Ch 3[5-9] 14[3-7]; on variations in the three lists, cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.*). We must not judge D. herein from a modern Western standpoint. In the East a man's wealth and power are to a great extent measured by the number of his wives and the size of his family; and by politic alliances, as, for example, with the daughter of the king of Geshur, D. increased his influence at home and abroad. At the same time he introduced into his capital the source of many of the dangers and corruptions of an Oriental court, and the evil was increased by the weak affection with which D. treated his favourite sons.

The next measure was to make the political capital also the religious centre of the nation; and for this purpose D. resolved to bring up to Jerus. the old sacred ark, which had for many years been left at Kiriath-jearim (1 S 7[1]), or Baal-judah (2 S 6[2]; cf. Jos 15[9. 60], 1 Ch 13[6]). Thither D. went with a large number of Israelites; the ark was drawn in a new cart, accompanied by two of its attendants, Uzzah and Ahio; while D. and his subjects marched behind to the strains of festal music. But at Nacon's threshing-floor, probably not far from Jerus., Uzzah, while attempting to steady the ark, suddenly fell dead. Dismayed at this occurrence, D. was afraid to have so dangerous a symbol near him, and the ark was placed in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite, probably one of David's Philistine mercenaries. Three months later, however, on hearing that the ark had brought blessing upon this house, D. took courage to carry out his original design. This time the ark was safely carried in triumph into the 'city of David,' while the king himself, wearing a priestly linen ephod, danced in the procession before it. A tent had already been prepared for its reception in the citadel; here solemn sacrifices were offered, after which the people were dismissed with the king's blessing and gifts of food. When D. returned to his house, he had to meet the scoffs of Michal, who taunted him with his undignified appearance in the procession that day; but the king with true dignity expressed his readiness to dance before J", who had chosen him above the house of Saul. To this irreverence of Michal's was attributed the fact that she remained childless: but she had at this time been married some fifteen or twenty years.

It is instructive to compare with the narrative of 2 S 6 the account given by the Chronicler of the bringing of the ark to Jerus. (1 Ch 13. 15. 16). The old history is largely rewritten to bring it into accordance with later ideas and institutions. An important place in the ceremonial is assigned to the priests and Levites, who in the older version are conspicuous by their absence: Obed-edom of Gath becomes a Levitical musician and doorkeeper.

The contrast between the simple tent for the ark and his own palace suggested to D. the need of building some more permanent temple; but the king's adviser, the prophet Nathan, who had at first approved of the design, subsequently induced D. to abandon it. Possibly, both prophet and people feared the effects of innovations in religious matters. Nathan's message to D. is contained in 2 S 7, a chapter which in its present form shows the influence of Deut., but is in the main of somewhat earlier date (see Budde). There we are told how Nathan, the night after his approval of D.'s design, received from God a message for the king: Never yet had J" required a temple of the judges of His people; tent and tabernacle had been sufficient hitherto. D. should not build a house for Him; He would build a house (*i.e.* a line of descendants) for D.; and though D.'s seed might need to be chastised, God's mercy should not depart

from them, (v.[13], which speaks of D.'s successor, who was to build a temple for J", seems not to belong to the original form of the chapter; it weakens the antithesis of vv.[12] and [14]). This message is followed by a beautiful prayer, in which D. thanks God for all His goodness to himself and his people.

It was probably soon after his settlement in Jerus. that D., in remembrance of his covenant with Jonathan, inquired whether there remained yet any survivors of Saul's house, whom he might benefit for the sake of his friend. He was told that there was still a son of Jonathan, and at D.'s orders Mephibosheth or Meribaal (1 Ch 8^{34} 9^{40}) was brought from the house of Machir at Lo-debar; the property of Saul, apparently confiscated, was restored to him, and given to Ziba, a former servant of Saul's family, who was to till the ground for his master, while Meribaal dwelt at Jerus., where his conduct would be under the royal supervision, and ate at the king's table. Meribaal was lame, having been dropped by his nurse as she fled on hearing of the Israelite defeat at Mt. Gilboa. He was then five years old; now he is described as having a young son, an indication that these events took place some ten years after D. became king over all Israel. With other descendants of Saul, however, D. was compelled shortly afterwards to deal in a different manner. The land was afflicted with drought, and consequent famine, for three years, and D., on inquiring of the sacred oracle, was told that a curse of blood rested upon the land, because of an attempt made by Saul to exterminate the Gibeonites, an Amorite tribe bound by a covenant to Israel. The only compensation which the Gibeonites would accept was that seven of Saul's sons should be put to death; and D. delivered to them the two sons of Saul's concubine Rizpah, and five sons of his daughter Merab (MT wrongly Michal). These were accordingly hanged to J" in the sacred hill of Gibeon (cf. Driver, *Text of Sam.*), while the corpses were lovingly watched by the devoted Rizpah, till the first rains showed that the atonement was accepted. Then D., in recognition of the mother's devotion, gave orders for the burial of the corpses; and the bones, as well as those of Saul and Jonathan, were interred in the ancestral sepulchre of Kish (2 S $21^{1\text{-}14}$). This occurrence must be placed after the recognition of Meribaal (v.[7]), but before the rebellion of Absalom (2 S 16^{8}). We have no right to blame D.'s action in this matter; he acted in accordance with the religious beliefs of his time, and with what he conceived to be the best interests of the nation; and, in spite of Shimei's reproaches, we may believe that D.'s contemporaries regarded the matter in the same light as himself.

Under D. the kingdom was more completely organized than it had been under his predecessor, and the administration was intrusted to royal officers (2 S $8^{16\text{-}18}$, $20^{23\text{-}26}$). Foremost of these was Joab the son of Zeruiah, D.'s nephew, who was commander-in-chief of the whole army; the scribe or chancellor, to whom belonged the control of all official documents, was Shisha (1 K 4^{3}; corrupt readings in 2 S 8^{17} 20^{25}, 1 Ch 18^{16}); the state historian or chronicler (*mazkîr*, *i.e.* remembrancer), Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud; Adoram controlled the levy, *i.e.* the forced service exacted by the king from his subjects; at the head of the priesthood, beside Abiathar, the representative of the house of Eli, stood Zadok, the ancestor of the later priestly house, but of his origin or appointment no authentic information is preserved; Ira, a Manassite of the family of Jair, was another priest, and D.'s sons also performed priestly duties. Traces of a royal council are to be found in allusions to Ahithophel, D.'s counsellor (2 S 15^{12}), and to Hushai, D.'s friend (*ib.* v.[37], cf. 1 K 4^{5}). A very important institution was that of the royal bodyguard, taking the place of the 'runners' of Saul (1 S 22^{17}). The nucleus of it was doubtless David's old band, which had accompanied him during his wanderings and his residence at Ziklag. The technical name of this force was the *Gibborim*, heroes or mighty men; and their numbers were probably kept at the traditional 600. They were now largely recruited from foreigners, especially Philistines and Cherethites, a people of the south of Palestine (1 S 30^{14}, Zeph 2^{5}), perhaps originally connected with Crete; hence the guards were commonly called the **Cherethites and Pelethites** (wh. see). That these were the same body as the Gibborim appears from 1 K $1^{8.\,10.\,38}$: the text of 2 S 15^{18} is too uncertain to form an argument to the contrary. The whole corps was under the command of Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. Included in or distinct from this guard, was a select body of *Thirty* distinguished for special valour, over whom was Abishai, the brother of Joab; while *Three* warriors are named as ranking even higher than Abishai and Benaiah (2 S $23^{8\text{-}39}$, and cf. Driver, *ad loc.*). This guard of experienced soldiers formed the only standing army in the kingdom; and being stationed in the capital (cf. 2 S $11^{8\text{ff.}}$, Neh 3^{16}) they became a powerful support to the king's authority, and ensured the discharge of his orders. As will appear later, they played an important part at the accession of Solomon.

For war on a large scale the army still consisted of the whole male population of military age, who were summoned to arms in time of danger. The force seems to have consisted wholly of infantry, except for a few chariots and horses retained after the defeat of Hadadezer (2 S 8^{4}). But when D.'s wars of foreign conquest began to involve protracted campaigns, and long absence from home, some new system became desirable. It was perhaps partly to meet these requirements that D. instituted the **census**, which was carried out evidently after the completion of the Syrian wars, for his officers travelled as far north as the Hittite city of Kadesh (2 S 24^{6}, LXX. Luc.). The military aspect of this measure is clear from its being intrusted to Joab and the captains of the host (v.[4], 1 Ch 21^{2}); but the census may have been also intended as a basis for a regular system of fixed taxation, to meet the needs of an organized government. The measure was regarded with suspicion, perhaps as involving an undue increase of royal authority, and even Joab protested against it; nevertheless, he carried out his task in 9 months and 20 days. A severe pestilence, which visited the land immediately afterwards, was regarded by D. and the people as a sign of the divine displeasure. We are told that the prophet Gad offered D. the choice of three punishments—three years' famine (LXX, 1 Ch), three months' flight before his enemies, or three days' pestilence; and that the king chose the last, preferring to fall into the hand of God rather than of man. But when the destroying angel reached Jerus., he was bidden, in consequence of D.'s penitence, to stay his hand; and D., at Gad's bidding, bought the threshing-floor of Araunah or Ornan (Ch) the Jebusite, and offered there a sacrifice, whereby he obtained from God mercy for the land (2 S 24). The place of sacrifice became afterwards the site of Solomon's temple (2 Ch 3^{1}). The narrative shows that we must not expect to find for D.'s reign careful records of the numbers and divisions of the people. Yet such statistics are presupposed by the Chronicler, who in his account of David's armies and officers (1 Ch 23–27) describes a far more numerous and elaborately organized body of religious and

civil and military officials than is likely to have existed in the time of David. Fragments of old records may be incorporated in his work (*e.g.* 1 Ch 27^{25-31}); but the older history shows no trace of the thousands of Levites, or of the bodies of 24,000 men continually under arms (1 Ch 27^{1-15}) of which the later historian speaks.

Of most of D.'s wars we possess but a short summary in 2 S 8; the Ammonite war, on account of its connexion with Bathsheba's history, is related at length. The complete victory over the Philistines (8^{1}) has been already named. For some unexplained reason D. made war on Moab, where his parents had formerly taken refuge, and, on conquering the country, treated it with great severity, putting to death two-thirds of the prisoners. The exploits of Benaiah (2 S 23^{20}) may be referred to this campaign. Moab now became tributary. The next war was provoked by the neighbouring Ammonites. Their king, Nahash, Saul's enemy (1 S 11), had shown himself friendly to D., and on his death D. sent an embassy of condolence to his successor Hanun. But Hanun, suspicious of D.'s intentions, and perhaps alarmed by the subjugation of Moab, dismissed the messengers with gross insults. The Ammonites knew that they must now prepare for war, and sought for alliances among the small Aramæan kingdoms of Zobah, Beth-rehob, Maacah, and Tob, which were united in a common interest to check the rising power of Israel. Joab, with the Isr. army, marched out to Rabbah, the Ammonite capital, and, finding an enemy opposing him on both sides, divided his forces. With the picked troops he prepared to meet the Aramæan allies, 33,000 strong, while the rest of the army he placed under the command of his brother Abishai, to confront the Ammonites. The rout of the Syrians by Joab was the signal for the flight of the Ammonites within the walls of their capital, and thus ended the first campaign. The next year Hadadezer, king of Zobah, summoned to his assistance allies from beyond the Euphrates. The whole Aramæan force, under his general Shobach, was encamped at Helam, where D. himself, having crossed the Jordan at the head of the whole Isr. army, attacked them, and defeated them with great slaughter, Shobach being among the slain. All the chariot-horses which were captured were disabled, with the exception of sufficient for a hundred chariots. The summary (8^{5}) seems to speak of another great victory won by D., when the Syrians of Damascus came to the assistance of Hadadezer. Zobah now made peace with Israel; prefects were appointed in Damascus and elsewhere, and, in addition to numerous presents, D. brought back to Jerus. the golden shields of Hadadezer's guard, and large quantities of brass from two of his treasure cities. An alliance was made between D. and Tou (v.$^{9f.}$ LXX, 1 Ch $18^{9f.}$), king of Hamath, and Hadoram (1 Ch 18^{10}) the son of Tou was sent with presents and greetings to David. These and other treasures, including spoil taken from the Amalekites, D. is said to have dedicated to J" (2 S 8^{10}). Ammon remained unsubdued, but in a third campaign Joab besieged Rabbah, and at last succeeded in capturing the part known as 'the city of waters.' As the fall of the whole city was now assured, Joab summoned D. from Jerus., that the king himself might have the glory of the conquest. D. advanced with a fresh army, and completed the capture of Rabbah. A large amount of spoil fell into his hands, including the costly gold crown of the idol Milcom (RVm, see 2 S 12^{26-31}). The prisoners, according to the ordinary translation of 12^{31}, were tortured and treated with great cruelty. There are, however, difficulties about the rendering of the verse; a slight change of reading (הֶעֱבִיר for הֶעֱבִיר, see RVm) would give the meaning that the people were reduced to servitude (so Hoffmann, Kautzsch, Driver [doubtfully]; Stade regards the verse as corrupt). The last of D.'s foreign conquests was that of Edom, but we have only a few disconnected allusions to the war. It appears that D. gained a great victory in the Valley of Salt after his Syrian campaign (2 S $8^{13f.}$ LXX, 1 Ch $18^{11f.}$, Ps 60 title). By this conquest he obtained command of the ports on the Red Sea. Prefects were appointed throughout the country, and for six months Joab remained in Edom, to destroy the male population (1 K $11^{15f.}$).

It now remains to relate certain events in D.'s own family which troubled the later years of his reign. During the Ammonite war, D., who had remained in Jerus., committed adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of one of his officers then serving before Rabbah. In hopes of concealing his guilt he sent for Uriah; but the latter, who had perhaps heard rumours of what had taken place, refused, on the plea of military duty, to see his wife. Thereupon D. sent orders to Joab to place Uriah in a post of danger, and ensure his death. When the husband was dead, and the time of mourning past, Bathsheba was taken into the royal harem. The story was doubtless not unknown in Jerus.; the moral sense of the people found expression through Nathan the prophet, who by means of a parable boldly rebuked David; and though on the king's confessing his guilt the prophet assured him of forgiveness, he predicted the death of Bathsheba's newly-born child. (2 S 12^{10-12} are perhaps a later addition, a true comment on the subsequent history; for it has been pointed out that with the old Heb. ideas of guilt and penalty it is hardly consistent to regard the sin as forgiven [v.^{13}] while the curse remains. So Kuenen, Wellh., Stade.) In spite of all D.'s prayers and fastings, the child died; but in due time a second son was born to Bathsheba, the future king Solomon (2 S 11. 12^{1-25}).

It was probably not long afterwards that the fruit of D.'s evil example appeared. His eldest son Amnon outraged his half-sister Tamar, and when D., though greatly displeased, yet partly from partiality for his firstborn (13^{21} LXX), partly perhaps from the remembrance of his own guilt, failed to punish the offender, the duty of avenging the maiden's wrong fell to her own brother Absalom. He waited his opportunity for two years, and then caused Amnon to be murdered at a sheep-shearing feast, to which all the king's sons had been invited. Absalom fled to the court of his grandfather, the king of Geshur. D. mourned long for his firstborn, then his longings turned to the son in exile; but out of season he could show severity. For three years Absalom remained in banishment; then Joab, divining the king's secret feelings, by the instrumentality of the woman of Tekoa procured his recall. For two years longer Absalom was excluded from the court, until he compelled Joab to intercede for him; then he was brought to the king, and received a kiss of reconciliation (2 S 13. 14). After the death of Amnon, and probably also of Chileab, Absalom was the natural heir to the throne. He was now completely estranged from his father, and soon began to endeavour to supplant him. To impress the people, he assumed royal state; to gain their favour, he would stand by the gate to meet all who came to the king with their suits, and lament that he was not king to do them justice. Thus he 'stole the hearts of the men of Israel.' There is no evidence that D., who used to 'execute judgments and justice to all his people' (2 S 8^{15}), now neglected to do so. The stories of Nathan and the woman of Tekoa imply the contrary, but with the extension of the borders of Israel the number of suits may well have increased beyond the king's power to deal with them. We cannot say whether the crimes in the royal household had shaken the loyalty of the people,—in certain matters the nation at large did not show itself very sensitive to moral irregularities (2 S 16^{21-23}),—but it is probable that at Hebron the removal of the capital to Jerus. was still a grievance, and the tribesmen of Judah seem to have considered themselves not sufficiently favoured by the king. Absalom made preparations for four years (15^{7} LXX. Luc.), then under pretence of a vow he visited the old sacred city of Hebron. Here he was joined by D.'s counsellor, Ahithophel of Giloh, perhaps the grandfather of Bathsheba (cf. 2 S 11^{3} 23^{34}), and Absalom's rebellion was proclaimed by messengers throughout the country. D. was taken entirely by surprise, and resolved to withdraw at once from Jerusalem. If he escaped the first attack of the conspirators, he possessed better troops than were to be found on the other side. Delay would increase the difficulties of his opponents, and give his supporters time to rally. Leaving the palace in charge of ten concubines, he crossed the Kidron, accompanied by his household and bodyguard, amid the weeping of the whole land, and took the road by Olivet to Jordan. Many traits of D.'s character are brought out during this flight,—the devotion which he inspired in his followers, when Ittai of Gath, though but a short time in his service, refused to

leave him; his piety and confidence, when he commanded the priests to carry back the ark, trusting to J", without any outward symbol of His presence; his craft and dissimulation, when he bade Hushai ingratiate himself with Absalom, and try to frustrate his plans; his prudence, in establishing communications between himself and the capital by means of Ahimaaz and Jonathan; his impetuous hastiness in judgment, when he promised Ziba the lands of Meribaal; and at the same time his submission and forbearance, when he endured the curses of Shimei because J" had bidden him, and urged that a Benjamite had more right than his own son to seek his life (2 S 15. 16^{1-14}).

D.'s plan of meeting treachery by treachery was successful. By Ahithophel's advice, Absalom did take over his father's concubines as a token of succession to his throne; but, instead of pursuing D. at once, he accepted the counsel of Hushai, to wait till he could muster troops from the whole country. Ahithophel, who realized the artificial nature of the enthusiasm for Absalom, foresaw that this delay was fatal to the rebellion, and forthwith hanged himself. Warned by the two priests' sons, Ahimaaz and Jonathan, of the need of haste, D. and his followers crossed the Jordan in safety before daybreak. He took up his headquarters at Mahanaim, the former capital of Eshbaal, and there received support from Shobi, the son of his old protector the king of Ammon, who may now have been a vassal prince; from Machir, the guardian of Meribaal, and from a wealthy Gileadite named Barzillai (16^{15}–17). Absalom was the first to act on the offensive, and crossed the Jordan with his army. D. was prevented from going into battle by the entreaty of the people, who urged that he was worth 10,000 of them; but he publicly charged his generals, Joab, Abishai, and Ittai, to deal gently with Absalom. Joab knew that he was strong enough to disobey, and that the death of the leader would put an end to the rebellion. D.'s soldiers were victorious, and Joab himself slew Absalom as he hung in the branches of a large terebinth. D. by the gate of Mahanaim awaited anxiously the issue of the day; then he forgot all else in his passionate grief for his ungrateful son. Joab, however, roused him to put his duty as a king above his private feelings as a father, and D. returned to the gate to receive the greetings of his servants who had risked their lives for him (18–19^{8}).

Only tact and diplomacy were now required to bring about the king's return. Among the tribes of Israel a speedy revulsion of feeling took place, and they repented of their ingratitude to the king who had saved them from their enemies. But Judah still stood aloof; D. therefore sent to Zadok and Abiathar, to influence in his behalf the elders of his own tribe, and to urge them not to be behind the rest of Israel in bringing back their king. At the same time he sent a special message to Amasa, the son of his sister Abigail, whom Absalom had made commander-in-chief, and swore to give him the office now held by the self-willed Joab. The men of Judah were soon won over; and when, in response to their invitation, the king returned homewards, the tribe assembled at Gilgal on the Jordan to welcome him. Shimei came with them at the head of a thousand Benjamites, and implored D.'s pardon, which was freely granted. In spite of Abishai's remonstrance, D. would not have the day of his triumph marred by putting any man to death. To Meribaal, however, who also came to meet the king, D. gave less than justice. Meribaal charged Ziba with slandering him, and failing to provide him with an ass to follow D. in his flight; Ziba had said that his master was waiting in Jerus. in hopes of recovering his grandfather's throne. It was not easy to decide where the truth lay, and D. hastily dismissed the matter by bidding the two divide the land. The king appears in a more favourable light when he turns to reward his benefactors. He pressed the aged Barzillai, who accompanied him to Jordan, to come and live with him in Jerus.; and when Barzillai pleaded to be excused, on the ground of his great age, his son Chimham was allowed to take his place and be the recipient of the royal favours. But even before the king reached Jerus. it appeared that he had not succeeded in conciliating Judah without exciting the jealousy of the other tribes. While he had sent special messengers to his own tribesmen, he had taken no notice of the half-expressed goodwill of the rest of Israel. When therefore, at Gilgal, half the host of Israel came to escort D. home, they complained that the men of Judah had stolen him away; they had been slighted, although they had ten parts in the king, and the rights of the firstborn (2 S 19^{43} LXX). A sharp dispute arose between the two sections of the nation, and a Benjamite, Sheba the son of Bichri, gave the signal for a fresh revolt. The men of Israel followed him, renouncing all part in the son of Jesse, while the men of Judah accompanied D. to Jerusalem. It was necessary to take immediate steps against the rebels. D. therefore bade Amasa assemble the forces of Judah within three days, thus tacitly depriving Joab of the supreme command. Amasa delayed beyond the appointed time, and D. was compelled to have recourse again to his old tried general. Joab (20^{6} Pesh., MT Abishai) was bidden to take the royal bodyguard, 'the mighty men,' and pursue after Sheba. At Gibeon Amasa met him. It might have been expected how Joab would treat his rival; he took his opportunity to murder him, and then, with his troops, hastened to Abel-beth-maacah, a town in the far north of the country, where Sheba had taken refuge. To save the town the inhabitants delivered up Sheba's head, and the rebellion was at an end (19^{8}–20^{22}). From 2 S 24^{13} we may perhaps infer with Ewald that Absalom's rebellion lasted for three months.

Some years must have elapsed before the closing scene of D.'s life. The old warrior, who at the time of Absalom's rebellion was never without resource, and had to be kept back by his soldiers from the battle, is now seen in the feebleness of extreme old age, kept within the palace, where no clothing will supply warmth to his bodily frame, and he is nursed by a fair young damsel of Shunem, named Abishag. He had neglected to make any definite arrangements with regard to the succession to the throne, but his eldest surviving son was generally regarded as the heir. This was Adonijah, a young man of great beauty, who had always been indulged by his fond father. Like Absalom before him, he assumed the state appropriate to the heir-apparent. On his side were most of D.'s older supporters, including Joab and Abiathar, but another party in the palace favoured Solomon, the son of D.'s favourite wife, Bathsheba. To the latter belonged the prophet Nathan, who perhaps felt that Adonijah was not the fittest man to rule, Zadok, the younger and probably rival priest, and Benaiah the captain of the bodyguard. An obvious danger awaited the unsuccessful aspirant to the throne after D.'s death (cf. 1 K 1^{21}), and Adonijah resolved to make in good time a public declaration of his claims. He invited his supporters, including the king's sons and the royal officers of the tribe of Judah, to a feast at the sacred stone of Zoheleth, at the lower end of the Kidron Valley, and here the guests are said to have greeted Adonijah as already king. But tidings of this step were brought by

Nathan to Bathsheba, and at the prophet's advice she informed the king, and reminded him of a promise that her son should reign. By agreement Nathan came in and confirmed her words, whereupon D. repeated with an oath to Bathsheba the promise that Solomon should succeed. Then, rousing himself to act, the old king commanded Nathan, Zadok, and Benaiah to place Solomon on the royal mule, conduct him to the spring of Gihon, and solemnly proclaim him king. The support of Benaiah and the troops would make opposition useless. D.'s orders were carried out, Solomon was anointed, and a rejoicing crowd escorted the young king back to the city to set him on the royal throne. The shouts from Gihon, half-way up the Kidron Valley, had reached Adonijah at his feast, when Jonathan the son of Abiathar came in with news of Solomon's coronation. The guests fled, and Adonijah took sanctuary at the altar, but received from Solomon a promise of his life on condition of good conduct (1 K 1).

Our narrative in 1 K 2^{1-12} gives us an unpleasing picture of D.'s last days. He is represented as counselling Solomon to do good to Barzillai, but not to let Joab or Shimei die in peace. The genuineness of the narrative is much disputed. Vv.$^{2-4}$ are doubtless a later addition by a Deuteronomic editor; Wellh., Stade, Kautzsch reject the whole of vv.$^{1-9}$; but it seems more probable that vv.$^{5-9}$ formed part of the original document (so Kuenen, Budde, Kittel, Cheyne). Their historical character is another question, which can only be judged on subjective grounds. It is argued, with considerable exaggeration, that D. was too infirm to trouble about public matters, or to counsel his successor; and that another tradition gives us a religious song under the title of D.'s 'Last Words' (2 S 23^{1-7}). We must not measure the advice ascribed to D. by our own standard. A young and untried ruler like Solomon might be endangered by opponents whom D. was strong enough to spare; and the king, who had delivered up to death Saul's seven sons to atone for their father's guilt, may have feared that the curse of Shimei, or the murders of Joab, unless avenged, would bring down punishment on some other man. To us the words put into D.'s mouth do not appear seemly for a dying man, or in accordance with the noblest traits of D.'s character; it cannot be said they are impossible. Many would be glad to think that they are only due to the historian, who represented D. as the real author of some of Solomon's earliest acts, hoping to glorify the aged king, or else to clear the memory of the builder of the temple. It is easy to understand why a later historian preferred to ascribe to D. far nobler sentiments when he recorded the king's last words and his final charge to Solomon (1 Ch 28. 29).

D. is recorded to have reigned 7 years and 6 months in Hebron, and 33 years in Jerus. (2 S 2^{11} $5^{4f.}$, 1 K 2^{11}). Forty years is a conventional round number in Heb. chronology, but the figure is approximately correct. Absalom, who was born in Hebron (2 S 3^{2}), was grown up at the time of Amnon's outrage; his rebellion took place some 10 or 11 years later ($13^{23.\ 38}$ 14^{28} 15^{7}), and, as was remarked above, several years must have intervened between this and D.'s death. Again, the Philistines and Moabites had been subdued before the Ammonite war; the marriage of Bathsheba took place in the third campaign against Ammon; and Solomon, her second son by D., was of full age when he came to the throne. Since D., when he first appears before Saul, is a tried warrior, he must have died at an advanced age. According to 2 S $5^{4f.}$ he reached 70 years. He was buried in the capital, which received from him the name of the 'city of David'; and after the return from exile the sepulchres of D. were still pointed out between Siloam and the 'house of the mighty men' (Neh $3^{15f.}$; cf. Ac 2^{29}).

Later biblical writers and editors describe D. as he appeared to the Jews of their own age. To the compiler of the Books of Kings D. is a standard of piety, with whom his successors are compared; he is the king whose 'heart was perfect with J^{m}' (1 K 11^{4} etc.), 'who turned not aside save in the matter of Uriah the Hittite' (*ib.* 15^{5}). The Chronicler, from feelings easily understood, passes entirely over the darker side of D.'s life, and the troubles in his family (see esp. 1 Ch 20). He represents the pious king in his later years as absorbed in preparations for the temple; for this he has accumulated vast treasures, and he exhorts the people to give freely for the same purpose (1 Ch 22. 29). He arranges for the services of the future sanctuary, organizing the sacred choirs, and determining the courses of priests and Levites, porters and treasurers (chs. 22–26). Finally, he hands to Solomon the pattern of the temple, which has been revealed to him by God (28^{11-19}), and admonishes his son on the greatness of the sacred duty which has been laid upon him (22^{6-19} $28^{1-10.\ 20f.}$). The figures given in these chapters, as in many parts of Chronicles, are incredibly large; the arrangements described for the sacred ministers and services are those of Zerubbabel's temple, though on a grander scale. In the older records the only direct connexion between D. and the temple is that implied in his sacrifice at Araunah's threshing-floor (2 S 24^{18-25}), and possibly in his dedication of his spoils (*ib.* $8^{11f.}$). Older material may well underlie the narrative of the Chronicler or his authority; but for our general estimate of D. and his times we must rely entirely on the Books of Samuel.

Allusion has been made earlier in this article to D.'s connexion with the Psalter. Minuter study makes it more and more difficult to conceive of him as the author of some of the most spiritual products of the OT religion. This is not merely on account of D.'s sins, acknowledged and repented of, but because of his crude ideas on religious matters which appear from time to time in the old records, and because the historians attribute to him, apparently without blame, both words and acts, which from the standard of a higher religion must be emphatically condemned. D. was first introduced to Saul as a minstrel; as a deviser of musical instruments he is named in Am 6^{5}. The Lament over Saul and Jonathan, a secular song, reveals to us D.'s poetic power; as a composer of sacred poems he appears in the appendix to Samuel (2 S 22. 23^{1-7}) and in Chronicles (esp. 1 Ch 16^{7-36}). How much older this representation may be is hard to say; but it points to a tradition that D. was the father of Heb. psalmody, and it would be rash to deny the possibility that some psalms or portions of psalms of Davidic authorship are to be found in the Psalter. If such there be, we may expect to find them in the group of psalms which Ewald selected as being genuinely Davidic, viz. Ps 3. 4. 7. 8. 11. 15. 18. 19^{1-6} $24^{1-6.\ 7-10}$ 29. 32. 101, and the fragments 60^{6-9} 68^{13-18} 144^{12-14}; but probably this list requires to be considerably reduced. By the titles 73 psalms are assigned to D., the principal groups being Ps 3–41 (omitting 10. 33) and 51–70 (omitting 66. 67). In the LXX the number is somewhat larger, the title 'to David' being added to 14 more (including 93–99 Heb.), but omitted in some MSS from 3 or 4 others. The following special occasions are named in the Heb. titles:—3, when he fled from Absalom; 7, concerning the words of Cush, a Benjamite; 18, when J^{m} delivered him from his enemies and from Saul; 30, at the dedication of the House; 34, when he changed his behaviour before Abimelech; 51, after his rebuke by Nathan; 52, when Doeg denounced him to Saul; 54, when the Ziphites betrayed his hiding-place; 56, when the Philistines took him in Gath; 57, when he fled from Saul, in the cave; 59, when Saul's messengers watched the house to kill him; 60, after the defeat of Edom in the Valley of Salt; 63, in the wilderness of Judah; 142, when he was in the cave.

The character of D. has been very variously estimated, exaggerated praise naturally producing a revulsion to the opposite extreme. Undue weight has often been attached to the description of D. as 'the man after God's own heart'; but the phrase,

which occurs only in 1 S 13[14] (quoted thence in Ac 13[22]), may be seen in the original context to denote one according to God's mind or purpose, one who possesses the necessary qualities for a ruler of God's people (cf. Jer 3[15]). It has been more difficult to do justice to D. on account of the different representations, found together in the Bible, but belonging to very different dates. The picture in Chron. of a Jewish saint has led many to censure unfairly the warrior king of a rude age. But if a critical examination of our authorities compels us to reject as unhistorical some pious deeds or noble words attributed to D., on the other hand it affords a more trustworthy standard by which to measure D.'s position among his contemporaries, and removes many of the glaring inconsistencies which have occasioned difficulties to students and historians.

We may first look at the darker side of his character and its numerous limitations, which show that he did not rise entirely above the level of the barbarous age in which he lived. His foreign wars are sometimes marked by very great cruelty. Even if the Ammonites were not tortured, yet in his desert raids no life was spared (1 S 27[9ff.]), and the victories over Moab and Edom were followed by massacres. The story of the patriarch Jacob suggests that deception and cunning were part of the Isr. character; certainly they often appear in D.'s history. The deceit practised at Nob may be excused by his circumstances; his professions of loyalty to Achish (1 S 28[2] 29[8]) may have been cautious words used to one who has power to compel; but the continued fraud practised at Ziklag points to a man who was used to crooked dealing; he could induce Hushai to counteract Ahithophel's advice by mean and treacherous ways; and after his sin with Bathsheba he stooped to base and cowardly means to conceal his guilt and remove Uriah from his path. Moreover, D.'s religious beliefs fell far short of the teaching of the great prophets. If he did not himself worship idols, he at least allowed Michal to keep the teraphim in his house; and to determine the will of God he had constant recourse to the sacred ephod. He associated the worship of J″ with His presence in the land of Israel, could think that J″ had stirred up Saul to pursue him, and that His displeasure might be removed by the fragrance of a sacrifice (1 S 26[19]); and he put to death seven innocent men to procure J″s favour for the land (2 S 21[1-14]). And there are other blemishes in D.'s character. He can judge a case on the impulse of a moment (2 S 16[4]), or dismiss one but half heard (19[29]); and breaks out against Nabal into a passionate desire for vengeance. The great sins of his life, his adultery with Bathsheba and murder of Uriah, are perhaps but the common crimes of an Oriental despot; but, so far as we can judge, they were not common to Israel, and D. as well as his subjects knew of a higher moral standard. Lastly, his weakness in dealing with his own family is little to his credit. The imperious Joab is 'too hard' for him; Amnon and Adonijah are indulged and spoiled, and even the outrageous conduct of the former meets with no punishment; Absalom and Adonijah are allowed to declare their pretensions to the crown, while D. neglects to take proper measures to determine the succession to the throne. But in justice to D. it must be remembered that his family difficulties were in part the natural outcome of polygamy, and partly due to the state of culture of his time. In the East the same unwise and selfish love is still often manifested by a brave father to his children. The last charge to Solomon (1 K 2[1-9]) has been already sufficiently discussed.

It is now necessary to turn to the other side of the picture, remembering that we must not expect to find a saint, but a king, a hero, and a man. No testimony to D. could be more eloquent than that of the charm he exerted on all who had to do with him. Everywhere he inspires love and devotion. Jonathan is his closest friend; Saul, Michal, all Israel love him. It is the same in later years. Achish pronounces him blameless (1 S 29[6. 9]); whatever D. does pleases the people (2 S 3[36]); the three mighty men risk their life to bring him a draught of water; his soldiers call him the 'lamp of Israel,' and will not let him endanger himself in battle (2 S 21[17] 18[3]); Ittai of Gath will follow him in life or death (*ib.* 15[21]). Nor was this devotion and admiration undeserved. A brave and successful warrior, who had fought many a campaign against his country's foes, he safely led and ruled the rough men who gathered round him as an outlaw. His justice was experienced alike by Nabal's shepherds and his own followers (1 S 25[7. 15f.] 30[23-25]); his concern for his followers' lives is seen when he cannot drink the water from the well of Bethlehem. Hasty and passionate he could be, even in his zeal for justice (2 S 4[9-12] 12[5f.]); but far more marked is his signal generosity. He spares Saul's life when he is in his power (1 S 24. 26), and laments for his death in a noble song (2 S 1); the messenger from Mt. Gilboa and the murderers of Eshbaal are put to death, when they think that they are bringing D. good tidings. He can bear with Shimei's curses during his flight, and forgive him freely on his return. For the sake of Jonathan he spares and shows favour to his son, and in the person of Chimham he repays the kindness of Barzillai. The warmth and tenderness of D.'s affection is revealed in his lamentation for his 'brother' Jonathan; and still more in his own family, as in his distress at the illness of Bathsheba's child, or at the death of Amnon and Absalom. Nor are higher elements wanting in D.'s religion; as may be seen from his simple but pious faith, when he dances before the ark, and is ready to abase himself before J″ who has exalted him (2 S 6[21]); or still more when he prepares to leave Jerus. without the protection of the ark. He accepts his misfortunes with resignation, and acknowledges them as the consequence of his sins; while he retains his trust in God's goodness (2 S 12[22f.] 15[25f.] 16[10-12] 24[14. 17]). And even in the record of his sin his better qualities come out; for not many rulers would have accepted such a plain rebuke, or manifested such sincere repentance. When compared with a Joab or a Gideon, we recognize the greatness of David's character.

But it is especially as a ruler that D. left his mark on his own generation and on posterity. He set himself to free his country from its enemies, to secure it against invasion, and to make the people one. Jerus. was virtually his creation; he strove to make it the religious and political centre of his kingdom; and the discontent of Judah bears witness to the zeal with which he laboured for the whole nation, and not only for his own tribe. His efforts were the more successful, because with remarkable penetration (cf. 2 S 14[19]) he always knew the right measures to adopt. He wins the Judæan elders by judicious presents, but can wait at Hebron for Eshbaal's fall; he thanks the men of Jabesh-gilead, disavows all part in Abner's murder, retires from the first attack of Absalom, but keeps up communication with the capital. In all the varied difficulties of his eventful life he is never without resource. Nor was he negligent of the administration of his kingdom. It is said that he 'executed judgment and justice to all his people' (2 S 8[15]); and this statement is borne out by the readiness with which he listened to Nathan or the woman of Tekoa. Doubtless he once forced a census on an unwilling people, but except in one instance

we never hear of him using his power for selfish ends.

In two respects the reign of D. became an ideal for later times. He was remembered as a just and patriotic ruler; and when oppression and injustice became only too common in Israel, the great prophets looked forward to a time when again a righteous king should sit on his throne (Jer 23^5, cf. Is 16^5); and the name of D. became the symbol of the ideal ruler of his line, who they believed must come (Jer 30^9, Ezk $34^{23f.}$ $37^{24f.}$), and who was afterwards termed the Messiah. Again, it was through D. that the group of Isr. tribes became a powerful nation, and extended its sway over the neighbouring peoples. Thus Israel began to feel that it had a mission in the world; and though D.'s empire began to melt away even before his successor's death, this conviction never died, even in the darkest hour. Still the people believed that in God's own time they would be called upon once more to subdue the surrounding nations (cf. Am 9^{12}), or like a second D. to proclaim to heathen races J''s great and holy name (cf. Is 55^{3-5}).

LITERATURE.—For the analysis of Samuel see esp. Wellhausen, *Composition* (1889), pp. 248–266; Kuenen, *Onderzoek* (1887), i. 386 ff., or *Hist. Krit. Einleitung* (1890), I. ii. 37–62, 72; Budde, *Richter und Samuel* (1890), pp. 210–276. For the text, Driver, *Heb. Text of Sam.* (1890); Wellhausen, *Text d. Bücher Sam.* (1871). For the criticism of Chronicles, *ib. Prolegomena*, Eng. tr. (1885), p. 171 ff. See, further, W. R. Smith, 'David,' in *Encycl. Brit.*[9]; Dillmann in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*; Kamphausen, 'Philister und Hebräer,' *ZATW*, 1886, pp. 43–97; Ewald, *History*, Eng. tr. iii. 54–203; Stade, *Geschichte* (1889), i. 224–299; Kittel, *Hist. of the Hebrews*, Eng. tr. (1896), ii. 35–49, 119–182; Cheyne, *Devout Study of Criticism* (1892).

H. A. WHITE.

DAY (יוֹם, *ἡμέρα*).—In Hebrew the word 'day' is frequently used in phrases such as 'day of distress,' 'of evil,' 'of calamity,' 'of death' (cf. 'day of salvation,' Is 49^8), which for the most part explain themselves. It is also used more widely of *time* in general, esp. when some event is described vividly as that of a single day, *e.g.* Dt 16^3, Jg 18^{30}, Mal 3^2 (בְּיוֹם with infin. or perf., but not בְּיוֹם אֲשֶׁר, which refers to some particular day, 2 S 19^{19} (^{20} Heb.), Est 9^1). With a personal genitive we find the singular used to express (1) the birthday, or festal day, Job 3^1, Hos 7^5; and (2) the time of calamity or death, Jer 50^{31}, Ezk 21^{25}, 1 S 26^{10}, Ps 37^{13}, Job 18^{20}. The plural 'days,' according to a very common usage, denotes the lifetime, reign, or period of activity of any one, Gn 26^1, Jg 5^6, 1 K 10^{21}, Is 1^1 etc. Hence the repeated דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים of K and Ch = Annals. With a local proper name the 'day' implies some notable battle, a signal judgment or disaster, *e.g.* Is 9^4 the day of the defeat of Midian; Ps 137^7 the day of the fall of Jerus.; Ezk 30^9 the day of Egypt; Hos 1^{11} the day of Jezreel. With the prophets 'in that day' is a common formula in describing what is to come at some future period of blessing or retribution, Is 2^{11}, Jer 4^9, Am 2^{16} etc. etc. Cf. also the phrases 'Lo, days are coming' (esp. in Jer and Am), and 'in the latter end of the days' (בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים), *i.e.* at the end of the period to which the prophet's vision extends, *e.g.* Gn 49^1 (the time of the settlement in Caanan), Dt 4^{30} (Israel's repentance in exile), Hos 3^5, Mic 4^1 (the Messianic period).

Many of these expressions have passed into the language of NT, *e.g.* 'in the days of Herod,' Mt 2^1, Lk 1^5; 'in these (those) days,' Lk 1^{39} 2^1, Ac 3^{24}; 'in the last days,' 2 Ti 3^1, Ja 5^3; also 'my day,' the day when Christ appeared among men, Jn 8^{56}; 'the day of salvation,' the time during which salvation is offered to mankind, 2 Co 6^2; 'the evil day' of trial and temptation, Eph 6^{13}; 'in that day,' *e.g.*, when Christ reveals Himself more fully to His disciples, Jn 14^{20} $16^{23.\ 26}$. In particular, the last day of the present dispensation, when Christ shall return to earth for the final judgment, is described in various phrases: 'the day,' He 10^{25}; 'that day,' Mt 7^{22}, 2 Th 1^{10}; 'the last day,' Jn 6^{39} 11^{24}; 'the day of judgment,' Mt 11^{22}, 1 Jn 4^{17}; 'the day of Christ,' Ph 1^{10}; 'the day of the Lord,' 2 Th 2^2, cf. Lk 17^{30}, Ro 2^{16}, 2 Co 1^{14}, Rev 6^{17} etc.; 'the day of God,' 2 P 3^{12}.

Prob. it is with allusion to the 'day of the Lord' or 'the day of judgment' that St. Paul uses the phrase 'of man's day' (*ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας*) to denote mere human judgment (1 Co 4^3).

The contrast between *day* and *night* gives rise to certain metaphorical expressions. Thus 'day' is the period of life during which there is opportunity for working (Jn 9^4, cf. 11^9). Christians are said to belong to the day, since they should abstain from evil deeds, which are usually done under the cover of darkness, 1 Th $5^{5.\ 8}$, cf. Ro 13^{13}. On the other hand, this life, with its ignorance, trials, and difficulties, is contrasted with the future day of fuller knowledge (2 P 1^{19}) and of completed salvation (Ro 13^{12}). See also TIME; for the Creative 'Day' see COSMOGONY; and for **Day of the Lord** see ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

H. A. WHITE.

DAY OF ATONEMENT.—See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

DAY'S JOURNEY (Gn 30^{36} יוֹם דֶּרֶךְ, Jon 3^4 יוֹם מַהֲלַךְ, Lk 2^{44} *ἡμέρας ὁδός*).—When the making of a day's journey is predicated of any one, we are not to understand merely that the person travelled for a day or for so many hours thereof. 'Day's journey' is no mere indication of time, but a real though very indefinite measure of space. Its length would vary according to the nature of the ground traversed; on a level plain it would be longer than over a country broken by hills or water-courses. Its distance would, again, be conditioned by the circumstances or capabilities of the traveller; a messenger on a hasty errand (cf. Gn 31^{23}) would achieve better results than a caravan, the rate of which would be regulated by the slowest beast of burden. A sturdy courier, without undue exertion, might put 25 to 30 miles behind him in a day; while a caravan, with its encumbrances, would not be able to overtake more than about 20 miles at the most. The camel usually proceeds at a rate of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, and as 6 to 8 hours would be sufficient for a day, a caravan (probably implied Lk 2^{44}) might accomplish 15 to 20 miles; with much impedimenta, as recorded in the travels of the patriarchs Gn 30^{36}, or of the Israelites Nu 10^{33}, the day's journey would necessarily be much less. In the present-day pilgrimages to Mecca, $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles is said to be a common day's journey for a caravan. We may perhaps safely figure to ourselves in connexion with the expression 'day's journey' an average distance of 20 to 25 miles. See further SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY.

A. GRIEVE.

DAYSMAN.—In 1 Co 4^3 'man's judgment' is lit. 'man's day' (*ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα*), and is so tr[d] in Wyclif, Tind., Cov., and Rheims; for the word 'day,' or its equivalent, has been used in many languages in the special sense of a day for hearing causes and giving judgment. (See DAY.) From 'day' in this sense was formed the word 'daysman,' after the example of craftsman, herdsman, and the like, to signify a judge, umpire, or arbiter. The oldest instance given in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* is *Plumpton Corresp.* (1489) p. 82, 'Sir, the dayesmen cannot agre us'; the next, Coverdale's tr. of Job 9^{33} 'Nether is there eny dayes man to reprove both the partes, or to laye his honde betwixte us,' from whom it has been retained in AV and RV.

J. HASTINGS.

DAYSPRING.—Job 38^{12} 'Hast thou . . . caused the dayspring to know his place?' (שַׁחַר); Wis 16^{28}

'at the dayspring pray unto thee' (*πρὸς ἀνατολὴν φωτός*, RV 'at the dawning of the day'); and Lk 1[78] 'the d. from on high hath visited us' (*ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους*). The word is of freq. occurrence for the dawn of day, as Eden, *Decades* (1555), p. 264, 'The day sprynge or dawnynge of the daye gyveth a certeyne lyght before the rysinge of the soonne.' Davies (*Bible Eng.* p. 249) points out that virtually the same expression occurs in Jg 19[25] 'when the day began to spring, they let her go,' and 1 S 9[26] 'it came to pass about the spring of the day.' In Gn 32[24] the marg. has 'ascending of the morning' for 'breaking of the day'; and in Ps 65[8] east and west are called 'the outgoings of the morning and evening.'

J. HASTINGS.

DAY-STAR.—This is Wyclif's transl. of the Gr. *φωσφόρος* in 2 P 1[19], and he has been followed by all subsequent translators. The Eng. word (in all VSS till RV there are two sep. words, 'day star,' RV 'day-star') was used in two senses. (1) It signified the planet Venus (Lat. *Lucifer*), that star which preceded or accompanied the rising of the sun, the morning star, as in Lydgate, *Temple of Glas* (1355), 'Fairest of sterres . . . O Venus . . . O mighti goddes, daister after nyght'; and Holland's *Pliny*, ii. 8, 'For all the while that shee [the planet Venus] preventeth the morning, and riseth Orientall before, she taketh the name of Lucifer (or Day Starre) as a second sun hastening the day.' (2) It was applied poetically to the sun, especially by Milton, as *Lycidas*, 168—

> 'So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
> And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
> And tricks his beams.'

In 2 P the word is used in the first sense, the morning star. The passage is therefore parallel to Rev 2[28] 'the morning star,' and 22[16] 'the bright, the morning star.' These passages, Plumptre thinks, are evidence that this had come to be recognized among the apostolic Christians as a symbolic name of the Lord Jesus as manifested to the souls of His people.

Wyclif has 'day-star' in Job 38[32] 'Whether thou bryngist forth Lucifer, *that is, dai-sterre*, in his tyme'; and it is found in Is 14[12] AVm and RV 'O day star,' AV text 'O Lucifer.' See LUCIFER.

J. HASTINGS.

DEACON.—The words *διάκονος* (*-εῖν-ία*) refer to service rendered without regard to the quality of the person rendering it. Thus the *διάκονοι* at a feast may be either bond or free; and any one doing such service is a *διάκ.* for the time being. Thus, in NT they are used—(1) of service generally (Ac 12[25], Ro 15[25], 1 Co 16[15]); (2) of our Lord's work in particular (Mt 20[28]); (3) of the temporal ruler (Ro 13[4]) as *θεοῦ διάκ.*; (4) of the work of the apostles (*e.g.* Ac 1[17] 6[3], 1 Co 3[5], 1 Ti 1[12]): but in none of these places is there any trace of *διάκονος* as an official title. The transition is found Ro 12[7], where the *διακονία* in contrast with *προφητεία, διδασκαλία, παράκλησις*, seems to indicate specific services, though the *διάκονος* himself is not mentioned. (Cf. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 198 f.).

Where do we first find official *διάκονοι*? In Ac 5[6] *οἱ νεώτεροι* are of course tacitly contrasted (as Lk 22[26]) with *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*; but the parallel *νεανίσκοι* in 5[10] seems to show that the contrast is only of age, not of office. Coming to Ac 6, were 'the seven' deacons? Permanent officials of some sort they probably were; if we take account of St. Luke's way of recording 'beginnings' of movements.

For the common identification of them with the later deacons, we have (1) The general correspondence of their duties. (2) The word *διακονεῖν τραπέζαις* used of them, though this is balanced by *διακονία τοῦ λόγου* of the apostles themselves in the next verse. (3) Common opinion from Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 12. 10, iv. 15. 1 'Stephanus primus diac.') onward. (4) The number of deacons limited to seven at Rome (Cornelius ap. Eus. *HE* vi. 43: also Soz. *HE* vii. 19, referring to Ac 6), and by Conc. Neocæs. *Can.* 15, also referring to Ac 6, though Conc. Trull. *Can.* 16 rejects it.

Against it, (1) They are nowhere in NT called *διάκονοι*, and Philip in Ac 21[8] is simply 'one of the Seven.' So neither is their work called *διακονία*. (2) The qualifications laid down Ac 6[3] for the seven are higher than those required by St. Paul, 1 Ti 3[8], for deacons. (3) Of the Seven, Stephen was largely a preacher, and Philip in Ac 21[8] (some twenty-five years later) holds the much higher rank of an evangelist. (4) The Seven evidently rank next to the apostles, and have much the same position at Jerusalem as the presbyters we find a little later. The arguments are not very strong either way; but, upon the whole, the adverse one seems the stronger, for this is a question on which tradition (150 years to Irenæus) would seem specially liable to slip. The Seven, then, would seem to have been neither (*a*) deacons, nor (*b*) temporary officers (Weizsäcker), and concern us no further if they were (*c*) almoners pure and simple (Conc. Trull. *supra*), or (*d*) presbyters (Ritschl), though they may have been (*e*) the original from which both the two later orders diverged, of deacons and presbyters (Lange).

In any case, the first explicit mention of deacons (Ph 1[1]) is at Philippi, about A.D. 63; and again (1 Ti 3[8]) at Ephesus a few years later. They are not mentioned with Titus in Crete, but afterwards every church seems to have had its deacons.

Concerning Jewish parallels to the office. The deacon has no likeness to the Levite, who was rather a porter of the temple, who looked after the beasts, and sang in the choir. Neither do the deacons resemble the single חַזָּן (Lk 4[20], *ὑπηρέτης*) of the synagogue, who was more like our verger, opening and shutting the doors, cleaning the building, handing the roll of the Law to the reader, etc. The nearest Jewish parallel is the גַּבָּאֵי צְדָקָה or collectors of the alms. This phrase, however, rather suggests the tax-gatherer (גבאי מסין ורמאי עלי עמא דארעא, 2 K 23[33] Targ., with which compare Clement, *Ep.* 42, misquoting Is 60[17]), than the deacon whose duties lay so much among the poor. Upon the whole, the office was substantially new.

Qualifications are laid down by St. Paul (1 Ti 3) first for the bishop, then for the deacon. Generically they are alike, but with clear specific differences. Each must be grave, temperate, and free from greed of money, the husband of one wife, and a good ruler of his own house. But while the deacon may serve, if there is no actual charge against him, the bishop must be *ἀνεπίλημπτος*—one against whom no just charge can be made. The deacon's temperance and gravity are emphasized for the bishop, who is further reminded that if he cannot rule his own house well, he cannot be trusted to rule the house of God. The deacon is specially told not to be double-tongued or a lover of dirty gain, whereas it is enough to say generally that the bishop is not to be a lover of money. Then the bishop must have sundry qualifications for dealing with other men. He must be apt to teach others, whereas it is enough for the deacon to hold the mystery of faith in a pure conscience. He must also be a lover of hospitality, and a moderate and peaceable man, with some experience, and a good character even among the heathen.

Different qualifications point to different duties. The deacon's work evidently consists very much in visiting and relieving the poor, where his special temptations would be in one direction to gossip and slander, in the other to picking and stealing from the alms. If he uses his office well,

he may look forward to a good footing towards God, and much boldness towards men. On the other hand, the teaching, the hospitality, and the general intercourse with Christians and heathens, which are so conspicuous in the bishop's work, seem no *regular* part of the deacon's.

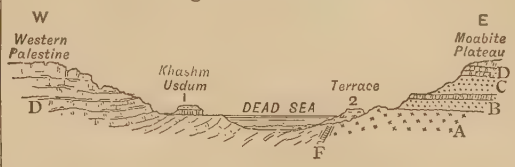
Of the appointment of deacons we are told very little. In the case of the Seven (Ac 6), first the apostles lay down the qualifications required, then the Church elects seven, then the apostles approve and admit them. In the Pastoral Epistles St. Paul does not get beyond the first stage of laying down qualifications, though Timothy is plainly intended to approve the candidates, and there is no hint given that the Church did not elect them. The process would most likely be the same as for the bishops or elders. H. M. GWATKIN.

DEACONESS.—See WOMAN.

DEADLY has now only an active meaning, 'causing death'; but formerly was passive also, 'subject to death.' Thus Wyclif's tr. of 1 Co 15^{53} is, 'For it byhoueth this corruptible thing to clothe vncorrupcioun, and this deedli thing to putte awei vndeedlinesse.' Wyclif has 'deadly' in all passages in which AV has 'mortal' (except that in Job 4^{17} he omits the adj.), as well as often elsewhere, as He 7^{8} 'heere deedi men taken tithis,' Ja 5^{17} 'Elye was a deedli man lijk vs.' In AV d. occurs in this sense Rev $13^{3,12}$ 'his d. wound was healed' (πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου, RV 'death-stroke'); and as an adv. Ezk 30^{24} 'a d. wounded man' (חֲלַל). J. HASTINGS.

DEAD SEA (Arab. *Baḥr Lûṭ*, or 'Sea of Lot').—This remarkable inland lake lies in the deepest part of the depression of the earth's surface which stretches from the Gulf of Akabah northwards into the Jordan Valley (see ARABAH). The name 'Dead Sea' is not found in the Bible, and appears first to have been used in Gr. (θάλασσα νεκρά) by Pausanias and Galen, and in Lat. by Justin. In OT it is known as the **Salt Sea** (Gn 14^{3}, Dt 3^{17}) and as the Sea of the Arabah (Jos 3^{16}). Both these names are appropriate and expressive of its physical conditions. With reference to its geograph. situation, it is called the **East Sea** (Ezk 47^{18}, Jl 2^{20}). The name 'Asphaltites' given to it by Josephus (*Ant.* I. ix.) is derived from the deposits of bitumen which are found in some of the valleys entering the W. shore; and, lastly, the name Dead Sea (*Mare mortuum*) is used to indicate the absence of animal life in its waters. This is owing, not so much to the high salinity of the waters, as to the large proportion of bromide of magnesium which they contain. In the streams, often of a high temperature, which enter the lake to the S. of the promontory of El-Lisân, some living forms are exceedingly abundant, especially those of small fishes of the genus *Cyprinodon*. The name 'Baḥr Lûṭ,' by which the Dead Sea is known amongst the Arabs, is a remarkable instance of the persistence of traditionary names amongst these E. tribes, if, as is believed by not a few, it comes down to us through a period of nearly 4000 years, and has been preserved by the descendants of the patriarch Lot, who took possession of the territory of Moab and Ammon on the borders of the Arabian desert overlooking the Dead Sea basin, and who naturally associated this inland lake with the name of their progenitor who had lived on its shores (Gn 13^{11}).

Physical Features.—The Dead Sea lies nearly N.-S. along a line corresponding to that of the Jordan Valley; its length is 47 miles, and its greatest breadth about 10 miles. It receives the waters of the Jordan from the N.; those of El-Hessi, El-Jeib, and El-Fikreh from the S.; those of the Kerak, Arnon (Mojib), Zerka Ma'in from the E., and the Kidron (En-Nar) and several lesser streams from the W.; and as the Dead Sea, like all salt lakes, has no outlet, the consequence is that the waters which enter it pass off in the form of vapour into the atmosphere. The quantity of water poured into the Dead Sea basin must be very great, especially during the months of April and May, when the Jordan is swollen by the melting of the snow in the Lebanon range; but such is the dryness of the air and the heat of the sun's rays in the Ghôr that this increased supply fails permanently to raise the level of the surface, which seems only to rise and fall within the limits of 10 to 15 ft., between the months of October and May, as estimated by Dr. Robinson from the position of the driftwood along the shore.



El-Lisân.—The Dead Sea is divided into two unequal portions by a remarkable promontory known as 'El-Lisân' (the tongue), which projects outwards from the E. shore for a distance of half the breadth of the lake. This promontory seems to be referred to in the passage describing the boundary of the lot of the tribe of Judah (Jos 15^{2}, marg. '*tongue*'). El-Lisân is composed, according to Lartet, of white calcareous marl with beds of salt and gypsum. It breaks off in a cliff facing the W., 300 ft. high and 9 miles long, terminating northwards at Point Costigan, and is connected with the Moabite coast by a narrow neck of marshy land. The terraced form, as well as the composition, of El-Lisân show that it was once part of the bed of the lake when its waters rose several hundred feet higher than at present; and it corresponds in character and composition to the terraced ridge of Khashm Usdum now to be described.

Khashm Usdum (or Salt-mountain).—This remarkable ridge follows the W. shore of the lake from Umm Zoghal southwards to the banks of Wady el-Fikreh at the S. margin of the Ghôr, a distance of 7 miles. Its upper surface is about 600 ft. above the lake, and seen from a distance appears flat; but it is deeply furrowed and seamed by streamlets, which have penetrated into the mass below. The upper part of Khashm Usdum is formed of strata of white saliferous and gypseous marl, the lower of solid salt-rock; and these materials are laid open to view in the nearly vertical cliff along which the ridge breaks off on the E. side. There can be no doubt that this terrace, like that of El-Lisân, and others to be found at intervals on both sides of the lake, were parts of the bed of the lake itself when its waters stood at a much higher level than at present. It is separated from the base of the limestone table-land by a valley of broken ground, strewn with blocks of rock, about half a mile in width, and eroded by torrential action.

The Ascent of Akrabbim ('scorpions').—From the S. shore of the lake an extensive tract, composed partly of slime, partly of woods and pastures, extends as far as the semicircular terrace which bounds the Ghôr in that direction. This marsh is liable to floods, and its surface is strewn with trunks of trees brought down by the torrents. The terrace by which it is bounded is 500 ft. high, and is formed of marls overlaid by beds of sand, gravel, and loam, which extend southwards into the Arabah. They are deposits formed over the old bed of the lake when its waters were 500–600 ft. above their present level. The terrace seems to

answer to the 'Ascent of Akrabbim' referred to in Jos 15[3] in connexion with the boundary of Judah. Robinson regards the edge of the terrace as marking the limits of the Ghôr and the Arabah respectively: a view in which the present writer concurs.

Level of the Surface.—The Dead Sea was sounded in 1848 by Lieut. Lynch, who found that it descended to a depth of 1278 ft. at a point about 5 miles N. of Costigan. It is now known that the surface itself descends to a greater depth below that of the ocean than any sheet of water on the globe. This fact remained unrecognized until 1836–7, when H. von Schubert and Prof. Roth visited Palestine, and made barometric observations in the Jordanic basin. These were followed and confirmed by Col. Wilson (now Gen. Sir C. W. Wilson) and the officers of the Ordnance Survey of Palestine by actual levelling from the shore of the Mediterranean to that of the Dead Sea itself, and have established the fact that the surface of the latter falls to a depth of 1292 ft. below that of the former. Nor is it surprising that this result was not detected before the barometer and the level were brought to bear on its determination; for there is nothing in the atmosphere around the lake which suggests to the traveller, by his sensations alone, that he sustains a more than ordinary atmospheric pressure; and the two seas being shut off from each other by a high table-land 50 miles across, comparison of levels by means of the eye is impossible. With the increase of barometric pressure there is a corresponding increase of temperature. Hence, while in winter snow frequently lies on the plateaux of Judæa and of Moab, it is unknown on the shores of the Dead Sea; and the Arab tribes go down to the Ghôr with their flocks of sheep and goats, and camp over the plain during the winter months. Thus when, in December 1893, the writer found himself standing on the edge of the terrace overlooking the Ghôr, he beheld at his feet a wide plain stretching away northwards towards the margin of the Dead Sea, and to a large extent green with vegetation and thickets of small trees. To the right in an open space were seen several large Bedâwin camps, from which the shouts of wild men, the barking of dogs, and the bellowing of camels ascended. Numerous flocks of black goats and white sheep were being tended by women in long blue cloaks; and on the party of travellers being observed, groups of merry children came tripping up towards the path accompanied by a few of the elders, and, ranging themselves in a line, courteously returned salutations. Here the Arabs remain enjoying the warmth of the plain till the increasing heat of the summer's sun calls them away to their high pasture grounds on the table-land of Edom and Moab. At a short distance farther towards the shore of the lake is the village of Es-Safieh, inhabited by a tribe of fellahîn called the Ghawarneh, who by means of irrigation from the Wady el-Hessi cultivate with success fields of wheat, maize, dhurah, indigo, and cotton, while they rear herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats. On the produce of these fields the Arabs largely depend for their supplies of food and raiment, which they obtain by a kind of rude, often compulsory, barter.

Boundaries of the Ghôr.—The Dead Sea basin and its ancient deposits are bounded along the E. by the high plateau of Moab, and on the W. by the nearly equally high table-land of Judæa. The plain of El-Ammaya in Moab reaches a level of 3100 ft. above the Mediterranean, and, consequently, of about 4400 ft. above the Dead Sea. The slopes of the escarpment along which the plateau breaks off are sometimes terraced, sometimes precipitous, and are eroded by numerous streams with thermal springs, of which that of the Zerka Ma'in (or Callirhoë) is the most celebrated. The W. slopes of the Ghôr are equally seamed by river courses which cut deep into the limestone strata, and have their sources in springs near the summit of the table-land. The cliffs of Râs Mersed, Engedi, and Masada,* the latter crowned by the ruined fortress, are prominent features of the W. shore; while the walled city of Kerak, the capital of Moab, crowns the heights on the E. side.

Geology.—Investigations by geologists in recent times have dispelled some of the old ideas regarding the origin of this mysterious inland lake. It is now known not to be the crater of a volcano, and it is almost equally certain that Sodom and Gomorrah were not overwhelmed in its waters. These researches have also resulted in showing that the area of the Dead Sea waters is not very different from what it was in the days of Abraham and Lot. It is now known, through the observations of Tristram, Lartet, Hull, and others, that the Dead Sea occupies a part of the trough, or depression in the crust, produced by subsidence along the line of a 'fault' or system of 'faults' (fractures accompanied by displacement of the strata) which has been traced from the G. of Akabah along the line of the Jordan-Arabah Valley to the base of Hermon (see ARABAH). This fracture was produced owing to the terrestrial movements which resulted in the whole region being elevated out of the sea after the close of the Eocene period. In consequence of this faulting and displacement, the formations on the opposite sides of the Ghôr do not correspond with each other; those on the E., or Moabite, side being more ancient than those on the W. side at similar levels. Thus, while the whole W. side of the Ghôr is formed of Cretaceous limestones, the flanks of the Moabite escarpment are composed of very ancient volcanic rocks at the base; overlain successively by Carboniferous and older Cretaceous beds, and only surmounted at a level of about 3000–4000 ft. above the lake by the Cretaceous limestones which come down to the water's edge along the W. shore.

The fundamental rocks laid open on the flanks of Jebel Shomar, a massive and precipitous mountain which rises behind Es-Safieh, and runs along the E. side of the Ghôr for several miles, are composed of great beds of volcanic materials (agglomerates, tuffs, and sheets of porphyry, penetrated by numerous dykes). They have a slight dip northwards, and are overlain by red and purple sandstones and conglomerates of Carboniferous age ('Desert sandstone'), then by Carboniferous limestone forming the terrace of Lebrusch, and this by the red and variegated sandstones of Lower Cretaceous age ('Nubian sandstone') which form the greater part of the mountain flanks, and are ultimately overlain by the Cretaceous limestones composing the crest of the Moabite and Edomite escarpment.

Such is the general geological structure as far as regards the more ancient formations. The form and features of the Ghôr were considerably modified by rain and river action in Pliocene and Pleistocene times. At the latter stage, corresponding to the close of the Glacial epoch, the waters of the Jordanic Valley appear to have risen to such a degree as to have formed a lake whose area included those of Merom, Galilee, and the Dead Sea, and whose S. margin extended into the Arabah as far as the 'Ain Abu Werideh; thus producing a lake which had a length from N. to S. of 200 miles, and whose surface rose to the level of the Mediter-

* The fortress of Masada was the last refuge of the band of Zealots of the Jews who defended themselves against Silva, the Roman general (A.D. 71), and at last destroyed themselves to escape capture (Jos. *Wars*, VII. viii. ix.).

ranean. The evidence for this conclusion is to be found in the occurrence of terraces of lacustrine materials at intervals down the Arabah from 'Ain Abu Werideh, a locality nearly 40 miles S. of the margin of the Ghōr. These terraces contain numerous semi-fossil shells of the genera *Melania* and *Melanopsis*.* It is easy to understand that during the Glacial epoch the large rainfall and the melting of the snows of the Lebanon, accompanied by a climate less tropical than that which now prevails, may have added enormously to the supplies of water poured into the Jordanic basin, thus raising the surface to the level indicated. With the subsequent diminishing rainfall, and the recurrence of sub-tropical conditions of climate, evaporation would gradually gain upon precipitation; and the surface of the waters, contracting stage by stage, would ultimately fall to their present limits, where evaporation and supply have nearly balanced each other. It was during such successive stages of diminution in volume, and lowering of the surface, that the terraces of lacustrine materials were formed, and converted into land surfaces; these commence at their highest limit with those of Abu Werideh, and are succeeded by others at lower and lower levels till the present margin of the Dead Sea shore is reached. The salinification of the waters necessarily accompanied this process; because the salts dissolved in the waters remained behind during the process of evaporation, and consequently tended to augment till saturation was reached. The Dead Sea waters, therefore, resemble those of all closed lakes which are more or less saline owing to similar causes.†

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent Work*, 1880; Hull, 'Arabia Petræa and Palestine,' in *Mem. PEF*, 1886; Lartet, *Voyage d'Exploration de la Mer Morte*, 1880; Lynch, *Report of U.S. Expedition to the Jordan and Dead Sea*, 1852; Robinson, *BR*, 1865; De Saulcy, *Voyage dans la Syrie*, 1853; Schubert, *Reise in den Morgenland*, 1837; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 2nd ed. 1872, *Land of Moab*, 1873, 'Fauna and Flora of Palestine,' in *Mem. PEF*, 1884; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 499 ff. E. HULL.

DEAFNESS.—See MEDICINE.

DEAL.—A 'deal' is a part or share (A.-S. *dael*, Ger. *theil*), and it may be a large or small part. In mod. Eng. we are allowed to say only 'he gave a great deal, or a good deal, of trouble,' scarcely 'he gave a deal of trouble,' and never 'a small deal.' In older Eng. Chaucer could say (*House of Fame*, i. 331)—

> 'O, have ye men swich goodlïheed
> In speche, and never a deel of trouthe?'

And Latimer could represent philosophers saying that 'God walked up and down in Heaven, and thinketh never a deal of our affairs.' In AV deal is used in the phrase 'tenth deal' or 'tenth deals,' for Heb. עִשָּׂרוֹן *'issârôn*, wherever that word occurs (RV 'tenth part' or 'tenth parts'). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

To 'deal' is to divide or distribute (A.-S. *daelan*), as in 2 S 6^{19} 'he dealt among all the people . . . to every one a cake'; 1 Ch 16^{3}, Is 58^{7} 'd. thy bread to the hungry'; and Ro 12^{3} 'according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.' Cf. Wyclif, Lk 9^{16} 'And whanne he hadde take the fyue looves and twei fischis, he biheeld in to heuene, and blesside hem, and brak and delide to hise disciplis, that thei schulden sette forth bifor the cumpanyes'; and Coverdale, Dn 5^{28} 'Thy kyngdome is delt in partes.' From this the verb passed into the sense of dealing well or ill with a person, and then having any transaction with,—meanings that are freely found in AV as in mod. use, Ac 25^{24} 'this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me' (ἐντυχόν μοι, RV 'made suit to me'). J. HASTINGS.

DEAR, DEARTH.—Dear is used in AV in two senses: (1) *Beloved*, as Eph 5^{1} 'Be ye therefore followers of God as dear children' (ἀγαπητός, RV 'beloved'). In this sense is Col 1^{13} 'the kingdom of his d. Son,' which AV, along with Cov., Cran., Gen., and Bishops', retained from Tindale, though Wyclif's 'the sone of his louynge' was nearer the Greek (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ; Rheims, RV, 'the Son of his love'). See BELOVED. (2) *Precious*, Ac 20^{24} 'neither count I my life d. unto myself' (τίμιος). Cf. Ps 72^{14} Cov. 'deare shal their bloude be in his sight,' and 116^{15} 'right deare in the sight of the Lorde is the death of his sayntes,' both preserved in Pr. Bk. version, the meaning being that he counts it too precious to leave it unavenged.

Dearth.—That which is precious is rare, as 1 S 3^{1} Cov. 'The worde of ye Lorde was deare at the same tyme'; and from 'dear' in this sense was formed 'dearth'=scarcity, famine. Dearth occurs in AV Gn $41^{54\,bis}$, 2 K 4^{38}, 2 Ch 6^{28}, Neh 5^{3} (all רָעָב, RV 'famine' in Gn, 2 Ch, keeping 'dearth' in 2 K, Neh); Jer 14^{1} (בַּצֹּרֶת, RV 'drought'); Ac 7^{11} 11^{28} (λιμός, RV 'famine'); and RV adds Job 5^{22} (רָעָב, AV 'famine'), though it retains 'famine' for the same Heb. in 30^{3}. J. HASTINGS.

DEATH.—See ESCHATOLOGY, LIFE.

DEBATE.—To debate (fr. old Fr. *debatre*, Lat. *de* down, *batuere* beat) now means to discuss, and a 'd.' is a discussion, which is expected to be amicable. But in earlier Eng. 'to debate' was to fight or wrangle, and 'debate' was strife, quarrelling. Thus Gn 13^{7} Geneva 'there was debate betweene the heardmen of Abrams cattell, and the heardmen of Lots cattell'; and Lk 12^{51} Cov. 'Thynke ye that I am come to brynge peace upon earth—I tell you nay, but rather debate.' In this sense only is debate used in AV, whether as vb. or subst. As vb. Pr 25^{9} 'Debate thy cause with thy neighbour' (so RV), and Is 27^{8} (RV 'contend'; both ריב= 'strive,' 'go to law'). As subst. Is 58^{4} (מָצָּה, RV 'contention'); Sir 28^{9} 'A sinful man disquieteth friends, and maketh d. among them that be at peace' (ἐκβάλλει διαβολήν; cf. 2 Ti 3^{3} AVm, Tit 2^{3} AVm, and see MAKEBATE); Ro 1^{29}, 2 Co 12^{20} (ἔρις, RV 'strife'). J. HASTINGS.

DEBIR (דְּבִיר).—The king of Eglon, who acc. to Jos 10^{3} joined other four kings against Joshua, but was defeated and put to death along with his allies at Makkedah.

DEBIR (דְּבִיר, Δαβείρ, *Dabir*).—**1.** The name is generally supposed to mean 'back'; hence= *hindmost chamber*, *innermost room of a temple*, and so it is used in 1 K 6^{5} to denote the Holy of Holies. The city must have been a sacred one, with a well-known temple. This is borne out by its two other names, Kiriath-sepher or 'Book-town' (Jos 15^{15}, Sept. πόλις γραμμάτων), and Kiriath-sannah, 'city of instruction' (?) (Jos 15^{49}); and W. Max Müller (*Asien und Europa*, 1894) has shown that in an Egyptian papyrus, known as the 'Travels of the Mohar,' which was written in the time of Ramses II. (B.C. 1300), and is a sarcastic account of an Egyptian traveller's misadventures in Canaan, reference is made to the town. The writer remarks: 'Thou hast not seen Kiriath-anab near Beth-thupar, nor dost thou know Adullam and Zidiputa.' We learn from the geographical list of Shishak that the last-named place was in the south of Judah, and the Egyptian Thupar, which is followed by the determinative of 'writing,' would represent a Hebrew *Sōpher* or 'scribe.' As Anab is associated with Kiriath-sepher in Jos 11^{21} 15^{50}, we must conclude that the Egyptian writer has interchanged the equivalent terms Kiriath and Beth, and that the Massoretes have wrongly vocalised the second element in the name of the

* *Mount Seir*, p. 99; *Phys. Geol. Arabia Petræa, etc.* pp. 15–79.

† The waters of the Dead Sea yield 24·57 lbs. of salt in 100 lbs. of water, those of the Atlantic yielding only 6 lbs. of salt in the same quantity; the former consist of chlorides of lime, magnesia, sodium, and potassium, and in smaller proportions of sulphates and bromides of the same substances. The large quantity of bromine (occurring as bromide of magnesium) has attracted the attention of naturalists, and is supposed to be a volcanic emanation.

city, which should be *sōpher*, 'scribe,' instead of *sēpher*, 'book.' It was a 'city of scribes,' where a library must have existed, filled with clay books inscribed with cuneiform characters similar to those found at Tel el-Amarna, and in the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. The latter were usually established in the chamber of a temple.*

It is possible that the name of Kiriath-sannah may be found in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (*Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, iii. No. 199), where we read: 'The country of Gath-carmel has fallen away to Tagi, and the men of the city of Gath; he is in Beth-sani.' This would locate the city in the neighbourhood of Gath.

In the OT Debir is described as in the mountains of Judah, like Socoh and Eshtemoh (Jos 15 [48-50]), and not far from Hebron, from whence Caleb 'went up' to it (v.[15]). It was in 'the Negeb' of Judah, and near it were 'the upper springs and the nether springs' of water. After leaving Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*) and Eglon (*Tell en-Nejîleh* ?), Joshua marched to Hebron, and then 'returned' to Debir (Jos 10[38]). Unfortunately, these passages do not enable us to fix the exact position of the city, though the expression 'went up' may imply that it lay to the north. This would certainly have been the case if it is the same as the Beth-sani of the Tel el-Amarna tablet. The identification with the modern Dhâherîyeh (from Arab. *dhahr*, 'back') rests upon a mistaken interpretation of the name of Debir: Petrie found there no traces of anything older than the Roman period.

Debir was taken by Othniel the Kenizzite, in return for which Caleb gave him his daughter Achsah in marriage (Jos 15[15-19], Jg 1[11-15]). There must consequently be some error in the text of Jos 10[38. 39], where it is said that Joshua had already taken Debir, and destroyed all its inhabitants. Moreover, the city of Debir is not mentioned among the confederates in vv.[3. 5], where, on the contrary, Debir is stated to be the king of Eglon.

2. DEBIR (Jos 13[26]). The border of Debir (or Lidebir) is stated to have formed part of the frontiers of Gad, not far from Mahanaim. If the reading Lidebir is accepted, the place may perhaps be identified with Lodebar of 2 S 9[4].

3. DEBIR in Jos 15[7] is described as in the direction of the north-eastern corner of Judah, towards the valley of Achor and Gilgal. The Sept. however, reads *ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς φάραγγος* 'Αχώρ, and the Vulg. has *Debera*. Acc. to Hupfeld (Ps 28[2]) and Wellh. (*Sam.* 145 n.) דְּבִירָה here = *westward*.

A. H. SAYCE.

DEBORAH (דְּבוֹרָה 'a bee'). — **1.** The nurse of Rebekah, died on Jacob's return to Can., and was buried under the terebinth ('Allon-bacuth') below Bethel (Gn 35[8] E). **2.** The heroine of the great battle by the Kishon in which Sisera and his allies were defeated (Jg 4 and 5). After a period of oppression and insecurity, which had lasted since the days of Shamgar (Jg 5[6]), and had fallen heavily upon the tribes bordering on the plain of Jezreel, D., a woman of martial and determined spirit, together with Barak, resolved to free their people from the aggressions of the Canaanites. Issachar, their tribe (Jg 5[15]), had been the principal sufferer, but could not cope with the enemy unaided. Accordingly, the summons was sent round to all the tribes,* claiming their assistance in the cause of J" the national God. Ephraim, Benjamin, West Manasseh, Zebulun, Naphtali, with their chiefs, rallied round Issachar; Reuben, Gilead (= Gad), Dan, and Asher refused to respond (Jg 5[12-18]). For the first time after the settlement in Canaan the tribes of Isr. acted in something like a national capacity; it was the genius and courage of D. that instigated this united action. To meet the Isr. confederation, the kings of Canaan, under the leadership of Sisera, marched to the attack; the battle took place in the neighbourhood of Taanach and Megiddo, along the right bank of the Kishon (Jg 5[19]). A great storm came on, and the swollen torrent worked havoc among the Can. forces, so that it seemed as if the powers of nature were fighting against them (Jg 5[20-22]); Sisera had to seek safety in flight. A woman had successfully initiated the war, and a woman brought it to a victorious conclusion. Jael, by a bold stratagem, slew Sisera with a shattering blow from a tent-mallet as he stood drinking in her tent (Jg 5[24-27]).

Such is the history of the event which has made D. famous among the women of the Bible, as it may be gathered from the song in Jg 5. This splendid ode was prob. not written by D. herself; the verbs in v.[7b] are to be rendered by the 2nd pers. rather than by the 1st; cf. v.[12]. V.[1] merely says, 'then sang D. and Barak,' a remark due to the later editor. But the song may well be the work of a contemporary, as its style and contents suggest; it may claim, therefore, to be the highest authority for the events which it records.

Another account, a prose version, is contained in chapter 4. The two accounts agree in the main features, but exhibit considerable differences in detail. In 4[4-22] D. is styled both prophetess and judge, while her seat is 'under the palm-tree of D., between Ramah and Bethel, in the hill country of Ephraim,' whither the children of Israel resorted for judgment.

It is here implied that her authority had been long established, and that it extended over Israel ('she was judging Israel at that time,' 4[4]). This generalization of her position reflects the theory of the compiler of Judges—a late writer.† Further, her seat is placed in the S., in the territory of Benjamin, far from the area of the troubles. This necessitates distant negotiations with Barak, and introduces serious difficulties into the narrative. It is possible that D.'s connexion with Ramah and Bethel may be due to a confusion based on Gn 35[8], for which, again, the compiler may be responsible. We may conclude from 4[6-9] that her home was somewhere near Kadesh, the city of Barak;‡ thus both would belong to Issachar (as 5[15]), the chief sufferer under the oppression. See BARAK.

In the prose version (4[4-22] *in the main*) she is styled a prophetess. Thus, in the manner of prophecy, she announces the plan of the attack (4[6. 7a]), promises success (v.[7b]), and declares who shall carry off the honours of the victory (v.[9]). All these are features not found in ch. 5, and as coming from ch. 4 must be pronounced of inferior historical value.

For the other divergences connected with the mention of Jabin, the position of the battle, the deed of Jael, the authorities must be consulted.

LITERATURE.—Hilliger, *Das Deborah-Lied übersetzt u. erklärt*, 1867; A. Müller, *Das Lied der Deborah*, 1887 (*Königsberger Studien*, i.); Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 66–72, 101–107; M. Vernes

* A full discussion of the meaning of the name is given by Moore (*Judges*, p. 25 ff.), who formerly connected ספר in ק׳ כפר with Aramaic סָפָר 'border, frontier.' Kiriath-sepher would on this etymology be 'Frontier-town,' a suitable enough meaning. But for phonetic difficulties that stand in the way Moore has now abandoned this derivation.

* Except Simeon and Levi. Judah is not mentioned; it had not entered into any close connexion with the other tribes, and was cut off from them by a line of Canaanite strongholds (Jg 1[29. 35], Jos 9[17]).

† 4[1-3. 23. 24] 5[1. 31b] belong to the Deuteronomic compiler of Judges; his hand may also be traced in 4[4b] 9[aβ] 14[a].

‡ Barak = *lightning*, Lappidoth = *flames* (4[4]); hence some think that both are names of the same person, and that Barak was Deborah's husband. This is merely a fancy.

in *Revue des Études Juives*, xxiv. 1892; G. A. Cooke, *Hist. and Song of Deb.* 1892; C. Niebuhr, *Versuch einer Reconst. des Deboraliedes*, 1894; G. F. Moore, *Judges* (1895), 127–173.

3. Deborah (AV Debora), the grandmother of Tobit, To 1^{8}. G. A. COOKE.

DEBT, DEBTOR.—*A.* IN OT.—i. *Terms.*—לוה in *Qal*, EV *borrow*, ptcp. *borrower*, LXX δανίζεσθαι, Vulg. *fœnus accipio, mutuo sumo pecunias, mutuor, mutuum accipio*; in *Hiph.* EV *lend* (*i.e.* cause to borrow), ptcp. *lender*, LXX δανίζω, ἐκδανίζω, κίχρημι, Vulg. *pecuniam mutuam do, fœneror.* לוה is also used in the sense of *join*, and the sense of *borrow* may be derived from the dependence of the borrower on the lender; but לוה *join*, and לוה *borrow*, may be independent roots of different origin (so Fuerst). לֵוִי *Levi, Levite*, is not necessarily connected with either.

נשה (also in form נשא) *Qal* and *Hiph.*, EV *lend on usury, take usury, exact* (*usury*); *Qal* ptcp. *creditor, extortioner*, also given in Dt 15^{2} for בַּעַל מַשֶּׁה יָדוֹ 'possessor of a loan of his hand,' in Dt 24^{11} *thy debtor* is תָּאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה נֹשֶׁה בּוֹ *i.e.* 'the man to whom thou are lending,' or 'a creditor.' So Is 24^{2} אֲשֶׁר נֹשֶׁא בּוֹ, cf. 1 S 22^{2} 'he to whom anyone is a usurer,' *i.e.* 'one who borrows on usury,' EV *the giver of usury to him.* LXX ἀπαιτῶν, paraphrases with ὀφείλων (owe), and (for ptcp.) δανειστής, and in Is 50^{1} ὑπόχρεως (debtor). Vulg. *commodo, exigo, usuras exigo*, and for ptcp. *creditor, fœnerator.* נֶשִׁי 2 K 4^{7} EV *debt*, LXX τόκους, Vulg. *creditori* (reading the ptcp.). מַשָּׁאָה, EV *debt, loan*, LXX ὀφείλημα, Vulg. *debitum.*

מַשָּׁא, EV *usury, exaction*, LXX ἀπαίτησις, Vulg. *æs alienum, exactio.* This root has been connected with נשך *bite*, cf. נָשְׁךְ in ref. to the nature and effects of usury; or with נשה *forget*, because payment of a debt is remitted for a time (Ges. *Thes.*).

נָשְׁךְ (נשך = bite) EV *usury*, LXX τόκος, Vulg. *usura.* In Dt $23^{20.\,21}$ (Eng. $^{19.\,20}$) the *Hiph.* of נשך is used for 'lend on usury,' and the *Qal* for 'borrow on usury.' LXX *Hiph.* ἐκτοκίζω, *Qal* ἐκδανίσης; Vulg. *Hiph. fœnero, commodo.*

תַּרְבִּית, מַרְבִּית (רבה become great), EV *increase* (and in AV of Pr 28^{8} *unjust gain*), LXX πλεονασμός, ἐπὶ πλήθει, Vulg. *superabundantia, fœnus, amplius.* נֶשֶׁךְ and תַּרְבִּית are often coupled together, Lv 25^{36}, Ezk $18^{8\text{-}17}$ etc.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 354, takes נשך as interest on a loan of money, and תרבית as interest on a loan of corn, etc. etc., but in Dt 23^{20} (Eng. ^{19}) we have נשך 'of money . . . of food . . . of anything.'

חוֹב, Ezk 187, EV *debtor*, Oxf. Heb. Lex. *debt*, LXX ὀφιλόντος, Vulg. *debitori.*

עבט *Qal*, borrow on pledge, EV *borrow*, LXX δανίζομαι, Vulg. *accipio mutuum*; *Hiph.* lend on pledge, EV *lend*, LXX δανίζω, Vulg. *fœnero, mutuum do.* עֲבוֹט, anything given as security for the payment of a loan or the fulfilment of any obligation, EV *pledge*, LXX ἐνέχυρον, Vulg. *pignus.* In Dt 24^{10} a *Qal* denom. occurs = secure (the security). עֲבָטִיט Hab 2^{6}, RV *pledge* = עֲבוֹט; AV *thick clay*, Vulg. *densum lutum*, is due to a mistaken etymology. In Jl 2^{7} *Piel* of עבט = twist, bind; so the root = 'borrow,' because the borrower was bound to the lender; but Wellhausen regards עבט as an Aram. loan word, and Driver proposes to connect with צבט 'hold firmly.'

חבל *Qal* (lit. *bind*, cf. עבט), EV *take* or *lay a pledge*, LXX ἐνεχυράζω, Vulg. phrases with *pignus*; חֶבֶל, חֲבָלָה, EV *pledge*, LXX ἐνεχύρασμα, -μός, Vulg. *pignus.*

ערב *Qal, Hithpa.*, EV *be surety, give pledges, mortgage, make a wager*, LXX διεγγύειν, Vulg. *spondo, fidem facio, fidejussor ersto, vadem me offero.* עֵרָבוֹן, EV *pledge*, LXX ἀρραβών, Vulg. *arrhabo, pignus.* עֵרֶב עֲרֻבָּה (Pr 17^{18}), EV *becometh surety*, LXX ἐγγυώμενον ἐγγυᾶσθαι, Vulg. *spondo.*

שְׁאַל (*ask*) obtains from the context the sense of *borrow* in Ex 22^{14}, 2 K 4^{3} EV, and similarly the *Hiph.* may = *lend* in 1 S 1^{28} RVm.

ii. *In History.*—1. *Causes of Debt.*—There is no trace in OT of any system of commercial credit. Loans of money or large purchases on credit do not occur as ordinary and natural incidents of trade. Debt (except of the most temporary character, see below on Pledges, and on Gn 38^{18}; and cf. Ex 22^{14}) is an exceptional misfortune; it is always the poor man who borrows, Ex 22^{25}. The existence of a developed credit system in Babylonia is no proof of the existence of any similar system in Israel. In such, as in many other matters, it is as precarious to argue from Babylon to Israel as it would be now from England to Afghanistan. This absence of commercial credit naturally resulted from the fact that the Israelites of the monarchy were not a commercial people, and that their trade was mostly in the hands of the Phœn. and other foreigners. The other ordinary causes of debt must have operated in Israel. Passing exigencies would create debts speedily paid (Gn 38^{18}); misfortune, extravagance, and suretyship gave rise to more serious indebtedness. Such misfortunes specially arose from failure of crops (Neh 5^{3}), foreign raids, pressure of taxation for the home government or for the payment of foreign tribute (Neh 5^{4}). Though debt cannot be said to have been uncommon in Israel,—Is 24^{2} mentions the borrower and the lender as social types,—yet it seems to have been comparatively rare, so that it was never accepted as natural and legitimate. This appears from the paucity of references to debt, and of terms connected with debt, and also from the primitive character of these terms, *e.g.* 'he who has a creditor' for 'debtor' (1 S 22^{2}).

2. *Leading Cases.*—In Gn 38^{18} Judah promises Tamar a kid, and gives her his signet, etc., as a pledge that he will discharge the debt thus created. He forthwith sends her the kid. In 2 K $4^{1\text{-}7}$ a widow's late husband had incurred a moderate debt,—it could be paid by selling a quantity of oil,—his family were still liable for the debt. The creditors were expected to recoup themselves by selling her two sons for slaves. Elisha accepts this as a matter of course, and can only relieve his friend by a miracle. In Neh 5 the farmers are in distress through drought and taxes, they have borrowed money at 1 p. c. per month on their land. (Nowack, i. 354, proposes to read משאת for מאת.) The debtors had defaulted, their lands had been seized, and some had been compelled to sell their children. In response to a solemn appeal from Nehemiah (he and his suite being among the lenders) the lands and interest were restored, possibly the debts were wholly or partially cancelled. The only other mention of actual debt is 1 S 22^{2}, where debtors resort to David in his exile.

iii. *In the Law, Prophets, etc.*—The necessity of borrowing is regarded as a misfortune, sometimes a punishment for sin (Dt 15^{6} $28^{12.\,44}$), oftener undeserved, and therefore entitling the borrower to assistance. His richer brethren should assist him with loans (Dt $15^{7\text{-}11}$), even in view of the approaching year of release (Ps 37^{26} 112^{5}, Pr 19^{17}); without interest (Ex 22^{25} [JE], Dt $23^{20.\,21}$ [Eng. $^{19.\,20}$], Lv $25^{36.\,37}$ [H], Ps 15^{5}, Pr 28^{8}, Ezk $18^{8\text{-}17}$ 22^{12}, Neh 5). Nowack, i. 354, and Benzinger, 350, understand that Ex 22^{25} only forbids excessive usury (B. takes ^{25b} as gloss), so that the absolute prohibition of interest first appears in Dt. Such prohibitions do not extend to loans to foreigners. No provision is made in the law for the recovery of debt, but nonpayment of debt is condemned in Ps 37^{21}. Both the law and the prophets are chiefly concerned to protect the debtor. The law restricts the exaction of pledges: a widow's clothing (Dt 24^{17}), the nether or upper millstone (Dt 24^{6}), the widow's ox (Job 24^{3}), should not be taken in pledge. The creditor (Dt $24^{10\text{-}13}$) may not go into the debtor's house to fetch a pledge, but must wait outside till the debtor brings him a pledge of the debtor's choosing (Dillm., Benz.). This pledge would often consist of clothing (Am 2^{8}, Pr 20^{16} 27^{13}, Job 22^{6}); and might not be kept overnight (Ex 22^{26} [JE], Dt 24^{13}). Pledges are rather tolerated than approved of; a pious Israelite would not require a pledge (Job 22^{6} 24^{9}), or, at any rate, would promptly restore it (Ezk $18^{7\text{-}16}$ 33^{15})—whether with or without payment is not obvious. The law also limits claims on debtors by the laws of Jubilee and of the Seventh Year. In Ex $23^{10.\,11ff.}$ (JE) the *land* is to be released (תִּשְׁמְטֶנָּה 'thou shalt release it'), *i.e.* left fallow, every seventh year; cf. Lv 25 $^{1\text{-}7}$ (H). This

provision does not occur in Dt, but Dt 15[1-6] appoints a release, שְׁמִטָּה, of debt every seventh year. This שְׁמִטָּה has been understood (*a*) as a cancelling of interest during the seventh year, which is impossible in view of the absolute prohibition of interest in the immediate context; (*b*) as *moratorium*, the creditor being forbidden to demand payment during the seventh year, but being allowed to do so at its close; (*c*) as an absolute and final cancelling of debt, as in Solon's *χρεῶν ἀποκοπή*. In any case, some relief in the matter of debt would be specially welcome for the year during which the land lay fallow. The שְׁמִטָּה did not extend to foreigners.

As the debtor or his family might be sold to pay debt (cf. above and Lv 25[39. 47], Is 50[1]), the provisions for the humane treatment of Heb. slaves, for their release in the seventh year (Ex 21[2]), or (with the land) at the Jubilee (Lv 25[30-55]), are a further limitation of the rights of creditors.

iv. *Actual Practice.*—Apart from Neh 5 and the vague engagement in Neh 10[31] we do not read of these benevolent laws being observed. Probably, they were never consistently enforced as public law for any long period. When the Jews conceived themselves bound by the letter of the law, they at once devised a means of systematically evading the Deuteronomic שְׁמִטָּה. This and other laws represent a standard favoured by public opinion and sometimes observed by generous and pious Israelites (Ezk 18[7]). Creditors generally took pledges, required sureties, exacted interest, and seized the land, family, and person of their debtors. Is 24[2] mentions the giver and taker of usury as social types. The warnings against suretyship (Pr 6[1] 11[15] 20[16] 22[26] 27[13]) indicate severe treatment of debtors; according to Pr 22[7] the borrower is the slave of the lender, and Jer 15[10] indicates a bitter feeling between borrower and lender quite at variance with the ideal of charitable loans.

B. Apocr. and NT.—No actual case of debt occurs in either. Both, like OT, inculcate duty of lending and paying (Sir 29, Lk 6[34. 35], Ro 13[8]). Mt 6[12] suggests a generous treatment of debtors. Sir 18[33] points out the danger of borrowing.

In NT debt occurs chiefly in the parables, The Two Debtors (Lk 7[41. 42]), the Two Creditors (Mt 18[28-35]). In the latter we find that, as in Greece and Rome, the slave could have property of his own, and thus become a debtor to his master. The treatment of a defaulter is entirely at his master's disposal. Here too, however, the person of the ordinary debtor may be seized for debt. In the parables of the Talents (Mt 25[14-30]) and Pounds (Lk 19[11-27]), and the narratives of the Cleansing of the Temple (Mt 21[12f.], Mk 11[15-18], Lk 19[45-48], Jn 2[12-17]), we come upon the advanced commercial system of the Rom. Empire, with money-changers, bankers, and commercial usury, which Christ mentions without condemning. In the parable of the Unjust Steward (Lk 16[1-13]) we trace a credit system in connexion with agriculture. Interest is not condemned in NT.

Literature.—See commentaries on passages cited, esp. Driver on Dt 15[1-8], and sections on debt in *Heb. Arch.* of Benzinger and of Nowack.

W. H. Bennett.

DECALOGUE.—The law of the Ten Words, virtually a translation of the original Heb. name עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים Dt 4[13] 10[4], cf. Ex 34[28]) is the most suitable title of the ethical code prefixed to the Sinaitic legislation. The name 'Ten Commandments' is a less accurate rendering, and it prejudges the disputed question as to whether all of the ten words are of the nature of commandments. It is also called the Testimony (עֵדוּת Ex 25[21]), and the Covenant (בְּרִית, Dt 9[9]).

The accounts of the first publication of the D. contain a variety of extraordinary particulars in attestation of its immediate divine origin and of its sovereign authority. The nation gathered at the foot of Sinai to receive a revelation (Ex 19[17]). Amid thunder and lightning, and with the sound of a trumpet, the Lord descended upon the smoking mount (19[16ff.]), and from thence proclaimed the words of the law in articulate tones in the ears of the terrified people (20[19], Dt 4[12]). The words thus uttered by the very voice were thereafter graven by the very finger of God on two tables of stone (Ex 31[18], Dt 4[13]). These tables, which were broken by Moses on witnessing the temporary apostasy of the people (Ex 32[19]), were replaced by another pair on which God had promised to rewrite the former words (Ex 34[1]), and which were thereafter deposited in the ark with a view to their safe-keeping and in token of their paramount importance (Dt 10[5]).*

In consideration of these details, in which so much stress is laid on the authority of the D. and on the precautions taken for preserving it in its purity, it is remarkable that the Pent. contains two versions of it which exhibit not a few, or altogether unimportant, variations—the classic version, as it may be called, of Ex 20[2-17], and the less-regarded version of Dt 5[6-21]. The principal divergences occur in the reasons annexed to the fourth and fifth commandments. Under the fourth Dt founds the duty of Sabbath observance, not upon the example of the God of Creation who rested from His works on the seventh day (Ex 20[11]), but upon the dictates of humanity and of gratitude. 'Observe the Sabbath-day to keep it holy . . . that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and J" thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore J" thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day' (Dt 5[12-15]). The fifth commandment, in the Deuteronomic text, sanctions filial conduct with the promise of prosperity as well as of long life (5[16]). In the tenth, it may be added, Dt has a different order from Ex—the wife being placed at the head of the series, while the coveting of the neighbour's field, which would count for much with a peasant people, is expressly prohibited (5[21]).†

That the Exodus version of the D. is on the whole superior to, *i.e.* older and purer than, the text of Dt, is the opinion of the great majority of modern scholars, including Delitzsch, Dillmann, W. R. Smith, Driver.‡ For this opinion the principal ground is that the variations in Dt are obviously a personal contribution from this author, some being mere amplifications in his wonted style, others instances of the intrusion of his characteristic ideas or expressions (cf. Dillmann, *Exod.* p. 200; Driver, *LOT* p. 31).

* The account in Ex of the Sinaitic revelation is highly composite, and many details of the critical analysis are still unsettled. The Decalogue is imbedded in E, which furnishes most of the matter in Ex 19–24; but this is not decisive as to its date—one section regarding it as derived by E from pre-existing sources (Driver, *LOT* p. 30), while another assumes its intrusion into the E stratum after the formulation of the Decalogue of Dt (Meisner, *Der Dekalog* p. 11). The J narrative is more prominent in Ex 32–34, and has often been alleged to set forth an older summary as the kernel of the legislation (see *infra*). This latter inference, apart from other grounds, is rendered very precarious by the fact that a great part of the original contents of J is no longer before us. The final redaction does not determine whether the words were rewritten by God (Ex 34[1]) or by Moses (Ex 34[28]).

† Other Dt variations are multiplication of connecting particles, and of details (the ox and the ass entitled to Sabbath rest), verbal changes ('observe' for 'remember' in c. 4, 'desire' for 'covet' in the main body of c. 10), and allusive phrases ('As the Lord thy God commanded thee' in cs. 4 and 5).

‡ Wellhausen, however, 'protests against the *à priori* and consistent preference of the Exod. text,' *Comp. d. Hex.*; and evidence that his view is spreading is furnished by the argument of Meisner's painstaking monograph (*Der Dekalog*).

In opposition to the traditional conception of the D. as strictly Mosaic, three theories are widely represented in modern criticism—(1) that it is a prophetic compendium or manifesto belonging at the earliest to the 8th cent. B.C.; (2) that it is in substance Mosaic, but that it was enlarged at a later period by the addition of one or more commandments, or at least (3) of amplifications and sanctions of the original 'words.'

(1) Against the Mosaic origin it is argued that the tradition does not consistently maintain its claim, but alternatively exhibits a summary of a widely different character (Ex $34^{14ff.}$) as the Mosaic D. (Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hex.* p. 331 ff.)*; that the ancient 'Book of the Covenant' shows no acquaintance with its content (Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*, p. 92 ff.), and especially that both in general spirit and in detail it is out of harmony with the essentially ritualistic religion of pre-prophetic times (following Wellhausen, Kayser, Smend, Baentsch, *op. cit.* 98). Upon this it is sufficient here to observe that the cardinal assumption of this group of scholars, viz. that the D. was impossible before the prophetical teaching of the 8th cent., exaggerates the part played by the prophets in fixing the character of the OT religion. Assuredly, the prophets did not first enunciate, but inherited, the doctrine that true religion utters itself in morality; and it is an obvious inference from the broad facts of the tradition that this fundamental idea was affirmed by and descended from Moses. That as the founder or reformer of a religion he should have embodied its leading principles in 'terse' sentences is not only possible but probable, and the testimony to the fact that in the D. we possess such a summary is too strong to be set aside in the interests of a historical theory.†

(2) A second group of critics, while holding that 'Moses in the name of J″ prescribed to the Israelites such a law as is contained in the ten words' (Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.*, Eng. tr. i. p. 285), support the contention of the first group, that one or more of the commandments are post-Mosaic. The main objection to the Mosaic authorship of c. 4—that it presupposes conditions of agricultural life unlike those under which Moses could have conceived and promulgated it (Montefiore, *Hib. Lect.* p. 554; cf. Smend, *Religionsgesch.* p. 139)—is at the most valid against certain of the amplifications. More serious is the case against the Mosaic origin of c. 2, founded on the facts that its prohibition of graven images was disregarded in the time of the judges and of the early monarchy, that the prophets of the Northern Kingdom offered no opposition to the cult of the golden calves, and that the prophetic conscience appears first to have revolted against them in the 8th cent. in Judah (Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.*, Eng. tr. i. 283 ff.). To this it is replied, in general, that the non-observance of a religious law is no proof of its non-existence; and, in particular, that as the central sanctuaries possessed no image in the times of Eli, David, and Solomon, the prohibition must have been early operative as a recognized part of the pure Mosaic system (cf. Kittel, *Hist. Heb.*, Eng. tr. i. pp. 248, 249). It may be added that contact with Egyptian idolatry is likely to have made Moses recoil from image-worship. It must, however, be granted that the historical facts are perplexing; and it is at least possible that c. 2 is a development by the prophetical school of a consequence originally only latent in the Mosaic prohibition of the worship of other gods.

(3) A third view leaves undisturbed the tradition that Moses was the author of an essentially spiritual and ethical code of ten precepts, but alleges the probability of this having originally existed in a briefer form, to which from time to time various reflexions and promises were added which strengthened their appeal to the mind and will. On this theory, widely held by scholars since Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.*[3] ii. 231), commandments 2, 3, 4, 5 originally wanted the 'reasons annexed,' while 10 may have stopped at 'house.' It is strongly supported by the variations of the two texts, and seems irresistible in consideration of the fact that c. 4 presupposes acquaintance with Gn 1^{1}–2^{3}. It may be added that the terser version gives a better balance to the two tables, and was more suited to the capacity of the popular memory; and in particular that it represents material common to, and thus attested by, the joint testimony of the two divergent recensions.*

The division of the D. into its ten constituent parts has occasioned considerable difficulty. The three systems, as adopted by different religious communities, may be thus represented—

	Greek and Reformed.	R. C. and Lutheran.	Jewish.
God the Deliverer out of Egypt	Preface	Preface	c. 1.
Prohibition of polytheism	c. 1	c. 1	c. 2.
Prohibition of graven images	c. 2		
* * * * *	cs. 3–9	cs. 2–8	cs. 3–9.
Prohibitions of covetousness	c. 10	c. 9 c. 10†	c. 10.

The second of these divisions, introduced after Jewish precedent by Augustine (*ad Exod.*) is slightly supported by the fact that cs. 1 and 2 have a joint sanction, and also by the Dt text of c. 10, but is equally unhappy in combining the two distinct prohibitions of polytheism and idolatry, and in separating the particulars, possibly not original, of the precept against covetousness. The Talmudic division, which treats the preface as the first word, is liable to the objection, not only that it affects the unity of the code, but that the same formula appears elsewhere as introduction or conclusion (Lv 18^{2} 19^{36}). In view of these objections the Greek-Reformed division, represented in antiquity by Philo, Josephus, and many Fathers (Origen, *In Ex. Homilia*, 12), is favoured by the majority of modern critics (Oehler, Ewald, Delitzsch, Dillmann). See also Nestle in *Exp. Times*, June 1897.

The original sequence of the 'words' is disturbed in LXX, where the two commandments which bear upon the life of the family (5 and 7) are brought together, and the sixth becomes the eighth. In NT the order is variable, but usually the seventh precedes the sixth (Mk 10^{19}, Ro 13^{9}).

The classification of the commandments is suggested by their distribution between two tables. Obviously, they fall into two groups — (1) the religious (1–4), which define certain duties which man owes to God; and (2) the ethical (5–10), which define certain duties which he owes to his brother man. It has, however, been frequently pointed out that, in the antique mode of thought, filial duty was more closely allied to the religious than

* The so-called Jahwistic D., first indicated by Goethe, has been finally reconstructed by Wellhausen as follows (*Isr. Gesch.* p. 66):—

1. Thou shalt not worship any strange god.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee molten gods.
3. Thou shalt keep the feast of Unleavened Bread.
4. All the first-born are mine.
5. Thou shalt keep the feast of Weeks.
6. Thou shalt keep the feast of Ingathering in the fall of the year.
7. Thou shalt not mingle leavened bread with the blood of my sacrifice.
8. Thou shalt not retain until the morning the fat of my feast.
9. Thou shalt bring the best of the first-fruits of thy field to the house of J″ thy God.
10. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

In Ex the code really contains 12 precepts, hence there is no agreement as to the selection to be made. It may be noted that it is not claimed that it is Mosaic, but only that it is older than the D. of Ex 20 (cf. Smend, *Religionsgesch.* p. 47).

† Of this evidence an important element is the tradition that two tables of stone containing the D. were placed by Moses in the ark (Ex 40^{20}, Dt 10^{5}). The arguments used to discredit the tradition are set forth fully by Stade, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* i. p. 457 ff., where its existence is explained by the supposition that the ark originally contained sacred stones associated with the presence of J″. But surely Mosaism cannot have bequeathed to posterity as its most precious legacy a stone-fetish (see ARK OF THE COVENANT).

* The view that the 'torso' was the original D. is assailed by Meisner on the ground that the irreducible minimum of the words of the first table has been 'inundated' by Dt (*Dek.* p. 10), but it is at least as probable that the vocabulary of Dt was enriched by the original D.

† While the R.C. and Luth. Churches agree in subdividing the prohibitions of covetousness, the former makes c. 9 protect the neighbour's wife, the latter his house.

to the ethical obligation, and that the first five commandments may accordingly be suitably grouped as precepts of piety, the last five as laws of probity.

The precepts of piety, which may fairly be assigned to the first table, are on the whole clear. The first, while not unambiguously sounding the monotheistic note, at least excludes polytheism from Israel. The second prohibits the worship of the true God under a visible form—idolatry. That the third had an equally definite aim is probable, and it is a plausible suggestion that its point was directed against the use of God's name in spiritualistic and other magical rites (Smend), though most exegetes make it include various abuses of God's name—as perjury, lying, cursing, and other forms of profanity. In the reasons annexed to the words of this table may be noticed the two remarkable features of c. 2, the profound insight into the law of heredity, and the intimation that the soul of religion is the love of God; the Deut. grounding of c. 4, which breathes compassion towards man and beast; and the confident assertion in c. 5 of the doctrine of temporal retribution.

The laws of probity take under their protection human life (c. 6), the institution of marriage (c. 7), property (c. 8), and character or reputation (c. 9); while c. 10 strikes at the roots of wrong-doing by proscribing the lawless desire. They may be further classified according as they condemn criminality in act (cs. 6-8), in word (c. 9), and in thought (c. 10).

From this brief sketch of the contents of the D. we may obtain an impression both of its greatness and its limitations. Its first distinction is that within the brief compass of the ten words it lays down the fundamental articles of religion (sovereignty and spirituality of God), and asserts the claims of morality in the chief spheres of human relationship (home, calling, society). Its ethical precepts are the most far-reaching and the most indispensable. It is, again, a further testimony to the moral value of the code that it provided forms capable of receiving a richer and fuller content than that which they originally held. But the sovereign distinction of the D. lies less in its exhibition of the foundations of religion and of the landmarks of morality, than in its representation of religion and morality as knit together by a vital and indissoluble bond. The D. is, in brief, the charter of ethical piety, or, in other words, the great pre-Christian advocate for righteousness as the highest form of ritual. In an age of the world's history when popular religion found satisfaction in an ethically indifferent ceremonialism, in a country where Mosaic sanction was claimed for an elaborate system of sacrifices and festivals, the D. excluded from the summary of duty almost every reference to this class of obligations, and made it clear that what God above all required was justice and mercy. Consistently with this, the one religious duty, narrowly so called, which finds a place in the code, is Sabbath observance; for this commandment not only had in view the provision of an opportunity for meditation and worship, but was equally conceived, if we may follow Dt, as a beneficent institution founded in compassion toward the weary and heavy laden.

The limitations of the D. lie on the surface. Its brevity forbids us to expect exhaustiveness, and, as a fact, its ethical requirements may almost all be connected with the single virtue of justice. Wisdom and fortitude, which figure prominently in the Greek scheme of virtue, are not recognized, and even in the prohibitions of adultery and covetousness it is less temperance or self-control than justice that appears to interpose to forbid the sin. Again, it followed from the undisciplined character of the people to whom it was first given, that the D. should be elementary in its teaching. They were children who had need to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God. The demands accordingly are not very high-pitched: with the exception of the tenth, the moral precepts belong exclusively to the region of conduct where actions condemned by the conscience as sins are also punished by the state as crimes. Further, of the ten, eight are prohibitions, two only are positive injunctions. And herein lies the principal limitation of the D. In the main a condemnation of superstition and crime, and as such of the highest value in the training of a primitive people, it does not meet the demand of the enlightened conscience for a positive moral ideal. For this we must advance to Christ's interpretation or revision of the Decalogue.

The frequent references of Christ to the D. are marked by two main features—(1) a hearty recognition of its divine authority (Mt 5^{17}); (2) a purpose of so interpreting its precepts as to widen their range and exalt their demands. Its inadequacy as an ideal, due to its preponderantly negative character, He rectified by condensing the law into the two positive commandments to love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves (Mt 22^{36-40}). Indeed, so closely did the teaching of Jesus lean on the Mosaic form that it is possible to construct with scarcely a gap the D. according to Christ. The following are the principal additions: C. 1. Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart (Mt 22^{37}). C. 2. They that worship, worship in spirit and truth (Jn 4^{24}). C. 3. Swear not at all (Mt 5^{34}). C. 4. The Sabbath was made for man (Mk 2^{27}). C. 5. Duty to parents paramount over other religious obligation (Mt 15^{4-6}). C. 6. Murder includes anger (Mt 5^{22}). C. 7. Adultery includes lust (5^{28}). Of c. 8 we have not Christ's exposition, but the absence is readily explained by the fact that c. 10 had already extended the prohibition of theft in the spirit of the teaching of Jesus. Similarly, the false witness of c. 9 is referred to a foul heart (Mt 12^{34}), while the idle is included in condemnation with the calumnious word (12^{37}). Of Christ's definite consciousness of a mission to handle the D. in the light of the final revelation there is further evidence in His announcement of the new commandment of brotherly love (Jn 13^{34}), by which He re-emphasizes the nature of the positive ideal substituted for the warnings of the second table.*

Of the apostolic references to the D. those of St. Paul are most noteworthy. Like Jesus, he employs it as a standard to test conduct and measure wickedness. He supposes the law to have been communicated to Moses through angelic mediation (Gal 3^{19}, cf. He 2^{2}). What St. Paul held as to the place of the D. in the Christian dispensation is a question of some difficulty. He nowhere draws a distinction between the ceremonial and the moral elements of the Mosaic law, and declares that, while the former are repealed, the latter remain binding: his general thesis is that the law as such has no longer dominion over the Christian (Ro 7^{4}). But as certainly it follows for St. Paul that the Christian, while placed in a new attitude to the law, voluntarily and joyfully re-subjects himself to and obeys its ethical commandments. Filled by the Spirit and animated with gratitude, he exhibits towards his fellow-men a measure of love to which it is a small thing to forbear from injustice, as required in the second table of the ancient law (Ro 13^{9}).

In Christian theology the D. is commonly regarded as a revelation, or as a republication, of the fundamentals of religion and morality. It is the most important part of the OT or legal economy, and as such was designed to show the path of duty, to deepen the sense of guilt, and to awaken a profound sense of human inability. The question of its continued validity for the Christian, while capable of being diversely grounded, possesses practical importance only in the case of c. 4, where the issue is whether the Sabbath is to be

* The perfection of the D. was a favourite thesis of 17th cent. orthodoxy as against the Socinians and Arminians, who declared that Christian ethics added three principles—abnegatio nostri, tolerantia crucis propter Christum, imitatio Christi. The orthodox view was that it did not require to be supplemented or corrected, but only properly interpreted, to furnish the full Christian ideal (see Turretin, *Theol. Elenc. Inst.* Locus 11).

kept as a divine command or as a measure of Christian expediency and a dictate of Christian feeling (see SABBATH). The latter view, energetically maintained by Luther, and favoured in the Federal School of Reformed theology, is most in harmony with the Pauline doctrines of law and Christian liberty. See LAW.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*; Oehler's *OT Theology*; W. R. Smith, art. 'Decalogue' in *Encycl. Brit.*[9]; Wellhausen, *Composition des Hex.*; Driver, *LOT*; H. Schultz, *OT Theology*; Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgeschichte*; Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*; Meisner, *Der Dekalog*; Stade, *Gesch. Israel's*; Kittel, *Hist. of Israel*; Dillmann, *Exod.*; Driver, *Deut.*; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.*; Harper, *Deut.* For the treatment of the D. in the old polemical divinity, reference may be made to F. Turretin, *Institutio Theologiæ Elencticæ*; H. Grotius, *Explicatio Decalogi*, and Cocceius, *De Sabbato*; for homiletical treatment, to R. W. Dale, *The Ten Commandments*. W. P. PATERSON.

DECAPOLIS (Δεκάπολις), 'ten cities,' Mt 4[25], Mk 5[20] 7[31].—A region of allied cities (see PALESTINE) E. of Jordan in Bashan, but including Beth-shean W. of the river. Such leagues existed in other parts of the Roman Empire for purposes of trade and of defence. The mention of swine kept by the people of Decapolis suggests the presence of a Gr. colony; and the region had a Gr.-speaking population, mingled with natives, as early as the time of Herod the Great. The cities of Decapolis, according to Pliny (*HN* v. 18), were Scythopolis (*Beisân*), Hippos (*Susieh*), Gadara (*Umm Keis*), Pella (*Fahil*), Philadelphia (*'Ammân*), Gerasa (*Jerâsh*), Dion (*Adûn*), Canatha (*Kanawât*), Damascus, and Raphana. The region thus included all Bashan and Gilead. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.*) it is defined as the region round Hippos, Pella, and Gadara. (Cf. further, Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 94 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 593 ff.)

C. R. CONDER.

DECEASE.—In OT Is 26[14] only, 'they are deceased.' The Heb. is *rĕphâ'îm* (רְפָאִים), 'shades,' which RV translates 'they that are deceased' in Job 26[5], Ps 88[10]. See REPHAIM. In NT 'decease' is used as an intrans. vb. in Mt 22[25] 'the first, when he had married a wife, deceased' (τελευτάω, 'come to an end,' used with θανάτῳ, Mt 15[4]). Cf. Fuller, *Holy War* (1639), III. x. 132, 'Queen Sibyll who deceased of the plague.' The subst. is found Lk 9[31] 'his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem,' and 2 P 1[15] (both ἔξοδος, *exodus*, 'outgoing'; used of death also Wis 3[2] 7[6], Sir 38[23]; cf. εἴσοδος='entering into' the world, Ac 13[24]). J. HASTINGS.

DECEIT.—The misleading of another by word or deed, in which case it is equivalent to falsehood (Pr 14[25], Hos 12[7]); or the overreaching of another, as when a false balance is used. Every kind of wickedness, as a rule, involves deceit, since the just and holy must be assumed as a mask, in order to gain credit with men, and make the accomplishment of the evil design possible (Pr 12[20] 26[24]). D. shows itself not merely in isolated acts, but also as a settled habit of mind (Jer 23[26]). It is so characteristic an element of evil that it is frequently used in Scripture as synonymous with it (Ps 119[118], Jer 7[6]). W. MORGAN.

DECEIVABLENESS.—Only in 2 Th 2[10] 'With all d. of unrighteousness' (RV 'deceit'). The adj. 'deceivable' also occurs only once, Sir 10[19] 'a d. seed.' The meaning is 'able to deceive,' 'deceitful'; and that is the usual meaning of the words, as 2 P 1[16] Tind. 'we followed not deceivable fables,' and Gouge (1653) on He 3[14] 'Sin prevails the more by the deceiveablenesse thereof.' But Milton uses the adj. in the sense of 'liable to be deceived' in *Samson Agonistes*, 942, 'blind, and thereby deceivable.' J. HASTINGS.

DECENTLY.—'Decent' and 'decently' have deteriorated with use. From Lat. *decens*, they expressed originally that which is becoming, as Latimer, 1*st Serm. bef. Edw. VI.* (1547) 'God teacheth what honoure is decente for the kynge'; and generally that which, by being seemly, adds lustre, hence comely, handsome (cf. Lat. *decus*), as Pref. to *Pr. Bk.* (1549) 'this godly and decent Order of the ancient Fathers'; Bacon, *Essays*, p. 177, 'the Principall part of Beauty is in decent motion'; Milton, *Il Pens.* 36—

'And sable stole of cypress lawn
Over thy decent shoulders drawn.'

Now, the meaning is no more than 'fair,' 'passable,' as Darwin, *Life*, i. 151, 'If I keep decently well.' In AV 'decent' does not occur, and 'decently' only 1 Co 14[40] 'Let all things be done d. and in order,' for which all previous VSS have 'honestly,' after Vulg. *honeste*, Luther *ehrlich* (Gr. εὐσχημόνως, which occurs also Ro 13[13], 1 Th 4[12], where all Eng. VSS have 'honestly,' with 'decently' in AVm of Ro 13[13]). J. HASTINGS.

DECISION.—**1.** The decision of questions of right between man and man necessarily depends on the form of authority recognized in each successive stage of society. In the nomadic condition a patriarchal government is tempered by custom and the counsels of tribal headsmen. It can scarcely be altogether as a reflection from later times, that Moses continually appears in the Pentateuch accompanied by elders. The appointment of the 70 is distinctly described as designed to afford relief to the leader in the decision of cases of dispute between Israelites (Nu 11[10-17]). The judges appear as dictators, who would necessarily add to their military rule the administrative and judicial functions that accompany supreme power, though the local influence of heads and families must always have tempered their authority. It is as judge to settle disputes that Samuel is represented as making his annual visitation of Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah (1 S 7[16], which is of late origin). The kings of Judah and Israel were supreme judges. A judicial decision is the typical instance of Solomon's wisdom (1 K 3[16-28]). After the Captivity, since the Jews were now a subject race, the supreme authority for the decision of important cases rested with an alien government; but the transformation of the nation into a Church led to the private settlement of internal affairs on the advice of the scribes. The development of the synagogue may have given shape to this method, the local court of elders settling minor cases. The formation of the Sanhedrin at Jerus. as both a civil and an ecclesiastical court led to the decision there of cases affecting Judæa, though with various powers at different times, the Romans recognizing the legal authority of this court, but requiring cases of life and death to be referred to the procurator (Jn 18[31]). Our Lord instructed His disciples to avoid litigation and to settle disputes with their brethren privately, or, if that were impossible, by reference to the Church as a court of judgment (Mt 18[17]). St. Paul expostulated with the Corinthians for resorting to the heathen law courts on account of quarrels among themselves, directing them to appoint their own judges within the Church (1 Co 6[1-8]).

2. The decision of questions of perplexity in early times was determined by **casting lots, with** the conviction that what seemed to be chance with man was really directed by God (Pr 16[33]). This method was employed in the division of the land (Jos 14[2], P), and in the cases of Achan (Jos 7[14]), Saul (1 S 10[21]), Saul and Jonathan (14[42]). The Urim and Thummim and the ephod seem to have been used for casting lots (Ex 28[30], Nu 27[21], 1 S 28[6]). This method of decision was missed at the restoration,

but its recovery anticipated (Ezr 2^{63}, Neh 7^{65}). The prophets, however, did not encourage it. Under the influence of the inspiration they enjoyed, the oracle was obtained more directly. Thus, unlike the choice of Saul, the choice of David was made by means of the prophetic spirit in Samuel (1 S 16^{1-13}). Kings would resort to prophets for advice on questions of going into battle, etc., *e.g.* the case of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, in which the contrast between the lying spirit of the false prophet and the true spirit of the genuine prophet of J″ is illustrated (1 K 22^{1-28}). The decision of the prophet is clearly distinguished from divination, witchcraft, dealings with familiar spirits, and attempts to consult the dead—dark practices which are severely condemned (Dt 18^{9-12}). In NT the lot reappears, not only in the case of the division of the garments of Jesus among the Rom. soldiers (Mk 15^{24}, Lk 23^{34}, Jn 19^{24}), but also in a solemn decision of the Christians as a means of obtaining a successor to Judas. In this case, however, it only decides between two men, each of whom has been chosen after careful investigation has proved him to possess the qualities essential to apostleship, and then with prayer for divine guidance (Ac 1^{21-26}). Doubts have been thrown on the wisdom of this course. It is a significant fact that it never seems to have been followed in subsequent elections of church officers in the apostolic Churches.

For **Valley of Decision** see JEHOSHAPHAT (VALLEY).

W. F. ADENEY.

DECK.—To deck (=Lat. *tegere*, Ger. *decken*, Eng. *thatch*) is simply 'to cover,' hence the 'deck' of a ship. Thus Cov. has (Hag 1^{6}) 'Ye decke youre selves, but ye are not warme' (Gen., AV, and RV 'Ye clothe you'). In this sense possibly is Pr 7^{16} 'I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry' (רְבַדִּים, LXX τέτακα, Vulg. *intexui*). But Luther has 'Ich habe mein Bette *schön geschmücket*, Wyc. 'I have arayed,' and it is certain that by 1611 'deck' had taken on the sense of *decorate*, no doubt through confusion with that word, with which it has no proper connexion. Thus *Pr. Bk.* (1552) Com. Service (Keeling, p. 191), 'when a man hath prepared a rich feast, decked his table with all kind of provision, so that there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down.' In this sense 'deck' is used elsewhere in AV.

J. HASTINGS.

DECLARE, DECLARATION.—The oldest meaning of the vb. 'declare' is to make clear (*de-clarus*), explain, expound, as in the Title of Tylle's ed. of Tindale's NT, 'declaryng many harde places conteyned in the texte.' So perhaps Dt 1^{5} (see Driver). Elsewhere in AV 'declare' is the tr. of a great number of different Heb. and Gr. words, but its meaning is probably never more precise than 'make known,' as Ps 50^{6} 'the heavens shall d. his righteousness,' Ac 17^{23} 'Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him d. I unto you' (RV 'set forth'), Ro 1^{4} 'declared to be the Son of God with power . . . by the resurrection from the dead.' And this is the meaning of **declaration** in its few occurrences, Job 13^{17}, Est 10^{2} (RV 'full account'), Sir 43^{6}, Lk 1^{1} (RV 'narrative'), 2 Co 8^{19} (RV 'to shew').

J. HASTINGS.

DECLINE.—In AV to 'decline' is always (except Ps 102^{11} 109^{23}) used in the original but now obsolete sense of 'turn aside.' Thus, Job 23^{11} 'His way have I kept, and not declined' (RV 'turned not aside'); Ps 119^{51} 'yet have I not declined from thy law' (RV 'swerved'; so 119^{157}); Pr 7^{25} 'Let not thine heart decline to her ways' (so RV). In Ps 102^{11} 'My days are like a shadow that declineth,' and 109^{23}, the image is of the shadow which lengthens as the sun goes down, till at last it vanishes into night. RV adds Jg 19^{8} 'until the day declineth' (see AVm), 2 K 20^{10} 'It is a light thing for the shadow to decline ten steps' (AV 'go down'), and Jer 6^{4} 'the day declineth' (AV 'goeth away'). Tennyson combines both meanings (*Locksley Hall*, l. 43)—

> 'Having known me, to decline
> On a range of lower feelings and a narrower heart than mine.'

J. HASTINGS.

DEDAN, דְּדָן, LXX Δαδάν, Δεδάν (in Is, Jer, Ezk, Δαιδάν), according to Gn 10^{7}, a son of Raamah, one of the sons of Cush. In Gn 25^{3} he is named along with Sheba, as in Gn 10^{7}, but is represented, not as a Cushite, but as a Keturæan. Dedan is in this latter passage a son of Jokshan, son of Abraham by Keturah; but according to Josephus (*Ant.* I. xv. 1) he was the son of Shuah (or Sous), another of Keturah's sons. The Shuhites were neighbours of the Temanites (Job 2^{11}) in North-Western Arabia. There are traces still of the ruins of a city Daidan in that region, and the Sabæan inscriptions mention the Dedanites as a tribe in that neighbourhood.

The **Dedanites** are represented as an important commercial people, carrying on an extensive caravan trade with Damascus and Tyre. They frequented the highway that ran through the Arabian desert as they journeyed northward with their wares, and when driven back by a hostile force they were thrown upon the charity of their southern neighbours of Tema (Is 21^{13}). According to Jeremiah (25^{23}) they formed an Arabian tribe alongside of Tema and Buz, and were accustomed on their business journeys to pass through the land of Edom. The Dedanites share in the judgments which fall upon the Edomites and upon the kings of Arabia. In all these prophetic passages, as in the OT generally, Arabia designates, not the whole of the peninsula now known by that name, but merely the northern part, colonized by the Ishmaelite and Keturæan descendants of Abraham. In Jer 25^{23} the reference to Dedan follows immediately upon the mention of the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and the coast beyond the sea. This does not seem to require the locating of Dedan by the sea-coast. The connexion with Tyre is quite sufficient to justify such an arrangement. Besides, the order in which the countries and peoples are named in vv.$^{20-26}$ is evidently in a broad way from west to east, with an excursion midway northward and then southward, from Edom to Tyre and back again to Arabia. In Ezk 25^{13} Dedan is described as forming the extreme south of Edom, as Teman represents the farthest north. This may only mean that the country of the Dedanites constituted the southern frontier of Edom. The destruction of all Edom is described as a desolation extending from Teman to Dedan. In Ezk 27^{20} Dedan is spoken of as carrying to the market of the wealthy and luxurious Tyre precious cloths for chariots or saddle cloths for riding. From the place which it occupies in this passage, it is evidently to be regarded as a country of Northern Arabia. If we accept the correction of some of the ablest modern critics in the reading of v.^{19}, we find the mention of Dedan preceded by a reference to Southern Arabia; while v.^{21} names Arabia, in the narrower acceptation of Northern Arabia, and the princes of Kedar. This precisely suits the locality assigned in other passages to the Keturæan Dedanites.

Considerable difficulty has arisen over the only other allusion to Dedan in the OT, to which we have not yet referred. In Ezk 27^{15} we read: 'The men of Dedan were thy traffickers; many isles were the mart of thine hand: they brought thee in exchange horns of ivory and ebony.' The ivory and ebony are represented as tribute due to the supreme importance of Tyre as mistress of the

commercial world. There is no reason why the Dedanites of Northern Arabia should not have acted as intermediaries in transporting to the western markets the products of the far East. But the mention of the isles is supposed to make the assumption of a Dedanite people on the sea necessary. The LXX reads *Rhodians*, R (ר) and D (ר) in the writing of Heb. being easily mistaken for one another. In this case, however, it has all the appearance of a correction made by the Gr. translators, so as to make the whole verse refer to islands and islanders. But the order in which the names are given in this passage seems unfavourable to such a view. The list of those who brought their goods to the market of Tyre begins with Tarshish in the far West, passing on to Javan, Tubal, Meshech (Asia Minor and the coasts of the Black Sea), Togarmah (Armenia). With Dedan there is clearly a fresh start made, whether we understand it of Rhodes or of a part of North-Western Arabia. But if in v.[16] we read Edom instead of Aram (Syria), where again only the interchange of R and D is required, we have in vv.[16-18] the order from south to north (Edom, Judah, Damascus). Seeing, then, that Dedan lay south of Edom, it would form the appropriate starting-point for this second list.

Thus in all the prophetic passages the only theory that easily and naturally fits into the text is that which places Dedan on the south border of Edom, and regards the Dedanites as a Keturæan tribe, occupying a position alongside of other allied tribes in the north-west of Arabia. The only trace, therefore, that we have of a Cushite Dedan is in Gn 10[7]. It is quite impossible to conjecture with any confidence how it came about that both Sheba and Dedan should be names recurring in two families so far removed from one another as that of the Cushite Raamah and that of the Keturæan Jokshan. Possibly, a branch of the Keturæan Dedanites may have settled among Cushites near the Persian Gulf, and, while retaining their ancestral name, may have been included in the genealogy with their Cushite neighbours. It is, however, difficult to assume that the same had happened with respect to the sons of Sheba.

The Dedan of the Edomite border is placed by Eusebius in the neighbourhood of Phana on the east of Mount Seir, between Petra and Zoar, the ancient Punon or Phunon, at which the Israelites encamped during their wanderings (Nu 33[42f.]).

LITERATURE.—Besides Dillmann and Delitzsch on Gn and Is, and Davidson on Ezk, see Winer, *Realwörterbuch*,[3] 263 f., whose article is much more satisfactory than those of Steiner (Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, i. 595 f.) and Kautzsch (Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 266). See also Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 239 f.

J. MACPHERSON.

DEDICATION.—The idea of withdrawing (persons, places, things) from a common and setting apart to a sacred use, which seems to be the original connotation of the important Sem. root קדשׁ, is embodied in various expressions of EV, such as consecrate, dedicate, devote, hallow (holy, etc.), sanctify. Of the first two we may say that the general usage is to apply 'consecrate' and 'consecration' to the setting apart of persons, and 'dedicate' and 'dedication' to the setting apart of things. Accordingly, we read of silver being 'dedicated unto J"' (Jg 17[3]), so that it could no longer be used for other than sacred purposes, of 'vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass (נְחֹשֶׁת)' so dedicated or set apart by David (2 S 8[10. 11]=1 Ch 18[10. 11], 1 K 7[51]=2 Ch 5[1]), just as we read of the dedication of a bowl 'of the first (quality) of copper (נְחֹשֶׁת)' to Baal-Lebanon (*CIS*, Tab. iv.; cf. Mesha's inscription, lines 17, 18, כְּלֵי יהוה vessels of J" dedicated to Chemosh). The same Heb. word is used of the dedication of the 'tent of meeting' (Ex 29[44], EV 'sanctify'), of the altar of burnt-offering (Ex 29[36]), and of other parts of the furniture (Ex 40[10]), all as described in Lv 8[10ff.]. In another ref. to this dedication (so EV, but RVm dedication-gift, Nu 7[84. 88]) we first meet with the חֲנֻכָּה *Ḥănukkah* (for wh. see Dillmann *in loco*, Jo. Selden, *De Synedriis*, 1679, bk. iii. p. 148 ff., and the next art.). Other dedication ceremonies in OT are the dedication of Solomon's temple, related in detail, 1 K 8 (where note v.[63] חָנְכוּ, ἐνεκαίνισεν, EV dedicate, but v.[64] קִדַּשׁ, ἡγίασεν, EV hallow), the dedication of the second temple (Ezr 6[16. 17]) * and of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12[27]). The last passage is of interest, moreover, as showing that the completion of buildings of a more secular character was also the occasion of a dedicatory service. That this holds good, even of a private house, is to be inferred from Dt 20[5]. For much curious information on this practice among other ancient peoples, and on its continuation in later times, see Selden, *op. cit.* (cf. CONSECRATION).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

DEDICATION, THE FEAST OF THE (τὰ ἐγκαίνια Jn 10[22], ὁ ἐγκαινισμὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου 1 Mac 4[56]), was instituted by Judas Maccabæus (B.C. 164) in commemoration of the purification of the temple and altar after they had been polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 4[59]). It was to be 'kept from year to year by the space of eight days from the five and twentieth day of the month Chislev' (about the time of the winter solstice). The Feast of the Ded. is only once mentioned in NT (Jn 10[22]), and in this passage there is an incidental reference to the season of the year, apparently to explain why it was that Jesus was walking under cover instead of in the open air. This is one of the numerous instances in which the author of the Fourth Gospel shows a close acquaintance with Jewish customs. Westcott thinks that the title chosen by our Lord in Jn 9[5] may refer to the lighting of lamps at this feast, no less than to the ceremonies of the Feast of Tabernacles. This illumination was so prominent a feature in the Feast of the Ded. that it was sometimes called the Feast of Lights (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 7). Josephus, however, does not mention the illumination in private houses, which has been a marked feature of the feast from the end of the 1st cent. to the present time. According to Maimonides, every house should set up at least one light. Those who did honour to the command should set up a light for each person in the house, and those who did more honour still should begin with one light for each person, and double the number each night (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. in loc.*). Another school directed that eight lights should be used on the first night, and the number diminished by one each night. The feast lasted eight days. The reference in 2 Mac 10[6] seems to show that the points of resemblance between some of the ordinances of this feast and the Feast of Tabernacles were not accidental, but were designed from the first. The Feast of Dedication, however, was unlike the great feasts, in that it could be celebrated anywhere and did not require the worshipper to go up to Jerusalem.

The words of the Jews in Jn 10[24] would naturally be suggested by the direction which this feast would give to men's thoughts. The hymn which is at present used in Jewish synagogues during its continuance records the successive deliverances of Israel, and contains a prayer for yet another.

J. H. KENNEDY.

DEEM was once in freq. use, but is now almost extinct. Even in AV it occurs but twice, Wis 13[2] 'deemed either fire or wind or the swift air, or the

* The title of Ps 30 most probably refers to the dedication by Judas Maccabæus (see Baethgen *in loco*, and next art.).

circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world' (*ἐνόμισαν*, RV 'thought'), and Ac 27[27] 'the shipmen deemed (*ὑπενόουν*) that they drew near to some country,' though Wyclif has the word and its cognates often, and uses it with fine effect. Thus 1 Co 11[29. 31. 32] 'for he that etith and drynkith unworthili etith and drinkith *dome* to hym, not wiseli *demynge* the bodi of the Lord. And if we *demeden* wiseli us silf we schulden not be *demed*, but while we ben *demed* of the Lord we ben chastisid, that we be not *dampned* with this world.' RV gives 'surmised' for 'deemed' in Ac 27[27], but 'deemed' for 'as' in Ezr 2[62], Neh 7[64] 'therefore were they deemed polluted and put from the priesthood' (Heb. simply 'and were polluted from the priesthood'). J. HASTINGS.

DEEP.—The adj. is used fig. in the sense of 'profound' without any thought of malevolence, as Ps 92[5] 'Thy thoughts are very deep'; Ec 7[24] 'that which is far off, and exceeding deep' (עָמֹק *ʿāmōḳ* 'deep, deep'); Is 29[15] 'woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord' (מֶעָמִיק); Dn 2[22] 'He revealeth the deep and secret things'; 1 Co 2[10] 'the deep things of God' (Wyclif's tr.; Tind. 'the bottome of Goddes secretes,' so Cranmer, Geneva (1557); but Gen. 1560 restored 'the deepe things of God,' and so Bishops'; Rhem. 'the profoundities of God'). Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 'the more deepe and sober sort of Politique persons.'

'Deep' is a common subst. in Shaks. and others of that day, and is often used figuratively, as *Jul. Cæs.* IV. iii. 226—

'The deep of night is crept upon our talk.'

But in AV where 'the deep' is not the sea, it refers to the waste of waters (the primitive *tĕhôm*), or to the bottomless pit. The Heb. words are תְּהוֹם *tĕhôm*, as Gn 1[2] 'darkness was upon the face of the deep' (see COSMOGONY); צוּלָה *ṣûlâh*, Is 44[27], and מְצוּלָה *mĕṣûlâh*, Job 41[31], Ps 69[15] 107[24], or מְצוֹלָה *mĕṣôlâh* (in the plu. 'deeps'), Neh 9[11], Ps 88[6]. The Gr. words are *ἄβυσσος* (see ABYSS), *βάθος*, Lk 5[4], 2 Co 8[2]; and *βυθός*, 2 Co 11[25].

Deepness, now almost replaced by 'depth,' is retained from Wyc. in Mt 13[5] 'they had no deepness of earth' (RV retains, and restores 'deepness' to the par. passage Mk 4[5], which Wyc. had also; Tind. has 'depth' in both places). J. HASTINGS.

DEER.—See FALLOWDEER.

DEFECTIVE.—Sir 49[4] only, and the meaning is 'guilty of wrongdoing,' 'All, except David and Ezechias and Josias, were defective: for they forsook the law of the Most High' (*πλημμελείαν ἐπλημμέλησαν*, lit. 'erred an error,' *i.e.* acc. to the Heb. idiom 'erred greatly,' RV 'committed trespass.' The same Gr. is found in LXX Lv 5[19], Jos 7[1] 22[20. 31]). Bissell (*in loc.*) says 'were defective' is not strong enough. Nor is it now, but in older Eng. it was used for positive transgression or wrongdoing, as *Act* 10 *Henry VIII.* 1518, 'Persons . . . so founden defective or trespassing in any of the said statutes.' 'Defect' in the mod. sense of a shortcoming is given by RV in 1 Co 6[7] (*ἥττημα*, AV after Wyc. 'fault,' Gen. 'impatience,' RVm 'loss': see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 11[12]).
J. HASTINGS.

DEFENCED is used in AV (only of cities) where we should now say 'fortified,' the Heb. being either the vb. [בָּצַר] *bâṣar* (Is 25[2] 27[10] 36[1] 37[26], Ezk 21[20]) 'to cut off, render inaccessible,' or the subst. מִבְצָר *mibhṣâr* (Jer 1[18] 4[5] 8[14] 34[7], always with עִיר *ʿîr*, city), 'a place cut off.' RV gives 'fenced' in Is 36[1] 37[26] and in Jer 4[5] 34[7]; Amer. RV has 'fortified' in all the passages. J. HASTINGS.

DEFER.—From *dis* apart, and *ferre* to carry, to defer is properly 'to put aside,' and this meaning is found in early English. The mod. meaning is 'to put off to another occasion,' 'to postpone'; but in older Eng. the word was loosely used in the general sense of 'put of,' 'delay,' as Dn 9[19] 'defer not, for thine own sake, O my God' (אַל־תְּאַחַר 'delay not,' 'tarry not,' the vb. is never used in the sense of putting off to another occasion; so Gn 34[19], Ec 5[4]); Pr 13[12] 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick' (מָמְשָׁכָה 'drawn out,' 'protracted,' cf. Is 18[2. 7] where same part of vb. is tr. 'tall' in RV); Is 48[9] 'For my name's sake will I defer mine anger' (אַאֲרִיךְ, not postpone to another occasion, but delay so as not to vent it at all if possible, so Pr 19[11]). Delay is the meaning also in Apocr., Jth 2[13] (*μακρύνω*), Sir 4[3] (*παρέλκω*), 18[22] (*μείνω*). But in NT (Ac 24[22] only) the meaning is postpone to another occasion, viz. to a fuller hearing; the obsol. construction is, however, employed of having a person as the object, 'Felix . . . deferred them' (*ἀνεβάλετο αὐτούς*). Cf. Rogers (1642), *Naaman*, 137, 'If it seem goode to thy wisdome to deferre me.' RV gives 'deferred' for 'prolonged' Ezk 12[25. 28] (מָשַׁךְ).
J. HASTINGS.

DEFILEMENT.—See UNCLEANNESS.

DEFY.— When Goliath 'defied' the armies of Israel, it is probable that the translators of AV understood him to challenge them to combat, though the Heb. (חֵרֵף) means to *taunt* or *scorn* (so 1 S 17[10. 25. 26. 36. 45], 2 S 21[21] 23[9], 1 Ch 20[7]). But when Balaam is summoned to Balak's camp with the words (Nu 23[7. 8]),

'Come, curse me Jacob,
And come, defy Israel,'

it is manifest that 'defy' is used in some other and now obsol. sense. The Heb. (זָעַם) means to be indignant, then express indignation against one, denounce, curse; and that is the meaning the parallelism would require (LXX *ἐπικατάρασαι*, Vulg. *detestare*, Luth. *schelten*). Now 'defy' (from late Lat. *dis-fidare*, dis-trust) primarily means to renounce allegiance or affiance, to pronounce all bonds of faith and fellowship dissolved (whence war would generally follow, and so the modern sense of the word). Thus Tindale's tr. of 1 Co 12[3] 'no man speakynge in the sprete of God defieth Jesus.' This is probably the sense in which 'defy' should be taken in Nu, since it is Tindale's word; though there is a meaning of the word that is closer to the Greek, viz. 'despise,' 'set at nought,' as Olde (1549), *Erasm. Par. Thess.* 4, 'I defie all thinges in comparison of the gospel of Christ'; and a rare use nearer still, viz. 'curse,' as Hall (1548), *Chron.* 52*b*, 'The faire damoselles defied that daie [at Agincourt] in the whiche thei had lost their paramors.' Geneva and Douay have 'detest' in its old sense of 'denounce.'
J. HASTINGS.

DEGREE.—Late Lat. *degradus* (*de* down, *gradus* a step) gave Fr. *degré*, whence Eng. 'degree.' So a 'degree' is simply a *step*, whether up or down, and esp. one of a flight of steps, or the rung of a ladder. Thus Chaucer, *Romaunt of Rose*, 485—

'Into that gardyn, wel y-wrought,
Who-so that me coude have brought,
By laddre, or elles by degree,
It wolde wel have lyked me.'

And Shaks. *Jul. Cæsar*, II. i. 26—

'But when he once attains the upmost round,
He then unto the ladder turns his back,
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend.'

This is the meaning of 'degree' in AV wherever it occurs in the plur.: the ref. being either to the degrees of Ahaz's dial (2 K 20[9 *bis.* 10 *bis.* 11], Is 38[8 *ter*], see DIAL) or to the Songs of Degrees (Ps 120–134 titles, see PSALMS) and the Heb. מַעֲלָה *maʿălâh*.

But from signifying a step literally, 'degree' soon passed to express also a step in rank, whence 1 Ch 15[18] 'their brethren of the second d.' (מִמִּשְׁנִים, lit. 'the seconds'); 17[17] 'a man of high degree (הָאָדָם הַמַּעֲלָה), Ps 62[9] 'men of high d.' (בְּנֵי־אִישׁ); 62[9] 'men of low d.' (בְּנֵי־אָדָם), Sir 11[1] 'wisdom lifteth up the head of him that is of low d.' (*ταπεινός*: so Lk 1[52], Ja 1[9]); 1 Ti 3[13] 'they that have used the office of a deacon will purchase to themselves a good d.' (*βαθμός*, lit. 'step,' RV 'standing').

In the last passage the meaning is quite exceptional in the Eng. as in the Greek. The Eng. word is Wyclif's, who has been followed by all the versions except RV. It is simply a literal tr. of the Vulg. *gradus*, itself a literal tr. of the Greek. The Gr. word occurs here only in NT. In the LXX it is used either as tr. of *maʿălâh* (2 K 20[9 bis. 10 bis. 11]) or of *miphtân* (1 S 5[5]), the former being the 'steps' or 'degrees' of Ahaz's dial, the latter the 'threshold' of Dagon's temple: it is also found once in Apocr. (Sir 6[36]) for the 'steps' of the wise man's door. See further Humphrey's note *in loc.* (*Camb. Bible*), and Hort, *Ecclesia* (1897), p. 202. J. HASTINGS.

DEGREES, SONGS OF.—See PSALMS.

DEHAITES (AV Dehavites, דְּחָוְאֵא, *Ḳĕrê* דְּחָיְאֵא, Ezr 4[9]).—The Dehaites were among the peoples settled in Samaria by Osnappar, *i.e.* probably the Assyr. king Assurbanipal. They joined with their fellow-colonists in sending the letter written by Rehum and Shimshai to king Artaxerxes, to complain of the attempt made by the Jews to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (probably about 447 B.C.). The name has been connected with that of a nomadic Persian tribe, the Δάοι, mentioned in Herod. i. 125 (Rawlinson), or with the name of the city Du'-ûa, mentioned on Assyrian contract-tablets (Fried. Delitzsch); but according to Schrader these identifications are very doubtful. The LXX reads Δαναῖοι (A), but in B the text runs Σουσναχαῖοι οἱ εἰσὶν Ἠλαμαῖοι (for 'the Shushanchites, the Dehaites, the Elamites'; cf. Meyer, *Judenthum*, 36). H. A. WHITE.

DEHORT.—Only 1 Mac 9[9] 'they dehorted him, saying, We shall never be able' (*ἀποστρέφω*); and in the headings of some chapters. 'Dehort' (fr. Lat. *dehortari*) is the opposite of 'exhort.' '"Exhort" continues, but "dehort," a word whose place "dissuade" does not exactly supply, has escaped us'*—Trench, *Eng. Past and Pres.*[7] 179. Ussher (1656) in *Ann.* iv. 24 has 'Exhorting them to observe the law of God . . . and dehorting them the breach of that law.' J. HASTINGS.

DELAIAH (דְּלָיָהוּ, דְּלָיָה).—**1.** One of the sons of Elioenai, a descendant of David (1 Ch 3[24], AV **Dalaiah**). **2.** A priest and leader of the 23d course of priests in the time of David (1 Ch 24[18]). **3.** The son of Shemaiah, one of the 'princes' or officers of state at the court of Jehoiakim (Jer 36[12. 25]). **4.** The son of Mehetabel, and father of Shemaiah, who was associated with Neh. in the rebuilding of Jerus. (Neh 6[10]). **5.** The head of the children of D., who returned with Zerub. from Babylon (Ezr 2[60]=Neh 7[62]). The name in 1 Es 5[37] is **Dalan.** R. M. BOYD.

DELECTABLE.—Is 44[9] only, 'Their d. things shall not profit.' AV and RV retain the word from Geneva Bible, which explains, 'Whatsoever they bestow upon their idoles to make them to seeme glorious.' But it is the idols themselves that are called 'the d. things' (חֲמוּדֵיהֶם *ḥămûdhêhm*), which the Bishops' expressed by the (too) free tr. 'the carved image that they love can doe no good.' 'Delectable,' from Lat. *delectabilis*, came in through old Fr., whence came also the form 'delitable,' which was afterwards spelt 'delightable' by a mistaken association with *light*; later forms are 'delightsome' and 'delightful.' Only the last has held its ground; but 'delectable' is remembered by Bunyan's 'delectable Mountains' (*Pil. Prog.* p. 52); cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* II. iii. 7—

'And yet your fair discourse hath been as sugar,
Making the hard way sweet and delectable.'

J. HASTINGS.

DELICACY.—Trench (*Select Glossary*, p. 52 f.) says, 'In the same way as self-indulgence creeps over us by unmarked degrees, so there creeps over the words that designate it a subtle change; they come to contain less and less of rebuke and blame; the thing itself being tolerated, nay allowed, it must needs be that the words which express it should be received into favour too. It has been thus with *luxury*; it has been thus also with this whole group of words.' The words are 'delicacy,' 'delicate' (adj. and subst.), 'delicately,' 'delicateness,' 'delicious,' 'deliciously,' all of which except 'delicious' are found in AV.

Delicacy.—Rev 18[3] 'the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies' (*στρῆνος* sing., RV 'wantonness,' RVm 'luxury'). 'Delicacies' is Rhemish tr., after Vulg. *deliciæ*, so Wyclif; but Tind. and others 'pleasures.' Voluptuousness is the oldest meaning of 'delicacy'; see *Delicate*, and cf. Chaucer, *Former Age*, 58—

'Jupiter the likerous, [=lecherous]
That first was fadĕr of delicacye.'

Delicate.—The adj. has two meanings in AV. 1. *Softly nurtured*, as Sus [31] 'Now Susanna was a very d. woman, and beauteous to behold' (*τρυφερός*); Bar 4[26] 'my d. ones' (*οἱ τρυφεροί μου*); and probably Dt 28[54. 56], Is 47[1] (all עָנֹג, LXX *τρυφερός*), Jer 6[2] 'a comely and d. woman' (הַמְעֻנָּגָה, LXX different reading), and Mic 1[16] (תַּעֲנוּג, LXX *τρυφερός*). 2. *Luxurious*, as Wis 19[11] 'they asked d. meats' (*ἐδέσματα τρυφῆς*, RV 'luxurious dainties'); Sir 29[22] 'Better is the life of a poor man in a mean cottage, than d. fare in another man's house' (*ἐδέσματα λαμπρά*, RV 'sumptuous fare'); and Pr 19[10] RV 'delicate living' (תַּעֲנוּג, AV 'delight'). As a *subst.* **delicates** occurs Jer 51[34] 'he hath filled his belly with my d.' (עֲדָנִים, Amer. RV 'delicacies'); Sir 30[18] (*ἀγαθά*, RV 'good things'), 31[3] (*τρυφήματα*, RV 'good things'). Cf. Ps 141[4] Gen. 'let mee not eate of their delicates' (AV 'dainties'); W. Brough (1650), 'Hunger cooks all meats to delicates,' which Herrick seems to copy (*Country Life*), 'Hunger makes coarse meats delicates.' **Delicately** means 'luxuriously' in the foll. passages in AV, La 4[5] (פְּעָנֵן), Pr 29[21] 'he that d. bringeth up his servant from a child, shall have him become his son at the length' (פִּנֵּק='fondle,' 'indulge'; 'delicately' is Wyclif's tr., who, following Vulg., renders 'who delicatli fro childhed nurshith his seruaunt, afterward shal feelen hym vnobeisaunt,' V. *contumacem*); Lk 7[25] 'they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts' (*τρυφή*, as LXX La 4[5], and at 2 P 2[13] where AV 'riot,' RV 'revel'); 1 Ti 5[6] AVm 'she that liveth delicately (text 'in pleasure,' Gr. *ἡ σπαταλῶσα*), is dead while she liveth'; and add 2 S 1[24] Ja 5[5] RV. But in Ad. Est 15[3] (AVm and RV 'carrying herself d.,' AV 'daintily,' Gr. *τρυφερεύομαι*) the meaning is 'as one that was tender' (Cov.), that is, *weak*; and so perhaps 1 S 15[32] 'Agag came unto him delicately.'

The last is the only doubtful passage. AV took 'delicately' from the Bishops' Bible; Cov. 'tenderly,' Gen. 'pleasantly.' The Bishops' marg. is 'in bondes,' and RVm 'cheerfully.' The LXX gives *τρέμων*; Vulg. *pinguissimus, et tremens*, whence Douay 'very fatte, trembling'; Luther, *getrost* (confidently); Ostervald, *gaiement*. The possible ways of taking the Heb. (כַּעֲרֹגֹת) are given by Driver (*Notes on Sam.* p. 99), who decides that it is safest, on the whole, to acquiesce in 'delicately,' 'voluptuously.' And, undoubtedly, voluptuously or luxuriously is the most natural meaning of the Heb. (for which see La 4[5]).

* Yet *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes from Cheyne, *Isaiah* (1882), p. xx, 'Isaiah had good reason . . . to dehort the Jews from an Egyptian alliance.'

but its use in this place is not very apparent. The Eng. expression 'delicately' is probably meant to express weakness and fear (as Ad. Est 15[3]) rather than pride or voluptuousness.

Delicateness.—Only Dt 28[56] 'the tender and delicate woman . . . which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for d. (מֵהִתְעַנֵּג) and tenderness,' *i.e.* not 'weakness,' but 'fineness.' **Deliciously** = luxuriously, Rev 18[7.9] 'lived deliciously' (*στρηνιάω*, RV 'lived wantonly'). Cf. Latimer, ii. 412, 'I am more inclined to feed many grossly and necessarily, than a few deliciously and voluptuously'; and Lk 16[19] Tind. 'a certaine rich man, which . . . fared deliciously every daye.'

J. HASTINGS.

DELIGHTSOME, now only poet. for 'delightful,' was once good prose, and occurs in Mal 3[12] 'ye shall be a d. land' (אֶרֶץ חֵפֶץ). Davies (*Bible Eng.* p. 236) quotes appositely from T. Adams, *Works*, i. 273, 'If this gentle physic make thee madder, He hath a dark chamber to put thee in—a dungeon is more lightsome and delightsome—the grave.'

J. HASTINGS.

DELILAH (דְּלִילָה, Δαλειδά).—The woman who betrayed Samson into the hands of the Philistines. The account as given in Jg 16 does not say whether she was an Israelite or a Philistine; but she was doubtless the latter, and Sorek, her place of residence, was then within the Philistine territory. Samson often sought her society, and allowed her to gain a great influence over him. That she was his wife is very improbable, notwithstanding that that is the opinion of Chrysostom and other patristic writers. See SAMSON. W. J. BEECHER.

DELOS (Δῆλος), a famous island in the Ægean Sea, has played a part in history quite out of proportion to its tiny size and rocky unproductive character. It was considered to have been anchored by Zeus to the bottom of the sea, and therefore not to be exposed to ordinary earthquakes.* It was the seat of a very ancient and widely-spread worship of Apollo, who, with his twin sister Artemis, was said to have been born there; and the Gr. peoples flocked from a great distance to the annual festival on the island, which is celebrated in the Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo. The festival of the Virgin on the neighbouring island of Tenos is the modern representative of the ancient feast of Apollo. D., in B.C. 478, was selected as the meeting-place of the great confederacy of Gr. states on the Ægean coasts and islands for defence against the Persians; but after a time Athens, the presiding city of the confederacy, became also its centre. The Athenians treated D. as a rival to their own interests. As Athens became great, D. lost its importance; but when Athens grew weak, D. recovered. During the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. it became one of the greatest harbours of the Ægean Sea, playing the same part in ancient trade that the island of Syra has played in modern commerce, and being favoured by the Romans after B.C. 190 as a rival to the maritime power of Rhodes. It was a nominally independent state under Rom. protection from B.C. 197 to 167. Then it was punished, for coquetting with Macedonia, with the loss of freedom; it was given to Athens, and its natives fled and settled in Achaia; and the Delian archons came to an end. The island was repeopled by Athenian colonists (*κληροῦχοι*), along with many Roman settlers; and henceforth its inscriptions are dated by the Athenian archons; and it was always considered to be part of the Roman province Achaia (which see). The earliest trace of a Roman settler in D. is contained in an inscription of B.C. 250. During the 2nd cent. it became the largest settlement of Roman (or Italian) merchants and traders in the Mediter. lands; mainly through their efforts and wealth its rather poor harbour was greatly improved; in their interest it was declared a free port by the Roman state in B.C. 166 in order to strike a blow at their commercial rivals, the merchants of Rhodes; and to satisfy them their other commercial rival Corinth (which see) was destroyed utterly by the Romans in B.C. 146.

Owing to its great importance in the E. Mediterranean trade, D. is mentioned in the list of states to which the Roman government addressed letters in favour of the Jews in B.C. 138–137, 1 Mac 15[16-23]; and the inscriptions of D. form the best commentary on that important historical document. D. was the great exchange where the products and the slaves of all the states of the E. were bought for the Italian market, and most of the names mentioned in the passage of 1 Mac occur in the Delian documents. The strange omission of the kingdoms of Pontus and Bithynia in 1 Mac becomes all the more remarkable by comparison with the frequent mention of them at Delos. As Homolle says, 'Among the Orientals who frequented D., the Jews doubtless held a considerable place' (*Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* viii. 1884, p. 98); but, as the inscriptions are to a large extent concerned with religious purposes, it is not easy to find the traces of their presence. A decree of the Delians confirming the immunity of the Jews from military service is quoted in full by Jos. (*Ant.* XIV. x. 14).

A frightful calamity brought the prosperity of D., and especially of the Roman settlers, to an end. In the Mithridatic war Athens took part with the king, while D., where the Roman settlers were so numerous, naturally remained true to the Roman interest. After maintaining itself for a short time, D. was captured in B.C. 87 by the enemy; 20,000 Italians were massacred there and in the neighbouring Cyclades; and, when the Romans recovered it in the course of the war, they found it, as Strabo says, deserted. It recovered to a certain extent in the following years; but direct trade between Italy and the E. harbours now became more common; Ostia and Puteoli took the place of D. as the great emporia for the purchase of E. products required in Italy, and under the Roman Empire D. became utterly insignificant.

LITERATURE.—The excavations conducted at Delos for many years by the French School of Athens have thrown a flood of light on the history of the island. An excellent summary and estimate of their earlier results, as published in many scattered works, is given by Jebb in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1880, pp. 7–62. Since then numerous articles in the *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.*, by Homolle, S. Reinach, and others, have added much information, especially vi. pp. 1–167, vii. pp. 103–125, 329–373, viii. pp. 75–158, xiv. pp. 389–511, xv. pp. 113–168. See also Homolle, *Archives de l'Intendance Sacrée à Delos*; Schœffer, *de Deli Insulæ rebus.* W. M. RAMSAY.

DELUGE.—See FLOOD.

DEMAND.—Throughout AV 'demand' is simply to ask, as Fr. *demander*, without the sense of authority. This is manifest from the Heb. and Gr. words so tr[d], which have all this simple meaning. In Introd. to Gen. Bible we read, 'The Catechisme, or maner to teache children the Christian religion, wherein the minister demandeth the question, and the childe maketh answer.' See Field, *ON* iii. on Mt 2[4]. As a subst. d. occurs only Dn 4[17] with the same simple meaning. Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus*, v. 859—

> 'And of th' assege (siege) he gan hir eek byseche,
> To telle him what was hir opinioun.
> Fro that demaunde he so descendeth doun
> To asken hir, if that hir straunge thoughte
> The Grekes gyse, and werkes that they wroughte.'

Once RV introduces d. in mod. sense (Neh 5[18]) for AV 'require' (see Ryle's note). J. HASTINGS.

* An earthquake at D. was considered a specially grave expression of the will and power of the god; see Herod. vi. 98; Thucyd. ii. 8.

DEMAS (Δημᾶς, possibly an abbrev. of Demetrius) is described by the Apostle Paul as a fellow-labourer, and unites with him in sending salutations from Rome to the Colossians and to Philemon (Col 4^{14}, Philem v.^{24}). In the 2nd Ep. to Timothy (4^{10}) he is described as having forsaken the apostle when he was awaiting his trial before Nero, because he 'loved this present world.' Whether he was discouraged by the hardships of the Christian life, or allured by the hope of some earthly advantage, and whether his apostasy was temporary or final, we have no means of knowing. Tradition leans to the darker view of his character, and classes him among the apostates from the faith (Epiph. *Hær.* 51). R. M. Boyd.

DEMETRIUS I., surnamed Σωτήρ, 'Saviour,' by the Babylonians in gratitude for the removal of their satrap Heraclides, was the son of Seleucus Philopator. In his boyhood he was sent (B.C. 175) to Rome as a hostage, and remained there during the reign of his uncle, Antiochus Epiphanes. When the Senate several times refused his request to be recognized as the king of Syria, he fled from Rome, with the assistance chiefly of the historian Polybius (Polyb. xxxi.; Justin, xxxiv. 3). Landing at Tripolis, he was joined by large bodies of the people, and even by the bodyguard of his cousin, Antiochus Eupator. Eupator was soon defeated and put to death, and in B.C. 162 D. was proclaimed king (1 Mac 7^{1-4}, 2 Mac $14^{1, 2}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 1; Liv. *Epit.* xlvi.). He conciliated Rome by valuable presents (Polyb. xxxi. 23), and, after interfering in the affairs of Babylon (App. *Syr.* 47; Polyb. xxxii. 4), turned his attention to Judæa. Alcimus (wh. see) was established in the high priesthood, and the Syrian lordship was for a time completely renewed. In the seven years that followed, D. again offended the Romans by putting a supporter of his own in the place of Ariarathes on the throne of Cappadocia (Polyb. xxxii. 20; Liv. *Epit.* xlvii.), whilst his tyranny and excesses alienated his own people. Alexander Balas (wh. see) was set up as a claimant to the crown of Syria (B.C. 153); and he and D. competed for the support of Jonathan (1 Mac 10^{1-21}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ii. 1–3). The former, offering princely rank and the high priesthood, won at the first bid; and when the latter made a further promise of exemption from taxation and investment with privilege (1 Mac 10^{25-45}), the people 'gave no credence' to his words, which are very important for the light they cast upon the nature of the imposts exacted by the Syrian kings. The salt tax, the king's share of the crops and fruits, the poll-tax, the pressed service, with a variety of other burdens, were to be remitted, and the expenses of the temple to be met from the royal revenue (see Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptolemies*, § 117). With the help of the Jews, Balas was able to recover from the reverses he suffered during the two years' war that followed; and in B.C. 150 a decisive engagement took place, in which D. displayed the utmost personal bravery, but was defeated and slain (1 Mac 10^{48-50}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ii. 4; App. *Syr.* 67; Polyb. iii. 5; Justin, xxxv. 1; Euseb. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, i. 263 sq.).
R. W. Moss.

DEMETRIUS II., surnamed Νικάτωρ, 'Conqueror,' was sent by his father, D. Soter, for safety to Cnidus after the success of Balas seemed probable (Justin, xxxv. 2). For several years he remained in exile; but as soon as the unpopularity of Balas gave him an opportunity, he landed (B.C. 147) with an army of Cretan mercenaries on the Cilician coast. The entire country rallied to him except Judæa, where Jonathan still supported Balas. But Ptolemy Philometor declared in his favour, and their combined forces inflicted a fatal defeat upon Balas (B.C. 145) on the banks of the Œnoparas, from which event D. derived his surname (1 Mac 11^{14-19}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 8; App. *Syr.* 67; Liv. *Epit.* lii.). Jonathan now set himself to separate Judæa from the Syrian Empire, and besieged the citadel in Jerus.; but D. persuaded him to raise the siege on the addition of three Samaritan provinces to Judæa, and the exemption of the country thus enlarged from tribute (1 Mac 11^{20-37}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). When the excesses of D. had estranged his subjects, Tryphon (Diodotus), a former general of Balas, set up the latter's son as a pretender to the throne; but D. obtained the help of Jonathan by promising the removal of the Syrian garrisons from Judæa, and put down the revolt (1 Mac 11^{41-52}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 2, 3). On Jonathan's return to Judæa the revolt broke out again, and Tryphon made himself master of Antioch. As D. failed to keep his promise to the Jews, they now took the side of Tryphon, and drove the royal forces out of Cœle-Syria (1 Mac 11^{53-74}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 5–11). D. withdrew from the S. part of his kingdom; but when Tryphon, who had secured the Syrian crown for himself, attempted to reduce Judæa, Jonathan's brother Simon attached himself to D., and extracted from him a formal recognition of independence (1 Mac 13^{34-42}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 7). Soon after D. invaded the dominions of the king of Parthia, by whom, in B.C. 138, he was taken prisoner (1 Mac 14^{1-3}: though Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 11, Justin, xxxvi. 1, and App. *Syr.* 67, 68, arrange the events in a different order, and support B.C. 140 as the date of the disaster). The imprisonment lasted for ten years, at the close of which D. was liberated by the Parthian king, who was engaged in war with Antiochus Sidetes, brother of D. (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 4; Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, i. 255). D. recovered the kingdom (B.C. 128), and at once undertook a war against Ptolemy Physkon of Egypt. Ptolemy thereupon claimed the Syrian crown for Alexander Zabinas, who was announced to be the son of Balas (Eus. *Chron.* i. 257), or of Sidetes (Justin, xxxix. 1). D. was conquered by Zabinas at Damascus, and fled to Ptolemais, and thence to Tyre, where in B.C. 125 he was murdered (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 3), possibly at the instigation of his wife Cleopatra (App. *Syr.* 68; Liv. *Epit.* lx.).
R. W. Moss.

DEMETRIUS III. (surnamed Εὐκαιρος, 'Prosperous,' and on coins Theos, Soter, Philometor, etc.) was a son of Antiochus Grypus, and grandson of D. Nikator. On the death of his father civil wars ensued, in the course of which two of his elder brothers lost their lives, whilst Philip, the third, secured a part of Syria, and D. established himself in Cœle-Syria, with Damascus as his capital, by the aid of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Cyprus (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 4). In Judæa, too, civil war broke out between Alexander Jannæus and his Pharisee subjects. The latter invited the assistance of D. (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5; *Wars*, I. iv. 4), who possibly regarded it as a good opportunity to extend his kingdom to its ancient limits on the West and the South. He entered the country with a large army, was joined by the insurgent Jews, and defeated Jannæus in a pitched battle near Shechem (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 1; *Wars*, I. iv. 5). But the desertion of the Jews, who either pitied the plight of Jannæus (Jos. *Wars*, *ib.*) or more probably feared the re-establishment of Syrian supremacy, made it impossible for D. to follow up the victory, and he withdrew to Berœa (Aleppo). The town was occupied by Philip, who, when besieged by his brother, called the Parthians to his aid. D. was in turn shut up closely within his encampment and starved into surrender. He was sent as a prisoner to Arsaces IX., by whom he

was detained in captivity until his death (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 3). The dates of the reign of D. cannot be fixed with precision; but coins of his are known, dated from the Seleucid year 217 to 224, *i.e.* approximately from B.C. 95 to 88 (Eckhel, iii. 245; Gardner, *Catalogue of Gr. Coins in the Brit. Mus.* 101). R. W. MOSS.

DEMETRIUS (Δημήτριος).—Two persons of the name are mentioned in NT—the ringleader in the riot at Ephesus (Ac 19[24]), and a disciple commended by St. John (3 Jn v.[12]). Both of these dwelt either in Ephesus or its vicinity,—the very name is redolent of Ephesian surroundings, and there is nothing impossible in the suggestion that the agitator had become the disciple of good report, and that, therefore, both references are to the same man. In its contracted form of Demas this is also the name of one who has an unhappy notoriety as a recreant, 'Demas hath forsaken me' (2 Ti 4[10]). He is also mentioned in Col 4[14] and Philem v.[24], and it is not certain that St. Paul meant to imply anything like utter apostasy. W. MUIR.

DEMON, DEVIL, Gr. δαίμων, or δαιμόνιον (more frequently), Heb. שֵׁד, Syr. ܫܝܕܐ, Aram. שֵׁידָא (cf. Assyr. *šídu*). The supposed Heb. root is [שׁוד] 'to be mighty,' hence 'to rule,' Arab. ساد (cf. שָׁדַד 'to treat violently, to destroy'). **Demoniac,** δαιμονιζόμενος. For 'devil' (properly διάβολος, see SATAN) RV rightly substitutes 'demon' wherever the Greek text has δαιμόνιον.

Both physical and moral evil may be regarded from two standpoints—(1) As existing *in* man physically in the form of bodily disease, or spiritually as moral evil; (2) as having a source *outside* man. It is with physical and moral evil in the *latter* aspect that we are now dealing. Among the Hebrews, both in pre-exilic and post-exilic times down to a comparatively late period of the Christian era, both moral and physical evil were attributed to personal agencies. This conception of personal evil agencies, that affected man's body and soul, exercised a profound and enduring influence over the minds of Christ and the apostles, and played a very considerable part in the writings of the Church Fathers.

In tracing this conception of evil spirits influencing man to its primitive sources, we shall find that it has its springs in early Semitic ideas which surrounded the Israelite people in the dawn of their history. Baudissin has clearly shown how the demonology of the Græco-Roman period of Judaism emerged out of the earlier polytheism. On this we shall have more to say later on. But it should be noted that that polytheism was itself the outcome of the principle called by Tylor, in his well-known work *Primitive Culture*, by the name 'animism.' Even early mankind instinctively sought for *causes*, and interpreted the forces and other manifestations of nature as *personal*, *i.e.* as emanating from beings analogous to himself (cf. Siebeck, *Lehrb. d. Religionsphilosophie*, p. 58 ff.). Thus primitive man dwelt in a cosmic society of superhuman agencies, some of which ministered to his well-being and others to his injury. At the dawn of human consciousness man found himself confronted by forces which he was unable to control, and which exercised a baleful or destructive influence. Hurricane, lightning, sunstroke, plague, flood, and earthquake were ascribed to wrathful personal agencies, whose malignity man would endeavour to avert or appease.

The nomadic Arabs of the time of Mohammed believed in the existence of hostile powers or *Jinns*, who were held to be the inhabitants of lonely spots, and Mohammed himself recognized their existence just as fully as his heathen contemporaries did. Various names were given to them, viz. *Ghûl*, *'Ifrît*, *Si'lâ*, *'Alûk*; and we have likewise feminine names. The word *'Ifrît*, which occurs so frequently in the 'One thousand and one nights,' is also found in the Korân (Sur. 27. 39), and according to Wellhausen means, like the Heb. שָׂעִיר, 'hairy.'* 'The desert is full of these spectral shapes. Whoever spends his time there as a traveller must steel his heart against them. A child of the desert must be on friendly terms with the wolf and on terms of intimacy with the *ghûl*.' On this subject consult W. R. Smith, *RS*[2], p. 119 f.

A. THE DEMONOLOGY OF THE OT.—The parallels which we find in OT to the *Jinn* of ancient as well as modern Arabia may now be noted. Isaiah, in an oracle describing the doom of Edom, portrays a scene among Edom's ruined fortresses, when 'one שָׂעִיר (hairy satyr) shall call out to another, and Lilîth (the night hag) shall take up her abode' (Is 34[14]). This Lilîth is a demon of feminine sex. The same mythical creature meets us in the cuneiform inscriptions (see Schrader, *COT* ii. p. 311). In one of the magical texts cited by Hommel (*Semiten*, p. 367) occurs the line (iv. Rawl. 29, No. 1, Rev. 23)—

'The *lilu*, the *lilat*, the handmaid of *Lilu*.'

The Babylonian *lilâtu* or *lilîtu* is placed in this incantation in close connexion with the plague-demon *Namtar*. There can be little doubt that this plague-demon was connected in the popular imagination with the Semitic-Babylonian word *lilâtu*, which means 'night,' and so became a word of terror, denoting the night-demon, who sucked the blood of her sleeping victims. This grim feminine personality became a subject for later Jewish legends (see Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 146), which multiplied these night-demons (*lilîn*).

* *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, iii. ('Reste des Arabischen Heidenthums'), p. 135 *ad fin.* But this view appears to me somewhat doubtful, and the connexion of عفريت with عفر (עָפָר) 'dust,' seems more probable. When we bear in mind the close connexion between the *Jinn* and the serpent according to Arabic belief (see Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. i. 1860, p. 412 ff.; and Baudissin, *Stud. zur Semit. Religiongesch.* i. 279 ff.), we might connect with this the curse pronounced on the serpent in Gn 3[14] 'Dust thou shalt eat' . . . Winckler, it is true, regards this as simply an expression of dishonour or disgrace, and compares the phrase *tikalu ipra* in one of the Tel el-Amarna letters (*Altorient. Forsch.* iii. 271). But a hint which we obtain from Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* (i. p. 136) places us on the right track both for the explanation of the word *'Ifrît* and of Gn 3[14] 'Malignity of the soil is ascribed to *jân*, ground demons, *ahl el-ard*, or earth-folk.' Malignant demons are believed to inhabit the seven stages of the under-world (*ib.* p. 259). I should therefore prefer to cite, as an Assyrian illustration of Gn 3[14], the 8th line in the Descent of Ištar to Hades, *ašar ipru madu bubussunu akalšunu ṭiṭu*, 'a place where much dust is their sustenance, mire their food.' Mr. Buchanan Gray of Mansfield College, Oxford, in a letter which he kindly sent to me on this subject, says, 'I have looked through the article in the *Lisân el 'Arab* on عفر, and can find nothing that *necessitates* giving to *'Ifreet* the sense "hairy." I daresay you have noticed that some of the derivatives of the root عفرا, عفرى (in plu.) denote the feathers of the neck, or the mane, or the front hairs of a horse. In the line cited by Wellh. from *Hudh.* 227[10] عفارى (plu. of عفرى) is used of the hair of women. The feminine of عفرى is عفرية, whence, according to Arabic lexicographers, عفريت (*Ifrît*), through quiescence of the *yā*, and subsequent change of the *ē* into ت. This is all the connexion with hair which I have yet been able to find, and thus there seems less in favour of connecting *'Ifreet* with hairiness, than of your attractive alternative view of connecting it with dust.' In the new ed. (1897) of Wellhausen's *Reste*, see pp. 151 ff., and footnote 1. p. 152.

See Weber, *Syst. der altsynagog. Palästin. Theol.* p. 246; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenth.* ii. p. 413 ff.

Even conservative critics like Dillmann and König assign Is 34 (together with 35) to a period not earlier than the end of the exile; Cheyne, indeed, would regard it as post-exilic (*Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 205 ff.). In the case of this chapter, as well as 13^{2}–14^{23}, it is impossible to deny the existence of clear traces of direct Babylonian influence. But the date of authorship of these passages does not determine the question when the belief in demonic personalities embodied in animal shapes first became prevalent in Israel. From the mention of jackals, ostriches, wild cats, and hyænas in connexion with the שְׂעִירִים 'satyrs,' both in $34^{13ff.}$ and its parallel $13^{21ff.}$, we are led to infer that demons were held to reside more or less in all these animal denizens of the ruined solitude. From Lv 17^{7} we also learn that in post-ex. times sacrifices were offered to שְׂעִירִים—a practice which is expressly forbidden. On the other hand, the curious rite respecting 'Azâzel (עֲזָאזֵל), detailed in Lv $16^{8ff.}$, formed an integral part of the ceremonies on the great Day of Atonement, and clearly shows how firmly embedded in popular imagination was this belief in evil powers of the solitude. 'Azâzel is here an evil spirit, and stands opposed to J″.* See AZAZEL.

The belief that certain animals were endowed with demonic powers, somewhat like the Arabic *Jinn*, must have existed in comparatively early pre-ex. times, since Gn 3^{1-19}, containing the temptation of Eve by the serpent, belongs to the earlier stratum of J. We might compare with this Nu 22^{22-34}, coming from the same documentary source. But in the narrative of the temptation of Eve by the serpent there is no hint that an evil spirit resided in the serpent. The serpent is identified with it, and we have no suggestion that a demon was able to detach itself from the animal and pass into something else. This was a later development. The animal was itself the demonic power, and the latter is not abstracted or treated as a separable personality.

The Jewish exile, covering the larger part of the 6th cent. B.C. and the close of the 7th, wrought a great change. It is probably to this period that we owe the Heb. word שֵׁד. This word, occurring in the plural form שֵׁדִים in Dt 32^{17}, like the Aram. שֵׁידָא, is probably a loan-word, taken from the Assyro-Babylonian (*šêdu*). The word *šêdu* in Assyr. means good or evil genius, represented in the monuments in the form of a colossal bull. The word occurs only twice in OT (Dt 32^{17} and Ps 106^{37}). The Song of Moses (Dt 32) in its present form can hardly be earlier than the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Kuenen). Indeed, its retrospective and didactic character, as well as the references to Israel's past sins of idolatry, would point quite as well to the 6th cent. as to the 7th for the date of its composition. In other words, it may be held, with considerable probability, to reflect the feelings of pious Jews in the exile period.

Now, magic played a very considerable part in Babylonian religion. Magic rests on the basis of a belief in evil and destructive spirits, to whose baleful influences man is daily exposed, and which can be counteracted by certain incantations, whereby the countervailing name and power of the higher beneficent gods are invoked. As Sayce has clearly shown (*Hibbert Lect.* p. 317), magic was closely bound up with medicine, since 'all sickness was ascribed to demoniacal possession; the demon had been eaten with the food and drunk with the water, or breathed in with the air, and until he could be expelled there was no chance of recovery' (p. 310). Specimens of these magical texts may be seen in the translations given in Appendix 3 of Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*. We subjoin the following specimen :—

> 'The plague (*namtar*), the fever which will carry the people away,
> The sickness, the consumption which will trouble mankind,
> Harmful to the flesh, injurious to the body,
> The evil incubus, the evil *alu*, the evil *maskum*,
> The evil man, the evil eye, the evil mouth, the evil tongue . . .
> Against my body never may they come,
> My eye never may they injure . . .
> Into my house never may they enter,
> O spirit of heaven conjure, O spirit of earth conjure.'*

A comparison of this vast system of belief in evil spirits and in incantations, which prevailed in Babylonia, with the later Jewish traditions of demonology, at once reveals the close connexion between the two. During the exile these Babylonian traditions effected an entrance into the Jewish world of ideas, and there became permanently domiciled.

But while שֵׁד is obviously borrowed from the Bab. *šêdu*, its signification was by no means the same. For שֵׁדִים is used in the sense of deities of the heathen, אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים. Now, the attitude of ancient Israel towards foreign deities varied considerably in different periods of the nation's history. The continued declension of the people towards idolatry in the pre-exilic times clearly shows that, in the popular mind, belief in the power as well as existence of foreign deities was firmly rooted. Many OT passages clearly indicate this, Jg 6^{31} 9^{24}, Nu 21^{29} (cf. Jer 48^{46} 49^{1}), 1 S 26^{19}, Ru 1^{15} 2^{12} (see Baudissin, *Stud. zur Semit. Religionsgesch.* Heft i.). In other words, the religion of Israel in early times was henotheism rather than monotheism. In fact, monotheism came very slowly to displace the 'monarchic polytheistic' belief of primitive Israel. It is true that, from the 8th cent. B.C. downwards, the 'other gods' are called 'no gods,' 'emptiness,' 'wind,' 'vanity' (or 'breath'), 'corpses,' and 'dead'; but these are terms which are rather selected to express the utter powerlessness and insufficiency of foreign deities in comparison with the supreme might of J″, the true living God of Israel, than to assert their absolute non-existence.†

Accordingly, in the two passages Dt 32^{17} and Ps 106^{37}, the word שֵׁדִים 'demons' is used to describe the subordinate position, as compared with J″, of the Moabite deities, to whom the Hebrews sacrificed in the time of Moses. Baudissin rightly observes in reference to Dt 32^{12} 'when in the Song of Moses it is said that J″ alone has led Israel, and no strange god (אֵל נֵכָר) was with Him, we must merely understand that the active influence of strange gods over Israel is excluded, but that their existence was rather recognized than denied.'

The use of שֵׁדִים in these two passages may, in fact, be regarded as the first step taken by Israel in the direction of demonology, under Babylonian

* See Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie* 4(1888), p. 368; and also Cheyne in *ZATW*, 1895, Heft i. p. 135 ff. The curious rite of sending forth the goat for 'Azâzel into the wilderness (Lv $16^{21.22}$) should be compared with the despatch of the bird into the field in the ceremony respecting leprosy (14^{53}).

* See Tiele, *Babylon-Assyr. Gesch.* p. 548 ff.; Hommel, *Gesch. Babyl. Assyr.* p. 388 ff. The subject was first comprehensively dealt with in Lenormant's *Chaldæan Magic*, about twenty years ago. The latest work is L. W. King's *Bab. Magic and Sorcery, Cuneiform Texts from the Kouyunjik Collections in B.M.*

† Baudissin (*ib.* p. 72) in our opinion errs in holding that, in all passages which describe the victorious conflict in which J″ engages with the gods of the heathen, we have merely poetic personification of the latter, *e.g.* Is 19^{1}, Jer 46^{25}. The language of Ex 15^{11} 'Who is like unto thee, O J″, among the gods' (בָּאֵלִים, cf. Ps $77^{14ff.}$ 105^{3} 96^{4}, in which comparison is made between God and the deities of other nations), clearly indicates that *some* kind of existence and power, however slight, is assigned to the latter. That the terms אֱלִילִים, הֶבֶל, שֶׁקֶר, לֹא אֱלֹהִים, etc., cannot be pressed into signifying the absolute denial of existence, is recognized by Baudissin himself (*ib.* p. 101 *ad fin.*).

influence, the deities of foreign nations being relegated to this subordinate rank, and designated by this term. Elsewhere in OT and in the literature of a later period, we find the deities of the heathen identified with the host of stars. Of this we have an example in the apocalyptic section in Isaiah (24–26), which is placed by many critics, with good reason, in the Greek period, not much earlier than the Maccabæan book of Daniel. In Is 24^{21} we read 'And it shall come to pass in that day, that J" will visit the host of the height in the height, and the kings of the earth upon the earth, and they shall be carried away captive to the pit, and shut up in the prison, and the moon shall grow pale,' etc. This is a fresh development of the old pre-exilic Heb. conception of the heavenly host of attendant personal powers or angels, represented as stars. This belief is reflected in Micaiah's vision (1 K 22^{19}), Deborah's song (Jg $5^{4.\ 20}$), and embodied in the name יהוה צְבָאוֹת, which frequently recurs in prophetic literature (Am 5^{27}, Is 1^{9} 6^{3} etc.),* and thence passed into post-exilic psalm liturgy (Ps 103^{21} 148^{2}). In the apocalyptic passage Is 24^{21}, the host of the height are the heathen deities identified with fallen angels. Here, again, the roots of the conception of *fallen* national deities may be found in the influences of the exile (cf. Is 46^{1}). It is impossible to mistake the significance of the passage Is $14^{12ff.}$—

'Oh! how art thou fallen from heaven Lucifer (הֵילֵל) son of the dawn!
How art thou hewn down to earth who didst lay peoples low!
And thou saidst in thy heart: To the heavens will I mount up,
Above the stars of God will I set my throne on high' . . .

B. THE DEMONOLOGY OF LATER JUDAISM.—During the Greek period the conception of the gods of the heathen as demons became firmly established, and its development was no doubt largely helped by a growing tendency to assume an intermediate realm of δαίμονες (later δαιμόνια). Its beginnings may be traced even in Hesiod, who made a distinction between θεοί and δαίμονες—the latter being good, and the survivors of the happy golden race whom the Olympic gods first made. But in the 5th cent. B.C. Empedocles widened the gap between gods and demons. The gods were powerful and good, without appetite or passion; the demons, on the other hand, held a middle position between men and gods, and were the ministers from the latter to the former. These δαίμονες lived long, but were not immortal like the gods. They had passions like men, and there existed varying grades among them, some being beneficent and others malignant. It was the demons who communicated dreams and oracles to men, and inspired them towards good and evil (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, i. pp. 66, 409 ff.). Stoic theology subsequently adopted into its system this conception of an intermediate realm of δαιμόνια, in order that polytheism, as a moral power, might be rehabilitated. This finds full expression in the 2nd cent. A.D. in such writers as Plutarch, Apuleius, and Maximus of Tyre. The demons stand between men and gods, and all the elements of mythology that were derogatory to the character of the national deities were referred to the demons.

Greek influence, therefore, stimulated the growth of Hebrew angelology and demonology. Intermediate personal agencies became interpolated between the absolute transcendent God and the phenomenal world. As God in His transcendence became removed from participation in the material world, these mediating personalities became a quasi-intellectual necessity. Accordingly, the LXX renders אֱלִילִים in Ps 95 [Heb. 96][5] by δαιμόνια, and so also שֵׁדִים in Dt 32^{17}, Ps 105 [Heb. 106][37], גַּד in Is 65^{11}, and צִיִּים in Is 34^{14}. Similarly, in the Bk. of Baruch heathen deities are called δαιμόνια or evil spirits. The Ethiopic Bk. of Enoch designates the gods *Aganent*, 'demons,' while in the prœm to the Sibylline books the gods of the heathen are called δαίμονες οἱ ἐν ἅδῃ. It should be noted, moreover, that both in the Sibylline books and in the Bk. of Enoch the deities are regarded as *evil* spirits. Philo, on the other hand, who came more directly and completely under Greek influence, occupied an exceptional position. He treats the gods of the heathen as *good* heavenly powers, identified with stars, in opposition to the prevalent Jewish-Alexandrine conception.* We notice again in To $6^{15ff.}$ the evil spirit Asmodæus is called simply δαιμόνιον, and in $3^{8.\ 17}$ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον. Similarly, in Josephus δαιμόνιον is used of the ghostly evil spirit.

The subject of Jewish demonology is too vast to compress into the compass of this article. We shall therefore cite a few only among the salient features which may be gathered from Weber's *System der altsynagog. Paläst. Theol.* § 54.

The ordinary word for 'devil' in later Heb. is שֵׂטָן. Similarly, in the Peshiṭṭâ ܣܛܢܐ is the rendering of the δαιμόνιον of NT.† Another term employed by the Jews was מַזִּיקִין, meaning 'destructive' or 'injurious ones' (cf. Pael נָזַק 'injure'). Thus the Targ. renders שֵׁדִים in Ps 106^{37} by מְזִקַּיָּא. In fact, the πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα (πονηρά) of NT is merely a rendering of רוּחִין בִּישִׁין or רוּחִי מְסָאֲבָא; and just as רוּחִין is sometimes used by itself to express this, so also in NT with πνεύματα.

According to Jewish conceptions, **Satan** stands at the head of the demons. From *Berachôth* 51*a* we learn that they form societies or bands which lie in wait for men. The sick, women in menstruation, bridegrooms and brides, those in sorrow, and even disciples (תַּלְמִידֵי חֲכָמִים), are liable to their assaults. According to *Pesachim* 112*b* the nightly wanderer is specially open to danger, for the night season until cock-crow is the time when demons walk abroad. They surround the house, and injure those who fall into their hands. More particularly, they destroy children who during the night pass outside the house. As soon as the cock crows this power ceases, and the demons return to their place of abode. Also there are special animals which, according to Jewish belief, are united with demons, viz. serpents, asses, bulls, mosquitos, etc. We are here again reminded of the *Jinn* of the desert in primitive as well as modern Arabian belief.‡ 'Don't remain standing,' is the warning of *Pesachim* 112*b*, 'when the bull comes from the meadow, for Satan dances between his horns.' God alone has power to quell the demons. His protection is always bestowed on the congregation when the priest recites the יִשָּׂא of Nu 6^{24}, an expression which, according to *Sifre* 12*a*, bears special reference to evil thoughts and demons. The protection is afforded by means of the guardian angels whom God assigns to His pious followers. *Berachôth* 40*a* gives the advice that covenant salt (Lv 2^{13}, Nu 18^{19}) should be eaten and drunk at every meal as a protection against demons. Certain formulæ or passages from Holy

* I disagree, however, with Smend in his conclusion that this name was a speciality of prophetic literature, borrowed, as Wellhausen suggests, from Amos (*Lehrbuch d. Alttest. Religionsgesch.* p. 185 ff.). The origin of the phrase was undoubtedly much more primitive.

* Philo also identifies the heroes and demons of Greek speculation with the angels of Moses. His tendency was to rationalize myth, 'In souls and demons and angels we have, it is true, different *names*, but, in conceiving the thing represented by them all to be one and the same, you will set aside a heavy burden, viz. superstition' (Conybeare in *JQR*, Oct. 1896, p. 79).

† This is the Syr. equivalent of δαίμων in Lk 8^{29}, and δαιμόνιον (Mt 17^{18} etc.), and שָׂעִיר (Lv 17, Is 13^{21} 34^{14}).

‡ Cf. Mk 1^{13} ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων.

Writ were considered specially potent against demons. *Berach.* 51*a* recommends the passage from Zec 3^2 'The Lord rebuke thee, Satan,' as specially effective against the Angel of Death. *Aboda Zara* 12*b*, *Pesachim* 112*b*, warn the reader against drinking water in the night, for he runs the risk of death, or of the demon Shabriri, who can make men blind. The remedy is to strike the water-jug with the lid, and say to oneself, 'Thou N., son of N., thy mother hath warned thee, and said, Guard thyself from the *Shabriri, beriri riri, iri, ri,*' the pronunciation of the name with a syllable short each time being a potent spell to drive the demon away.

We shall now cite an interesting illustrative passage from Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 5), which is significant because it shows how profoundly the belief in demonology affected even the most cultivated and cosmopolitan of Jews. In his account of Solomon's wisdom * we are informed that 'God enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons,' and that Solomon composed such incantations as alleviate distempers. 'And he left behind him the mode of using exorcism by which they drive away demons so that they never return. And this method is prevalent unto this day, for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal in the presence of Vespasian. . . . The manner of the cure was as follows:—He put a ring that had a root, of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew the demon out through his nostrils; and when the man fell down at once, he adjured him (the demon) to return unto him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed.' Another passage shows that Josephus considered demons to be the spirits of departed wicked men (*BJ* VII. vi. 3).

Passing for a few moments to the Jewish apocryphal literature of the age *preceding* the birth of Jesus, we observe that according to the *Book of Enoch* the demons are lost angels. They assail men's bodies, cause convulsions, and in other ways vex and oppress mankind (ch. 15); and this war of the demons on men will continue until the day of consummation—the great judgment (16), when they will receive dire chastisement.† In 19^1 we learn that evil spirits in various shapes shall corrupt men, and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons as if to gods until the great judgment day. In 53^5 we read of the iron chains prepared for the angelic hosts who are hurled down into the abyss of condemnation (cf. 2 P 2^4, Rev $20^{2.3}$).

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (test. Reuben) we are informed that there are seven evil spirits sent out from Beliar against mankind, viz. those of life, seeing, hearing, smell, talking, taste, and the procreative impulses. Another group of seven is mentioned, viz. of fornication, gluttony, combativeness, flattery, pride, falsehood, injustice.

C. THE DEMONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—This is in all its broad characteristics the demonology of the contemporary Judaism stripped of its cruder and exaggerated features. Evil demons or unclean demons, *δαιμόνια* (שֵׁדִים), *πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα* or *πονηρά* (רוּחִין בִּישִׁין), hover about the world, and these are under subjection to Satan (*ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*), Mt 9^{34} 12^{24}, Mk 3^{22}, Lk 11^{15}. The demon was said to enter (*εἰσέρχεσθαι*) into a man somewhat as though it were a physical entity, and similarly was said to pass out (*ἐξέρχεσθαι*), or was forcibly expelled by some superior power who had authority to cast out (*ἐκβάλλειν*) demons. The demons may pass into other animals, *e.g.* into the Gadarene swine. A man possessed with a devil was said to have or hold a demon (*ἔχει δαιμόνιον*), or to be a demoniac (*δαιμονιζόμενος*, cf. the Arabic *mejnûn*, said of a man possessed by a *Jinn*, Doughty, i. p. 259). Mt (4^{24} 17^{15}) also employs the verb *σεληνιάζεσθαι*, 'to be a lunatic,' as though it expressed something distinct from *δαιμονίζεσθαι* (4^{24}). In Mk 1^{23} 5^3 the phrase used is (*ἄνθρωποι*) *ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ*, where the preposition *ἐν* means 'in the power or under the influence of'; cf. Winer, § xlviii. (Eng. ed. p. 483*a*). Luke also uses *ἐνοχλεῖσθαι* of demon possession (6^{18}).

The manifestations of demoniac possession are very varied in NT. In the case of the Gadarene he is compelled to dwell among the tombs, which are associated with solitude and uncleanness. As water is connected with purity and cleansing, the demons have a preference for waterless spots. Demons are, however, chiefly associated with abnormal forms of human life, especially disease. Dumbness (Lk 9^{39}, Mk 9^{17}), deafness and dumbness (Mk 9^{25}), blindness and deafness combined (Mt 12^{22}), and epilepsy (Mk 1^{26} 9^{20}, Lk 9^{39}), are the manifestations of demoniac influence. Of all the synoptic evangelists, *Luke* is the most powerfully impressed with this conception. Even high fever is attributed to demoniac agency, as we can clearly infer from the fact that, in the case of Peter's mother-in-law, Jesus stood over her and *rebuked* the fever which possessed her (Lk $4^{38.39}$, cf. 13^{16}). It is to be noted, however, that in this Gospel a saying of our Lord is reported which expressly distinguishes between ordinary cures and expulsion of demons, *ἐκβάλλω δαιμόνια καὶ ἰάσεις ἀποτελῶ* (Lk 13^{32}). The demons, moreover, were able to *speak*, and exercised mastery over the vocal organs of the human subject. Thus in one case, as the demon came forth, it cried with a loud voice (Mk 1^{26}). It was possible for many demons to possess a human being at the same time. Seven demons were cast out from Mary Magdalene by Jesus (Lk 8^2), while the Gadarene demoniac was possessed by a legion.

As regards the *method of procedure* adopted by Jesus, we observe the stress which is laid upon His own personality. The power which He wielded in His person is placed in direct opposition to the kingdom of moral and physical anarchy. Faith was necessary in order that the exorcist should accomplish his task (Mt $17^{19.20}$), and this was aided by prayer (Mk 9^{29}). Faith was sometimes required on the part of near relatives, as in the case of the father of the epileptic patient (Mk $9^{23.24}$), in order that the cure might be effected. In these circumstances Jesus relied upon a simple direct command addressed to the demon, 'Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee come out of him' (Mk 9^{25}), or 'be muzzled and depart' (Mk 1^{25}). 'He cast out spirits with a word, and healed all who were sick.' He Himself declared that He did this by the finger or spirit of God (Lk 11^{20}, Mt 12^{28}). There was no use of magic formulæ. In the case of the woman who had been bound by Satan for eighteen years, He merely laid His hand upon her (Lk 13^{13}). In Mt 12^{27} He appears to place His own expulsions of demons on a footing of equality with those worked by Jewish exorcists; but here it is impossible to deny that there is irony latent in the question, 'By whom do your sons cast them out?' It is asked by way of argument rather than direct statement, and is intended to apply to the special belief and standpoint held by His Jewish opponents.

This power of delivering men from unclean

* Respecting Solomon as a nucleus of later legend, see Stade, *Gesch.* p. 309 ff., and the Arabic story of Bilkis (given in the Chrestomathy of Socin's *Arabic Grammar*).

† Conybeare, in quoting this, appositely cites the cry of the demons to Jesus, 'Art thou come hither to torment us *before our time?*' I desire here to express my obligations to this writer, whose interesting articles on the 'Demonology of the New Testament' (*JQR*, July and October 1896) contain much valuable information. They are occasionally marked, however, by a certain tendency to accentuate unduly some of the details of the NT narrative. Note, for example, his rendering of *ἐπίπτωσι* as 'fell bodily' in Ac 10^{44}, whereas it has no more physical significance than in Eurip. *Androm.* 1042, *σοὶ μόνῳ δύσφρονες ἐπίπτεσον λῦπαι.*

spirits Jesus bequeathed to His disciples (Mt 10^{1}). They effected their cures simply by *naming the name* of Jesus (Mk 16^{17}, Ac 3^{6}). This belief in the powerful efficacy of the *name* comes from a hoary Semitic past (see Sayce's *Hibbert Lect.* pp. 302–307). It should be remembered that *name* meant to an ancient Semite personal power and existence, and hence involved to those who invoked the name of Jesus belief in the actual presence and might of the divine Saviour of mankind.

Before passing from the subject of the Gospel narratives in their relation to demonology, it should not be forgotten (1) that we are dealing with the *reports of chroniclers whose minds were necessarily coloured by the prevailing beliefs of the age, psychic and cosmic*; (2) that the properly demoniac element *is almost wholly absent* from the *Fourth* Gospel. In 8^{48} 10^{20} the language employed by the Jews is quoted, while in 6^{70} Judas is called διάβολος and not δαιμόνιον.

St. Paul, however, shared the conceptions of his contemporaries respecting devils. Several passages may be cited in illustration. In the first place, the much disputed passage 1 Co $10^{19.20}$ points, in our opinion, to the conclusion adopted by Baudissin, and more recently by Everling (*Die Paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*, p. 27 ff.), that St. Paul had borrowed from Alexandrian Judaism the belief that the offerings to heathen deities were offerings to demons (cf. above the demonology of the Bk. of Enoch and the Sibylline books). In 1 Co 10^{20} Paul argues, 'But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have communion with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils.' He is pleading that it is not permissible to partake of the heathen sacrificial offerings. He quotes the two examples of the Christian Lord's Supper and the Jewish sacrifice. In both cases there is a real communion between the participator and the object of worship. The statement in 8^{4} 'We know that no idol is anything in the world,' does not involve any inconsistency. For St. Paul the gods *as such* are creatures of the imagination; yet he does not hold that nothing at all exists behind the image-worship of the heathen, but that demons lurk there and the kingdom of Satan, and that participators in heathen feasts are drawn into the circle of their evil influence (so Holsten).* Moreover, Everling (*ib.* p. 33 ff.) has shown with considerable probability that the reference in the obscure phrase 1 Co 11^{10} 'for this cause ought the woman to have *power* over her head on account of the angels' is to be found in the legend of the intercourse of the fallen angels with the daughters of men. Book of Enoch (ch. 6) and other citations from the Book of Jubilees, Apocalypse of Baruch 56^{12} in Charles' ed., and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (test. Reuben 5), show the important place held by this tradition in the literature that preceded the time of St. Paul.

It would lie beyond the scope of this article to trace the development of demonology in post-apostolic Christian writers. The elaborate demonology of Origen is portrayed in Conybeare's interesting article (*JQR*, Oct. 1896), to which the reader is referred. The enormous range of this belief in all its varieties, and the extent to which it penetrated into popular belief and practice from the hoary antiquity of Babylonian and Egyptian magic down to the time of the Reformation and beyond, is a fact of which this modern age of scientific discovery is but dimly conscious. Readers of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*, however, soon become aware how fervently the modern Arab of the desert believes in the *Jân* (see especially vol. ii. p. 188 ff.). Monumental evidence presents a vast array of examples. A considerable mass of Aramaic inscriptions could be cited, if space permitted, consisting of nothing else than conjurations, charms, or spells. See, for example, the transcription and translation by Jos. Wohlstein, in *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, April 1894, of Aramaic inscriptions on clay vessels preserved in the Royal Museum at Berlin, No. 2416 (consisting of nearly 100 lines); also in Dec. 1893, No. 2422 (of 44 lines). See also the interesting Greek form in Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 26 ff., and cf. art. EXORCISM. Respecting modern examples of demoniacal possession and exorcism it is difficult to speak with certainty, though some examples appear well authenticated. One of the most striking is to be found in the account given by the missionary Waldmeier of his ten years' labour in Abyssinia, *Autobiography of Thomas Waldmeier*, pp. 64–66. Though the shadows of such beliefs have been slowly passing away from Western Europe, the gloom still invests a large portion of the world, and fills the hearts of many millions of our fellow-men with anguish and terror. Like our first parents, we behold

> 'all the eastern side
> With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.'

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

DEMOPHON (Δημοφών, 2 Mac 12^{2}), a Syrian commandant in Palestine under Antiochus Eupator. According to the author of 2 Mac, after terms of peace had been agreed upon for the first time between Judas Maccabæus and Lysias (see ABSALOM IN APOCR.), some of the provincial commandants, and Demophon among them, continued to act in a hostile manner towards the Jews.

H. A. WHITE.

DEN (אֹרֶב the lurking-place of wild beasts, Job 37^{8}; מְעָרָה a cave where robbers hide, Jer 7^{11}; מְנָהָרָה in Jg 6^{2} is perhaps [but see Moore, *ad loc.*] a deep valley or water-course. In NT σπήλαιον).—The lions' den into which Daniel was cast (Dn 6^{7} etc.) was doubtless that in which the king's lions were kept, in accordance with a custom known to prevail at Oriental courts. Layard (*Nin. and Bab.*) shows that these beasts were used for purposes of sport by the kings of Assyria. A royal lion hunt is depicted in a bas-relief of the palace of Assur-naẓir-pal (B.C. 885–860) discovered at Nimroud, now in the British Museum. A seal of Darius has also been found, on which the king is represented in the act of shooting an arrow at a lion rampant.

G. WALKER.

DENARIUS.—See MONEY.

DENOUNCE.—In AV Dt 30^{18} only, 'I d. unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish' (הִגַּדְתִּי, tr^{d} 'I profess' 26^{3}). This is the orig. meaning of the word (fr. Lat. *denuntiare*, 'to give official intimation'). So Peacock (1449), 'The Euangelie of God . . . which to alle men oughte be denouncid'; and 2 Th 3^{10} Wyc. (1380) 'we denounceden this thing to you, that if ony man wole not worche: nether ete he' (after Vulg. *hoc denunciabamus vobis*).

J. HASTINGS.

DENY.—In the sense of 'refuse,' deny (Lat. *de-negare*, 'say no,' 'refuse') is not yet obsolete. Examples in AV are 1 K 2^{16} 'I ask one petition of thee, deny me not' (אַל־תָּשֵׁב אֶת־פָּנָי 'turn not away my face'; in v.^{20} the same phrase is twice tr^{d} in AV 'say not nay,' RV 'deny not'; cf. Lk 12^{27}); 1 K 20^{7}, Pr 30^{7} 'Two things have I required (RV 'asked') of thee; deny me them not before I die' (both מָנַע). But we cannot now say 'deny to do'

* The opposite view is taken by Beyschlag in his Programme, 'Did the Apostle Paul regard the gods of the heathen as demons?' and he is followed by Marcus Dods (*Expositor*, March 1895, p. 237 ff.). But on the subject of Demonology in the NT, and the belief of Jesus in a personal devil, Beyschlag is an unsafe guide, as I shall attempt to show in my article SATAN.

a thing, as Wis 12[27] 'the true God, whom before they denied to know' (ἠρνοῦντο εἰδέναι, Vulg. *negabant se nosse*, RV 'refused to know,' RVm 'denied that they knew'); so 16[16] 'the ungodly that denied to know thee'; and 1 Mac 5[heading] 'He destroyeth Ephron for denying him to pass through it.' Cf. Shaks. *Winter's Tale*, v. ii. 128: 'You denied to fight with me this other day, because I was no gentleman born'; and Knox, *Historie*, 88, 'the Lord Gray . . . plainely denyed to charge again.'

J. HASTINGS.

DEPART.—The earliest meaning of 'depart' is 'divide into parts' (*dis-partire*), as Maundeville, xi. 43: 'The yerde of Moyses, with the whilk he departid the Reed See.' Then to 'distribute,' as Jn 19[24] Gen. 'They departed my rayment among them.' Next came 'separate,' which occurs once (intrans.) in AV, Ac 15[39] 'they departed asunder one from the other' (ἀποχωρίζομαι, RV 'parted asunder'). This is the meaning (but trans.) of 'depart' in the Pr. Bk., 'till death us depart,' which was retained from 1549 till 1662, when 'depart' was changed into 'do part.' Cf. Ru 1[17] Cov. 'death onely shal departe us.'

J. HASTINGS.

DEPUTY, the rendering once (1 K 22[47]) of נָצָב, elsewhere in OT of פֶּחָה. The latter was a governor subordinate to the satrap (which see), and is mentioned under both the Assyr. and the Chald. governments (2 K 18[24], Ezk 23[6. 23]), although the office seems to have been better defined under the Persian rule (Est 8[9] 9[3], cf. *Behist. Inscr.* col. iii. par. 3, § 4; par. 9, § 2). The deputies who were set over the lesser districts and cities within the satrap's province occupied a position of considerable dignity and authority (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iv. 416; cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. § 10–12; iv. 1. § 1).

In NT 'deputy' is AV tr. in Ac 13[7] 18[12] 19[38] of ἀνθύπατος, which is more accurately rendered in RV 'proconsul' (which see).

G. WALKER.

DERBE (Δέρβη, ethnic Δερβαῖος, Ac 20[4], but Δερβήτης in Strabo, p. 569, and Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiii. 73) was a city of Lycaonia, on the main road from Iconium (or Lystra), S.E. to Laranda. Of its early history nothing is recorded. It was in the part of Lycaonia that was added to Cappadocia as an 'eleventh *Strategia*' by the Romans (prob. in B.C. 65); but, under the weak rule of the Cappadocian kings, it was seized by a native ruler, Antipater (called 'the robber' by Strabo, p. 569, which merely shows that he opposed the Rom. policy; he was a friend of Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiii. 73). Amyntas, king of Galatia, conquered Derbe and Laranda, and at his death in B.C. 25 they passed with his kingdom to the Romans, were incorporated in the province Galatia, and supplied soldiers to the Rom. legions (*CIL* iii. 2709, 2818). In A.D. 37 or 41 Laranda was probably transferred to the kingdom of Antiochus, and the coins of king Antiochus mentioning the Lycaones must have been struck there; hence from 41 to 72 Derbe became the frontier city of the Rom. province, and was honoured with the title Claudio-Derbe. Soon after, it was visited by St. Paul (Ac 14[6]), who, having here reached the extremity of Rom. territory, now turned back and retraced his former steps to Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, and Perga. Nothing is said in Ac about any sufferings of St. Paul at D., nor is it mentioned among the places (like Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra) where he had suffered (2 Ti 3[11]). On his second journey, coming from Cilicia (doubtless through the 'Cilician Gates'), St. Paul passed through D. to Lystra, etc., and on his third journey he took the same route (acc. to those who maintain the 'S. Galatian' view, though most scholars consider that on this occasion he went northward from the 'Gates' through Cappadocia towards N. Galatia). Gaius of D. was one of the delegation which accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem in charge of the contributions of the Pauline Churches for the benefit of the poor in Jerus. (Ac 20[4]). According to the text of *Codex Bezæ*, Gaius is styled Δούβριος; this is the ethnic derived from Doubra, doubtless a local pronunciation of the name (which may be compared with Seiblia or Silbion or Soublaion). A third form, Δέλβεια, is mentioned by Stephanus Byzant. as meaning 'juniper' in the Lycaonian tongue (cf. Ac 14[11]). Very little is recorded of D. in NT; it is rarely mentioned in general history; and in Christian history it hardly reappears until A.D. 381, when its bishop, Daphnus, was present at the Council of Constantinople.

The site of D., after many diverse conjectures, was placed by Prof. Sterrett at Zosta or Losta; though the evidence is still not perfect, yet general considerations point conclusively to this neighbourhood, and especially to a large mound called Gudelissin, evidently in great part artificial, from which protrude numerous remains of a city, about three miles N.W. of Zosta. The buildings that remain above ground at Gudelissin are all of the Byzantine period; but the mound has the appearance of great antiquity, as one of those sites where city has been built over city, until a hill is formed (like the 'mounds of Semiramis' at Tyana and Zela, Strab. pp. 537, 559). The statement of Stephanus Byzant., that Derbe was a fortress and harbour (λιμήν) of Isauria is erroneous; and the proposed change of text (λίμνη) has no authority.

LITERATURE about Derbe begins with Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition in Asia Minor*, pp. 22–30; Losta was visited by MM. Radet and Paris, who, however, wrongly identified it with Lystra, *Bulletin de Correspond. Hellénique*, 1886, pp. 509–512. The reasons for the identification of D. with Zosta are stated by Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 336 f., and more definitely (after a visit to the place) in *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp. 54–58; *St. Paul the Trav.* pp. 110 ff., 178 ff. See GALATIA.

W. M. RAMSAY.

DERISION.—With one exception, all instances of the phrase 'have in derision' represent a simple verb: either לָעַג *lâ'agh*, 'mock,' Ps 2[4] 59[8], Ezk 23[32]; שָׂחַק *sâḥaḳ* 'laugh at,' Job 30[1]; הָלִיץ *hēlîẓ*, 'deride'; or μυκτηρίζω, 1 Es 1[51] (RV 'mocked'). The exception is Wis 5[3] 'This was he whom we had sometimes in derision' (ὃν ἔσχομέν ποτε εἰς γέλωτα, Vulg. *habuimus in derisum*).

J. HASTINGS.

DESCRIBE.—In Jos 18[4. 6. 8 bis. 9] 'to describe' is to map out, or divide into lots, as Jos 18[6] 'Ye shall therefore describe the land into seven parts, and bring the description hither to me, that I may cast lots for you here before the Lord our God.' This is Coverdale's tr., from Vulg. *describere* (in Jos 18[4. 6. 8. bis], in [9] *diviserunt, scribentes*). In Jg 8[14] the same Heb. (כָּתַב 'write') is again tr. 'describe' (Vulg. *describere*), but the meaning is 'write a list of.' In this passage the LXX gives γράφω, the word used in Ro 10[5] 'Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law' (RV 'writeth that,' etc.); while in 4[6] 'describeth the blessedness' the vb. is λέγω (RV 'pronounceth blessing upon').

Besides Jos 18[6] (above), where there is no corresp. Heb., **description** occurs only 1 Es 5[39] with the meaning of 'list': the description of 'the kindred' (τῆς γενικῆς γραφῆς, *i.e.* the genealogy).

J. HASTINGS.

DESCRY.—'Describe' and 'descry' are both from Lat. *describere*, the former immediately, the latter through the old Fr. *descrire*. And in earlier Eng. their meanings were often very close, to 'descry' being to 'reveal,' even as late as Milton, *Comus*, 141—

'And to the tell-tale Sun descry
Our concealed solemnity.'

But Milton uses the word also in the sense of reconnoitre, as *Par. Lost*, vi. 530—

'And scouts each coast light-armed scour,
Each quarter, to descry the distant foe.'

This is the meaning of 'descry' in AV, where it occurs only Jg 1[23] 'And the house of Joseph sent to descry Bethel' (וַיְתִירוּ, RV 'sent to spy out').

J. HASTINGS.

DESERT.—See WILDERNESS.

DESIRE.—'To desire,' says Trench (*Sel. Gloss.* 56), 'is only to look *forward* with longing now: the word has lost the sense of regret or looking *back* upon the lost but still loved. This it once possessed in common with *desiderium* and *desiderare*, from which more remotely, and *désirer*, from which more immediately, we derive it.' And he quotes as an example 2 Ch 21[20] 'and [Jehoram] departed without being desired.' Now this sense of 'desire' is certainly found, as Berners (1533), 'Of the death of suche an entierly desyred husbande'; Jer. Taylor, 'she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies.' But it is not so certain that 2 Ch 21[20] is an example. The Heb. is lit. 'he went [or walked] without desire' (וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה; LXX καὶ ἐπορεύθη οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ; Vulg. *Ambulavitque non recte*, whence Cov. 'and walked not well'), and the tr. of AV is taken from Gen. Bible, which has 'and *lived* without being desired,' with the gloss 'he was not regarded, but deposed for his wickedness.'*

J. HASTINGS.

DESOLATE.—An example of the primary meaning (*de-solus*, alone) 'left alone,' 'solitary,' is Ad. Est 14[3] 'help me, d. woman, which have no helper but thee'; and an example of the obsolete constr. with 'of,' is Bar 2[23] 'the whole land shall be d. of inhabitants' (RV 'd. without inh.'). So 1 Ti 5[5] Wyc. 'sche that is a widewe verili, and desolate'; and Ru 1[5] Cov. 'the woman remayned desolate of both hir sonnes and hir huszbande.' For **Desolation** see ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

J. HASTINGS.

DESPITE is now only a prep., though as a subst. it is still used in poetry. The subst. (='contempt' actively shown, 'dishonour,' from Lat. *despicere*, to look down on) occurs Ezk 25[6] 'rejoiced in heart with all thy despite against the land of Israel' (בְּכָל־שָׁאֲטְךָ בְּנֶפֶשׁ, RV 'with all the d. of thy soul'); and He 10[29] 'hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace' (ἐνυβρίσας; 'doith dispit' is Wyclif's word; Tin., Cov., Cran., Gen. 'doth dishonour'; Rhem. 'hath done contumelie'). Cf. Jer. Taylor, 'Liberality . . . consists in the despite and neglect of money.' As a vb. 'd.' occurs in Pref. to AV, 'The Romanists . . . did no lesse then despite the spirit of grace,' that is, 'treated with contempt.' **Despiteful** is found Ezk 25[15] 'a d. heart,' 36[5] 'd. minds'; Sir 31[31] 'give him no d. words' (λόγον ὀνειδισμοῦ, RV 'a word of reproach'); and Ro 1[30] (ὑβρισταί, RV 'insolent'). **Despitefully**, 1 Mac 9[26] 'used them d.' (ἐνέπαιζον αὐτοῖς); Mt 5[44], Lk 6[28] 'which d. use you' (ἐπηρεάζω); Ac 14[5] 'to use them d.' (ὑβρίσαι αὐτούς, RV 'to entreat them shamefully'). **Despitefulness**, Wis 2[19] 'Let us examine him with d. and torture' (ὕβρει, Vulg. *contumelia*, RV 'outrage'). Here, and in the passages where 'despitefully' occurs, the idea is cruelty more than contempt; but the meaning of 'spite,' 'spitefulness,' is never present in these words. In Est 1[18] Cov., 'thus shall there aryse despytefulness and wrath ynough,' d. = contempt, as AV and RV.

J. HASTINGS.

DESTRUCTION (אֲבַדּוֹן).—See ABADDON.

DETERMINATE.—Only Ac 2[23] 'the d. counsel and foreknowledge of God' (ὡρισμένος, fr. ὁρίζω, to mark a boundary, fix, appoint. The closest parallel is Lk 22[22] 'the Son of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined' RV, Gr. κατὰ τὸ ὡρισμένον). 'Determinate' is Tindale's word, whom all the VSS follow; but Wyclif has the form we should now employ 'determyned.' Chaucer has 'determinat' in the same sense, as *Astrolabe*, I. xxi. 7: 'sterres fixes, with hir longitudes and latitudes determinat'; and cf. Shaks. *Twelfth Night*, II. i. 10: 'My determinate voyage is mere extravagancy.' **Determination**, Zeph 3[8] 'my d. is to gather the nations' (מִשְׁפָּטִי, lit. 'judgement,' as RVm); 2 Es 10[16] 'if thou shalt acknowledge the d. of God to be just' (*terminus*, lit. 'end,' RV 'decree'; cf. Ja 5[11] 'ye have seen the end of the Lord,' τέλος). **Determine** was common about 1611 in the sense of 'end,' 'terminate'; but in AV only the derived meanings are found, fix, decide, resolve. In AV Pref. the obsolete construction with 'of' is used: 'For as it is a fault of incredulity, to doubt of those things that are evident; so to determine of such things as the Spirit of God hath left (even in the judgement of the judicious) questionable, can be no less than presumption.'

J. HASTINGS.

DETESTABLE THINGS.—The tr[n] in AV and RV of שִׁקּוּצִים in Jer 16[18], Ezk 5[11] 7[20] 11[18. 21] 37[23], the reference being either to actual idols or to objects connected with idolatry. Elsewhere the word is tr[d] ABOMINATION (see the references above, p. 12, —adding Nah 3[6] [AV, RV 'abominable filth'], Dn 9[27] 11[31] 12[11], 2 Ch 15[8]), which usually represents תּוֹעֵבָה (see p. 11); but as in the first five passages cited both Heb. words occur together, 'detestable things' is adopted for שִׁקּוּצִים for the sake of distinction. It would have conduced to accuracy and clearness, had it been adopted uniformly. The cognate verb שָׁקַץ, *to treat as detestable*, is rendered 'to detest' in Dt 7[26], but unfortunately 'to have in abomination' in Lv 11[11. 13], and 'to make abominable' (for 'make detestable') in Lv 11[43] 20[25] (in these four passages, in connexion with שָׁקַץ, the technical term for the flesh of prohibited animals. See ABOMINATION, No. 3).

In 2 Mac 5[24] 'that detestable ringleader' (Apollonius) stands for τὸν μυσάρχην; RV 'lord of pollutions,' with marg. 'Gr. *Mysarch*, which may also mean ruler of the Mysians.' The tr[n] of the text is, no doubt, correct (similarly Grimm, Rawl., Zöckler: Pesh. 'ruler of all the unclean'); the term is evidently one of disparagement, framed on the model of titles such as ἐθνάρχης, στρατοπεδάρχης, etc.

S. R. DRIVER.

DEUEL (דְּעוּאֵל 'knowledge of God,' Ῥαγουήλ).—Father of Eliasaph, prince of Gad (Nu 1[14] 7[42. 47] 10[20]) = Reuel, Nu 2[14] (perhaps the original name, see LXX, ר being put for ר) P.

G. H. BATTERSBY.

DEUTERONOMY.—i. THE NAME OF THE BOOK.—The name Deuteronomy is taken from the Lat. 'Deuteronomium,' which transliterated the Gr. word Δευτερονόμιον. This Gr. word appears in the LXX of Dt 17[18], where the words 'a copy of this law' (מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת) are incorrectly tr[d] τὸ Δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο, as if the Heb. had been 'this copy of the law' (מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה). The word also occurs, with the same error of tr[n], in Jos 9[5] [Heb. 8[32]]. Though the word was a mistranslation, it furnished an appropriate title to a book which in a large measure 'reformulated' previous laws. The book is referred to by this name in the writings of Philo (*Leg. Allegor.* iii. § 61, i. 121, *Quod Deus immutab.* § 10, i. 280), although that writer also quotes it by the name of 'The Appendix to the Laws,' ἡ Ἐπινομίς (*Quis rer. dives hæres.* § 33, i. 495).

* This is the sense in which the passage is taken by *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* (*s.v.* חסרה), 'he lived as no one desired.'

In Heb. literature the book was known by a title taken from its opening words, 'These are the words' (אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים), or, simply, 'words' (דְּבָרִים). In Rabbinic writing it is sometimes cited as 'The book of Threatenings' (סֵפֶר תּוֹכָחוֹת); but in such cases the reference is to the latter portion of the book, which also appears to have been known to Philo as 'The Curses' (ἀ 'Αραί). See *Leg. Allegor.* iii. § 35, i. 109, quoting Dt 27[17]; *De Posterit. Caini*, § 8, i. 230, quoting Dt 28[65]. (Ryle's *Philo and Holy Scripture*, Introd. p. xxiii f.)

ii. THE CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.—The book purports to contain the last utterances of Moses, delivered in the plains of Moab just before his death. The historical position is defined by the brief Introduction (1[1-5]) and by the Epilogue (34), which narrates the death of Moses. The utterances of Moses comprise *three* main discourses: (1) The first is chiefly historical, reviewing the life of Israel in the wilderness, 1[6]–4[43]. (2) The second, which has a brief historical preface (4[44-49]), is, at first, hortatory (5–11), but is chiefly taken up with the legislation (12–26), *i.e.* the code of laws which constitutes the nucleus of the whole work. To this is appended the description of a ceremony which was to symbolize the popular ratification of the laws in the land of Canaan (27), and a rehearsal of warnings and blessings that should ensue upon the neglect and observance of these laws (20). (3) The third address is an additional exhortation urging the people to keep the covenant with J", promising restoration even after relapse into idolatry, and offering the alternatives of obedience or disloyalty to J" (29. 30).

These *three* addresses to the people are followed by a collection of more miscellaneous materials, such as Moses' farewell, his deliverance of the Deut. law to the priests, his commission to Joshua, the Song of Moses, the Blessing of Moses (31–33). The whole is concluded by an account of the Death of Moses (34).

Although it is true to say that the legislation constitutes the nucleus of the book, the character of the writing is very far from being that of a legal work. The tone of exhortation which runs through the earlier and later addresses, pervades also the legislative portion. The laws are not systematically and technically stated. They are ethically expounded in order to set forth their relation to the theocratic principles laid down in chs. 5–11. The purpose of the book is thus, practically, wholly 'hortatory,' or, as it has been termed, 'parenetic'; and its 'parenetic' aim accounts for the diffuse and somewhat discursive treatment which is found in the historical and legislative, no less than in the directly homiletical passages. A very cursory perusal enables us to see that the writer is neither historian nor jurist, but a religious teacher.

When we investigate Dt in relation to the books which immediately precede and follow it in the Hex., we cannot fail to be struck by the general unity of its composition, and by the distinctiveness of its character and style.

In Nu 27[12f.] it has already been said, 'And the LORD said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim, and behold the land which I have given unto the children of Israel. And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered.' Again, in Nu 27[18-23] we find the commission to Joshua thus described, 'And the LORD said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him, etc. And Moses did as the LORD commanded him; and he took Joshua and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation; and he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge, as the LORD spake, by the hand of Moses.'

Now, at the close of Dt we find in 32[48-50] 'And the LORD spake unto Moses that self-same day, saying, Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim . . . and behold the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession; and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people; as Aaron thy brother died in Mount Hor, and was gathered unto his people.' Again, we find in 31[14-23] the charge given to Joshua, 'And the LORD said unto Moses, Behold, thy days approach that thou must die; call Joshua, and present yourselves in the tent of meeting, etc. And he gave Joshua the son of Nun a charge, and said, Be strong and of a good courage.' Dt thus practically repeats the incidents which have already been recorded in Nu 27; and the whole work, which intervenes between the two commands to Moses to prepare for death, presents the appearance of a great parenthesis, interrupting the main thread of the narrative. The command to go up to the heights of Abarim, in Dt 32, is followed almost immediately by the narrative, in Dt 34, of the death of Moses. The same command has occurred in Nu 27; but between the two commands is interposed the series of three addresses which were given, according to Dt 1[3], on the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year.

Not only, however, has the Book of Dt all the appearance of a parenthesis, but it is rendered distinct from the other books of the Pent. by its very clearly marked characteristics of style and diction. These will require fuller consideration later on. But they are so distinct and so obvious to the reader, whether of the original or of a translation, that they inevitably contribute very largely to the general impression that Dt represents a work in some way separate from the rest of the Pentateuch.

The same general impression is produced by a comparison of the laws in Dt with the three principal groups of laws contained in Ex, Lv, and Nu. The Deut. legislation 'stands in a different relation to each of the three codes referred to; it is an *expansion* of that in Ex 20–23; it is, in several features, *parallel* to that in Lv 17–26; it contains *allusions* to laws such as those codified in the rest of Lv–Nu' (Driver, *s.v.* 'Deuteronomy' in Smith's *DB*[2]). The legislative section of Dt is distinct in contents and treatment from the parallel sections in Ex–Nu.

The principal historical allusions in Dt (as presented by Driver) are the following:—

1[8] (and frequently) the *oath* to the patriarchs	Gn 15[16] 22[16f.] 24[7] 26[3].
4[3] (Ba'al-pe'or)	Nu 25[1-5].
4[10ff.] 5[2ff.] 18[16] delivery of Decalogue, etc.	Ex 19[3]–20[21].
6[16] (Massah)	Ex 17[7].
6[21f.] and elsewhere (deliverance from Egypt)	Ex 13[14] 14[30].
8[3. 16] (the manna)	Ex 16[4. 5].
8[15] (fiery serpents; and rock (צוּר) of flint)	Nu 21[6] and Ex 17[6]. [*N.B.* In Nu 20[8-11] (P) the term for 'rock' is סֶלַע, not צוּר.]
9[22] Tab'ērāh, Massah, Ḳibroth-hatta'ăvah)	Nu 11[1-3], Ex 17[7], Nu 11[34].
11 (passage of the Red Sea)	Ex 14[27].
11[6] (Dathan and Abiram)	Nu 16[1b. 27b. 30. 32a].
23[5f.] (4f.) Bala'am)	Nu 22[2]–24[25].
24[9] (Miriam's leprosy)	Nu 12[10].
25[17-19] (opposition of 'Amalek)	Ex 17[8-16].
26[6-8] (affliction and deliverance from Egypt)	Ex 1[9-12] 3[7. 9] etc.
29[22] (23) (overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah)	Gn 19[24f.]

An investigation of the historical allusions in Dt confirms the impression produced by the legislative portion. The references are, almost without exception, made to events recorded in those portions of Ex and Nu which scholars assign to JE, or the 'prophetic' group of narratives incor-

porated in the Pentateuch. The other main group of narratives in the Pent., denominated P from its generally 'priestly' characteristics, does not appear to have supplied the foundation for the treatment of the history in D. Thus in 1^{36} the reader notices that Caleb alone is mentioned as the recipient of especial favour; there is no mention made of Joshua. In the Book of Nu the passage which records the favour granted to Caleb alone (Nu 14^{24}) belongs to JE, the passage which associates Joshua with Caleb (Nu 14^{30}) belongs to P. Similarly, in 11^{6} we find mention of Dathan and Abiram, but not of Korah, who figures so conspicuously in Nu 16. But in Nu 16 the Korah passages are assigned by scholars to P; the JE portion of the narrative speaks only of Dathan and Abiram.

There are only *three* incidents in the historical references of Dt which are to be found in the P and not in the JE narrative of the Pentateuch. These are (1) the mention of the number 'twelve,' of the spies, Dt 1^{23}, cf. Nu 13^{2-16}; (2) the mention of the number 'seventy,' of the family of Jacob, Dt 10^{22}, cf. Gn 46^{27}, Ex 1^{5}; (3) the mention of acacia-wood as the material of which the ark was made, Dt 10^{3}, cf. Ex 25^{10}. But it is to be remembered that these facts may have been recorded in JE, but have been preserved to us only in the excerpts from the P narrative.

Assuming the correctness of the general proposition, which is universally admitted by modern scholars, that the Pent. is of composite origin, we are brought, by a consideration of the distinctiveness in D's treatment and style, to the opinion that D must take rank with JE and P as one of the component elements of the Pentateuch. Not, of course, that D should necessarily be assigned any more than J, or E, or P, to any one writer or author, but only that in style and treatment it may be attributed to a literary source, representing the influence of a particular period, or of particular circumstances, upon a writer, or a school, or a succession of writers.

iii. The Unity of the Book.—Though we have hitherto spoken of Dt as if it were a unity in itself, it would be a mistake to suppose that it presents an unbroken homogeneous piece of literature written by a single person. There is good reason to suppose that the same kind of literary history is to be attributed to D as to JE and P. The original nucleus of writing has been revised, expanded, and modified. It is not difficult to indicate portions which could hardly have worn their present appearance if from the first they had been part of a consecutive piece of writing.

It appears the most probable view that Dt 5–26 ($27^{9.\ 10}$). 28 represent the original work, either in part or in its entirety. In this work chs. 5–11 formed the introduction; ch. 28 the peroration.

Wellhausen, indeed, limits the original work of Dt to chs. 12–26. But there seems no sufficient ground for separating 5–11 from 12–26. The style and diction are in marked agreement; and the differences which have been detected in the two sections are only those which might be expected to arise from the difference of subject-matter.

With regard to chs. 1–4 doubts have been more generally expressed. It has seemed to many improbable that the introduction, consisting of 5–11, should have been preceded by a long prefatory section. It is objected that the arrangement is too cumbrous to be the original one; that the awkwardness of the present arrangement is emphasized by the presence of two formal headings, 1^{1-5} and 4^{44-49}. Moreover, the absence in the hortatory passage 4^{1-40} of any allusion to the preceding historical summary has suggested a doubt whether ch. 4 could be homogeneous with chs. 1–3. On the other hand, the style is admittedly Deuteronomic; and it is difficult to believe that 1–4 did not come in some form or another from the same writer or school as the contents of 5–26. 28.

Dillmann has made the suggestion that 1–3 formed originally the hist. introduction, which was written in the third person, and that this was altered in character from narrative into a speech by the redactor of the Pent., who incorporated Dt into the main work. Dillm. also considered that 4^{1-40} originally belonged to the conclusion of the book, and that it was transferred from that position by the redactor: for confirmation of this view, he appealed to the disordered and inconsecutive condition of chs. 29. 30, and to the use of the past tense in 4^{5}, which seemed to imply that the legislative portion had already been recorded, and was present to the reader's mind.

It may, however, be doubted whether there is not a danger of too great ingenuity in the hypothetical rearrangement of the original materials. Taking into consideration (1) the very close resemblance of style, and (2) the absence of any serious contradiction in statement between the different portions, there is not room for any confident theory of different authorship for 1–4, though it may have been composed at a later time than the rest, and prefixed afterwards.

When, however, we come to consider the question of chs. 29–34, it is impossible not to admit that we have there to deal with materials widely differing in origin.

One passage in particular, 30^{1-10}, obviously has no direct connexion with the section 30^{11-20}, which immediately follows; 31^{16-22} interrupts the thread of the narrative; while 32^{1-43} and 33, two lyrical pieces, have evidently been derived from some independent collection of early Heb. songs. A few portions of 32 and 34 (32^{48-52} and $34^{1a.\ 5b.\ 7-9}$) are, on literary grounds, assigned with great probability to P as their original source.

The most reasonable explanation of the history of the structure of the book is excellently summarised in Driver's *Deuteronomy* (p. lxxvii). 'Some little time after the kernel [chs. 5–26. 28] of Dt was composed, it was enlarged by a second Deuteronomic writer (or writers), D^{2}, who (1) supplemented the work of D by adding the passages indicated; (2) incorporated, with additions of his (or their) own, the excerpts from JE, and (taking it probably from a separate source) the Song 32^{1-43}, with the historical notices belonging to it, 31^{16-22} 32^{44}. Finally, at a still later date, the whole thus constituted was brought formally into relation with the literary framework of the Hexateuch as a whole by the addition of the extracts from P.'

iv. The Religious Teaching of Deuteronomy. — The characteristics of the religious thought of this book are very marked. They exercised a profound influence upon the religious development of the people.

The great lessons of the spirituality of the Godhead (4^{12}), and the uniqueness of J″, and His absolute unity ($4^{35.\ 39}$ 6^{4} 7^{9} 10^{17}), are strongly and impressively taught. We pass from the older conception of 'monolatry' into the fuller and deeper thought of 'monotheism.' The relation in which the God of the people stands to the people is represented primarily as one of love rather than of law. The thought of the love of Israel towards her God, which is indeed laid down in the words of the Decalogue (Ex 20^{6}, Dt 5^{10}), is not required elsewhere in the Pent., but in Dt it is earnestly insisted on as the basis of faithful service on the part of the creature to the Creator and of the redeemed to the Deliverer (cf. 10^{12} $12^{1.\ 13.\ 22}$ 13^{3} 19^{9} $30^{6.\ 16.\ 20}$). Appeals made to Israel to keep the commandments are, it is true, often based on the recollection of God's might and of His terrible visitation, on motives of awe and fear; but the highest appeal is made to the consciousness of J″'s love, in that He had *chosen* Israel, not for Israel's greatness or goodness, but out of His own free love (Dt $7^{7.\ 8}$ 8^{17} 9^{4-6}). The love and affection of God towards the *nation*, as distinguished from His love towards *individuals*, constitutes an especial feature in Dt (4^{37} 7^{13} 23^{6} 33^{3}); and Dt shares with Hosea (3^{1} 11^{1} 14^{4}) the distinction of first familiarizing Israel with the thought and teaching that underlie so much of NT theology (cf. 1 K 10^{9}, 2 Ch 2^{11} 9^{8}, Mal 1^{2}). Again, love as indicating the people's affection and devotion to J″ is again and again insisted on as the true spring of all human action (cf. 5^{10} 6^{5} 7^{8} $10^{12.\ 15}$ $11^{1.\ 13.\ 22}$ 13^{3} 19^{9} $30^{6.\ 16.\ 20}$). This teaching of the reciprocal relation of love between J″ and Israel has left the mark of Dt deeply impressed upon OT theology. It is this which leads more directly than any other line of OT teaching to the revelation ultimately contained in the words, 'God so loved the world,' etc. (Jn 3^{16}).

As the outcome of the thought of the divine love which Israel has enjoyed, there also comes into view the consideration of Israel as 'the son' and of J" as the people's Father. The loving God had given Israel life by redemption from Egypt; He had brought Israel up and educated him in the wilderness (see Dt 14^2 and $8^{2.\ 3.\ 16}$).

The intimacy of the relation between J" and Isr. emphasizes the demand that Israel should also 'cleave' to J" (11^{22} 13^4), and not follow 'other gods' ($6^{14.\ 15}$ 7^4 $8^{19.\ 20}$ $11^{16.\ 17.\ 20}$ $30^{17.\ 18}$). Idolatry is the great peril; its temptations must be resisted with ruthless severity ($13^{2\text{-}12}$ 17^5); no compromise is to be allowed nor alliance struck with the idolater (7^2 $20^{16\text{-}18}$).

The inducements to yield to superstitious practices are pictured as strong and numerous; but to yield is fatal. J"'s wrath and His just punishment are the nation's penalty, and will be its extermination ($6^{10\text{-}15}$ $8^{11\text{-}20}$ $11^{16.\ 17}$ 31^{29}). The alternative between obedience and disobedience, between the service of J" and the service of 'other gods,' constitutes the theme of the great passage of warning and denunciation which is presented in ch. 28.

The holiness of the people is another chief thought, the prominence of which is a marked feature in this book, resulting from the conception of the close relationship between Israel and J" the Holy One. The people are holy to J", and cannot therefore join themselves to 'other gods' (7^6). It is this 'holiness' which should prevent them from bodily mutilation as a sign of mourning; for such behaviour was the mark of a nation serving 'other gods' (14^2). This 'holiness' is the reason for which the people must refrain from food that would render unclean those who were J"'s possession (14^{21}). God has chosen His people, not only to make them 'high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour'; but also that they may be 'an holy people' unto J"' (26^{19}). The 'holiness' of the people depends upon its obedience (28^9). The spirit of 'holiness' to J" is ethically to be expressed by the observance of love towards the neighbour, and by kindness and charity towards the poor, the widow, the orphan, the Levite, and the stranger ($10^{18.\ 19}$ $24^{17\text{-}21}$). The millstone was never to be taken in pledge; the garment taken in pledge was to be returned before nightfall ($24^{6.\ 10\text{-}13}$). Feelings of humanity were to be extended towards the animals; the ox treading out the corn was not to be muzzled (25^4); and thought was even given to the bird and its young ones ($22^{6.\ 7}$).

In outward worship the 'holiness' of the people can be adequately safeguarded only by worship at the central sanctuary chosen by J". This regulation, which is laid down in ch. 12, is repeated in connexion with the laws of tithe (14^{23} etc.), the firstborn (15^{20}), the festivals ($16^{2.\ 6.\ 11}$), the firstlings (26^2), the judges ($17^{8.\ 10}$). So long as worship was carried on at local shrines, on the high-places, and under trees (12^2), it was inevitably tainted with heathenism; the hearts of the people would be alienated from the service of J"; and the moral purity of the nation would be corrupted by the assimilation of idolatrous practices.

Thus the relationship of Israel to J" is asserted as the spiritual principle which must animate the people's whole existence. The laws which are mentioned illustrate how the high mission of Israel is to be interpreted in daily life. These laws are no formal code. The blessing for obedience is promised as a reward for particular acts, and for the whole regulation of life; and the blessing promised is expressed in terms which Israel could understand and appreciate,—outward prosperity and length of life ($12^{25.\ 28}$ 13^{18} 14^{29} $15^{10.\ 18}$ 16^{20} 19^{13} 23^{21} 24^{19} 25^{15}). It is to preserve unimpaired the recollection of their spiritual relation to J" that so much stress is laid upon the training of the children (4^9 $6^{7.\ 20\text{-}25}$ 11^{19}); while provision is also made, that even in the dress and the dwellings of individuals ($6^{8.\ 9}$ $11^{19.\ 20}$ 22^{12}) the people should be reminded of their spiritual duties.

v. Language and Style of Deuteronomy.—The style in which the book is written has very clearly marked characteristics of its own. It is quite distinct, and easily recognizable. It bears no resemblance to the style of P, nor does it show any likeness to the narrative style of JE. In certain hortatory passages of JE there may be noticed 'an approximation to the style of Dt; and these sections [Gn 26^5, Ex $13^{3\text{-}16}$ 15^{26} $19^{3\text{-}6}$, parts of $20^{2\text{-}17}$ $23^{20\text{-}33}$ $34^{10\text{-}26}$] appear to have been the source from which the author of Dt adopted some of the expressions currently used by him' (Driver).

The style of Dt is remarkable for its command of rich and effective periods, in which the sentences are framed with great oratorical skill. They are rhythmical without being tedious; and copious without being shallow and rhetorical. Some of the writing of Jeremiah approaches most closely in style to Dt; and the influence of Dt upon subsequent Heb. literature was very marked. The Deut. style was imitated and adopted by a group or succession of writers in and after the days of the exile. The Deut. passages in Jos, Jg, and K are easily distinguishable; they are generally of a hortatory character, and represent a particular attitude of fervent patriotism and religious thought, expressed with considerable redundancy of language, and with the use of certain characteristic phrases.

Very full and complete lists of the characteristic Deut. words and phrases have been drawn up by Driver (*Deut.* Introd. p. lxxviii ff.) and Holzinger (*Einleit. in d. Hex.*). The following are instances of words perfectly simple in themselves, but used with great frequency or with marked effect in Dt, though elsewhere not found, or only used with great rareness, in the Hexateuch:—

Thy (your) gates (=cities).
A mighty hand and a stretched out arm.
The land whither thou goest in to possess it.
Statutes and judgments; commandments and statutes.
With all your heart and with all your soul.
the priests the Levites.
observe to do.
that it may be well for thee.
a peculiar people.
to make his name to dwell there.
to do that which is right (good or evil) in the eyes of J".
as J" hath spoken.
to walk in the ways of J".
to hearken to the voice.

Under this head should be noticed the use of אָהַב *to love* (*a*) with God as obj.; (*b*) of God's love to His people.

אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים *other gods.*
הַאֲרִיךְ *to prolong* (of days).
הוֹרִישׁ *to dispossess.*
בָּחַר *to choose.*
דָּבַק בְּ *to cleave to.*
הֵיטִיב *thoroughly.*
נָתַן לִפְנֵי *to deliver up before.*
פָּדָה *to ransom.*
מִשְׁלַח יָדְךָ *that to which thou puttest thine hand.*
הִשְׁמִיד *to destroy.*
תּוֹעֲבַת יהוה *the abomination of J"* (of idolatry).
בִּעֵר הָרָע *to root out the evil.*
כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה *as at this day.*
כָּל־הַיָּמִים *continually.*
עַם קָדוֹשׁ *a holy people.*

Other characteristics of his style are—
(1) The preference for אָנֹכִי (56 times) above אֲנִי (12^{30} 29^5); the use of אֲנִי in the Song $32^{21.\ 39}$ and $32^{49.\ 52}$ is not from the same hand as D.
(2) The preference for לֵבָב (47 times) above לֵב (4^{11} 28^{65} $29^{3.\ 18}$).
(3) The use of the emphatic יִן in the 2nd and 3rd per. plur. of the impf.

(4) The frequent employment of the reflexive dative.
(5) The collocation of words without the conjunction (*asyndeta*).
(6) The fem. form of the infin. שְׁנָאָה, אַהֲבָה, יִרְאָה.

The following words or phrases are found in Dt only (see Driver, *Deut.* p. lxxxiv).

אָזֶן 23[14].
הֶאֱמִיר 26[17. 18].
כְּבוּשִׁים 25[11].
מְגָעֶרֶת 28[20].
דְּאָבוֹן 28[65].
מַלָּוֹת 7[15] 28[60].
דֶּבֶקֶת 28[22].
הַיָּיִן 14[1].
חֶסֶל 28[38].
חָרְמֵשׁ 16[9] 23[26].
חֲרָחֹר 28[22].
חָרָם 28[27].
חָשַׁל 25[18].
טָנָא 26[2. 4] 28[5. 17].
כָּלָה 28[32].
לֵחַ 34[7].
מְלִילָה 23[26] [EV 25].
מִקְשָׁה 16[10].
עִיר מְחִים 2[34] 3[6] (cf. Jg 20[48]).
נָשָׁל 19[5] 28[40].
מִסְכְּנוּת 8[9].
סָכַת 27[9].
עָבַט 15[6. 8] 24[10. 13].
עֲלִילוֹת דְּבָר" 22[14. 17].
הִתְעַמֵּר 21[14] 24[7].
תַּעֲנִיק 15[14].
כִּעֲקָה 22[8].
עַשְׁתָּרוֹת 7[13] 28[4. 18. 51].
עֲרוַת דָּבָר 23[14] 24[1].
פְּאֵר 24[20].
צְלָצַל 28[42].
קְשִׁי 9[27].
רַגָּז 28[65].
שְׁנֵא אֲלָפָיו 7[13] 28[4. 18. 51].
שִׁלְיָה 28[57].
שִׁכְמָה 15[1. 2. 9] 31[10].
שְׁנָן 6[7].

'The following expressions, occurring mostly only once in Dt, are more or less frequent in subsequent writers, esp. those of the Deuteronomic school :—

גִּלּוּלִים and שִׁקּוּצִים 29[16. 17] ; נָעָה 28[25] ; הִכְעִים *to vex* (esp. by idolatry), 4[25] 9[18] 31[29] 32[16] (cf. כָּעַס v.[21]) ; הִדִּיחַ *to expel* (from Canaan), 30[1], cf. v.[4] ; *the name to be called over*, 28[10] ; רֹעַ מַעֲלָלֶיךָ 28[20] ; שַׁמָּה 28[37] ; שְׁנִינָה 28[37] ; שְׁרִירוּת 29[18. 19] ; נָתַשׁ 29[27].' (Driver *tb.*)

vi. THE LEGISLATION OF DEUTERONOMY.—Turning to the subject of the laws contained in Dt, we have only space to make the following general observations :—

(1) The laws are arranged upon a rough general plan, in which the order observed is that of (*a*) religious duties, chs. 12–16 ; (*b*) civil ordinances, chs. 17–20 ; (*c*) rules for social and domestic life, chs. 21–25. But the reader will notice that there is no strict adherence to orderly arrangement.

(2) The language in which the laws recorded in 12–20 are written is, as a rule, somewhat diffuse and hortatory ; but in 21–25 there are many passages having a close resemblance to the style of Ex 21–23, terse, and evidently often reproducing the precise terms of the ancient codes.

(3) The laws make no claim to be a new code. So far as they are peculiar to D, they 'have, with very few exceptions, the appearance either of being taken directly, with unessential modifications of form, from older law-books (especially many of those in 21[10]–25[19]), or else of being accepted applications of long-established principles (as 17[8-13] 19[16-21]), or the formulation of ancient customs (as 21[1-9] 22[13-21] 25[5-10]) expressed in Deuteronomic phraseology. And such laws as are really new in Dt are but the logical and consistent development of Mosaic principles' (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, Introd. p. lvi).

The following outline will serve as a rough analysis of the principal laws :—

A. NATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIFE.
1. *Public Worship.*
(*a*) Law of single sanctuary, 12[1-28].
(*b*) Law against idolatry, 12[29]–13[19].
2. *Religious Duties.*
(*a*) Personal purity, 14[1-21].
(*b*) Charity, 14[22]–15[18].
3. *Religious Observances.*
Offering and festivals, 15[19]–16[17].
B. NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.
1. *Civil Officers.*
(*a*) Judges, 16[18-20] 17[8-13].
(*b*) King, 17[14-20].
2. *Religious.*
(*a*) Priests, 18[1-8]
(*b*) Prophets, 18[9-22].
C. CRIMINAL LAW.
(*a*) Murder and homicide, 19[1-13] 21[1-9].
(*b*) Property, 19[14].
(*c*) Witness, 19[15-21].
(*d*) War, 20. 21[10-14].
D. MISCELLANEOUS LAWS, *e.g.* primogeniture, seduction, divorce, 21[15-21] 22[13-30] 24[1-5] 25[5-11], interest and loans, 23[20. 21] 24[6. 10-13].

SYNOPSIS OF LAWS IN DEUTERONOMY
(taken from Driver's *Commentary*, pp. iv–vii).

JE.	DEUTERONOMY.	P (INCLUDING H).
Ex 20[2-17].	5[6-18] (21) (the Decalogue).	
20[24].*	12[1-28] (place of sacrifice).	Lv 17[1-9].*
cf. 23[24]. 34[12-15f.]	12[29-31] (not to imitate Canaanite rites).	Nu 33[52].
cf. 22[19] (20).	ch. 13 (cases of seduction to idolatry).	
	14[1-2] (disfigurement in mourning).	Lv 19[28a].
	14[3-20] (clean and unclean animals).	,, 11[2-23] 20[25].
22[30] (31).	14[21a] (food improperly killed).	,, 17[15] 11[40].
23[19b] 34[26b].	14[21b] (kid in mother's milk).	
	14[22-29] (tithes).	,, 27[30-33] ; Nu 18[21-32].*
23[10f.].*	15[1-11] (year of release).	,, 25[1-7].*
21[2-11].*	15[12-18] (Hebrew slaves).	,, 25[39-46].*
22[29] (30) 13[12] 34[19].	15[19-23] (firstlings of ox and sheep: cf. 12[6. 17. 18] 14[23]).	Nu 18[17f.]* (cf. Ex 13[1f.] ; Lv 27[26] ; Nu 3[13] 8[17]).
23[14-17] 34[18-20] *end.* 22-24.	16[1-17] (the three annual pilgrimages).	Lv 23* ; Nu 28–29.*
	16[18] (appointment of judges).	
23[1-3. 6-8].	16[19-20] (just judgment).	,, 19[15].
	16[21-22] (Asherahs and 'pillars' prohibited).	,, 26[1].
	17[1] (sacrifices to be without blemish ; cf. 15[21]).	,, 22[17-24].
22[19] (20) 20[3] 23[13] 34[14].	17[2-7] (worship of 'other gods,' or of the host of heaven).	
	17[8-13] (supreme tribunal).	
	17[14-20] (law of the king).	
	18[1-8] (rights and revenues of the tribe of Levi).	,, 7[32-34]* ; Nu 18[1-7. 8-20].*
	18[9-22] (law of the prophet).	
22[17] (18) (sorceress alone).	18[10a] (Molech-worship ; cf. 12[31]).	,, 18[21] 20[2-5].
	18[10b. 11] (different kinds of divination and magic).	,, 19[26b. 31]. 20[6. 27].
21[12-14].*	19[1-13] (asylum for manslayer : murder).	Nu 35[9-34] ; Lv 24[17-21].
	19[14] (the landmark).	
23[1].	19[15-21] (law of witness).	Lv 19[16b].
	ch. 20 (military service and war ; cf. 24[5]).	
	21[1-9] (expiation of an untraced murder).	
	21[10-14] (treatment of female captives).	
	21[15-17] (primogeniture).	
cf. 21[15-17].	21[18-21] (undutiful son).	cf. Lv 20[9].
	21[22. 23] (body of malefactor).	
23[4. 5].	22[1-4] (animal straying or fallen ; lost property).	
	22[5] (sexes not to interchange garments).	
	22[6. 7] (bird's nest).	
	22[8] (battlement).	
	22[9-11] (against non-natural mixtures).	Lv 19[19].
	22[12] (law of 'tassels').	Nu 15[37-41].
	22[13-21] (slander against a newly-married maiden).	
20[14].	22[22-27] (adultery).	Lv 18[20] 20[10].
22[15] (16) f.	22[28f.] (seduction).	
	23[1] (22[30]) (incest with stepmother).	,, 18[8] 20[11].
	23[2-9] (1-8) (conditions of admittance into the theocratic community).	
	23[10-15] (9-14) (cleanliness in the camp).	Nu 5[1-4].*
	23[16] (15) f. (humanity to escaped slave).	
	23[18] (17) f. (against religious prostitution).	
22[24] (25).	23[20] (19) f. (usury).	Lv 25[35-37]. Nu 30[2].
	23[22-24] (21-23) (vows).	
	23[25] (24) f. (regard for neighbour's crops).	
	24[1-4] (divorce).	
22[25] (26) f.	24[6. 10-13] (pledges).	
21[16].	24[7] (man-stealing).	
	24[8f.] (leprosy).	Lv 13–14

JE.	Deuteronomy.	P (including H).
	24[14f.] (wages of hired servant not to be detained).	Lv 19[13].
	24[16] (the family of a criminal not to suffer with him).	
Ex 22[20-23] (21-24) 23[9].	24[17f.] (justice towards stranger, widow, and orphan).	,, 19[33f.].
	24[19-22] (gleanings).	,, 19[9f.] 23[22].
	25[1-3] (moderation in infliction of the bastinado).	
	25[4] (threshing ox not to be muzzled).	
	25[5-10] (levirate marriage).	
	25[11. 12] (modesty in women).	
	25[13-16] (just weights).	,, 19[35f.].
17[14].	25[17-19] (Amalek).	
cf. 22[28a] (29a) 23[19a] 34[26a].	26[1-11] (thanksgiving at the offering of first-fruits).	cf. Nu 18[12f.].
	26[12-15] (thanksgiving at the payment of the triennial tithe).	
23[20-33].	ch. 28 (peroration, presenting motives for the observance of the Code).	Lv 26[3-45].

20[4. 23] 34[17].	4[16-18. 23] 7[25] (against images).	Lv 19[4b] 26[1].
23[12b].	5[14b] (philanthropic object of Sabbath).	
cf. 13[9. 16].	6[8] 11[18] (law of frontlets).	
20[3] 13[13. 14].	6[14] 11[16] (against 'other gods').	,, 19[4a].
13[14].	6[20] (instruction to children).	
23[24a. 32f.] 34[12. 15f.].	7[2-4. 16] (no compact with Canaanites).	Nu 33[55].
23[24b] 34[13].	7[5] 12[3] (Canaanite altars, 'pillars,' etc. to be destroyed).	,, 33[52].
19[6] 22[29] (30).	7[6] 14[2. 21] 26[19] 28[9] (Israel a 'holy people'). (in different connexions).	Lv 11[44f.] 19[2] 20[7. 26]; Nu 15[40].
22[20] (21) 23[9].	10[19] (to love the 'stranger').	,, 19[34].
	12[16. 23] 15[23] (blood not to be eaten).	,, 17[10-14] 19[26a] (cf. 3[17] 7[26f.]; Gn 9[4]).
23[18a] 34[25a].	16[3a] (leavened bread not to be eaten with Passover).	Ex 12[8].
13[6f.] 23[15] 34[18].	16[3b 4a 8] (unleavened cakes for seven days afterwards).	,, 12[15. 18-20], Lv 23[6].
23[18b] 34[25b].	16[4b] (flesh of Passover not to remain till morning).	,, 12[10] Nu 9[12].
	16[13. 15] (feast of 'booths,' 'seven days').	Lv 23[34. 39. 41-43].
	17[6] 19[15] ('two or three witnesses').	Nu 35[30].
21[22-25].	19[21] (*lex talionis*). (but in a different application in each case).	Lv 24[19f.].
20[25].	27[5. 6] (altars of unhewn stones).	

[The instances in which the divergence is most marked are indicated by an asterisk *.]

vii. Date and Authorship. — The date to which the composition of Dt should be assigned cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. But it is clear, from what has been already said, that it cannot reasonably be attributed to any very early period in the history of Heb. literature.

a. The testimony of the style and language connects it with the period preceding the age in which the imitators of the Deut. style wrote and flourished. Certainly, the rich and fluent oratorical periods of Dt belong to a period of ripe literary development, and not to the rough beginnings of a national literature.

It has been asserted that this is contradicted by the presence of certain archaisms. But, even if there were a few archaisms, their presence would not affect the general impression produced by the character of the Deut. style. The alleged 'archaisms,' however, are not of a kind to furnish any proof of the antiquity of the book.

(*a*) הוּא. The 'epicene' use of the pronoun throws more light upon the history of the text than upon the antiquity of the book.

The vowels in הוּא and הִיא were in all probability absent from the original autographs.

The fem. form *hi* seems to have existed in the earliest periods of the language.

(*b*) הָאֵל for הָאֵלֶּה. This form occurs 8 times in the Pent., 4 times in Dt 4[42] 7[22] 9[11], once in 1 Ch 20[8] אֵל. As the usual 'dissyllabic' form occurs in the Pent. some 260 times, and in the cognate dialects the dissyllabic form was usual, the monosyllable is almost certainly an orthographical anomaly, and should have a second vowel, אָאֵל, אֵל; cf. אֵתּ.

(*c*) זָכוּר (16[16] 20[13]), as in Ex 23[17] 34[23], instead of זָכָר, which is used over 50 times in the Pent. The use of זָכוּר for זָכָר goes back to the old law of Ex 23[17].

(*d*) יְרֵחוֹ (32[49] 34[1. 8]), as elsewhere in Pent. In Jos it is spelt יְרִיחוֹ 28 times, and we have יְרֵחוֹ in 2 S 10[5], Jer 39[5] 52[8]. The suggestion has been offered that 'Israel picked up a new pronunciation after they came to the place,' in other words, that until the death of Moses the Israelites called the place 'Yĕrēchō' incorrectly, and that this was embodied in the Pent., but that the local pronunciation was given by Joshua. It might have been supposed that the writer of the account of the death of Moses (Dt 34[1. 3]) would have had as good opportunities for 'picking up a new pronunciation' as the writer of Jos 2[1]. But the pronunciation followed in the Pent. is found also in K, Ezr-Neh, and Ch; so that no argument can be based upon the variety of the spelling.

Other supposed archaisms seem to arise from the mannerism of the author rather than from any real antiquity in their form.

The use of נָעַר, equally for masc. or fem., appears indeed to be a genuine archaism; but the fact that נַעֲרָה appears as the fem. of נַעַר elsewhere in the Heb. Scriptures except in the Pent., is merely an indication that the text of the Pent. had become regarded as too sacred to modify, at an earlier date than the other books subsequently admitted into the Heb. Canon.

Finally, the presence of an archaism is no more proof of a very early date than the presence of an Aramaism would be proof of a very late date. We have to account for the one as well as for the other.

b. The evidence derived from the language is corroborated by that which the religious teaching supplies.

(1) It has already been noticed that the emphasis laid upon the *love* of God is a feature almost unique (except for Ex 20); and it is generally believed that the prophet Hosea is the first exponent of this teaching. Dt 'builds upon the foundation of the prophets' (Driver).

(2) The 'monotheism' of Dt is an expansion of the 'monolatry' of early Israel; and the command to worship at a single sanctuary expresses in a concrete form the conception of a monotheistic religion. We are confronted with a stage of religious thought which has been reached only after a long preparatory period of discipline and teaching.

c. A comparison of the laws with those in Ex 20–23 shows that whereas the Deut. legislation is founded upon the laws of 'the Covenant,' and often repeats them almost *verbatim, e.g.* 14[21] = Ex 23[19] 34[26], 7[5] = Ex 34[13], and, as a rule, merely expands them with hortatory phrase, in other cases Dt presents us with a modification of the earlier law, showing a more advanced and humane civilization. Thus comparing the law of release for bondservants in Dt 15[12-17] with the parallel law in Ex 21[2ff.], we notice (1) that female slaves are included in the law of release, (2) that provision is granted to the released slave so that he should not starve, (3) that the old custom of boring the ear is not required to be done publicly. Similarly, in Dt 5 the institution of the sabbatic year is put in force to restrain the exactions of the usurer, whereas in Ex 23[10] it had only an agricultural significance.

d. The laws in Dt regulating national worship represent a later stage of Isr. history than those in Ex 20–23. This is conspicuously shown in regard to the place of sacrifice. In Ex 20[24] an Israelite may erect local altars: 'in every place where I record my name, I will come unto thee and bless thee.' The practice of sacrificing at local altars and shrines was apparently universal from the time of Joshua (Jos 24[1. 26], 1 S 7[9] 9[12-14] 10[3-8] 11[15] 14[35] 20[6], 2 S 15[12. 32]) until the days of Hezekiah, who endeavoured to centralize all worship at Jerus. as the one national sanctuary (2 K 18[4. 22]). The law of Dt insists (12[4-18] etc.) upon the necessity of sacrificing at one place which J″ shall have chosen 'to set his name there.' It expresses in the terms of direct injunction the change for which Hezekiah contended and which Josiah finally carried into execution.

e. It may be granted that the laws of worship in Dt are quite too incomplete to be regarded as containing any exhaustive account. Thus the precise dates for the Festivals of Passover and Tabernacles are not given. In the former case the month is given, but not the day; in the latter case, neither month nor day. In the description of the Passover no direction is given that everyone should partake of it; while the command to observe the 7th day of Passover as 'a solemn assembly' and a day of rest is not applied to the other two feasts.

But, making all allowance for the general and fragmentary character of the religious legislation in Dt, we cannot pretend to be able to reconcile the discrepancies between the law of Dt and that of the (so-called) Priestly Code. The most notable discrepancy is in reference to the status of the Levite, and the provision for his maintenance. In Dt the regular expression 'the priests, the Levites' (17[9. 18] 18[1] 24[8] 27[9]), does not seem to recognize the distinction between 'the sons of Aaron' and 'the Levites,' which is found in the priestly laws. The Levites are pictured as wanderers and objects of Israelite charity, for which special regulations are laid down (12[12-19] 14[27. 29] 16[11. 14] 18[6] 26[11. 12]); there is no reference to the provision in Nu 18 for the maintenance of priests and Levites, and in Nu 35 for the reservation of 48 cities for their place of residence.

A complete difference is also expressed in the laws relating to *firstlings* and to tithes. In Dt 12[6. 17ff.] 15[19ff.] the firstlings are to be presented at the central sanctuary, and there eaten by the owner. In Nu 18[18] the firstlings are pronounced to belong to Aaron, 'And the flesh of them shall be thine; as the wave-breast and as the right thigh it shall be thine.' In Dt (12[17ff.] 14[22]) it is enjoined that a tithe of the vegetable produce is to be set aside, and to be consumed by the offerer at the central sanctuary; while, in every third year, the tithe is to be devoted to the poor or the destitute and the Levite. In this there is no resemblance to the tithe law of Nu 18[21-28] and Lv 27[30. 32], according to which the tithe was to be paid of animal as well as of vegetable produce; it was to be paid to the Levites, who, in their turn, were enjoined to render a tenth to the priests.

Another instance of ritual discrepancy is found in the description of the priestly dues. In Dt 18[3-5] the sacrificing priest received as his share 'the shoulder, two cheeks, and maw'; in Lv 7[31-34] 'the wave-breast' and 'heave-thigh' or shoulder are assigned to the priest.

Added to this, there is the argument from silence, in that Dt makes no mention of the year of jubilee, the great Day of Atonement, the Levitical cities, the meal-offering, guilt-offering, or sin-offering, nor even of the tent of meeting (Dt 31[14f.] is from JE). And it is incredible to suppose that the Levitical system, if formulated as we have it in P, should have been so wholly overlooked in an address to the people.

It is impossible to resist the impression that the law of Dt represents an expansion and development of the ancient code contained in Ex 20–23, and precedes the final formulation of the priestly ritual, which only received its ultimate form in the last period of revising the structure of the Pentateuch.

In order to approach more nearly the limits of time within which it is reasonable to suppose that Dt was composed, we may take into consideration the further possible indications of time, and judge of them not as individually convincing items of evidence, but as collectively carrying considerable weight.

(*a*) It was written on the W. side of the Jordan; cf. the use of 'beyond Jordan' in Dt 1[1. 5] 3[8] 4[41. 46. 47. 49], as in Jos 2[10] 7[7] etc. See BEYOND.

(*b*) The law of the kingdom, 17[14-20], is expressed in language indicating acquaintance with the evils of Solomon's reign.

(*c*) The law of the judicial tribunal in 17[8-13] does not ordain a new institution, but *describes a court already existing*, and having a close resemblance to the one described in 2 Ch 19[8. 11] as appointed by Jehoshaphat.

(*d*) Isaiah, who speaks of the erection of an 'obelisk' (*mazzēbâh*) for a sacred purpose in connexion with the worship of J″ in Egypt, could hardly have been acquainted with the law of Dt 16[22] 'Thou shalt not set thee up an obelisk, which J″ thy God hateth.'

(*e*) Dt refers to the worship of 'the host of heaven' as a dangerous form of idolatry (4[19] 17[3]). We do not find in the historical books any mention of this superstition being a source of religious temptation until the days of Ahaz; see 2 K 23[12].

(*f*) The style of Jeremiah's writing shows abundant traces of the influence of Dt.

If we may take these hints together, we arrive at the probability of Dt having been composed during the period which intervenes between the accession of Ahaz and the literary activity of Jeremiah.

A *terminus ad quem* for the composition of Dt is supplied by the discovery of 'the book of the law' in the 18th year of the reign of Josiah (B.C. 621). There can be no manner of doubt that this book corresponded to a work practically identical with the main portion of Dt (5–26. 28). This work contained denunciations and curses, such as are found in Dt 28 (cf. 2 K 22[11. 13. 19]); it contained mention of the covenant with J″, with clear reference to Dt 28[69] (cf. 2 K 23[2. 3. 21]). The reforms instituted by Josiah are such as would be required by conformity with the law of Dt, especially in regard to the centralization of worship, 2 K 23[8. 9]; the prohibition of the worship of the heavenly bodies, 2 K 23[4. 5. 11]; the prohibition of the high-places, obelisks, Ashērim, etc., 2 K 23[4. 5. 14. 15]; the prohibition of religious prostitutes, 2 K 23[7]; the maintenance of the priests ejected from the local shrines, 2 K 23[8. 9]; the prohibition of Molech worship, 2 K 23[10]; the celebration of the Passover in Jerusalem 'as it is written in this book of the covenant,' 2 K 23[21-23]; the ejection of diviners and consulters with familiar spirits, 2 K 23[24].

The finding of this 'book of the law' in the temple is described as a fortuitous occurrence. There is no foundation for the suggestion that Hilkiah himself had written the book, and that the story of its finding was a fabrication. The account is straightforward and natural. It is

generally agreed that the book may have been written in the reign of Manasseh, or in the early part of the reign of Josiah. Hezekiah, who had commanded all Isr. worship to be offered at the sanctuary in Jerus. (2 K $18^{4.22}$ 21^{3}), commenced the policy of removing the high-places. Manasseh's reign reversed all that Hezekiah had done. It is thought probable that the composition of Dt was intended, in the days of Manasseh, to protest against the religious evils of that time, against the forms of superstition that had begun to find their way into Judah from Babylonia, as well as against the corruptions and disorders at the high-places which presented a form of J″ worship wholly alien to the teaching and spirit of the prophets of Israel.

Such a work, written in the troublous reign of Manasseh, may well have been deposited for safety within the precincts of the temple. The description of its discovery leads the reader to suppose that the book was one that had been written some considerable time before the 18th year of Josiah's reign. The character of Dt agrees exactly with the spirit of Huldah's warning in 2 K 22^{16-20}, where she speaks of the people of Judah having forsaken J″, and burned incense to other gods, etc.

The traditional view, that the work in its present form was written by Moses, is now generally recognized by critical scholarship as impossible. The fact that Moses is described in Dt $31^{9.24}$ as having committed the Deut. legislation to writing, was, in former times, regarded as sufficient proof that the whole work came from his hand. The writer (Dt 31^{9}) narrates the fact that Moses 'wrote this law'; he also narrates the fact that Moses delivered farewell discourses to the people. There is no appearance of autobiography in Dt. There is no claim to Mosaic authorship for the whole work. A copy of the Deut. law is stated (Dt 31^{26}) to have been committed by Moses to the keeping of the priests 'by the side of the ark.'

Heb. laws went back to the founding of the nation under Moses. The name of Moses embraced the whole legislation, both in its earlier forms and in their later expansion and modification. The writer of Dt employed the nucleus of ancient law as the means of conveying the teaching needed by his time. The authority of Moses is invoked as impersonating the spirit of Isr. law in its later application, no less than in its original framing. Moses is made to plead with his people, and to show the abiding principles of the worship of J″.

The work is that of a prophet, a religious teacher, not of a jurist or a statesman. In language, in thought, and in character, it is most easily understood as the composition of one who lived in the 7th cent., and who sought, by a 'dramatic' use of the last words of Moses, to recall his countrymen to a holier life, and a purer service of J″. It has been objected that the allusions to the dwellers in Canaan, and to the Amalekites (7^{1-5} 20^{16-19}), would be unintelligible and unnecessary at so late a period as the 7th cent. B.C. But the writer's purpose is to transfer himself to the age of Moses, and from that historic standpoint to appeal to the nation's conscience. If Moses were represented as speaking in the plains of Moab, it would be natural for the writer to make him refer to the Canaanites, and to introduce suitable local allusions. And the writer's argument was perfectly intelligible. If severity of the sternest kind was traditionally said to have been inculcated by Moses against the idolatrous inhabitants of the land, how much more was it required in dealing with those who, in Israel itself, had proved so faithless to J″, in spite of the warnings of the prophets!

It has been objected that the substance of Deut. laws is alluded to in writings earlier than the 7th cent. B.C. Thus 1 S 28^{3} has been compared with Dt 18^{11}, Hos 4^{14} with Dt 23^{18}, Hos 5^{10} with Dt 19^{14}, Am 8^{5} with Dt 25^{4}, Neh 2^{1} with Dt 1^{15}, while 2 K 14^{6} refers to the law contained in Dt 24^{18}. But this line of objection assumes that the existence of the laws is contemporaneous with the composition of Dt, and it ignores the fact, which criticism has clearly revealed and strenuously reiterated, that Dt contains and expands laws of very much greater antiquity than its own composition.

In the following passages, in which the words of the prophetical writers have been regarded as referring to Dt, it is obvious that Dt, as well as the prophets, refers back to the older law of Ex 20–23:—

Is $1^{17.23}$ 10^{2} = Ex 22^{21}, Dt 24^{17}.
,, 1^{23} 5^{23} = ,, 23^{3} ,, 16^{19}.
Am 2^{8} = ,, 22^{25} ,, 24^{12}.
,, 5^{12} = ,, 23^{6} ,, 16^{10}.

There are, of course, in Dt abundant allusions to offerings (*e.g.* ch. 12), tithes (14^{22-29}), distinctions of 'clean' and 'unclean' ($12^{15.22}$ 14^{3-20}), the 'solemn assembly' (16^{8}), law of leprosy (24^{8}), and kindred topics, which show the familiarity of Dt with the national religious observances; they do not exhibit acquaintance with the distinctive ordinances of P, although reference to them is necessarily made with technical terms.

Certain words and phrases have also been adduced from the prophetical writers, which it is alleged must have been taken from Dt, *e.g.* Hos 5^{11} *oppressed* from Dt 28^{33}; 8^{13} *they shall return to Egypt* from Dt 28^{68}; 11^{8} *Admah and Zeboim* from Dt 29^{22}; Am 4^{9} *blasting and mildew* from Dt 28^{22}; 4^{11} overthrow of Sodom and *Gomorrah* from Dt 29^{23}; 5^{7} *wormwood* from Dt 29^{17} etc. But the occurrence of such words and phrases is not sufficient to justify the claim for direct citation. They are expressions, most of them, which would quite naturally occur independently to the writers. Nor is there any means of showing that there is more probability of these writers having borrowed a phrase from Dt than of Dt having borrowed a phrase from them. Considering the resemblance of Dt's style to the writing in Jer and Kings, it would be more natural to expect Dt to have borrowed from Hosea or Amos than for Hosea or Amos to have borrowed from Dt. The Deuteronomic style in Jer, Jos, Jg, Kings, shows at once the influence of Dt; but there is no clear proof of the earlier prophets having been acquainted with Dt.

LITERATURE.—For a fuller discussion of the subject the reader is referred to the admirable treatment of it by Driver, in his commentary on 'Deuteronomy' (*International Critical Commentary*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh), in his *LOT*, and in his art. 'Deuteronomy' in Smith's *DB*[2]; to all of which the writer of the present article is largely indebted. Other works dealing with the same subject, to which reference may be made, are the commentaries of Oettli and Harper, and *Einleitungen* of Riehm, Cornill, König, Strack, Kuenen, Holzinger; Cheyne, *Jeremiah* ('Men of the Bible' series); W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2]; Ryle, *Canon of the OT*; Montefiore, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*; Wildeboer, *Lit. d. A.T.*; Piepenbring, 'La Reforme et le Code de Josias,' in *Revue d. l'Histoire des Religions*, t. xxix. 1894.

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DEVIL. — See DEMON, SATAN. **DEVOTED THINGS.**—See ACCURSED, CURSE.

DEVOTION. — RV gives 'devotion' for AV 'prayer' in Job 15^{4} (שִׂיחָה). In AV the word is found only Ac 17^{23} 'as I passed by, and beheld your devotions,' Gr. τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν, RV 'the objects of your worship.'

That RV gives the meaning of the Greek there is no doubt. The same Gr. word occurs Wis 14^{20} (Vulg. *deus*, AV 'a god,' RV 'object of devotion'), 15^{17} (Vulg. *quos colit*, AV 'the things which he worshippeth,' RV 'object of his worship'); Bel [27] (EV 'the gods ye worship'); and 2 Th 2^{4} (EV 'that is worshipped,' RVm 'an object of worship'). Did the AV translators understand 'devotions' in the sense of 'objects of worship,' then? Aldis Wright (*Bible Word-Book*,[2] p. 198 f.), after a

full discussion, concludes that they did not. He quotes, however, from Sidney, *Arcadia* (ed. 1598, p. 282 [ed. 1622, p. 277]), as follows: 'Dametas began to speake his lowd voyce, to looke big, to march up and downe, and in his march to lift his legges higher than he was wont, swearing by no meane devotions, that the walls should not keepe the coward from him.' The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* gives 'an object of religious worship' as one of the meanings of 'devotion,' quoting the above from Sidney, Ac 17[23], and a passage from Fletcher (1625), *Double Marriage*, iv. iv.: 'Churches and altars, priests and all devotions, Tumbled together into one rude chaos'; but says, 'this sense is not very certain, the meaning of the quotations being in every case doubtful.' As Wright points out, AV took the word from Gen. Bible of 1560; Wyclif (1380) having 'mawmetis'; Tind. 'the maner how ye worship your goddes,' so Cran., Gen. of 1557 (Whittingham), Bishops'; Cov. 'youre gods seruyce' (from Zurich Bible, *euwre Gottsdienst*); Rhem. 'your Idols.' But it has not been observed that Tomson's NT of 1576, which from 1587 onwards supplanted the NT of 1560 in most copies of the Gen. Bible, has the marg. note: 'Whatsoever men worship for religion's sake, that we call devotion.' That note, which removes all doubt of this meaning from the word, was before the translators of AV, and they would have no hesitation in using an abstract word in this concrete sense: cf. Ac 14[15] Gr. *τὰ μάταια*, AV 'vanities,' RV 'vain things.' Coverdale has 'devotion' in Ja 1[26] for AV and RV 'religion.' J. HASTINGS.

DEW (טַל, *tal*).—i. The atmosphere is capable of holding in suspension a certain amount of aqueous vapour proportionate to its temperature under a given pressure. The greatest amount is taken up during the daytime; but on the approach of sunset, when the temperature is lowered, part of the vapour is precipitated in the form of dew, till the dew-point is reached.

This process is enhanced in Eastern countries like Palestine, where the surface of the ground and the air in contact therewith are highly heated during the daytime, but where at night, and particularly under a cloudless sky, the heat of the ground is radiated into space and the air becomes rapidly cooled down. The excess of moisture in the air then gently 'falls as dew' on the tender herb,' and sometimes so copiously as to sustain the life of many plants which would otherwise perish during the rainless season; or even, as in the case of Gideon, to saturate a fleece of wool (Jg 6[38]). When the sky is clouded, radiation is retarded, and rain may fall. Thus rain and dew alternately benefit the vegetation; and to the latter agent may possibly be ascribed the presence of a beauteous, though dwarfed, flora amongst the waterless valleys of the Sinaitic Peninsula, which in the early morn sparkles in the sunshine, owing to the multitudes of dewdrops which have settled on the leaves and stems of the plants during the cool hours of the night.

ii. Thus deprivation of dew, as well as of rain, becomes a terrible calamity in the East. On this account 'dew and rain' are associated in the imprecation called down by David on the mountains of Gilboa in his distress at the tidings of the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 S 1[21]); and in the curse pronounced on Ahab and his kingdom by Elijah (1 K 17[1]); as also by the prophet Haggai on the Jews after the Restoration (Hag 1[10]) owing to their unwillingness to rebuild the temple.

iii. In the Book of Job the formation of dew is pointed to as one of the mysteries of nature insoluble by man (Job 38[28]); but in Pr it is ascribed to the omniscience and power of the Lord (Pr 3[20]).

iv. Dew is a favourite emblem in Scripture; the following are examples: (*a*) Richness and Fertility, 'God give thee of the dew of heaven (Gn 27[28], Dt 33[13]). (*b*) Refreshing and Vivifying effects, 'My speech shall distil as the dew' (Dt 32[2]); 'Like a cloud of dew in the heat of summer' (Is 18[4]). (*c*) Stealth, 'We will light upon him as the dew falleth on the ground' (2 S 17[12]). (*d*) Inconstancy; the goodness of Judah is 'as the early dew, it goeth away' (Hos 6[4]); Ephraim . . . shall be 'as the early dew that passeth away' (ch. 13[3]). (*e*) The young warriors of the Messianic king, with flashing weapons like dewdrops, 'Thou hast the dew of thy youth' (Ps 110[3]).

E. HULL.

DIADEM.—This term (*διάδημα*) was applied by the Greeks to the emblem of royalty worn on the head by Pers. monarchs (Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3. 13). It consisted of a silken fillet, 2 inches broad, of blue or purple, mixed with white, tied at the back of the head. Originally intended to confine the hair, and worn by all Persians, it became an ornamental head-dress, the king's being distinguished by its colour, and perhaps by jewels studding it. It was tied round the lower part of the *khshatram* (Heb. פְּתֶר, Gr. *κίδαρις* or *κίταρις*; see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iii. 204 note), a tall, stiff cap, probably of felt, and of bright colours, which formed the tiara or turban of the king (Q. Curt. iii. 3. 18, 19; see head from Persepolis in Rawlinson, iii. 166). The head-dress of soldiers other than the king was soft, and fell back on the head (Suidas, *Lexicon*, *τιάρα*. See also the Pompeian mosaic of the battle of Issus, given in Ainé, *Herculaneum and Pompeii*). Later, the fillet was enlarged by broad pendants falling on the shoulders. The Persian diadem was adopted by Alexander and his successors (1 Mac 1[9]; Herodian, i. 3. 7). To the Greeks and Romans it was the distinctive badge of royalty, unlike the wreath, and is commonly described as white (Tac. *Annales*, vi. 37). Its presentation to Julius Cæsar was therefore specially offensive (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34; Sueton. *Jul.* 79). Pliny (*NH* vii. 57) attributes its invention to Father Liber (the supposed Latin Dionysus), and it was long confined in art to him; but later artists placed it on the head of other deities. Diocletian was the first Rom. emperor to wear it permanently and publicly. Out of it, in combination with the 'corona,' the later royal crowns were developed.

In LXX *διάδημα* is used loosely to translate not only 'crown royal' (נֵזֶר מַלְכוּת Est 1[11] 2[17]) but 'pallium' (פְּתִגְרִיד Est 8[15] *διάδημα βύσσινον πορφυροῦν*) and 'tiara' (צָנִיף Is 62[3]. But not so in Job 29[14], Is 3[23]; in Zec 3[5] צָנִיף is tr. *κίδαρις*, a rendering also given to the high priest's turban in Ezk 21[31 (26)] 28[4], Lv 16[4]). In 1 Mac 1[9] 13[32] it describes the strictly royal insignia for the head adopted by the Greeks from the Persians (*διάδημα τῆς Ἀσίας*). In AV of OT, diadem is again used loosely for the high priest's turban (Ezk 21[26] מִצְנֶפֶת), a royal tiara (Job 29[14], Is 62[3] צָנִיף) and a crown (Is 28[5] צְפִירָה). RV more properly confines diadem to the last three passages, using 'mitre' in Ezk 21[26], and also 'turban' in the marg. of Job 29[14]. But though thus the royal head-dress of the kings of Israel is not described as a diadem, there can be but little doubt that it was such (see CROWN). In NT the distinction between *crown* and *diadem* is accurately observed in the Gr. and in RV, but not in AV. *Diadem* should be read in Rev 12[3] 13[1] 19[12], where it symbolizes respectively the empire of 'the dragon,' 'the beast,' and of the royal Christ. The phrase 'on his head were many diadems,' describes Christ's universal dominion (see CROWN; also for bibliography).

G. T. PURVES.

DIAL (מַעֲלוֹת, *ἀναβαθμοί*, *horologium*), RVm 'Heb. *steps*,' 2 K 20[11], Is 38[8].—The Heb. word commonly denotes 'steps' (see Ex 20[26], 1 K 10[19]), and is so rendered elsewhere in this narrative (2 K 20[9-11], Is 38[8]; AV *degrees*). The 'steps' referred to are doubtless not simply the steps of the palace (so LXX, Jos. *Ant.* x. ii. 1), but formed part of some kind of sun-clock (so Targ., Vulg., Jerome on Is 38[8], and most commentators). According to Herod. ii. 109, the Babylonians were the inventors of the *πολός* or concave dial, the *γνώμων*, and the division of the day into 12 hours. The introduction by Ahaz of a device for measuring the time may be regarded as a result of his intercourse with the

Assyrians (2 K 16[10ff.]), but it is uncertain what kind of clock is intended. Some have supposed that it was in the form of a dial with concentric circles, and a central gnomon (Ges., Hitz., Keil, etc.); but it is doubtful whether מַעֲלוֹת can denote 'degrees.' Hence it seems simpler to think of actual 'steps' arranged round a pillar or obelisk, the time of day being then indicated by the position of the shadow on the steps. Since in 2 K *l.c.* it is regarded as possible for the shadow to go down or to return 10 steps, it is clear that these steps did not each mark an hour of the day, but some smaller period of time. In biblical Heb., indeed, no word denoting an *hour* is found; שָׁעָה first appears in the Aram. of Dn 4[16] (Eng. [19]) 5[5]. Our ignorance of the real form of the 'dial' of Ahaz renders precarious all attempts at explaining the phenomenon of the recession of the sun's shadow. Moreover, a discussion of the problem requires a critical comparison of the parallel accounts in Is and 2 K; and it must be recognized as probable on independent grounds, that our narrative is considerably later than the time of Hezekiah. Cf. esp. Dillmann and Cheyne on Is 38[1-8].

H. A. White.

DIAMOND.—See Stones (Precious).

DIANA OF THE EPHESIANS is the Latinized rendering of the name Artemis (Ἄρτεμις τῶν Ἐφεσίων), by which the Greeks designated a goddess whose sanctuary was situated close to Ephesus. The situation and splendour of the temple, and the part that the sanctuary and its priests played in the history of the city, through the influence of the conservative anti-Greek party, which favoured the interests of the temple and the power of the goddess, are described under Ephesus. The goddess, who had her seat in the rich valley near the mouth of the Cayster long before Gr. colonists had set foot on the Asian coast, had little in common with the chaste virgin goddess Artemis of Greek poetry and mythology. She was the impersonation of the vitality and power of nature, of the reproductive power which keeps up the race of man and animals in an unbroken series of offspring, and of the nourishing power by which the earth tenders to the use of man and animals all that they require to keep them in life. She was worshipped, with almost complete identity of character and image, over the whole of Lydia; and the Lydian Artemis presents such close analogies with the Phrygian Cybele, and with other feminine envisagements of the divine power in Asiatic countries, like the Cappadocian Ma, the Phœnician Astarte or Ashtaroth, the Syrian Atargatis and Mylitta, as to suggest that these are all mere varieties of one ultimate religious conception, presenting in different countries certain differences, due to varying development according to local circumstances and national character. The old hypothesis that this widespread similarity was due to Phœn. colonists, who carried their own goddess with them to new lands, is now discredited: there is no evidence that Phœnicians ever settled in the Cayster Valley, still less in other parts of Lydia.

The Ephesian goddess was represented by a rude idol, which was said to have fallen from heaven (Ac 19[35] *)—a tradition which attached to many sacred and rude old statues, such as that of Cybele at Pessinus (said to be merely a shapeless stone), Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis, etc. In the representation which is familiar to us from coins, statues, and statuettes, the goddess appears as a standing idol, in shape partly human; the upper part of the body in front is covered with rows of breasts (symbolizing her function as the nourishing mother of all life); the lower part is merely an upright block, without distinction of legs or feet, covered with symbols and figures of animals; the arms from below the elbows are extended on each side, and the hands are supported by props; the head is surmounted either by a lofty ornament, *polos*, or by a mural crown, and something like a heavy veil hangs on each side of the face down to the shoulders; the figure stands on a peculiarly shaped pedestal, generally low on coins, but sometimes high; frequently stags accompany the goddess, one on each side. A similar representation of the native goddess is found very widely both in Lydia and in Phrygia. The Gr. colonists in Ephesus identified this Oriental deity with their own Artemis, on account of certain analogies between them; they represented her on their coins in the Gr. character, and introduced some of the Gr. mythology of the twins Artemis and Apollo; but they never succeeded in really affecting the cultus, which remained always purely Asian and non-Greek. The chief priest bore the Persian title *Megabyzos*, and in earlier time he had to be a eunuch; but Strabo seems perhaps to imply that this condition was no longer required, when he was writing (about A.D. 19). Some authorities think that there was a body of Megabyzoi in the ritual; but Canon Hicks seems rightly to argue that the title was appropriated to the single chief priest, who represented the divine associate of the goddess, Attis or Atys, whom she herself mutilated. A large body of priestesses were under his authority, divided into three classes (Plutarch, *An seni sit per. resp.* p. 795, § 24), called Mellierai, Hierai, and Parierai; and according to Strabo they originally had to be virgins. Some authorities seem to apply the name Melissai, 'Bees,' to them; and the bee is the most characteristic type on earlier Gr. coins of Ephesus. A single priestess (ἱέρεια) is mentioned in inscriptions, who was probably the head of the cultus and representative of the goddess.

There was also a body of priests (some wrongly say a single high priest), to whom was given the title *Essenes*. The Essenes were appointed for a year only (Paus. viii. 13. 1); and they seem to have been officials at once of the city and of the sanctuary, for they allotted new citizens to their proper tribe and division, sacrificed to the goddess on behalf of the city, and seem in general to have guarded the relations between the State and the goddess. Various other bodies of ministers attended the sanctuary, such as the Kouretes, the Akrobatai, the Hieroi, whose nature and duties are obscure (the first two, perhaps, colleges similar to the modern dervishes, the last a Greek form of *hierodouloi*). There can be no doubt that the ritual was of an orgiastic type, and accompanied with ceremonial prostitution and other abominations: traces of the ritual and its accompaniments are collected in the works on Ephesus (which see); the Lydian ritual of the Mysteries, which are mentioned at Ephesus in inscriptions (Hicks, p. 147, *CIG* 3002; Strabo, p. 640), as well as in many other cities, is described in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Ramsay), i. p. 91 ff., and the general character of the religion in *Lyd. et le Monde Grec.* (Radet), p. 261 ff.

* In this place the rendering 'which fell down from Jupiter' (AV and RV) gives a wrong impression: the word διοπετοῦς merely indicates that the image was believed to have fallen from the clear sky. In Eurip. *Iph. T.* 977, 1384, οὐρανοῦ πίσημα is given as the equivalent and explanation of διοπετὶς ἄγαλμα.

The epithets 'Queen of Ephesus' and 'great' or 'greatest' seem to have been specially appropriated to Artemis in Asia: so *CIG* 2963 c. τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀ., 6797, Ἐφίσου ἄνασσα; Xen. *Eph.* i. 11. p. 15, τὴν μεγάλην Ἐφεσίων Ἄ.; Achilles, *Tat.* viii. 9. p. 501, ἡ Ἄ. ἡ μεγάλη θεος; Hicks, No. 481, l. 278, τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀ. Further, the expression μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις seems to have been a formula of an invocatory character: see

the inscriptions given in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1880, p. 430, from Lesbos; and in Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of As. Min.* p. 410, from Pisidia (cf. *μέγας Ἀπόλλων, id. Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 151, No. 49, *μεγάλη Ἄναιτις*; *Mous. et Bibliotheca Smyrn*, No. *υλζ'*). It is therefore probable that the shouts of the excited crowd in the Ephesian theatre (Ac 19[34]) were really invocations to the goddess, as her worshippers repeated a formula familiar in her ritual (see Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 138 f.).

The **Naoi or Shrines** of Artemis, which were made in silver by artisans such as Demetrius, and in other less expensive materials (esp. marble and terra-cotta) by 'the workmen of like occupation' (*τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας*, Ac 19[25]), were first correctly explained by Prof. E. Curtius (*Athen. Mittheil. d. Instituts*, ii. p. 49 f.). They were not mere statuettes of the Ephesian Diana,* for such could not be called 'shrines.' The worshippers of the goddess dedicated to her representations of herself in her shrine: 'a great city erected a great temple with a colossal statue of the goddess; private individuals propitiated her with miniature shrines containing embodiments of her living presence. The vast temple and the tiny terra-cotta shrine were equally acceptable to Artemis; she accepted from her votaries offerings according to their means; she dwelt neither in the temple nor in the terra-cotta shrine; she lived in the life of nature; mother of all, and nurse of all, she was most really present wherever the unrestrained life of nature was most freely manifested: in the woods, on the mountains, among the wild beasts. Her worshippers expressed their devotion, and their belief in her omnipresence, by offering shrines to her, and doubtless by keeping shrines of the same kind in their own homes, certainly also by placing such shrines in graves beside the corpse, as a sign that the dead had gone back to the mother who bore them' (*Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 125 f.). These small dedicatory shrines were not modelled after the splendid Gr. temple of Artemis; for the creations of Gr. art in sculpture and architecture, beautiful as they were, were never so holy in the estimation of devotees as the simple and rude types of primitive art and religion. The type most familiar to us from extant remains shows the goddess seated in a niche or naiskos, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by one or two figures (among them her favourite Atys). In the ruder examples, she sits in stiff fashion, holding in one hand the tambourine (*τύμπανον*), in the other a cup (*φιάλη*). Beside her are one or two lions. In some more artistic examples, she has laid aside the stiff symbols, and sometimes caresses with one hand the lion which climbs to her knee or lies in her lap. Sometimes the lion serves her as a footstool; in other cases two sit in stiff symmetry, one on each side of her throne. Works of this class are found very widely both at Ephesus and elsewhere, in marble and in terra-cotta; the examples in marble are usually marked by inscriptions as dedicatory; no examples in silver have been preserved, but naturally their intrinsic value led to their being melted down. The precise relation between this type and the Lydian type already described (commonly designated, wherever found, as the Eph. Artemis) has not yet been determined. It is highly probable that the whole class of sacred dedicatory objects fabricated by the artisans for use in the cultus of Artemis were designated by the generic term *naoi*, taken from the most common and characteristic type.

LITERATURE.—See under EPHESUS.

W. M. RAMSAY.

DIBLAH (דִּבְלָה), Ezk 6[14].—Four MSS read Riblah (which is accepted by Cheyne, Davidson, Hitzig, Smend, Cornill, Siegfried-Stade, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). It was near a wilderness, and this would suit for Riblah. It has also been supposed to be Beth-Diblathaim. There is a village in Upper Galilee called *Dibl*. See *SWP* vol. i. sh. iii.

C. R. CONDER.

DIBLAIM (דִּבְלַיִם, *Διβηλαίμ*), the father of Gomer, Hosea's wife. See GOMER, HOSEA.

DIBON.—1. (דִּיבוֹן in MT, but the spelling דִּיבֹן of the Moabite Stone and *Δαιβών* of LXX indicate that the ו had a consonantal value; see Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Samuel*, lxxxix.). A city east of the Dead Sea and north of the Arnon in the land which, before the coming of the Israelites, Sihon, king of the Amorites, had taken from a former king of Moab (Nu 21[26. 30]). The Israelites dispossessed Sihon, and the territory was assigned to Reuben (Jos 13[9. 17]), but the city Dibon is mentioned among those built (or rebuilt) by Gad (Nu 32[3. 34]), hence the name **Dibon-gad** by which it is once called (Nu 33[45]). The children of Israel were not able to retain possession of the land, and in the time of Isaiah Dibon is reckoned among the cities of Moab (Is 15). In Is 15[9] **Dimon** is supposed to be a modified form of Dibon, adopted in order to resemble more closely the Hebrew word for blood (Dām), and support the play on words in that verse.

The modern name of the town is Dhiban, about half an hour N. of 'Ara'ir, which is on the edge of the Arnon Valley. It is a dreary and featureless ruin on two adjacent knolls, but has acquired notoriety in consequence of the discovery there of the Moabite Stone. See Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 132 f., Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 400, and cf. MOAB.

2. A town in Judah inhabited in Nehemiah's time by some of the children of Judah (Neh 11[25]). Perhaps it is the same as **Dimonah** (Jos 15[22]) among the southernmost cities of Judah. If this identification be correct, it illustrates the passage Is 15[9] referred to in (1).

Dibon-gad (Nu 33[45] only); see above.

A. T. CHAPMAN.

DIBRI (דִּבְרִי). — A Danite, grandfather of the blasphemer who was stoned to death, Lv 24[11].

DIDRACHMA.—See MONEY.

DIDYMUS.—See THOMAS.

DIE.—To die by a specified form of death is a common expression; as Caxton (1477), *Jason*, 42: 'If I dye not of bodily deth I shal dye of spirituel deth'; and so Caxton, *G. de la Tour*, Gv v.: 'Your sone deyd this nyght of a good dethe.' Similar is the phrase Nu 16[29] 'If these men die the common death of all men'; and 23[10] 'Let me die the death of the righteous,' and other examples in which the prep. is omitted. But the expression 'die the death' is un-English, and is prob. everywhere due to a literal rendering of the Heb. idiom. It occurs Sir 14[17] 'the covenant from the beginning is, Thou shalt die the death' (Gr. *θανάτῳ ἀποθανῇ*, from Gn 2[17] 'thou shalt surely die,' Heb. מוֹת תָּמוּת, lit. 'dying thou shalt die,' LXX *θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε*); and Mt 15[4] 'He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death' (Gr. *θανάτῳ τελευτάτω*, lit. 'let him end by death,' Vulg. *morte moriatur*, Cov. 'shal dye the death,' after whom Cran., Gen., Bish., AV, RV; but Rhem. 'dying let him dye'). The phrase 'die the death' is not uncommon in Shaks., and is generally interpreted as meaning 'die the death appointed for the particular offence'; but it is probably a reminiscence of the phrase in Mt,* and means 'let him assuredly die.' Thus *Mids. Night's Dream*, I. i. 65—

> 'Either to die the death, or to abjure
> For ever the society of men.'

J. HASTINGS.

DIET (fr. Gr. *δίαιτα*, mode of life, through late Lat. *dieta*) is used in AV in the obsol. sense of 'an allowance of food,' Jer 52[34] 'And for his [Jehoiachin's] diet, there was a continual diet given him' (אֲרֻחָתוֹ אֲרֻחַת תָּמִיד, RV 'allowance,' as AV in par. passage 2 K 25[30]. In Pr 15[17] the same Heb. is tr. 'dinner,' with 'portion' in RVm; in Jer 40[5] 'victuals,' RVm 'an allowance'). The Eng. word is rare in this sense, and is not used in any previous version here. In the more usual sense it occurs Sir 30[25] 'A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet'; cf. Chaucer (*Prol.* 435)—

> 'Of his diet measurable was he,
> For it was of no superfluitee,
> But of greet norissing and digestible.'

J. HASTINGS.

DIKLAH (דִּקְלָה, *Δεκλά*).—The name of a son of Joktan (Gn 10[27], 1 Ch 1[21]), probably representing a nation or community. The Aramaic name for the river Tigris (*Diklath*) is practically identical with this form, and hence the conjecture of Michaelis, that Diklah signified the dwellers on

* Canon Hicks, *Expositor*, June 1890, p. 403 ff., takes a different view.

* Cf. *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 111: 'Died every day she lived,' a recollection, no doubt, of 1 Co 15[31] 'I die daily.'

that river, is not wholly improbable; we know, however, of no community so called, and the home of such of the Joktanidæ as can be identified with certainty is in Arabia. The word *daḳal* (in Syr. *deḳla'*, 'palm') is well known in Arabic, and signifies dry dates of bad quality; as they possess no cohesive power, to 'scatter like *daḳal*' is a proverbial phrase. The geographer Yāḳūt knows of a place in Yemamah called *Daḳalah*, 'where there were palm trees,' of too little importance to be connected with the son of Joktan; moreover, the corresponding form in Hebrew should be Děkālāh rather than Diklah. The names immediately preceding and following Diklah give no clue to its identification. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DILAN (דִּלְעָן), Jos 15^{38}.—A town of Judah in the same group with Lachish and Eglon. The site is unknown. C. R. CONDER.

DILIGENCE.—'Derived from *diligo*, to love, "diligence" reminds us that the secret of true industry in our work is love of that work' (Trench, *Study of Words*, p. 314). But as diligence has gradually forgotten the rock whence it was hewn, it has also lost some of its proper meaning. It is a synonym now for 'industry'; but formerly it was also a syn. for 'carefulness,' since our love of a work may express itself as readily in care or caution as in perseverance. Hence Wyclif's tr. of 1 Ti 3^5 'If ony man kan not gouerne his hous, how schal he haue diligence of the chirche of God'; and Coverdale's tr. of Pr 4^{23} 'Kepe thine hert with all diligence,' which is retained in AV and RV. Cf. Knox, *Historie*, 15: 'He declared what diligence the ancients took to try true miracles from false.' *Diligent* and *diligently* had the same range of meaning. Thus Job 42^5 Cov. 'I have geuen diligent eare unto the' (Gen., AV 'I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear,' RV 'I had heard,' etc.—thus reversing Coverdale's meaning); AV 1611 Title, 'with the former Translations diligently compared and revised'; Shaks. *Tempest*, III. i. 42—

> 'The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
> Brought my too diligent ear.'

J. HASTINGS.

DILL.—See ANISE.

DIMINISH.—To diminish is to make less, and that primary meaning is alone in use now. We do not even use the word figuratively, 'to lessen the influence of,' 'belittle,' as Ezk 5^{11} 'therefore will I also d. thee'; 29^{15} 'I will d. them, that they shall no more rule over the nations'; Is 21^{17} 'the mighty men . . . shall be diminished' (RV 'shall be few'); Ro 11^{12} 'if . . . the diminishing of them [be] the riches of the Gentiles' (τὸ ἥττημα αὐτῶν, RV 'their loss,' Sanday-Headlam 'their defeat'). Cf. Argument of Ep. to Heb. in Gen. NT: 'For seing the Spirit of God is the autor thereof, it diminisheth nothing the autoritie, althogh we knowe not with what penne he wrote it.' Still less can we speak of diminishing one thing from another, *i.e.* withdrawing or withholding, so as to *cause* diminution, as Dt 4^2 'Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye d. ought from it'; Jer 26^2 'd. not a word' (RV 'keep not back'). So in Atkinson's tr. (1504) of *De Imitatione*, IV. ix.: 'Take from our hertis . . . all that may . . . dimynyshe vs from thy eternall loue.'

J. HASTINGS.

DIMNAH (דִּמְנָה).—A Levitical city in Zebulun, Jos 21^{35}. Dillmann, followed by Bennett in Haupt's *OT*, emends to רִמֹּנָה, **Rimmon** (cf. 1 Ch 6^{22}, Jos 19^{13}). J. A. SELBIE.

DIMON, DIMONAH.—See DIBON.

DINAH (דִּינָה).—The daughter of Jacob by Leah (Gn 30^{21}). The composite and very obscure narrative of Gn 34 relates how, when Jacob was encamped at Shechem, after his return from Mesopotamia, she was seduced by Shechem the son of Hamor, a Hivite prince. This outrage was bitterly resented by her full brothers, Simeon and Levi. Shechem was ready to prove his attachment by marrying the maiden, and offered to pay any marriage price or dowry that might be fixed by her family. To this her brothers consented, but only on condition that all the men of Shechem should be circumcised. This being conceded, her brothers made it the means of inflicting a barbarous revenge for their sister's dishonour, by killing all the men of the place on the third day, when the effects of the circumcision made them incapable of self-defence. Both at the time and on his death-bed, their father Jacob (according to J) spoke of this act with indignation and abhorrence (Gn 34^{30} 49^{5-7}). It was, however, approved by later Jewish fanatics (Jth 9^2). (For the tribal significance of Dinah and the historical incidents which may underlie the above narrative, see SIMEON). R. M. BOYD.

DINAITES (דִּינָיֵא, LXX Δεινᾶιοι, Ezr 4^9), a people settled in Samaria by Osnappar (*i.e.* probably Assurbanipal). They joined with the other Samaritans in denouncing the Jews to Artaxerxes. The Dinaites have been variously identified with the Da-ja-ênu, a tribe of western Armenia, mentioned in inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. (Schrader); and with the inhabitants of Deinaver, a Median city (Ewald), or of Din-Sharru near Susa (Fried. Delitzsch). On account of the other peoples named in the same verse, the last view seems the most probable. See further Meyer, *Judenthum*, 39 f. H. A. WHITE.

DINHABAH (דִּנְהָבָה).—The capital city of king Bela in Edom (Gn 36^{32}=1 Ch 1^{43}). There is some doubt as to its identification. The name, which is accented so as to mean 'Give judgment' (Ball, *Genesis, ad loc.*), occurs in Palmyrene as *Danaba* or *Dahbâna* (דהבנא); cf. Δανάβη in Babylonia, and see Dillm. and Del. on Gn 36^{32}. It has been proposed by Neubauer (*Academy*, 1891, p. 260) to identify Dinhabah with *Tennib*. This is accepted by Tomkins (*ib.* p. 284), who further identifies Tennib with Thenib, E.N.E. from Heshbon, described in Tristram's *Moab*, p. 222. See further Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Tradition*, 223 n. J. A. SELBIE.

DINNER.—See FOOD.

DIONYSIA (Διονύσια, *Bacchanalia*, EV 'Feast of Bacchus'), 2 Mac 6^7.—A festival in honour of Dionysus. Dionysus is usually regarded as the god of the vine, but, as Frazer shows in the *Golden Bough*, he was a god of trees in general. As he comes before us in Greek worship, he is quite clearly a vegetation deity; but Jevons may be right in thinking that two cults have been combined,—that of the vegetation spirit and that of the wine-god Dionysus, the latter lending its name to the former, which at first was naturally nameless. The character of the god is to be determined, not from the myths told about him, which are tales invented to explain the ritual, but from the ritual itself, interpreted through comparison with parallel rites among other peoples. The festival was intended to celebrate the revival of vegetation in spring after the long sleep of winter. Not only to celebrate it, however, but by sympathetic magic to secure the fertility of the fields. This imitation of the processes of nature was associated with the wildest orgies and excesses, stimulated no doubt, in this instance, by the connexion of Dionysus

with the vine. Jevons gives a reconstruction of the festival as it was held at Thebes and other places. A branch, or something else representing the vegetation spirit, was carried round the cultivated fields, to secure his blessing on the crops. A human figure, also representing this spirit, was fastened to the top of a tree trunk, which had been felled and prepared for the purpose. This was hoisted up and then pelted till it fell. The women then tore it in pieces, and the woman who got the head raced with it to the temple or chief house and nailed it to the door. But in many cases the rites were much more savage, and bulls or goats, which represented the god himself, were torn to pieces by the worshippers in a mad scramble to possess themselves of portions of the flesh, and even human beings suffered at times in this way. The flesh was taken home and some of it buried in the fields. (For parallels to this custom of killing the god the *Golden Bough* should be consulted. It secured a certain communion with the deity, the preservation of his vigour through the death of his temporary representative and his re-incarnation in a fresh life, and the fertility of the land in which the flesh was buried). The most famous festivals of Dionysus were held in Attica. Besides the *Anthesteria* and *Lenæa* there were two, known as the Lesser and the Greater Dionysia. The former was held in country districts in December, and was a vintage festival, accompanied by dancing, songs, improvised dramatic performances, and a procession, in which the phallus was borne. The utmost licence of speech and conduct characterized it. The Greater Dionysia were held in the city, and were chiefly important from the fact that at them the great dramas of the tragic and comic poets were produced. Before the dramatic performances there was a great public procession of worshippers, wearing masks and singing the dithyramb, in which an image of Dionysus was carried from one temple to another. This was followed by a chorus of boys. According to 2 Mac 6^{7} Antiochus compelled the Jews, when the feast of Dionysia (RVm) came, to go in procession in honour of Dionysus, wearing wreaths of ivy. The ivy was specially sacred to the god. See further under DIONYSUS. A. S. PEAKE.

DIONYSIUS.—Dionysius, designated the Areopagite (ὁ Ἀρειοπαγίτης), is mentioned as one of the few converts made by St. Paul at Athens (Ac 17^{34}). He is probably thus specially named as having been a member of the Council of Areopagus (see AREOPAGUS). Nothing further is known of him. It has been suggested that St. Luke, who apparently was not at Athens, may have owed to Dionysius his report of the speech on Mars' hill. According to Dionysius of Corinth (in Euseb. *HE* iii. 4) he became the first bishop of the church at Athens; according to one account (Niceph. *HE* iii. 11) he suffered martyrdom at Athens under Domitian; according to another (*Martyr. Rom.*), having come to Rome, he was sent by Clemens I. (about 95) to Paris, and there beheaded on the Martyrs' Mount (*Montmartre*); and no small controversy has arisen in France over his title to be regarded as St. Denys, the patron saint of France. Various mystical writings, circulated in the Middle Ages under his name, are still extant; but they have long been regarded as non-genuine, and are now generally supposed to have been put into circulation about the 5th century. WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

DIONYSUS (Bacchus).—A Greek god, in whose worship there are three distinct strata. The first consists of those rites with which spirits of vegetation (originally probably plant-totems) are worshipped by all primitive peoples, in the new world as well as the old, who possess any cultivated plants. This stratum is probably not older than the separation of the European from the other members of the Aryan family, for it was only after that separation that the Aryans began to domesticate plants. The next consists in the worship associated with the cultivation of the vine: this originated where, according to the most recent researches, the vine was first cultivated by the European branch of the Aryans, viz. in Thrace. The process of syncretism by which these rites were amalgamated with those of the vegetation-spirit was not completed, if indeed it had begun, in the time of Homer; for in the Homeric poems D. occurs as a god, but is not associated with the vine, except in passages generally admitted to be comparatively late interpolations. The third stratum belongs to the 7th cent. B.C., the period in which, among the E. nations conquered by the Assyrians and Babylonians, national calamity led men to look for assistance to a ritual more potent than that in daily use. This more potent ritual was found in the older and more awful forms of sacrifice which lingered on in connexion with out-of-the-way altars. To the form of worship thus revived, only those were admitted who were formally initiated into these 'mysteries.' From the East the institution of 'mysteries' spread to Greece; and the reason why it attached itself particularly to the worship of such deities as Demeter and Dionysus was that that worship was an evolved form of the rites (common to many Aryan and Semitic and other peoples) with which vegetation-spirits were originally worshipped. The resemblances which thus made possible the spread of 'mysteries' from the East to the West also facilitated that dissemination of the worship of Dionysus over the E., for which mythologists (*e.g.* Nonnus) accounted by the hypothesis of an E. campaign on the part of the god. It is in the readiness with which the worship of D. was received in many parts of Syria and Pal. that we find the explanation of the attempts or threats to establish the worship of D. amongst the Jews: it was presumed, *e.g.* by Nicanor (2 Mac 14^{33}) and Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 6^{7}), that it would be acceptable to them as to other peoples, while Ptolemy Philopator, who branded the Jews with the ivy-leaf of Dionysus (3 Mac 2^{29}), had an additional motive, in the fact that D. was the family God of the Ptolemies, for forcing his worship on them by a means analogous to that which many Hindoo sects adopt to symbolize their devotion to their particular god, and which has a further parallel in the common barbaric custom of tattooing the worshipper's body with the symbol of the god under whose protection and power he is. See further under DIONYSIA. F. B. JEVONS.

DIOSCORINTHIUS (Διὸς Κορινθίου [τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι], *Dioscorus*, 2 Mac 11^{21}). See TIME.

DIOSCURI (Διόσκουροι, RVm at Ac 28^{11}; **text, The Twin Brothers; AV, Castor and Pollux**) are mentioned as giving their name to the ship in which St. Paul sailed from Melita to Puteoli, on his way to Rome. The D. in mythology were the sons of Zeus and Leda, and brothers of Helen. Castor was the horse-tamer, and Pollux the prince of boxers. For their brotherly affection they were placed in the sky as the constellation of the Twins (Gemini). They were worshipped from early times in Greece, ('Græcia Castoris memor' Hor. *Od.* iv. 5. 35), in Cyrene in Africa (Pind. *Pyth.* v.), not far from Alexandria, in Southern Italy, and enjoyed especial honour at Rome on account of their supernatural appearance at the battle of Lake Regillus. Their image was printed on the reverse of the earliest

silver coins of the Romans (*denarii*) as that of two youths on horseback. They were, however, best known as the tutelary gods of sailors, who identified their presence with the pale blue flame or light seen in thundery weather at the mast-head. They are thus mentioned Hor. *Od.* i. 3. 2: 'Sic fratres Helenæ *lucida* sidera'; also *Od.* iii. 29. 64: 'tutum feret geminus Pollux'; also *Catull.* iv. 27 and lxviii. 65; and Eurip. *Helen.* 1663–65. It was a common practice to put, as a παράσημον (Ac 28[11]) or *insigne*, some device for a figure-head to a ship, in imitation of the person or object (not always complimentary, Virg. *Æn.* x. 188) after which the vessel was named. See Virg. *Æn.* v. 116, 'Mnestheus agit Pristin'; *Æn.* x. 166, 195, 209, 'Hunc vehit immanis Triton,' etc. This figure-head was to be distinguished from the *tutela* (Ov. *Trist.* i. 10. 1), 'tutela Minervæ,' or image of the protecting genius, under which the ship sailed, placed generally in the stern of the vessel. In later times the distinction appears to have been effaced, and, in the vessel which carried St. Paul, the Dioscuri were probably intended for the 'tutela' as well as the 'insigne,' and their heads were probably fastened, one on each side, in front.

LITERATURE.—Seyffart, *Dict. of Class. Antiq.* by Nettleship and Sandys; Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.*; Page, *Acts of the Apostles, in loc.*

C. H. PRICHARD.

DIOTREPHES (Διοτρεφής, WH-*έφης*).—A person, otherwise unknown, who is introduced in 3 John (vv.[9.10]) as ambitious, resisting the writer's authority, and standing in the way of the hospitable reception of brethren who visited the Church—probably travelling evangelists, such as are mentioned in the *Didaché*. It has been inferred by some that he was a presbyter or a deacon in the Church. It has also been supposed that he was in conflict with the Jewish-Christian party; or, on the other hand, that he was a teacher of false doctrine, Judaistic or Gnostic. But all is matter of conjecture. Others think that his action indicates an illegitimate assumption of authority over the Church, connected with the tendency to the establishment of a monarchical episcopate, which may have begun during the lifetime of St. John.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

DIPHATH (דִּיפַת) occurs in RV and AVm of 1 Ch 1[6], but it is practically certain that AV **Riphath** is the correct reading. By an easily explicable scribal error דיפת has arisen from ריפת, the reading of MT in the parallel passage Gn 10[3]. See RIPHATH.

J. A. SELBIE.

DISALLOW. — 'Allow' is in AV either to 'approve' or 'accept' (see ALLOW); 'disallow' is always distinctly to 'reject.' So Nu 30[5 bis. 8. 11] (הֵנִיא refuse, reject; see Ps 141[5] RV); and 1 P 2[4. 7] (ἀποδοκιμάζω, RV 'reject'). So Latimer (*Serm. and Rem.*, 11), 'I must not suffer the devil to have the victory over me. I must disallow his instructions and suggestions.'

J. HASTINGS.

DISANNUL, which scarcely differs in meaning from 'annul,' the prefix being only intensive, is now going out of use. RV removes it only from Gal 3[15], giving 'make void' instead (Gr. ἀθετέω, of which the subst. ἀθέτησις is tr[d] 'disannulling' He 7[18] and retained by RV). Amer. RV prefers 'annul' in Job 40[8], Is 14[27] 28[18]. The use of the word in biblical English may be illustrated by Coverdale's tr[n] of Is 14[27] 'For yf the LORDE of hoostes determe a thing, who wyl dysanulle it?'; and Tindale's tr[n] of He 8[13] 'In that he sayth a new testament he hath abrogat (πεπαλαίωκεν) the olde. Now that which is disanulled (παλαιούμενον) and wexed olde, is redy to vannysche awaye.'

J. HASTINGS.

DISAPPOINT has a stronger meaning in AV than in mod. English, Job 5[12] 'He disappointeth the devices of the crafty' (מֵפֵר, RV 'frustrateth,' as Is 44[25] AV, RV; so Pr 15[22]); Ps 17[13] 'Arise, O Lord, d. him' (קַדְּמָה פָּנָיו, RV 'confront him,' RVm 'forestall him,' Cheyne 'intercept him'); Jth 16[6] 'the Almighty Lord hath disappointed them by the hand of a woman' (ἠθέτησεν αὐτούς, RV 'brought them to nought': see under DISANNUL). Cf. Hall, *Hard Texts* (1633), 311: 'All those curious and wealthy Trades . . . shall be utterly undone and disappointed.'

J. HASTINGS.

DISCERN.—To discern (Lat. *dis* apart, *cernere* separate) is to separate things so as to distinguish them, as Coverdale, *Erasm. Par.* 1 *Jn*, p. 48: 'It is not the sacramentes that discerne the children of God from the children of the devyll; but the puritie of lyfe and charitie.' So Ezr 3[13] 'the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping.'

To discern a person or thing is therefore, in biblical lang., to separate out from others, so as to recognize, as Gn 27[23] 'he discerned him not, because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands'; He 4[12] 'the word of God . . . is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart' (κριτικός, RV 'quick to discern'); 1 Co 11[29] 'not discerning the Lord's body' (μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου; Vulg. *non dijudicans corpus Domini*; Calvin, *non discernens*; Wyc. 'not wiseli demynge'; Luther, *dass er nicht unterscheidet*; Tind. 'because he maketh no difference of'; so Cov., Cran., Gen. 1557; but Gen. 1560, 'because he discerneth not,' with marg. note, 'But as thogh these holie mysteries of the Lordes bodie and blood were commune meats, so without reverence he commeth unto them'; so Tomson; Bish. 'making no difference of'; Rhem. 'not discerning the body of our Lord'; whence AV; but RV 'if he discern not the body'—omitting τοῦ Κυρίου with edd.

J. HASTINGS.

DISCIPLE.—This word—in Greek *μαθητής*; fem. *μαθήτρια* (occurring only Ac 9[36]); verb, *μαθητεύω* (occurring four times)—is in sacred literature confined to the Gospels and the Acts, though it often appears in Attic Greek (esp. Plato) as denoting the *pupil* of a philosopher or rhetorician, in contradistinction to the *master*, διδάσκαλος (just as in NT, Mt 10[24]), or to the *discoverer*, εὑρετής. We have a similar contrast in OT, *e.g.* 1 Ch 25[8] τελείων καὶ μανθανόντων, *the perfect and the learning* (AV and RV, *the teacher* and *the scholar*), referring to the senior and junior members of David's trained musical guilds. Likewise, in the case of the prophetic guilds superintended by Samuel and more fully organized by Elijah and Elisha, in order that by spiritual force they might cherish the theocratic spirit among the people, and check the tendency to apostasy, the general 'company' is contrasted with him who 'stood as head over them' (1 S 19[20]), and the 'sons,' 2 K 2[7] (*i.e.* pupils; cf. Pr 4[1. 10], and *passim*) with him 'before' whom they 'sat,' 2 K 4[38], their *master* (κύριος), 2 K 6[5]. [*Teacher*, διδάσκαλος, however, occurs in LXX only in connexion with heathen monarchs, and then but twice: Est 6[1] (the teacher of Ahasuerus) and 2 Mac 1[10] (the teacher of Ptolemy); and the phrase '*schools* of the prophets' (however truly it may represent facts) is 'a pure invention of the commentators' (Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, 85).] In Talmudic literature *talmîdê ḥăkhâmîm, pupils of the learned* (*i.e.* the scribes), is a frequently recurring phrase, and of these St. Paul was one when he was 'brought up at the feet of Gamaliel,' sitting, *i.e.* with the rest of the pupils, on the lower benches in front of him (Ac 22[3]; cf. Mt 5[1]).

The usage of the word in NT is very simple. We read of the disciples of John the Baptist (Mk 2[18]), of the Pharisees (same place), of Moses, Jn 9[28] (only by way of contrast to Jesus), but most of all of Jesus, to whose disciples, in fact, the subst. is almost entirely, and the verb entirely, limited. The word maintains its classical connotation of compliance with the instruction given: the

μαθητής is not only a *pupil*, but an *adherent* (see Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Lex.*; cf. Xen. *Mem.* i. 6. 3, where μαθηταί are called the μιμηταί, *imitators*, of their διδάσκαλος; so Jn 8^{31}, '*If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples*,' cf. 15^{8}). Hence it is applied most esp. to the Twelve in all four Gospels, sometimes with δώδεκα and sometimes without; they are '*the* disciples,' Mt 10^{1} 12^{1}, Mk 8^{27}, Lk 8^{9}, Jn 3^{22}. Mt seems, indeed, to confine the plural to them (Weiss), unless 8^{21} and 5^{1} be exceptions. When it denotes the wider circle, as in Lk (particularly 6^{13} 7^{11}), it has the same sense of adherence. Hence it stands, occasionally in Gospels (Mt 10^{42}, taken with 18^{6}) and invariably in Ac, as a synonym for πιστεύων, *a believer* (cf. Aristot. Περὶ σοφ. ἐλεγχ. 161b 3—δεῖ πιστεύειν τὸν μανθάνοντα, *the learner is bound to have faith*), even where, as in Ac $19^{1.\ 4}$, the word is applied to half-instructed believers, who, while believing apparently in Jesus as greater than John the Baptist, were still (as it seems) not sure that Jesus was absolutely the Messiah, and that they had not to 'look for another' (Mt 11^{3}). So also, quite distinctly, with the verb μαθητεύω (three times in Mt, once in Ac), which is once intrans. (Mt 27^{57}), twice trans. (Mt 28^{19}, Ac 14^{21}), and once deponent (?) (Mt 13^{52}, where, in accordance with the usual dative construction, the phrase signifies *a disciple of the kingdom of heaven* personified). (See Meyer and Meyer-Weiss).

J. MASSIE.

DISCIPLINE.—'Discipline' is properly instruction, that which belongs to the *discipulus* or scholar, and is distinguished from 'doctrine,' which pertains to the *doctor* or teacher. In this sense Wyclif (1382) gives Pr 3^{4} 'Thou shalt finde grace and good discipline (1388 'teching') befor God and men'; and Chaucer (Skeat's Student's ed. p. 716), 'Thanne shaltow understonde, that bodily peyne stant in disciplyne or techinge, by word or by wrytinge, or in ensample.' But under the influence of the Vulg. and the Church, 'discipline' came early to be used for 'chastisement.' In Pr 3^{11} Wyc. has 'the discipline of the Lord, my sone, ne caste thou awey.' See CHASTISEMENT.

In AV whether 'discipline' means instruction or chastisement it is not easy always to decide. It occurs Job 36^{10} 'He openeth also their ear to d.' (*mûṣâr*, RV 'instruction,' which the sense seems to demand; but the Heb. has nowhere else this meaning, and the whole passage is of chastening or moral discipline); Wis 1^{5} 6^{17} *bis*, Sir 4^{17} [-*ia*] 17^{18} 18^{14} $23^{2.\ 7}$ 32^{14} 41^{14}, Bar 4^{13} (all παιδεία, which in class. Greek means 'education' or its result, 'mental culture,' never 'chastisement,' but is used in LXX as the regular tr. of *mûṣâr*, hence = chastisement there, and so in NT thrice, He $12^{5.\ 6.\ 8}$; see Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, p. 101).

J. HASTINGS.

DISCOMFIT, DISCOMFITURE.—From *dis* apart, and *conficere* to put together, to 'discomfit' is to undo, destroy. Both words, now archaic if not obsolete, are always used in AV of defeat in battle, Is 31^{8} being a mistrans. for 'become liable to forced service.' Cf. More, *Utopia* (Rob. tr.), p. 140: 'if al their whole armie be discumfeted and overcum'; and Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 150—

'After the bataille and discomfiture.'

RV introduces 'discomfit' for 'destroy,' Ex 23^{27}, Ps 144^{6} (חָמַם), Dt 7^{23} (הוּם); for 'trouble,' Ex 14^{24} (חָמַם); and 'discomfiture,' Dt 7^{23}, 1 S 5^{9} (AV 'destruction'), Dt 28^{20} (AV 'vexation'), Is 22^{5} (AV 'trouble'), the Heb. being always מְהוּמָה *mĕhûmah*.

J. HASTINGS.

DISCOVER.—In mod. Eng. 'to discover' is 'to detect,' 'find out,' which is a late use of the word. The meanings in AV are: **1.** Uncover, lay bare (the primary sense, lit. 'to take off the cover,' Fr. *découvrir*), Ps 29^{9} 'The voice of the Lord . . . discovereth the forests' (חָשַׂף, RV 'strippeth bare': 'I do not understand this of stripping the foliage merely, but rather of the breaches and openings made by the lightning and the wind in the heart of the wood'—Earle, *Psalter of* 1539, p. 271); Ezk 16^{57} 'Before thy wickedness was discovered'; Hos 2^{10} 'now will I d. her lewdness in the sight of her lovers'; 7^{1} 'the iniquity of Ephraim was discovered'; Sir 1^{30} 'Exalt not thyself, lest thou fall . . . and so God d. thy secrets' (RV 'reveal'); 11^{27} 'his deeds shall be discovered' (RV 'the revelation of his deeds'). Cf. Knox, *Hist.* p. 182, 'Which God of his infinite goodness hath now discovered to the eyes of all that list to behold'; and p. 250, 'who rashly discovering himself in the Trenches, was shot in the head.' **2.** Withdraw (spoken of the cover itself, so as to uncover), Job 41^{13} 'who can d. the face of his garment?' (RV 'strip off his outer garment'—see Davidson *in loc.*); Is 22^{8} 'he discovered the covering of Judah' (RV 'took away'); Jer 13^{26} (= Nah 3^{5}) 'I will d. thy skirts upon thy face.' So Bacon, *New Atlantis*, 129: 'At the beginning he discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land'; Chapman, *Hesiod*, i. 161—

'When the woman the unwieldy lid
Had once discover'd, all the miseries hid
. . . dispersed and flew
About the world.'

3. Disclose or reveal, 1 S 14^{8} 'we will d. ourselves unto them'; 22^{6} 'when Saul heard that David was discovered' (נוֹדַע 'made known,' 'revealed'); Job 12^{22} 'He discovereth deep things out of darkness'; Pr 25^{9} 'd. not a secret to another' (RV 'disclose not the secret of another'); Sir 6^{9} 27^{16}, 1 Mac 7^{31} 'when he saw that his counsel was discovered' (ἀπεκαλύφθη, 'made known,' 'revealed,' not 'found out'); 2 Mac 6^{11} 'others, that had run together into caves near by, to keep the Sabbath secretly, being discovered to Philip, were all burnt together' (RV 'betrayed'). Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, p. 17: 'For Prosperity doth best discover Vice; But Adversity doth best discover Vertue'; and Shaks. *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 190—

'I shall discover a thing to you.'

4. Exhibit, display, as Blount (1600): 'The more he mounted, the more he discovered his incapacitie.' In AV Pr 18^{2} 'A fool hath no delight in understanding, but that his heart may d. itself' (RV 'reveal'). **5.** Descry, sight, Ac 21^{3} 'When we had discovered Cyprus, we left it on the left hand' (ἀναφαίνω, RV 'come in sight of'). **6.** Notice, Ac 27^{39} 'they discovered a certain creek' (κατενόουν, RV 'perceived').

J. HASTINGS.

DISCUS.—See GAMES. **DISEASE.**—See MEDICINE. **DISH.**—See FOOD.

DISHAN (דִּישָׁן).—A son of Seir, Gn $36^{21.\ 28.\ 30}$ = 1 Ch $1^{38.\ 42}$. In Gn 36^{26} the reading דִּישָׁן of MT should be emended to דִּישׁוֹן, after 1 Ch 1^{41}. See following article.

DISHON.—**1.** A son of Seir, דִּישׁוֹן Gn 36^{21} = דִּישָׁן 1 Ch 1^{38}. **2.** A son of Anah and grandson of Seir, דִּישָׁן Gn 36^{25}, cf. v.^{30} = דִּישׁוֹן 1 Ch 1^{41}, which should also be read for MT דִּישָׁן in Gn 36^{26}. Dishan (see art. above) and Dishon are, of course, not individual names, but the eponyms of Horite clans. Their exact location is a matter of uncertainty. דִּישׁוֹן occurs in Dt 14^{5} (only) as the name of a clean animal (LXX πύγαργος, AV and RV 'pygarg'), which is generally taken to be some species of gazelle or antelope. Tristram (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, 127) identifies it with the *Antilope addax*; but Hommel (*Namen der Säugethiere*, 391), deriving the word from a root דוּשׁ = *spring, leap* (cf. Assyr. *daššu*), thinks of the mountain-goat. So also Delitzsch (*Assyr. Stud.* i. 54). The existence of such animal names amongst the Horites has been used by W. R. Smith as an argument in favour of

totemism. See *Journal of Philology*, ix. 75 ff., *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and *RS* (*passim*); and for the contrary opinion, Nöldeke in *ZDMG* (1886), 148–187. Cf. also Jacobs, *Studies in Bib. Archæol.* (1894), and Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names* (1896), p. 86 ff. J. A. SELBIE.

DISHONESTY in 2 Co 4^2 is used in the obsolete sense of 'disgrace' (*αἰσχύνη*, RV 'shame,' after Wyc., Gen.; AV followed Rhemish NT; Tindale has 'unhonesty'). Cf. Coverdale's tr. of Ru 2^{15} 'Let her gather betwene the sheues also, and do her no dishonestye'; and of Sir 3^{11} 'Where the father is without honoure, it is the dishonesty of the sonne.' 'Dishonest' Sir 26^{24}, and 'dishonestly' 22^4, are used in the same sense. J. HASTINGS.

DISPATCH.—To 'dispatch business' is still in use, as in To 7^8 'let this business be dispatched,' 2 Mac 12^{18} 'before he had d. anything he departed.' But to 'd. a journey,' *i.e.* 'expedite,' is out of use; nor is any example given in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.*, 2 Mac 9^4 being missed: 'Therefore commanded he his chariotman to drive without ceasing, and to dispatch the journey.'

To 'dispatch,' *i.e.* 'get rid of quickly' by death, is found Wis 11^{19}, and in Ezk 23^{47}, where RV gives 'despatch,' a spelling which is incorrect, and which was unknown till the beg. of the 19th cent. It seems to have arisen from Johnson having accidentally entered the word so in his Dict., though he himself always spells it 'dispatch.' See *Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.*

J. HASTINGS.

DISPERSION.—See ISRAEL.

DISPOSITION.—Ac 7^{53} 'Who have received the law by the d. of angels' (Gr. *εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων*; RV 'as it was ordained by angels'; RVm 'unto ordinances of angels,' cf. Ro 13^2 *τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῇ*, AV and RV 'the ordinance of God'). 'Disposition' is the Rhemish word here (Wyc., Tind., Gen. have 'ordinance'; Cov., Cran. 'ministration'), and it is used in the archaic sense of administration. In the same sense 'disposer' is used by Tind. in 1 Co 4^1 'Let men this wise esteeme us, even as the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secretes of God' (EV 'stewards,' Gr. *οἰκονόμοι*); and by Gen. (1560) in 1 P 4^{10} 'Let euerie man as he hathe received the gifte, minister the same one to another, as good disposers of the manifolde grace of God' (EV 'stewards'). 'Disposing' in Pr 16^{33} 'The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord,' is used in the earlier sense of control, disposal; while the vb. 'dispose' in Job 34^{13} 37^{15}, 2 Es 5^{49} 8^{11}, Sir 16^{26} has the still earlier and primary meaning of 'arrange in proper order.' This primary meaning (as Lat. *disponere*) seems to be intended by 'disposition' in 2 Es 8^{38} (*plasma*) 8^{39} (*figmentum*), the Lat. words so tr. having ref. to the creation of man; but in Jth 8^{29}, Ad. Est 16^6, Sir 20^{26}, the word is used in the familiar sense of 'bent of mind,' 'character,' a sense which is found as early as 1387: Trevisa, *Higden*, iii. 113: 'Nought by chaungynge of body, but by chaungynge of disposicioun of wit and of semynge.'

J. HASTINGS.

DISPUTE, DISPUTATION.—As 'debate' has lost the meaning of wrangling, so 'dispute' has acquired it. In older Eng. to 'dispute' was to discuss or argue, without strife. Thus Bp. Carleton (1610), *Jurisd.* Pref., 'I have disputed the Kings right with a good conscience, from the rules of Gods word,' *i.e.* I have discussed it, argued *for* it: cf. Sir T. More, *Utopia*, p. 53, 'that they maye in everye matter despute and reason for the kynges right'; Knox, *Hist.* p. 25, 'after that Sir James Hamilton was beheaded (justly or unjustly we dispute not),' and p. 215 'He [Knox] did gravely dispute upon the nature of the blinde world.' So in AV, Job 23^7 'There the righteous might dispute with him' (נָכַח, RV 'reason'); Mk 9^{33} 'What was it that ye disputed among yourselves by the way?' (*διαλογίζομαι*, RV 'were ye reasoning,' as 2^{6-8} AV); 9^{34} 'for by the way they had disputed among themselves who should be the greatest' (*διαλέγομαι*): RV keeps 'dispute' here, but the disciples' shame was not that they had wrangled, but that they had discussed such a question at all. The same Greek is similarly tr^d in AV of Ac 17^{17} (RV 'reasoned'), $19^{8.9}$ (RV 'reasoning'), 24^{12}, Jude ^{9} (so RV). The subst. *διαλογισμός* is once tr. 'disputing,' Ph 2^{14} AV, RV, 'Do all things without murmurings and disputings'; but even here Thayer prefers 'hesitation,' 'doubting,' Lightfoot 'inward questionings.' In Ac 6^9 9^{29} (*συζητέω*) the meaning is plainly 'discuss,' 'argue'; so 15^7 (*συζήτησις*) and 1 Co 1^{20} (*συζητητής*). The only passage in which 'dispute' seems to have the meaning of 'wrangle' is 1 Ti 6^5 'Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds' (TR *παραδιατριβαί*, edd. *διαπαρατριβαί*, RV 'wranglings'). Here Wyc. has 'fightyngis' and Rhem. 'conflictes' after Vulg. *conflictationes*, but Tind. and the rest 'disputations,' a word which never seems to signify 'altercation,' 'wrangling.' The Gr. word is found nowhere else.

'Disputation' occurs in AV, Ac 15^2 (TR *συζήτησις*, edd. *ζήτησις*, RV 'questioning'), and Ro 14^1 'Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations' (*εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν*; lit. 'unto discussions of doubts'; RVm 'for decisions of doubts'; see Sanday-Headlam *in loc.*). Bp. Bonner's injunction for the reading of the Bible (1541) ends thus: 'he is not to expound, nor to reade with a lowde voyce, and without disputacion,' where, as elsewhere, d. means 'discussion': the reader is neither to expound the meaning himself, nor to discuss it with others.

J. HASTINGS.

DISTAFF (פֶּלֶךְ).—This term occurs in AV only in Pr 31^{19}. The Hebrew word is found repeatedly in Neh 3, where it means 'part' or 'district' of the city, something 'cut off' or 'divided' from the rest. It is found also in 2 S 3^{29}, where it is rendered 'staff,' but prob. = *distaff* (see Driver's note). RV renders the word in Pr 31^{19} 'spindle,' for which it may no doubt be used; but if we may judge from the cognate Arab. word (*falkat*), it means the *whorl* of the spindle, a piece of wood or other material, of hemispherical form, through which the spindle-pin passes, and above which is the hook holding the thread. The design of this piece is to give steadiness to the circular motion of the spindle. This form of spindle is in common use among the women of Syria to-day.

H. PORTER.

DIVERS, DIVERSE.—'Divers' has now dropped out of use, or, if used archaically, is restricted to the sense of 'several.' But formerly 'divers' and 'diverse' were indifferent spellings of the same adj., which expressed either 'varied,' 'different' (Lat. *diversus*); or 'various,' 'several.' Thus Ridley, *A Brefe Declaration* (Moule's ed. p. 106): 'in the matter of thys Sacrament ther be diverse [=several] poyntes, wherein menne (counted to be learned) can not agree'; Grindal, *Letter to Q. Eliz.* (1577): 'divers [=different] men make divers senses of one sentence of Scripture.' In AV 1611 'diverse' occurs Lv 19^{19}, Est 3^8, Dn $7^{19.23.24}$, Mt 4^{24}; elsewhere 'divers.' The conjunction of 'divers' with 'sundry,' as in He 1^1, is common in old Eng., as in the Act authorizing Matthew's Bible (Hen. VIII. 1543): 'divers and sundrye his subjects of this his realme.' J. HASTINGS.

DIVES.—See LAZARUS.

DIVINATION has many different modes amongst

the different peoples of the earth, but all are in their origin either natural or supernatural. Methods which originally were supernatural may come to lose their supernatural character; methods which were at first natural may come to be regarded as supernatural; and, from lack of evidence, it may be difficult or impossible to say with regard to any given method whether in its origin it was a natural or a supernatural method.

We shall begin with the supernatural methods as being those first suggested by the word 'divination,' and we shall define them as those by which man gains foreknowledge of the future from a supernatural source, *e.g.* by inspiration, possession, or direct interrogation of the divine will. These methods, the supernatural, again fall into two classes, the licit and the illicit, according as the supernatural source is or is not a god of the community. We may think what we will of the honesty of the priests of Apollo, and entertain what idea we like as to the way in which the oracle of Delphi or of Baal-zebub (2 K 1^{2-6}) was worked, but the worshipper of Apollo who consulted the oracle was doing what was approved of by the religious consciousness of his age and race (however low we rank it in the scale of religion): his action was licit. On the other hand, we may pity both the witch and the witch-finder of the time of James I. of England, but we cannot deny that witchcraft was considered, both by those who practised and those who persecuted it, to be irreligious: it was illicit. And the same distinction has prevailed over the world: savages, however low, distinguish in their way between the worship of their tribal gods and commerce with supernatural spirits who are no gods of theirs.

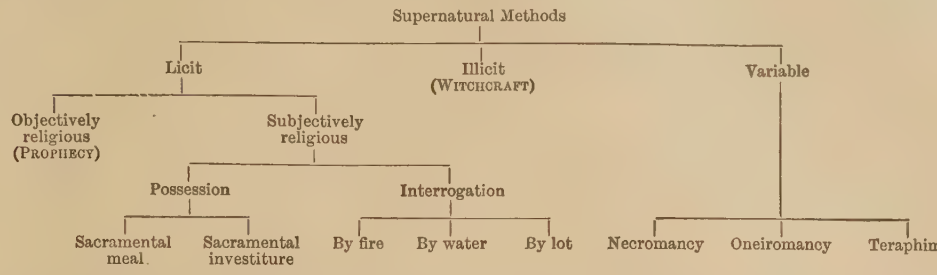
But before proceeding to inquire more closely into the licit modes of divination, *i.e.* those which are religious, we must notice that these, again, fall into two classes, viz. those which are objectively religious and those which are only subjectively religious. That is objectively right, true, or religious which is so, whether a man thinks it so or not; that is subjectively right, true, or religious which is honestly believed to be so, whether it really is so or not. All peoples of the earth have honestly believed that their gods communicated supernatural foresight to certain favoured men, and so divine inspiration or possession is a subjectively religious method of divination. When and where the belief is not merely subjectively but also objectively true, the divine inspiration takes the form, not of 'divination,' but of PROPHECY (which see). In this article the only side of inspiration we have to deal with is the subjectively religious — without prejudice to the question whether any given example is or is not, as it is honestly believed to be, really divine.

Amongst this class of diviners we must place the sacred scribes of Gn 41^{8} and the 'magicians' of Ex 7^{11}, as also the Sibyl of Virgil or the Pythia of Delphi, and the inspired priests or 'divine kings' of savages all over the world. All are believed by themselves and their fellow-worshippers to be inspired by one of their respective national or tribal gods; and in all cases possession or inspiration is conditioned by some kind of sacrament or communion. That communion may take the form either of a sacramental meal or of a sacramental investiture. The worshipper may partake of the substance of the animal or plant in the shape of which his deity habitually manifests himself, and which is sacrificed to the deity: thus the priestess of Apollo Diradiotes at Argos and the priestess of Earth at Aegira became inspired by drinking the blood of the animals offered to those deities respectively; the Bacchæ of Dionysus obtained inspiration by tasting the blood of the grape, sacred to that god; the Pythia, by eating the leaves of Apollo's sacred plant, the laurel. Or the worshipper may be (like the idol of the god) clad in the skin or smeared with the blood or fat of the animal, or the juice or oil of the plant, which is the corporate manifestation of the deity, or be robed in the insignia of the god, and so be 'invested' by the power of the divinity. Possession, then (whether by means of the sacred meal or of sacramental investiture), is one of the licit and subjectively religious ways in which foreknowledge of the future may be derived from a supernatural source. It is the way peculiarly appropriate to gods which manifest themselves in animal or vegetable form. But it is not the only way: there are deities of earth, air, fire, and water, who may or must be interrogated in another way. In one cult a draught of a sacred stream may have the same effect as a draught of sacred blood in producing inspiration; but in another cult the deity of the stream may be consulted by casting offerings into the sacred waters, and inferring that the prayer made at the time will or will not be granted, according as the offering is or is not accepted by the sacred waters. And the ordeal by fire is based on the same principle as this ordeal by water. Divination by a bowl or cup of sacred water (Gn 44^{5}), again, has the same origin. The leaves of a sacred tree may be eaten to produce inspiration, but their voice in the wind may speak directly to the worshipper, as did the rustling of the leaves of the sacred oaks of Dodona. Or the branches and twigs themselves, being of the substance of the divinity, may be made to give indications of the divine will: our word 'lot,' like the Gr. κλῆρος, originally meant simply 'a twig.' See LOT. Rhabdomancy or xylomancy (Hos 4^{12}) and belomancy (Ezk 21^{21}) are but forms of divining by the aid of a tree-god. Still more, when a deity habitually manifests himself in animal form, may the inward disposition of the deity be augured by the sacrificing priest, according as the entrails of the victim have or have not anything extraordinary in their appearance (Ezk 21^{21}). In the same way and for the same reason the flight of a sacred bird may be 'auspicious' or 'inauspicious' (Ps 58^{5}, 2 K 17^{17} 21^{6}).

The illicit or irreligious forms of divination need not detain us long. They are those in which the supernatural Being consulted is one who is not a god of the community, has no bond of loving-kindness with the community, and is accordingly regarded by it, not merely as a strange god, but as a malevolent and evil spirit. No man consults such a spirit except for purposes which the national gods, as being the guardians of the nation's interests and the national morality, cannot sanction. Commerce with such a spirit is anti-social as well as anti-religious; and the man who is guilty of it is a wizard (Lv 19^{31} 20^{6}), and has always been punished as a criminal all over the world by the peoples who believe in the possibility of such commerce.

Necromancy, consulting the spirits of the dead (Lv 19^{31}, Is 8^{19} 19^{3}), is a way of obtaining foreknowledge from a supernatural source which was illicit among the Jews (to whom ancestor-worship was forbidden), but licit amongst all other peoples. Consultation of the teraphim (Ezk 21^{21}, Zec 10^{2}) seems to have persisted amongst the Jews in spite of the fact that it was, strictly speaking, idolatrous: the teraphim were images (1 S 19^{13}), like the altar-stones of the Scandinavians and the clay or wooden idols of the Balonda and Barotse, which could be made to prophesy by smearing them with the blood of sacrifice. For oneiromancy see DREAMS. All we need here remark is that it is a form of divination which may be licit (Jg 7^{13}) or illicit (Dt $13^{2.3}$), according as the source of the dream is a divine or an evil spirit. We have now

finished our account of the supernatural methods of divination, and may sum it up in tabular form as follows:—



We have now to consider the natural methods: they are, in a word, exploded science. The modern man of science makes forecasts of the future which are not supernatural, but strictly scientific. So, too, the savage and primitive man make forecasts (*e.g.* as to the rising and the setting of the sun and stars) which may not be exact but are certainly scientific, and which, even when wholly erroneous, are not supernatural or superstitious. The science of the savant has been evolved by slow and imperceptible degrees out of the science of the savage. The difference between them is, not that the savant uses methods of observation and experiment unknown to the savage,—for the savage employs all four of the Inductive Methods,—but that the savage, when he goes wrong (which he does not do always, else he would speedily perish), does so because he has not yet learned the limits within which the method or logical conception is valid. Thus he observes that in many cases the effect resembles the cause: fire causes fire; to make a thing moist, or to make it move, you must impart moisture or movement to it; and he jumps to the conclusion that in all cases 'like produces like.' Thus he becomes armed with a very simple and ready means of forecasting the future: the effect of anything which strikingly arrests his attention will resemble the cause—a fiery comet will be followed by conflagrations, the mention of the name of what is evil will be followed by the appearance of the evil thing, that which moves as the sun moves (*i.e.* E., S., W., N., 'clock-wise') will follow the same glorious and beneficent course as the sun, and so on. In the same way the savage unduly extends the sphere of the Inductive Method which is known as the Method of Concomitant Variations: according to that method, things which vary together are causally related to one another. Thus the movement of the great tidal wave varies with the movement of the moon round the earth, and it is therefore inferred that the motion of the moon causes the movement of the tides. But the savage jumps to the conclusion that all things which are related together (according to *his* notion of relation) vary together and are cause and effect, the one of the other. A footprint and the foot which makes it vary together, and what affects the one affects the other, and therefore a knife stuck in a footprint will cause a wound in the foot. And so, if you can observe one of two things which are thus related to each other, you can, by watching the changes in it, tell what changes are going on in the other: a lock of a person's hair will inform you by the changes in its condition of the changes in the fortunes of the person from whose head it was cut. In making these and similar primitive forecasts the savage is but acting on the same theory of causation, and employing the same methods of induction, as he uses, *e.g.*, in judging as to the probable behaviour of the animal he is hunting. In a word, at first, and until he finds out their incorrectness, they are to him just as scientific as the rest of his stock of acquired and inherited knowledge; and consequently it would be as erroneous to call them 'divination' as it would be to apply that term to the predictions in the *Nautical Almanac*. But as these primitive modes of forecasting the future come to be discarded, with the advance of knowledge, as erroneous and unscientific, their character also changes. They still continue to be practised in holes and corners not yet illumined by the rising sun of science; they are known to be wholly unscientific, and yet the ignorant to whom they have descended believe in them more sincerely than in the science which they do not comprehend. The exploded science of primitive times becomes the divination of a later age. It is then literally a 'superstition,' something which 'stands over' and survives into a period and environment with which it is wholly incongruous. Finally, a deeper shade than that cast by mere ignorance is frequently imparted to the character of this antiquated science because it is practised by the same persons who give themselves up to the illicit and irreligious forms of divination described above. See also Exorcism, Magic, Soothsaying.

Literature.—A. Bouché Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*; W. R. Smith, *RS*, 246, 407, 427; F. B. Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Religion*; Driver on Dt 18[10f.].

F. B. Jevons.

DIVORCE.—See Marriage.

DIZAHAB (דִּי־זָהָב; Καταχρύσεα; *ubi auri est plurimum*).—The name of a place mentioned in the obscure topographical notice Dt 1[1], which is intended apparently to define the locality in the 'steppes of Moab,' in which the Deuteronomic discourses were delivered, but several of the names in which resemble those of places passed by the Israelites in the previous stages of their wanderings. If it be the name of a place in the 'steppes of Moab,' the situation is unknown. Upon the supposition that it is the name of some previous camping-place of the Israelites, it has been identified by Burckhardt, *Syria* (1822), p. 523, Knobel, and others, with *Mîna edh-Dhahab*, the third of seven boat-harbours between the Rās Muḥammad and 'Aḳaba, nearly due E. of Jebel Mûsa. Keil objects that this is too inaccessible on the side of Sinai for the Israelites to have made it one of their halting-places, and considers it to be the name of a place otherwise unknown in the desert of the wanderings. The same view is taken by Dillm. (who supposes the verse to have originally formed part of an itinerary of the Israelites). The form of the name is curious; the דִּי suggests naturally the oblique case of ذُو *possessor of* (often in names of places); but it is not apparent how an Arabic ذو ذهب would become in Hebrew די־זהב, the ذ being represented differently in the two parts of the name. Jerome, in rendering 'ubi auri est *plurimum*,' probably thought of דַּי, constr. of דַּי *enough*.

S. R. Driver.

DO.—Most of the forms and uses are familiar. But as to *form*, notice 'doeth' in the plu. Sir 35[15] (AV 1611) 'Doeth not the teares run downe the widowes cheeks?' (mod. edd. 'do'). Cf. *Pr. Bk.* (1549) Com. Ser.: 'And whosoever willingly upon no just cause, doth absent themselves: or doth ungodly in the Parish church occupy themselves: . . . to be excommunicate'; and in the imperat. *Piers Plowman*, v. 44—

'That ye prechen to the peple · preue it on yowre-seluen,
And doth it in dede · it shal drawe yow to good.'

As to *usage*, notice that 'do' is steadily losing its active and independent power. **1.** We now prefer a stronger word like 'perform' in such phrases as 'do sacrifice,' Is 19[21] 'the Egyptians . . . shall do sacrifice* and oblation' (RV 'shall worship with sac. and obl.'); or 'do a trespass' Nu 5[6]; or 'do goodness' Nu 10[32] (RV 'do good'); or 'do service' (Heb. לַעֲבֹר אֶת־עֲבֹדָה, lit. 'to serve the service'), a freq. phrase in Nu; cf. also Jn 16[2] 'whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service' (λατρείαν προσφέρειν, RV 'offereth service unto God'). **2.** 'Do' meaning to *act* is still in use, but scarcely as Ac 17[7] 'these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar' (TR πράττουσι, edd. πράσσουσιν); Ph 2[13] 'it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure' (τὸ ἐνεργεῖν, RV 'to work'). **3.** But 'do well' is good Eng. still, as Jn 11[12] 'if he sleep, he shall do well' (σωθήσεται, Tindale 'he shall do well ynough,' and so Cov., Cran., Gen. 1557; but Wyc. 'he schal be saaf,' and so Gen. 1560, Tomson, Rheims; RV 'he will recover,' RVm 'be saved'). **4.** To 'do,' meaning to 'fare,' is in use in the phrase 'how d'ye do?' but not as 2 S 11[7] 'David demanded of him how Joab did and how the people did' (לְשָׁלוֹם יוֹאָב וְלִשְׁלוֹם הָעָם, lit. 'for the health of Joab and for the health of the people,' RV 'how Joab did and how the people fared'), so Est 2[11]; Ac 15[36] 'Let us go again and visit our brethren . . . and see how they do' (πῶς ἔχουσι, RV 'how they fare'); Eph 6[21] 'that ye also may know my affairs and how I do' (τί πράσσω). **5.** The phrase 'to have to do with' is still good idiomatic Eng., but notice the Greek Mt 8[29] 'what have we to do with thee?' (τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί; lit. 'what to us and to thee?' as Wyc. has it, after Vulg. *quid nobis et tibi?* the idiom of AV being Tindale's); He 4[13] 'all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do' (πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, lit. as Wyc. 'to whom a word to us,' Vulg. *ad quem nobis sermo*, Tind. 'of whom we speake,' Gen. 1557 'with whome we have to do'). **6.** As an auxiliary, 'do' is noted by the grammarians as (1) the vicegerent for any antecedent verb, Ac 7[28] 'Wilt thou kill me, as thou diddest the Egyptian yesterday?' (in Gr. the vb. is repeated, ἀνελεῖν . . . ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες, hence RV 'as thou killedst'); (2) to express the tense, now used in negative sentences, as 'I do not know' and interrog. 'do you know?' but formerly in affirm. also, as Gn 22[1] 'God did tempt Abraham.' This is a peculiarly Eng. idiom; but closely akin to it is another, which is older, and is common to French, but now quite obsolete. As Fr. has *faire savoir* 'cause to know,' so Eng. had 'I do you to know' with the same meaning. Thus North, *Plutarch*, p. 561: 'I do thee to understand that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge than in greatness of power'; Chaucer, *Troilus*, ii. 1022—

'And we shal speke of thee somwhat, I trowe,
When thou art goon, to do thine eres glowe!'

In Malory's *King Arthur* we read: 'And so they looked upon him and felt his pulse, to wit (*i.e.* to know) whether there were any life in him. In the name of God, said an old man. For I do you verily to wit he is not dead.' That is, 'I cause you to know,' mod. Eng. 'I would have you know.' This phrase is found in AV, 2 Co 8[1] 'we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia' (γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, RV 'we make known to you,' which was Wyclif's tr.; 'do you to wit' came from Tindale; Rheims has 'we doe you to understand'). The Eng. auxiliary and this form are sometimes found together; an interesting example being in Caxton's *Game of the Chesse* (1474), Pref.: 'I delybered in myself to translate it in to our maternal tonge. And whan I so had achyeued [achieved] the sayd translacion, I dyde doo set in enprynte [I caused to be printed] a certyn nombre of theym, Which anone were depesshed and solde.' **7.** Lastly, notice the phrase 'do away,' Nu 27[4] 'Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family, because he hath no son?' (יִגָּרַע, RV 'be taken away'); 1 Ch 21[8] 'I beseech thee, do away the iniquity of thy servant' (הַעֲבֵר־נָא, RV 'put away'); 1 Co 13[10], 2 Co 3[7. 11. 14] (all καταργέω='render inoperative,' a peculiarly Pauline word; St. Paul uses it 25 times, elsewhere in NT Lk 13[7], He 2[14] only; RV in 2 Co 3[7. 11] 'pass away'). Cf. Wyclif's tr. of He 10[9] 'he doith awei thi first, that he make stidfast the secunde,' and of 12[1] 'do we aweie al charge and synne.'

J. HASTINGS.

DOCTOR, DOCTRINE.—Doctor is used in the old Eng. sense of 'teacher' in Lk 2[46] (διδάσκαλος); and 'doctor of the law' for 'teacher of the law' in Lk 5[17], Ac 5[34] (νομοδιδάσκαλος). Cf. *Melvill's Diary* (Wodrow, p. 95), 'to the Doctor is giffen the word of knawlage, to open upe, be simple doctrine, the mysteries of fathe.' So Bacon (*Essays*, p. 9) calls St. Paul 'the Doctor of the Gentiles,' and Latimer (*Works*, i. 430) calls the devil 'that old Doctor,' and this is the use in Pope's lines—

'Who shall decide, when doctors disagree,
And soundest casuists doubt, like you and me?'
Ep. to Ld. Bathurst, i. 1.

See under SCRIBE. **Doctrine** (see next art.) is similarly used for 'teaching' in Dt 32[2], Job 11[4], Pr 4[2], Is 29[24] (all לֶקַח, lit. 'something received,' elsewhere only Pr 1[5] 4[2] 9[9] 16[21. 23]); Is 28[9] (שְׁמוּעָה, lit. 'something heard,' RV 'message,' RVm 'report'); Jer 10[8] (מוּסַר, really 'discipline,' RV 'instruction'); 1 Es 5[40] (δήλωσις), Sir 16[25] 24[27. 32] (παιδεία), 24[33] (διδασκαλία); and freq. in NT for Gr. διδασκαλία. Still more freq. for 'the process of teaching,' 'instruction' (διδαχή), as Ac 2[42] 'they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship.' Cf. Chaucer, *Non. Preest. Tale*, 622—

'For seint Paul seith, that al that writen is,
To our doctryne it is y-write, y-wis.'

J. HASTINGS.

DOCTRINE, etymologically regarded, signifies the work of a *doctor* or teacher, from *doceo*, to teach; hence it denotes sometimes the act of teaching, sometimes the substance or matter of that which is taught. It may also be theoretical or practical, refer, that is, to either truth or duty—that which is to be believed, or that which is to be done.

On the theoretical side, doctrine may be compared with, and distinguished from, dogma or tenet. Dogma and doctrine, especially in the plural, are often identified, but the latter is really a wider conception than the former. It differs from it in two respects—a doctrine is less formal, less of a scientific construction than a dogma, and there is implied in the latter a reference to some religious community on whose authority it is maintained. By some the distinction is thus stated: 'Doctrine summarizes the statements of Scripture on a particular point, adding and diminishing nothing; dogma formulates the principles and relations involved in the doctrine, and the infer-

* Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* II. ii. 5: 'Go bid the priests do present sacrifice.'

ences following from it. Every dogma, therefore, is of the nature of a theory, giving the *rationale* of the facts.' The word dogma does not occur in EV nor in the original, except in the sense of a 'decree' or 'ordinance' (Lk 2^{1}, Ac 16^{4} 17^{7}, Eph 2^{15}, Col 2^{14}, He 11^{23} [Lachm. *δόγμα*, but TR and WH *διάταγμα*]). The modern meaning of the word is foreign to the sacred book. On its practical side, doctrine is almost synonymous with *precept* or *principle*.

In OT, doctrine occurs chiefly as tr. of לֶקַח (mostly in Wisdom literature) 'that which is received' (Dt 32^{2}, Job 11^{4}, Pr 4^{2}, Is 29^{24}); it appears once only in each case as tr^{n} of מוּסָר 'discipline' (Jer 10^{8}), and שְׁמוּעָה 'that which is heard' (Is 28^{9}, RV 'message'). In Apocr. there are several occurrences of the word. It appears in Sir as tr. of *παιδεία*, as when 16^{25} the writer says: 'I will show forth doctrine in weight' (RV 'instruction by weight'), that is, as made apparent by the parallel clause, 'with exactness.' In 1 Es 5^{40} 'doctrine and truth' appear for the Gr. *δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια*, which in their turn represent the אוּרִים וְתֻמִּים, Urim and Thummim — 'Lights and Perfections (?)' of the parallel passage Neh 7^{65}. In NT, with one exception (He 6^{1}, where for AV 'the principles of the doctrine of Christ' RV reads 'the first principles of Christ'), doctrine is employed to represent either *διδαχή* or *διδασκαλία*, both of which words are used in active and passive sense, the active being predominant in the case of *διδασκαλία*, the passive in that of *διδαχή*. 'The latter emphasizes the authority, the former the act' (Cremer; but see Hort, *Chr. Ecclesia*, 191). Both words are employed in an absolute way for 'the teaching' (*διδαχή* in Tit 1^{9}, 2 Jn ^{9} RV; *διδασκαλία* in 1 Ti 4^{16} 6^{1}, Tit 2^{7}). It is worth noting that out of 21 occurrences of *διδασκαλία* in NT, no fewer than 15 are in the Pastoral Epistles. RV has almost uniformly substituted 'teaching' for doctrine as tr. of *διδαχή*, but has only occasionally made the same substitution in the case of *διδασκαλία*. In only one instance has it introduced the word doctrine when it does not appear in AV, viz. in 1 Ti 6^{3} where it reads 'If any man teacheth a different doctrine,' for AV 'If any man teach otherwise.'

The intimate relation between doctrine and practice, between right thoughts and right action, is fully and constantly recognized in Scripture. The warnings against false doctrine and its evil effects are numerous (1 Ti 1^{10} 4^{1}, Tit 2^{1}, He 13^{9}, 2 Jn ^{9} etc.). Christ's hearers were astonished at His doctrine (Mk 1^{22}) not less than at His wonderful works; while, on the other hand, He Himself indicated that His doctrine is only to be truly known through obedience (Jn 7^{17}). The forms of teaching characteristic of the Bible as a whole, as well as of its individual writers, will fall to be considered in the article THEOLOGY.

A. STEWART.

DODAI.—See DODO.

DODANIM (דֹּדָנִים, LXX Ῥόδιοι, Gn 10^{4}).—Fourth son of Javan (Ionians, Greeks), and therefore undoubtedly intended to designate a Gr. tribe or colony. There can be no connexion, beyond an accidental similarity in sound, with the inland town of Dodona in Epirus. Nor can it mean Dardanians, as Delitzsch still maintains, for the Trojan province of Dardania was never of such consequence as to give its name to a leading family in the genealogy of mankind. Dillmann and others are inclined to accept the reading of the LXX (which is also that of the Samaritan translation of the Pent. and of Jerome, as well as the MT of 1 Ch 1^{7}), and identify the Dodanim with the Rhodians or the inhabitants of the islands of the Ægean Sea. If Elishah be Southern Italy and Sicily, the two pairs of sons of Javan will be named from east to west: Elishah and Tarshish; Kittim (Cyprus) and Dodanim (Rhodes). The inhabitants of Rhodes from B.C. 800 onward were Ionian Greeks, sons of Javan, who took the place of the earlier Phœnician population. The Rhodians are certainly in their proper place alongside of the Kittim. They were known even to Homer, and were visited from a very early period by all the trading peoples of the Mediterranean coasts. Bochart's idea that they might be identified with the Gr. colonists on the banks of the Rhone (Rhodanus) has not commended itself to anyone.

LITERATURE.—Baudissin in Herzog^{2}, iii. 634, under 'Dodanim,' treats ably of the four sons of Javan. See also Winer, Schenkel, Riehm; and Bertheau on 1 Ch 17 in his Commentary.

J. MACPHERSON.

DODAVAHU (דּוֹדָוָהוּ 'beloved of J",' AV **Dodavah**).—Father of Eliezer of Mareshah, the prophet who censured Jehoshaphat for entering into alliance with Ahaziah (2 Ch 20^{37}). Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 62, 232) contends that the correct Heb. text is דּוֹדָיָהוּ. So also Kittel in *SBOT* (cf. Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 70). J. A. SELBIE.

DODO (so the Kerê דּוֹדוֹ, Kethibh **Dodai** (דּוֹדָי), or possibly **Dodi** (דּוֹדִי); LXX combines the two, translating, *υἱὸς πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Σουσεί*).—**1.** The father of Eleazar, the second of the three captains who were over 'the thirty' (2 S 23^{9}). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{12}) the name is given as Dodo (דּוֹדוֹ, LXX Δωδαί), and also 'the Ahohite' for the erroneous 'son of Ahohi.' In the third list (1 Ch 27^{4}) Dodai (דּוֹדִי, LXX Δωδειά) is described as general of the second division of the army, but the words 'Eleazar the son of' appear to have been accidentally omitted. Bertheau considers that Dodai is the more correct form, and appeals to the LXX and Jos. (Δωδείου); he accordingly restores this form in 2 S 23^{9} and 1 Ch 11^{12}.

The traditional spelling (Dodo), however, is most probably right: the name Dudu has been found on the Tel el-Amarna tablets, apparently as that of an Amorite official at the Egyp. court. In the Inscription of Mesha (l. 12) we also find דורה (probably דוֹדָה=Dodo); it appears to be the name of some deity. **2.** A Bethlehemite, father of Elhanan, one of 'the thirty' (2 S 23^{24}, 1 Ch 11^{26} דּוֹדוֹ). **3.** A man of Issachar, the forefather of Tola the judge (Jg 10^{1}). LXX and Vulg. tr. *πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ*; *patrui Abimelech*. J. F. STENNING.

DOE.—RV (Pr 5^{19}), AV 'roe,' is in Heb. יַעֲלָה *ya'ălâh*, the *female ibex*. See GOAT, under יָעֵל.

DOEG (דּוֹאֵג, דֹּאֵג*).—An Edomite, and chief of the herdmen [or better, 'runners,' reading with Grätz הָרָצִים for הָרֹעִים] of king Saul. When David fled to Nob, to Ahimelech (or Ahijah) the priest, D. was there 'detained before the Lord.' Having witnessed the aid given to the fugitive, he reported what he had seen to the king, who summoned Ahimelech before him, and accused him of treason. Regardless of his protestations of innocence, Saul ordered him to be slain. The king's guard shrank from laying hands upon the sacred person of a priest, and the order was then given to D., who not only slew all the priests, but perpetrated a general massacre of all the inhabitants of Nob, destroying even the cattle (1 S 21^{7} $22^{9\text{-}19}$). D. is mentioned in the title of Ps 52. R. M. BOYD.

DOG (כֶּלֶב *keleb*, *κυών*, *κυνάριον*, *canis*).—The dog is mentioned in many places in the Bible, and (with the somewhat uncertain exception of the *greyhound*, Pr 30^{31}, where the Heb. signifies *slender in the loins*, and is rendered in the marg. *horse*, RVm *war-horse*) always with contempt. The dog

* On this form see Driver on 1 S 22^{18}.

referred to is doubtless the pariah animal so common in the streets of all villages and cities in Bible lands. The original of this degenerate race of dogs is probably the shepherd dog (Job 30[1]), which differs from the town animal chiefly in his long fur and bushy tail, and his far greater strength, courage, and ferocity. All of these qualities are the natural result of the hardships of his life. Compelled to go long distances, to guard the flocks from the wolves and other savage beasts, to face the cold winds of winter, and its pelting rains or sleet or snow, he needs all the endowments which he possesses over those of his idle, cowardly relative, who spends most of the time, when not in search of his carrion food, in sleeping under the shelter of walls or vaulted passages, or sprawling in the soft mud or dust of the streets.

The street dog is 2 to 3 ft. long, exclusive of his tail, and from 18 inches to 2 ft. high, usually tawny in colour, but often cream-coloured, white, or black, with short, stiff fur, small eyes, and usually with little or no bushiness to the tail. These dogs usually occupy defined quarters of the towns, and any dog intruding into a quarter not his own is certain to be set upon and very severely bitten. They act as public scavengers (1 K 14[11] 16[4] 21[19. 23] 22[38], 2 K 9[10. 36], Jer 15[3]). They wander from place to place, especially in the neighbourhood of the city walls, and make the night hideous with their barking (Ps 59[6. 14]). They not infrequently attack passers in lonely places, especially in the neighbourhood of Arab encampments. Violent men are compared to them (Ps 22[16. 20]). They are used to watch houses and tents (Is 56[10]). The name dog is a term of reproach (1 S 24[14], 2 S 3[8] 9[8] 16[9], 2 K 8[13], Is 66[3], Ph 3[2], Rev 22[15]). 'The price of a dog' (Dt 23[18]) probably refers to the practices of the male *kĕdēshîm* (see Driver *ad loc.* and Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 114). In a word, the Eastern street dog is a type of all that is cowardly, lazy, filthy, treacherous, and contemptible. They seem to have been omnipresent in the time of Christ (Mt 15[26], Mk 7[27], Lk 16[21]), as the former citations prove them to have been in more ancient times.

With the doubtful exception before given (Pr 30[31]), there is no allusion to hunting dogs in Scripture. As the friend of man, endowed with noble intelligence, the dog had no place in Heb. life.

G. E. Post.

DOGMA, properly an opinion or judgment; then, as a decision of one in authority, a decree—of rulers (Lk 2[1], Ac 17[7], He 11[23]), of Moses (Eph 2[15], Col 2[14]), of apostles (Ac 16[4]). The same word in its verbal form is used of the decisions of the elders (Ac 15[22. 25. 28]). Hatch (*Hib. Lect.* 1888, pp. 119–120) has very well shown how, from this original meaning of 'personal opinion,' the word came to signify 'decrees' in the case of rulers, and 'doctrines' in the case of teachers. By far the most important NT use of the term is in Eph and Col. All the early Gr. commentators understand by 'dogmas' in both passages the doctrines or precepts of the gospel. Lightfoot correctly insists upon rendering the word, as in all other NT passages, *decree, ordinance*; in Eph it is restricted to *Mosaic* ordinances, but in Col it is applied more generally to all decrees in which moral principles and religious precepts are set forth. The restriction in the one case, however, is not in the word, but only in the context. In Eph the δόγματα as 'authoritative decrees' are distinguished from ἐντολαί as separate precepts, by both of which terms the Mosaic law is characterized from different points of view. By styling these precepts 'dogmas' the apostle emphasizes the point that they were imposed by external authority. This is in keeping with the ecclesiastical use of the word to indicate doctrines which are enunciated authoritatively by the Church. See Doctrine.

J. Macpherson.

DOK (Δώκ).—A fortress near Jericho, where Simon the Maccabee, along with two of his sons, was murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy, 1 Mac 16[15]. The name survives in the modern *'Ain Dûk*, 4 miles N.W. of Jericho (Robinson, *BRP* ii. 309; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xv. i. 460; *SWP* iii. 173, 191, 209). In Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. viii. 1; *Wars*, i. ii. 3) it appears as Dagon (cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 250).

J. A. Selbie.

DOLEFUL.—Is 13[21] 'their houses shall be full of doleful creatures' (Heb. אֹחִים *'ŏḥîm*); and Mic 2[4] 'and lament with a doleful lamentation' (נָהֹה נָהִינוּ, נָהֹה נָהִינוּ, AVm 'lament with a lamentation of lamentations,' RVm 'lament with the lamentation, It is done,' after Ewald, Cheyne, and others, taking the last word as Niph. of הָוָה, instead of a subst. from נָהָה to wail). There is a general agreement that the *'ŏḥîm* of Is 13[21] are jackals, as there is the Assyr. *aḫû* used in the bilingual texts for Bab. *likbarra*, lit. 'evil-dog.' The older Eng. VSS mostly give 'great owls,' the Geneva keeping the Heb. Ohim, with a note suggesting the possibility that they and the Ziim (AV 'wild beasts') are 'wicked spirits whereby Satan deluded man, as by the fairies, gobblins, and suche like fantasies,' which probably suggested the 'doleful creatures' of AV (cf. Wyc., Douay, 'dragons'). The Heb. is probably onomatopoetic, from [אוה] to howl; but 'doleful' is mournful (fr. Lat. *dolere*), as in Shaks. *Pass. Pil.* xxi.—

> 'She, poor bird, as all forlorn,
> Lean'd her breast up till a thorn,
> And there sang the dolefull'st ditty.'

Shaks. uses 'dole' in the same sense, as *Hamlet*, i. ii. 13—

> 'In equal scale weighing delight and dole.'

J. Hastings.

DOLPHIN.—See Badger.

DOMINION, used in the ordinary sense, is the tr. of various words in OT and NT, and only noteworthy as the rendering of κυριότης in Eph 1[21], Col 1[16] (pl.), and, perhaps, 2 P 2[10] and Jude [8] (sing.). Associated as it is in Col 1[16] with ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι, and in Eph 1[21] with these and δύναμις (all sing.),—words used elsewhere (*e.g.* Eph 6[12], Col 2[15], Ro 8[38], 1 Co 15[24]) primarily, at any rate, of the angelic powers, good or bad or both,—it stands, without doubt, in Eph (ascensively) and Col (descensively) for a grade in the angelic hierarchy; probably, along with θρόνοι (Col), the highest grade (as Lightfoot concludes from the earliest lists; see his note on Col 1[16]), being at the same time second in that grade, while ἀρχαί and ἐξουσίαι belong to the next grade below; just as *kingship*, suggested in θρόνος, is naturally superior to *lordship* (κυριότης), (compare the θεοί and κύριοι of 1 Co 8[5]), and both are superior to the ordinary *rule* and *authority*. Θρόνος, κυριότης, ἀρχή, ἐξουσία, and δύναμις, or their linguistic equivalents, are found among the orders of angels in Jewish or Jewish-Chr. books ranging over the NT period or its immediate neighbourhood. Thus in *Jubilees*, § 15: 'Over all [the Gentile nations] hath [God] set spirits as *lords*' (cf. Sir 17[17]); in *Test. XII. Patr. Levi* 3, 'In the heaven next to God are thrones (θρόνοι), powers (ἐξουσίαι),' angels being, in the same passage, assigned to each of the first six out of the seven heavens, in descending order; in Enoch 6[10], 'The host of the heavens and all the holy ones above, and the host of God . . . all the angels of *power*, and all the angels of *principalities*,' etc. Christian Fathers, such as Origen, Ephrem Syrus, Pseudo-Dionysius, accept similar though varying gradations (see Lightfoot, Col 1[16]). The

belief in such gradations may be traced to the OT, with its Elohim and sons of Elohim (Pss 58 and 82), the mighty beings of the same class as God, yet ruled by Him (Ps 103[19f.]), His host, led by His captain (Jos 5[13-15] *ἀρχιστράτηγος δυνάμεως κυρίου*, cf. *ἀρχάγγελος*, 1 Th 4[16]). Being originally, in all probability, the nature-spirits of Semitic heathenism, they were physical rather than ethical (Gn 6[1-3]), and are sometimes connected or identified with the stars of heaven (Job 38[7], Is 45[12]; cf. Enoch 18[13-16], and see article ELEMENT). As the knowledge of God advanced, these 'gods' ceased to have any religious importance, and receded more and more into the position of comparative nonentities (Ps 89[6]), but were still regarded as superintending the nations under Him (Dn 10[13], Is 24[21]), though in some special sense God reserved Israel for Himself (Dt 32[8f.] LXX), making Michael, the chief archangel (Dn 12[1]), their prince. Being thus distinguished from God, and not irrevocably bound by the moral law, they could come into opposition to Him, not merely relative but but actual, either by blameworthy conduct of the charges committed to them (Is 24[21], Job 4[18], cf. Enoch 18[13-16]; also the 'angels' in Rev 2, 3), or by diametrical contravention of God's purposes (Dn 10[13], 2 Co 4[4], Eph 6[11-16]; and see ANGEL, DEMON, and SATAN).

The interpretation of *κυριότης* in Jude [8] and its parallel 2 P 2[10] is perplexing, and is much disputed. A reference to angelic powers—unseen dignities worthy of reverence (cf. 1 Co 11[10])—is supported by the contiguous *δόξαι* ('beings in light like God'), and by the example of the sin of the Sodomites (Gn 19); while a reference to the lordship of Christ or God is suggested by Jude [4], and 2 P 2[6] (angels that sinned, *i.e.* against God). See Spitta on the two passages, and Harnack, *Texte*, ii. 14.

LITERATURE.—Schultz, *Old Test. Theology* (Eng. tr.), i. 215 ff.; Everling, *Die Paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, pp. 38, 122 ff.; Lightfoot, *Colossians*. J. MASSIE.

DOOM.—In AV, 2 Es 7[43] only, 'the day of doom shall be the end of this time' (*dies judicii*, RV 'the day of judgment'); to which RV adds Ezk 7[7] 'Thy doom is come unto thee, O inhabitant of the land,' v.[10] 'thy doom is gone forth' (הַצָּפִירָה, AV 'the morning,' RVm 'the turn' or 'the crowning time'—see Davidson), and the vb. 1 Co 4[9] 'God hath set forth us the apostles last of all, as men doomed to death' (*ὡς ἐπιθανατίους*), AV 1611 'approved to death,' mod. editions 'appointed,' of which Scrivener (*Camb. Parag. Bible*, p. xcvii) says: 'A deliberate but needless correction [in 1616] derived from Tind., Cov., the Great and the Bishops' Bibles. The Gen. (1557) has "destinate to death."'

For 'doom' in the sense of 'judgment,' cf. Wyclif's tr. of Ps 9[8] 'He made redi his trone in dome,' and of Rev 19[2] 'trewe and iust ben the domes of hym.' Shaks. (*Macbeth*, II. iii. 59) speaks of 'the great doom,' *i.e.* the day of judgment; and in *Jul. Cæs.* III. i. 98—

> 'Men, wives, and children stare, cry out, and run
> As it were doomsday.'

The word is connected with 'deem' to judge, whence the 'Deemsters' of Isle of Man and Jersey, and philologically with Gr. *θέμις* law, fr. *τίθημι* place, whence 'something laid down, 'a decision.' See Craik's *Eng. of Shaks.* p. 226; Verity, *Shaks. Jul. Cæs.* p. 158 f.; and art. DEEM. J. HASTINGS.

DOOR, DOORKEEPER, DOORPOST.—See HOUSE.

DOPHKAH (דָּפְקָה).—A station in the itinerary of the children of Israel (Nu 33[12f.]). This station and the next one, **Alush**, which lie between the 'encampment by the sea' and Rephidim, have not been identified, and they are not alluded to in Exodus. As, however, the itinerary in Nu has every appearance of being taken from a regular pilgrim book, we should say that, on the hypothesis that Mount Sinai and Rephidim [=Feiran] have been correctly located, the position of Dophkah cannot be far from the entrance to the Wady Maghara; this wady contains the oldest Egyptian mines, and as the blue-stone which the Egyptians quarried is known by the name of Mafkat, and gave its name to the district of Mafkat, it is a tempting suggestion to identify Dophkah as an erroneous transcription of Mafkah. Alush would then lie half-way between this and Feiran; it does not appear that any more exact location can be suggested. The identification suggested for Dophkah was made, in the first instance, by Ebers; I arrived at it independently.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

DOR (דּוֹר, דֹּאר), Jos 11[2] 12[23] 17[11], Jg 1[27], 1 K 4[11], 1 Ch 7[29].—A Can. city in Galilee, in the 'uplands' (נפת, RVm Naphath-[or Naphoth-]dor) towards the W. Its king is noticed between Jokneam and Gilgal of the Goiim—which was in Sharon. It seems to have been in Issachar or in Asher, and is noticed as attacked by Manasseh with Taanach. The 'uplands' of Dor formed that part of Solomon's kingdom, which seems to correspond with Zebulun, the next province to Issachar; but, according to the last cited passage, Dor belonged to Manasseh, though noticed with towns of Issachar. These indications do not suffice to fix the site. Jos. makes it a seaside town (*Ant.* v. i. 22, VIII. ii. 3) near Carmel (*Contra Apion.*, ii. 10). It was at Dor that Tryphon (*c.* B.C. 139) was besieged by Antiochus Sidetes, 1 Mac 15[11ff.]. In the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onomasticon*, *s.v.* Dornapheth) it is identified with *Tantûrah* on the sea-coast, 9 Roman miles from Cæsarea Palestina on the way to Tyre; but the names have no connexion, and the site is not on the uplands. The low hills S. of Carmel may be intended, but the name has not been recovered.

C. R. CONDER.

DORCAS.—'Tabītha, which is by interpretation called Dorcas' (Ac 9[36]); טְבִיתָא is Aram. for Heb. צְבִי, by regular interchange of ת for צ (see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*[3], p. 225 f.). When occurring as the name of an animal, it is tr[d] in AV 'roebuck' or 'roe,' in RV 'gazelle.' *Δορκάς* is the Gr. equivalent, used in LXX. Both the Aramaic and the Greek were, also, not uncommon names for women: the former denoting 'beauty,' the latter the animal's gaze (fr. *δέρκομαι*). For instances see Wetstein's Comm. on Ac 9[36]; Jos. *BJ* IV. iii. 5 may be mentioned as one.

The raising of Dorcas of Joppa is the second of three narratives (Ac 9[32-35. 36-43] 10–11[18]) connected with St. Peter's visit to the towns of the Maritime Plain on the W. coast of Pal., whither he came in the course of a journey undertaken by him after the Church at Jerus. was scattered through 'the persecution which arose about Stephen.' The first of these narratives, like the second, relates a miracle; they are told to illustrate the supernatural powers granted to St. Peter, whose miracles in Jerus. have already been described Ac 3[1-11] 5[1-11. 15]. The Churches in Lydda and Joppa were not founded by St. Peter (Ac 9[32. 38]), but on this occasion his presence and his miracles served to strengthen and extend them. He does not seem to have visited Joppa till the Church there, in its distress on account of Dorcas' death, sent to fetch him from Lydda (9[38]).

Dorcas was a 'disciple' (*μαθήτρια*, this fem. form occurs in NT only here). She must have been a person of some worldly substance so as to have had leisure for the 'good works' and means for the 'alms-deeds' of which she was 'full.' The former term is more comprehensive than the latter. Nevertheless, by it also in all probability, according to Jewish associations, works of charity are more especially denoted (cf. the Talm. expression מובים מעשים, and see on it Weber, *Theol. d. Synagoge*, § 61; see also *τὰ ἀγαθά μου* at Sir 20[16], and cf. *ib.* 18[15] and To 12[13]). Dorcas' labours for the good of others were instances. We may note that they were the

more creditable in one who was able to give alms, and might have contented herself with doing this. The garments which the widows showed to St. Peter may most naturally be supposed to be those which she had previously given to them. The widows are thus seen here, as in 6[1], to form a recognized class, dependent upon bounty. The account of the actual raising of Dorcas (vv.[40. 41]) bears a close resemblance to that of the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mt 9[25], Mk 5[40. 41], Lk 8[54]).

V. H. STANTON.

DORYMENES (Δορυμένης), the father of Ptolemy Macron, who was a trusted friend of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 4[45]), and was chosen by Lysias to command the Syrian army in Pal. in conjunction with Nicanor and Gorgias (1 Mac 3[38]). Ptolemy had formerly been in the service of the Egyp. king Ptolemy VI. Philometor (2 Mac 10[13]); and his father, Dorymenes, may perhaps be identified with the Ætolian Dorymenes who fought for Ptolemy IV. against Antiochus the Great (Polybius, v. 61). H. A. WHITE.

DOSITHEUS (Δοσίθεος). — **1.** The priest who, according to a note in one of the Greek recensions of Esther, brought the book to Alexandria in the 4th year of Ptolemy Philometor (?) and Cleopatra, *c.* B.C. 178 (Ad. Est 11[1]). **2.** A soldier of Judas Maccabæus, who (2 Mac 12[35]) laid hold, in the heat of battle, of Gorgias the general of the enemy, and sought to take him alive. The attempt was frustrated by a Thracian horseman, who cut off the arm of Dositheus. **3.** A renegade Jew who frustrated the plot of Theodotus to assassinate king Ptolemy Philopator (3 Mac 1[3]). **4.** An officer of Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 12[19. 24]). J. A. SELBIE.

DOTÆA (Δωταία).—Another form of DOTHAN (which see). AV has incorrectly Judæa.

DOTE.—The orig. meaning of to 'dote' is to be foolish (cf. 'dotage,' and Scotch 'doited'), as in Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, 261—

> 'Wel wot I ther-by thou beginnest dote
> As olde foles, whan hir spirit fayleth';

and *Piers Plowman*, i. 138—

> 'Thow doted daffe, quod she, dull arne thi wittes.'

In this sense occurs 'dote' in Jer 50[36] 'A sword is upon the liars, and they shall dote' (Cov. 'they shall become fooles,' Heb. נֹאֲלוּ, the vb. [יאל] is only found in Niph., and always = be foolish, or act foolishly, whether innocently as Jer 5[4], or not as Is 19[13]); Sir 25[2] 'an old adulterer that doteth' (*ἐλαττούμενον συνέσει*, RV 'lacking understanding'); and 1 Ti 6[4] 'doting about questions and strifes of words' (AVm 'a fool,' RVm 'sick,' Gr. *νοσῶν*, only here in NT, and *νόσημα* only Jn 5[4] TR; but the sense is clearly 'unsound,' 'mad,' a common meaning of the word; Tind. tr. freely 'wasteth his braynes'; 'doteth' is the Geneva word of 1560). Elsewhere 'dote' occurs only in the sense of 'be (foolishly) fond,' Ezk 23[5. 7. 9. 12. 16. 20] (עָגַב). J. HASTINGS.

DOTHAN (דֹּתָן and דֹּתַן, Δωθάειμ), Gn 37[17] (**Dothaim**, in Jth 4[6] etc.), now Tell Dothân, was an ancient town situated 10 miles N. of Samaria. Thither Joseph followed his brethren from Shechem (Gn 37[15]). The pasturage about it is still the best and freshest in a time of drought (Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 466). The site of Dothan, known in earlier times by Eusebius, who placed it 12 miles N. of Samaria, had for some centuries been lost till recovered by Van de Velde (vol. i. p. 364 ff.). It lay on an ancient (Jewish?) road, of which Van de Velde found the remains, crossing from the plain of Esdraelon into the plain of Sharon, and must have always been an important military post. It stood on the top of a mound, as the language of 2 K 6[14-17] would suggest. There are still two large ancient cisterns, into one of which possibly Joseph was cast. There are two wells, as the name implies, but only one of them seems ancient. It bursts from the foot of the hill (*Sur. Mem.* ii. 169, 215). Most probably, Joseph's brethren were gathered watering their flocks when he approached. Dothan was the residence of Elisha when the incident of 2 K 6[12ff.] occurred. It is several times mentioned in the account of the siege of Bethulia (Jth 4[6] 7[3. 18] 8[3]).

A. HENDERSON.

DOUBT.—See next article. The middle Eng. *douten* most freq. meant to *fear*, after *dubitare* in late Lat. And this meaning is still very common for 'doubt' in Shaks., as *Macbeth*, IV. ii. 66—

> 'I doubt some danger does approach you nearly.'

In AV this meaning is evident in Sir 9[13] 'Keep thee far from the man that hath power to kill; so shalt thou not doubt the fear of death' (*οὐ μὴ ὑποπτεύσῃς φόβον θανάτου*, RV 'thou shalt have no suspicion of the fear of death'). But in NT also it is often more than 'hesitate' or 'mistrust,' esp. where the Gr. is *ἀπορέομαι*, 'to be at a loss' (Jn 13[22], Ac 25[20], Gal 4[20]), or the stronger *διαπορέω*, 'to be utterly at a loss' (Ac 2[12] 5[24] 10[17]). In like manner **doubtful** means 'perplexing' or 'perplexed,' Sir 18[7] (*ἀπορέομαι*, RV 'in perplexity'); Lk 12[29] 'neither be ye of doubtful mind' (*μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε*, a word of disputed meaning here, see Plummer, *ad loc.*); Ro 14[1] 'd. disputations' (see under DISPUTE).

J. HASTINGS.

DOUBT.—The Heb. of OT seems to lack an exact equivalent to our term 'doubt,' when used in a religious reference. Some have, indeed, understood 'doubters,' 'sceptics' to be meant when the Psalmist, who loves God's law and hopes in His word and delights in keeping His commandments, declares that he 'hates them that are of a double mind' (Ps 119[113] סֵעֲפִים). Apparently, however, it is rather hypocrites, what we should call 'double-faced men,' who are meant; and it seems to be hypocrisy, rather than doubt, which is in mind also in 1 K 18[21], where the kindred term סְעִפִּים occurs, and in 1 Ch 12[33], Ps 12[2], where the similar phrase 'double heart' (לֵב וָלֵב) appears, as well as in Hos 10[2], where the comm. differ as to whether the words חָלַק לִבָּם are to be tr[d] 'their heart is divided,' or, perhaps better, 'their heart is smooth,' *i.e.* deceitful.

In NT, on the other hand, we meet with a series of terms which run through the shades of meaning expressed by our words, perplexity, suspense, distraction, hesitation, questioning, scepticism, shading down into unbelief.

Perplexity is expressed by the verb *ἀπορέω* (Mk 6[20], Lk 24[4], Jn 13[22], Ac 25[20], 2 Co 4[8], Gal 4[20]), with its strengthened compound, *διαπορέω* (Lk 9[7], Ac 2[12] 5[24] 10[17]), expressing thorough perplexity, when one is utterly at a loss, and the still stronger compound *ἐξαπορέω* (2 Co 1[8] 4[8]), in which perplexity has passed into despair. This perplexity is never assigned in NT to the sphere of religion. Even in such instances as Lk 24[4], where we are told that the women, finding the Lord's tomb empty, 'were perplexed thereabout;' Mk 6[20], Lk 9[6], where Herod's perplexity over John's preaching and the subsequent preaching of Jesus and His followers is spoken of; and Ac 2[12], where the extreme perplexity of those who witnessed the wonders of the Day of Pentecost is adverted to, it is not a state of religious doubt but of pure mental bewilderment which is described. The women merely had no explanation of the empty tomb ready, they were at a loss how to account for it; Herod simply found John's preaching and the reports concerning the preach-

ing and work of Jesus and His disciples inexplicable, he had no theory ready for their explanation; the marvels of Pentecost, before Peter's explanation of them, were wholly without meaning to their witnesses; and, similarly, in Ac 10^{17}, Peter was just at a complete loss to understand what the vision he had received could mean, and required a revelation to make it significant to him. It was this state of mind, a state of what we may call objective suspense due to lack of light, which the Jews claimed for themselves when in Jn 10^{24} they demanded of Jesus: 'How long dost thou lift up our soul (*τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν αἴρεις*)? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly.' They would suggest that they were in a state of strained expectation regarding His claims, and that the lagging of their decision was due, not to subjective causes rooted in an evil heart of unbelief, but to a lack of bold frankness on His part. Jesus, in His reply, repels this insinuation and ascribes the fault to their own unbelief. They were not eager seekers after truth, held in suspense by His ambiguous speech; they were men in possession of full evidence, who would not follow it to a conclusion opposing their wishes; they were therefore not perplexed, but unbelieving.

For the doubt of the distracted mind the NT appears to have two expressions, *μετεωρίζεσθαι* (Lk 12^{29}) and *διστάζειν* (Mt 14^{31} 28^{17}). This state of mind is superinduced on faith, and is a witness to the faith which lies behind it; only those who have faith can waver or be distracted from it. But the faith to which it witnesses is equally necessarily an incomplete and imperfect faith; only an imperfect faith can waver or be distracted from its firm assurance. The exhortation, 'Be ye not of a wavering mind,' is appropriately given, therefore, in Lk 12^{29}, to those who are addressed as 'of little faith' (*ὀλιγόπιστοι*), of whom it is the specific characteristic. It is to trust in God's providential care without carking anxiety as to our food and drink and clothing that the Saviour is exhorting His hearers in this context—to fulness of faith, which, according to its definition in He 11^{1}, is absorbed in the unseen and future in contrast with the seen and present. Those who have full faith will have their whole life hid with God; and in proportion as care for earthly things enters, in that proportion do we fall away from the heights of faith and exhibit a wavering mind. It was a similar weakness which attacked Peter, when, walking, by virtue of faith, upon the water to come to Jesus, he saw the wind and was afraid (Mt 14^{31}); and, accordingly, our Saviour addressed him similarly, 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt (*ἐδίστασας*)?' Here, again, is real faith though weak, but a faith that is distracted by the entrance of fear. The same term, and surely with similar implications, is used again and on an even more interesting occasion. When the disciples of Jesus came to the mountain where He had appointed them and there saw their risen Lord, we are told (Mt 28^{17}), 'They worshipped: but some doubted (*ἐδίστασαν*).' It is this same doubt of imperfect and distracted faith, and not the sceptical doubt of unbelief, that is intended. All worshipped Him, though some not without that doubt of the distracted mind which is no more 'psychologically absurd' here than in Lk 12^{29} and Mt 14^{31}. Whence the distraction arose, whether possibly from joy itself, as in Lk 24^{41}, or from a less noble emotion, as possibly in Jn 20^{25}, we do not know. But the quality of doubt resulting from it, although manifesting the incompleteness of the disciples' faith, was not inconsistent with its reality; and the record of it is valuable to us as showing, along with such passages as Lk $24^{37.\ 41}$, Jn 20^{25}, that the apostles' testimony to the resurrection was that of convinced rather than of credulous witnesses.

A kindred product of weak faith, the doubt of questioning hesitation, is expressed in NT by the term *διαλογισμός* (Lk 24^{38}, Ro 14^{1}, Ph 2^{14}, 1 Ti 2^{8}). It is the Nemesis of weakness of faith that it is pursued by anxious questionings and mental doubts. Thus, when Christ appeared to His disciples in Jerus., 'they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had beheld a spirit' (Lk 24^{36}), provoking their Master's rebuke, 'Wherefore do questionings arise in your heart?' And in St. Paul's Epistles, the timid outlook of the weak in faith is recognized as their chief characteristic. This seems to be the meaning of Ro 14^{1}, where 'he that is weak in faith' is to be received into full Christian brotherhood, but not 'for the adjudication of questionings' (cf. the *κρινέτω* of v.^{3} and the *κρίνων* of v.^{4}): here is a man whose mind is crowded with scruples and doubts,—he is to be received, of course, but not as if his agitated conscience were to be law to the community; he is to be borne with, not to be obeyed. The same implication underlies Ph 2^{14}, where the contrast between 'murmurings and disputings' seems to be not so much between moral and intellectual rebellion, as between violent and timid obstacles in the Christian pathway,—a contrast which appears also in 1 Ti 2^{8}. It would seem that those who are troubled with questionings are everywhere recognized as men who possess faith, but who are deterred from a proper entrance into their privileges and a proper performance of their Christian duties by a settled habit of hesitant casuistry, which argues lack of robustness in their faith.

The NT term which expresses that deeper doubt which argues not merely the weakness but the lack of faith is the verb *διακρίνεσθαι* (Mt 21^{21}, Mk 11^{23}, Ro 4^{20} 14^{23}, Ja 1^{6bis}, Jude ^{22}). Wherever this critical attitude towards divine things is found, there faith is absent. The term may be used in contrast to that faith by which miracles are wrought, or in which God is approached in prayer (Mt 21^{21}, Mk 11^{23}, Ja 1^{6bis}); in either case it implies the absence of the faith in question and the consequent failure of the result,—he that 'doubteth' in this sense cannot expect to receive anything of the Lord. It may be used of a frame of mind in which one lives his life out in the Christian profession (Ro 14^{23}); in this case, the intrusion of this critical spirit vitiates the whole course of his activities,—because they are no longer of faith, and 'whatsoever is not of faith is sin.' Or it may be used as the extreme contrast to that fulness of faith which Abraham exhibited in his typical act of faith; and then it is represented as the outgrowth of unbelief (Ro 4^{20}). From the full description of its opposite here, and the equally full description of it itself in Ja $1^{6ff.}$ (see Mayor's note), we may attain a tolerably complete conception of its nature as the critical, self-debating habit of the typical sceptic, which casts him upon life like a derelict ship upon the sea, and makes him in all things 'double-minded' and 'unstable.' Such a habit of mind is the extreme contradiction of faith, and cannot coexist with it; and it is therefore treated everywhere with condemnation—unless Jude ^{22} be an exception, and there the reading is too uncertain to justify its citation as such. See further, FAITH.

B. B. WARFIELD.

DOVE (יוֹנָה *yônâh*, *περιστερά*, *columba*).—There are several species of wild doves in Bible lands, which all go by the name of *ḥamâm* in Arabic. (1) The ring dove or wood pigeon (*Columba Palumbus*, L.), which appears twice a year, at the spring and autumn migration, in all the wooded districts of

Palestine. It is taken by means of a decoy bird, tied to a perch, with its eyelids sewn up. A considerable number remain through the winter. (2) The stock dove (*Columba œnas*, L.), which is common in Gilead and Bashan, and in the Jordan Valley. (3) The rock dove (*Columba livia*, Bonnat), which is found along the coast, and in the highlands W. of the Jordan and in Lebanon. (4) The ash-rumped rock dove (*Columba Schimperi*, Bp.), which is found in the interior of Pal., and makes its nests in the caves and fissures of the chalk precipices. The name *ḥamâm* is associated with a number of wadis and other natural features of the country.

Tame doves are found in every city and village, often in immense numbers. They have been kept from most ancient times. The writer discovered in Wady Sîr, in Gilead, a rock-hewn dove-cot of large size. It is described and figured in *PEFSt*, Oct. 1886. It is a favourite amusement of boys and young men, especially in the interior cities, as Damascus, Ḥems, Ḥamath, etc., to spend the later afternoon hours in superintending the flight of pigeons. They train them to wheel about over the houses, making their own home a centre, and to come back and alight on their owner's hand, and, with a shrill whistle, to be tossed off into the air again for a short whirl. It is one of the earliest mentioned birds in the Bible (Gn $8^{8\text{-}12}$). It is a bird capable of distant flight (Ps 55^{6}). A domesticated variety has yellow plumage (Ps 68^{13}). The wild doves make their nests in the cliffs overhanging the wadis (Ca 2^{14}, Jer 48^{28}, Ezk 7^{16}). The mournful cooing of the dove is well known, and often alluded to in Scripture (Is 38^{14} 59^{11}, Nah 2^{7}). Its harmlessness is proverbial (Mt 10^{16}). Its foolishness is used to illustrate the stupidity of Ephraim (Hos 7^{11}). Its lovable qualities are also proverbial (Ca 1^{15} etc.). Young pigeons were used in sacrifice (Gn 15^{9}).

Dove's Dung accumulates in immense quantities around the dove-cots, and is an invaluable manure, especially for cantelopes. It is owing to the use of this fertilizer that the melons of Persia are so renowned for their excellence. The talus in front of the cliffs where wild doves nest in large numbers is covered with thick deposits of their excrement, which is almost as powerful a fertilizer as guano.*

G. E. Post.

* There seems to be no doubt of the etymological significance of the word חֲרִי־יוֹנִים *ḥărî yônîm* (2 K 6^{25}). *Ḥări* means literally *dung*. The Arab. preserves the word exactly, *ḥeri*, with the same signification. It is, however, now regarded as obscene, and constantly so used by low-lived people in the East. What was the substance which was sold at the rate of five pieces of silver the quarter cab, that is, 6s. 4d. the pint? Many efforts have been made to find some *plant* which might have been called by this name. Avicenna says (ii. 141) that the best quality of *ushnân*, a name for several species of *Salsolaceæ*, is called *ḥeri el-'aṣâfîr*, that is, *sparrow's dung*. There are numerous instances of a similar nomenclature. Nevertheless, no one has as yet found a plant that bears the name of *dove's dung*, or which can be identified with the material which was sold so dear; and nothing is gained for science by mere conjecture. It is better to accept the literal interpretation, and conclude that, in the last resort, the dove-cots were drawn upon to satisfy the cravings of starving men. The ordure and urine of almost all kinds of animals and birds, domestic and wild, were administered by the ancients as medicine—among them dove's dung. There are long unsavoury articles in the ancient medical treatises of Avicenna and others on their virtues. They were and are still used as collyria in the treatment of ophthalmia. Houghton cites a statement from a Spanish author, who says that in the year 1316 so great a famine distressed the English that 'men ate their own children, dogs, mice, and *pigeons' dung*.' With this statement compare Rabshakeh's threat (2 K 18^{27}, Is 36^{12}). It is well known that pigeons and other birds often pass seeds unchanged through their alimentary canal. When the Dutch tried to enhance the price of nutmegs in their E. Indian possessions by limiting the growth of the trees, the large wild pigeons of those regions thwarted their purpose by carrying the nutmegs in their crops, and depositing them in their excrement at points far removed from the Dutch possessions. The seeds took root, and produced nutmeg trees. Birds are a recognized factor in the propagation of plants in this manner. The flora of the coral islands is largely indebted to them for species thus introduced. The existence of such undigested seeds would account for the alimentary value (slight though it might be) of dove's dung. Furthermore, doves convey nourishment to their squabs by disgorging some of the partially digested food from their crops. Some of the grains would occasionally be spilled. In addition, the dung contains feathers, scales of epidermis, and other organic débris. When it is remembered that such substances as *tanned leather*, *glue*, *ground wood*, and all manner of *tainted garbage* are greedily devoured by starving men, it is not strange, or beyond belief, that dove's dung was eaten in Samaria in the last agony of despair.

DOVE'S DUNG.—See Dove and Food.

DOWRY.—See Marriage.

DOXOLOGY, which is not a biblical word, is the name which has been applied to any formal ascription of praise or glory to God (δοξολογία, *glorificatio*). Such are the closing sentences of several apostolic prayers, *e.g.* Ro 16^{27}, Jude ^{25}, Eph 3^{20}. In particular, the name is given to the last sentence of the Lord's Prayer as it stands in TR and our AV of Matthew (cf. 1 Ch 29^{11}). This verse, however, is omitted in the parallel passage of St. Luke, neither is it found in the earlier Uncials or the Vulg., but first in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and Chrysostom. Hence it has been omitted from the text of WH and RV (text, not margin). See Chase, *Lord's Prayer*, 168 ff.

The 'angels' hymn' (Lk 2^{14}), *Gloria in Excelsis*, etc., has been made the foundation of another doxology by the addition of several non-biblical sentences. This, which is known liturgically as the 'greater doxology,' occurs in one of its forms in the Psalter of Codex A (LXX), while the 'lesser' (*Gloria Patri*, etc.) is wholly extra-biblical.

C. A. Scott.

DRACHMA.—See Money. **DRAG.**—See Net.

DRAGON.—Four Heb. words are rendered in AV by this fabulous name. **1.** תַּנִּים *tannîm*, *dragons*, the plural of תָּן *tan*, which latter is not used in Scripture. This word signifies *a howler*, and refers to a beast inhabiting the desert. RV tr. it in every instance by *jackals*. But in Is 13^{22} $34^{13.\ 14}$ it is found associated with אִיִּים *'iyyîm* (which would seem to be the same as *ibn-âwa* in Arab., vulgo *wâwi*). This animal is undoubtedly the *jackal*. It is clear that the same animal would not be mentioned twice in a short list of animals, and by two totally different names. We must therefore seek for another desert howler, than which none could fulfil the conditions better than the *wolf*. The Arab. word *tinân* is one of the names of the wolf. The LXX renders *tannîm* variously. Thus Job 30^{29}, Is 34^{13} 43^{20} σειρῆνες, Ps 44^{19} κάκωσις, Is 13^{22} ἐχῖνοι, Jer 10^{22} 49^{33} στρουθοί, Jer 9^{11} 14^{6} 51^{37}, Mic 1^{8} δράκοντες. **2.** תַּנִּים *tannîm*, a singular form, which is probably a clerical slip for תַּנִּין *tannîn* (Ezk 29^{3} 32^{2}), as the latter is the reading in several MSS. This is properly rendered *dragon* in both AV and RV of the first passage, and in RV of the second, where AV has *whale* in text and *dragon* in marg., the reference being to the *crocodile*, and applied to Pharaoh. **3.** תַּנּוֹת *tannôth* (Mal 1^{3}), a fem. plural of *tan*, rendered by RV *jackals*, but preferably, for the reason given above (1), *female wolves*. **4.** תַּנִּין *tannîn*, pl. תַּנִּינִים *tanninîm*. This word is the exact equivalent of the Arab. *tannîn*, pl. *tanânîn*, which signifies 'a great serpent,' or 'a dragon,' or some mythical sea monster, of which it is said that it was two leagues in length, of a colour like that of a leopard, with scales like those of a fish, two great fins, a head of the size of a hill, but in shape like a man's, two great ears, and two round eyes, and from its neck branched six other necks, every one nearly 20 cubits long, and every one with a head like a serpent. The LXX translates this δράκων, *dragon*, in every case except Gn 1^{21}, where it is κῆτος, AV *whales*, RV *sea*

monsters. In AV (Job 7^{12}) it is rendered *whale*, and in RV *sea monster*. It is applied to sea monsters under the name *dragons*, in AV and RV (Ps 74^{13} 148^{7}, Is 27^{1}); and to *land serpents*, even of the smaller sort (Ex $7^{9.\ 10.\ 12}$, where it is tr. *serpents* [RVm 'Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile,'] Dt 32^{33}, Ps 91^{13}, where it is tr. in AV *dragon*, and in RV *serpent*). In every case it might have been translated 'dragon' as in LXX (see SERPENT, 2). It is applied metaphorically to Pharaoh (Ps 74^{13}, Is 51^{9}; cf. תַּנִּים (2) above). In the comparison of Nebuchadnezzar with a *dragon* (Jer 51^{34}), we may still imagine the reference to be to a *crocodile*, which may well have existed in the Euphrates at that time.

The word תַּנִּין *tannîn* (La 4^{3}) is either the Aram. form of תַּנִּים *tannîm* or a textual error for it (Siegf.-Stade), or a defective scription for תַּנִּינִים (Löhr). It is rendered in AV *sea monsters*, and in RV *jackals*. The reference is prob. to some fierce desert mammalian. The same objection obtains to the *jackal* as that stated in the case of תַּנִּים *tannîm* (1). The word is preferably rendered *wolves*. It might, as in AV, refer to some cetacean sea monster were it not for the comparison with the ostrich, which would seem to imply that it was a land animal.

In NT the word *dragon* (Rev $12^{3ff.}$) clearly refers to a symbolical, serpent-like monster. Modifications of this ideal have obtained credence in the legends of almost all civilized nations. Dragons of all shapes and sizes have been described and figured, and their lairs are still pointed out in every land. Representations of them are found on coins, in pictures, sculptures, and even on the banners of nations, as on that of China to-day. Dragon worship has prevailed in many lands. The serpent of Gn 3 was transformed ultimately into the 'old serpent called the Devil and Satan' (Rev 20^{2}). Apollo slew the Python. The story of Bel and the Dragon shows how the idea of this monster was lodged in the Hebrew mind. G. E. POST.

DRAGON'S WELL.—See JERUSALEM and WELL.

DRAM.—See MONEY.

DRAUGHT, DRAUGHT HOUSE.—The 'draught' (ἀφεδρών) of Mt 15^{17}, Mk 7^{19} is a privy, as in Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* 165: 'Muck hills, draughts, sinks, where any carcasses or carrion lies.' And the 'd. house' (מַחֲרָאָה) of 2 K 10^{27} is the same (lit. 'place of *ḥărê*,' see p. 620 n.); Cov. 'prevy house.' In earlier writers this and other words in *ugh* are generally spelt with *f* (see Earle, *Philology*, § 153); thus Wyclif's tr. of Ps 40^{3} 'he ledde out me fro the lake of wretchidnesse, and fro the filthe of draft.'

J. HASTINGS.

DRAW.—In mod. usage 'draw' is too mild a word for the action expressed by סָחַב *ṣâḥabh*, in Jer 49^{20} 50^{45} (RV 'draw out'); or by σύρω in Ac 14^{19} 'having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city' (RV 'dragged'), 17^{6} 'they drew Jason and certain men unto the rulers of the city' (RV 'dragged'); Rev 12^{4} 'his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth' (RV 'draweth'): or by ἕλκω in Ac 16^{19} 'they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place' (RV 'dragged'); 21^{30} 'they took Paul and drew him out of the temple' (RV 'dragged'). In older Eng. 'draw' had a stronger sense than now; the verb to 'drag,' which sprang from the same Anglo-Saxon *dragan*, having in course of time carried off some of its strength. Cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* II. v. 23—

'Tho gan that villein wex so fiers and strong,
That nothing might sustaine his furious forse;
He cast him downe to ground, and all along
Drew him through durt and myre without remorse,
And fowly battered his comely corse.'

J. HASTINGS.

DRAWER OF WATER (שֹׁאֵב מַיִם).—According to Jos $9^{21.\ 23.\ 27}$ the humiliating drudgery of bringing water for the service of the sanctuary, coupled with the task of providing wood, was the price paid by the Gibeonites for being allowed to live (cf. Dt 29^{11} and Driver's note there). The business of carrying water to the different houses in a town or village is one of the humblest and most poorly paid in Oriental life. It requires little skill or capital. The water is carried in a goat-skin, slung on the back; or two skins are loaded, one on each side of a small donkey, usually driven along by an infirm old man. His clothes are splashed and soiled; the fountain is often some distance away, and on account of the number of women impatiently waiting to fill each one her jar in turn, he has often to bring some of the water at night or very early in the morning. He is engaged continually in what the Samaritan woman found irksome even as an occasional duty (Jn 4^{15}).

CARRIER AND WINE-SKIN.

G. M. MACKIE.

DREAD, DREADFUL.—**1.** These words have gained in intensity during their history. Bp. Fisher says: 'I well perceived it in myself, but all too late, I dread me'; and it once was possible to say 'without dread' for 'without doubt,' as in Chaucer (?) *Rom. of Rose*, B. 2199—

'For certeynly, withouten drede,
A cherle is deemed by his dede.'

By 1611 the word had gained somewhat of its present strength, so that 'fear' is used in AV where 'dread' was used by Wyclif, as Mt 2^{22} 'he hirde that Archilaus regnede in Judee for Eroude, his fadir, and dredde to go thidir'; 14^{5} 21^{46} 'thei dredden the puple'; Lk 2^{9} 'thei dredden with great drede' (AV 'they were sore afraid'). But even in AV dread is used with scarce more intensity than modern 'fear,' as 1 Ch 22^{13} 'dread not, nor be dismayed' (אַל־תִּירָא, RV 'fear not'). **2.** But the change is not in intensity only; there is also a change in quality. We may still say that we *fear* God, but we must not say that we *dread* Him, or that He is our dread, as in Is 8^{13} 'let him be your fear, and let him be your dread' (הוּא מוֹרַאֲכֶם וְהוּא מַעֲרִיצְכֶם), for 'dread' has lost the sense of 'awe' or 'reverential fear' it once possessed, and signifies that which shocks or terrifies. Jacob's exclamation, Gn 28^{17} 'how dreadful is this place,' conveys a wrong impression to our ears; 'awful' would be a nearer word now. So in Dn 9^{4} 'the great and dreadful God.' Dreadful in AV is simply that which may be feared, as Wis 10^{16} 'd. kings' (φοβερός, RV 'terrible'); 17^{6} 'a fire kindled by itself, very d.' (αὐτομάτη πυρὰ φόβου πλήρης, RV 'full of fear'). Cf. *Act. Henry VIII.* (1543) 'by lawes dredful and penall, to take awaye, purg, and clense this his highnes realme.'

J. HASTINGS.

DREAMS are regarded by men in the lowest stage of culture as objective realities, and all dreams are to them equally true: in the case of every dream the savage believes that he really visits the places he dreams of, or is visited by the persons of whom he dreams. Hence those savages whose gods are, for instance, animal-totems, believe that when they dream of the animal they have been visited by the god: thus the young Red Indian adopts as his manitou the animal of which he dreams during his puberty-fast. A person who is visited by frequent dreams is regarded as a chosen medium between men and gods: the Zulus term a person thus chosen 'a house of dreams.' For the purpose of obtaining supernatural communications of this kind, dreams are induced by artificial means, *e.g.* by fasting or the use of drugs. Then dreams come to be considered less as objective experiences than as visions, warnings, revelations of the future sent by the gods. Such revelations may be sought, *e.g.* as by those who visited and slept in the cave of Trophonius for the express purpose of obtaining supernatural communications, or they may come unsought, as, *e.g.*, the dream sent by Zeus to Agamemnon in the *Iliad* (ii. 1–34), or that of Xerxes described by Herodotus (vii. 12). To Homer and Herodotus it seems quite natural that the gods should, to accomplish their larger ends, send dreams to the individual which are intended to deceive him, and the dreams of Agamemnon and Xerxes are deceptive dreams of this kind. But to the deeper spiritual insight of Plato it appears a manifest impossibility, a violation, so to speak, of the laws of religious thought, that a god should deceive men in any way (*Rep.* 382 E), whether by waking visions or by dreams in the night; while at the same time he does not deny that dreams may come from the gods, and elsewhere (*Tim.* cc. 46 and 47) he assigns a prophetic character to some dreams. But side by side with this, the religious view of dreams, there existed and exists the superstitious view: the religious view discriminates between dreams (which are sub-conscious states) just as it discriminates between our waking states of full consciousness, and marks off some of them as moments in which the spirit of man is in direct communication with his god; the superstitious view, however, makes no such discrimination, it regards all dreams as omens, none as having a religious import. Its object is not to know the will of God, but to forecast the future; and its method of doing so is neither religious nor scientific;—not religious, for it makes no attempt humbly to approach the throne of heavenly grace; and not scientific, because for the patient study of the laws by which God rules the universe it substitutes a system of jumping at conclusions. It applies to dreams the same mode of interpretation as to other omens: it blindly assumes that things casually connected in thought are causally connected in fact, and draws its erroneous conclusions accordingly. These illogical processes frequently become developed into regular codes of interpretation (as, for instance, among the Arabs, the Persians, and in the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus) by means of which anyone can interpret his own dreams, and thus the uneducated classes in a civilized people relapse into a stage of thought as low as that of the savage.

Assuming it, for the moment, to be true that the state of partial consciousness which we call dreaming may, in exceptional cases, be chosen as the moment for divine communications to man, we see from the above sketch that the human race generally has reached the truth only after, and in consequence of, making many mistakes, just as Kepler invented and rejected fourteen theories to account for the apparent position of Mars before he hit upon the right one, and just as the path of every science is strewed with the ruins of abandoned hypotheses. The question then arises whether the Jews also struggled through error into truth. In the first place, dreams are recorded both in NT (Mt 1^{20} $2^{13.20}$) and in OT (Dn 2^{28}) which are expressly said to be communications from God; though it is only in OT, and there only in Gn (28^{12}, Jacob's ladder), that God is said to appear Himself. In the next place there are dreams recorded (*e.g.* those of the chief butler and baker and of Pharaoh, Gn 40 and 41) which, though prophetic, are not expressly said to come from God; indeed, from Gn 40^{8} it appears that in the case of such dreams it is rather the 'interpretations' that 'belong to God.' Third, all the dreams actually mentioned in the Bible are dreams which came unsought, but the words of Saul (1 S 28^{15} 'God is departed from me and answereth me no more, neither by prophets nor by dreams') seem to indicate the existence of the practice (whether approved or disapproved of by the higher religious consciousness of the community) of deliberately seeking supernatural dreams, as they were sought in the cave of Trophonius. Fourth, it would appear from Jer 27^{9} that there was amongst the Israelites a tendency, which the prophets opposed, to regard the mere dreaming of dreams as itself an indication that the dreamer was a chosen medium of divine communications, as the Zulus regard a 'house of dreams' as a chosen medium also. On the other hand, we do not find in the Bible any traces of the superstitious interpretation of dreams such as was known to the Arabs; on the contrary, Joseph declares (Gn 40^{8}) with emphasis that 'interpretations belong to God'; and we do not find that dreams, when sought, were induced by artificial means. Thus, to sum up, on the one hand the Scriptures start from a spiritual height to which the religious consciousness of the heathen world attained only after a long course of evolution, and then only in the case of an isolated genius like Plato; on the other hand, there are indications that the Israelites passed through several of the same stages of error as the rest of mankind.

Thus far we have said nothing of the psychological and physiological laws of dreams. The connexion between bodily states and dreams is recognized in practice if not in theory by the savage who induces dreams by fasting or the use of drugs. Civilized man, even in the prescientific period, further recognizes that the experiences of the day furnish most of the material for our fancies of the night: dreams, says Lily, 'come either by things we see in the day or meates that we eat'; Herodotus makes Artabanus explain Xerxes' dream as due to his anxiety about his projected invasion of Greece; and the dream of Pharaoh may similarly have been due to the anxiety which a 'low Nile' must cause in any one responsible for the government of Egypt. Hippocrates discovered that certain diseases announce their approach by disturbing dreams, and modern medical science confirms the discovery. Without going further into the physiological theory of dreams, we may note that the ordinary concomitant of dreaming is probably an excessive or a deficient supply of blood to the brain. Now, the recognition of the fact that dreaming has its laws, combined with the belief that some dreams are supernatural communications, sometimes leads to the statement that some dreams are sent by God, some (most) not; and this statement conveys a truth in a form open to serious misapprehension. It may be taken to imply two things, both false, viz. (1) that dreams which happen according to natural laws are not part of God's will and design; (2) that dreams which are divine are irreconcilable with the laws by which He governs the universe. A less misleading way of stating

the facts would seem to be to say that His laws act in such a way that we find ourselves at some times in closer communion with Him than at others. All our states of consciousness (whether of complete or of partial consciousness) have their psychological laws and also their physical counterparts in the chemical processes of the brain and nervous tissue; the mental processes which issued in the production of the *Iliad* or *Hamlet* were all in accordance with psychological laws, and all had their physiological counterparts. So, too, every process of reasoning has its psychological and physiological laws, but we do not consider that this fact impedes us in any way from distinguishing good reasoning from bad, or that it prevents us from recognizing the truth when it is presented to us, or that any study of either of those sciences will enable us to dispense with logic or supply us with a better means of distinguishing, say, between a correct syllogistic inference and an illicit process of the minor than logic already affords us. So, too, the fact that our states of partial consciousness are all under law — physiological and psychological—does not constitute any impediment to our distinguishing those states which do from those states which do not possess the characteristics of divine revelations; nor can it impeach the validity of the distinction thus drawn by the religious consciousness of mankind, Christian, Jew, and Gentile, any more than it can impeach the validity drawn by logic between correct and incorrect inferences. The question is one of fact. Do sub-conscious states, possessing the characteristics in question, occur? And to recognize those characteristics is the prerogative of the religious consciousness. If it be said that in the waking state such recognition is possible, but not in a state of partial consciousness, we must inquire on what grounds the statement is made. If on the ground that our sub-conscious states are under physiological laws, then our reply is that so also are states of complete consciousness. If on the ground that in a state of partial consciousness the very faculty whose function is recognition of the kind in question may be dormant, to this our reply is that in the vast number of cases it undoubtedly is dormant; but just as Condorcet, in an exceptional abnormal condition, could, in sub-conscious sleep, work out a mathematical problem which awake he could not solve, and just as Coleridge could compose in sleep the poem of *Kubla Khan*, so in abnormal cases the power of spiritual perception, relieved from the pressure of external sensations, may conceivably be heightened to a pitch of exaltation as far above its ordinary degree of activity and receptivity as the imagination of Coleridge or the mathematical reason of Condorcet was in the cases alluded to. 'The fact that all or most men suppose some significance in dreams constitutes a ground for believing that the supposition is based on experience' (Aristotle, *Div. per Somn.* i.).

LITERATURE.—Carpenter, *Mental Physiology*; Clodd, *Myths and Dreams*; Ladd, *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (1883), ii. 429–436; Reynolds (J. W.), *Natural History of Immortality* (1891), 124–139; Driver on Dt. 13[2]. F. B. JEVONS.

DRESS.—To 'dress' (fr. Lat. *directus*, through old Fr. *dresser*) is in meaning as in deriv. the same as 'direct.' Thus Wyclif translates Ps 5[8] 'dresse thou my weie in thi sight,' 40[2] 'he dresside my goyngis'; Lk 1[79] 'to dresse oure feet in to the weie of pees.' (Cf. the use still of 'dress' as a military technical term.) In AV the word is used in the general sense of 'put right,' much as we now use 'do.' Indeed the Heb. most freq. translated 'dress' is the ordinary verb 'to do' (עָשָׂה *'âsâh*), Gn 18[7. 8] a calf for food; Lv 7[9] meat-offering, 'dressed in the frying-pan,' 1 S 25[18] sheep for food, 2 S 12[4 bis] a lamb for food, 13[5. 7] meat, 19[24] the feet = wash, 1 K 17[12] a cake, 18[23. 25. 26] a bullock for sacrifice. The other words are עָבַד *'âbhadh*, to 'work,' Gn 2[15] the garden of Eden (in 2[5] tr. 'till'), Dt 28[39] vineyards; cf. Lk 13[7] ἀμπελουργός, AV 'dresser of his vineyard,' RV 'vinedresser'; γεώργιον ξύλου, Sir 27[6], AV 'if the tree have been dressed,' RV 'the husbandry,' as in 1 Co 3[9]; γεωργέω He 6[7], AV 'dress,' RV 'till'; הֵיטִיב *hêṭîbh*, 'prepare' (lit. 'do good to'), Ex 30[7] lamps. Cf. Tindale, *Works*, p. 453: 'The lampe must be dressed and snuffed dayly.' RV gives 'dresser' for AV 'gatherer' Am 7[14] (בּוֹלֵם, see Driver's note).

J. HASTINGS.

DRESS.—The study of Oriental dress serves to explain particular allusions to clothing in the Bible; it imparts a fresh interest to the narrative by presenting to the eye a picture of those written about; and through a knowledge of the various articles of costume and of Oriental usage and sentiment connected with them, it enables us to follow the sacred writers into the figurative meanings they sought to convey when common facts about the outward garments were applied to the clothing of the inner man. Special attention is rendered necessary by the fact that while the general character of Oriental dress is recognized by all, it is often difficult to pronounce upon particular articles as to origin, material, and usage. In this respect the subject resembles that of Pal. architecture, inasmuch as an ancient wall may have stones of Phœnician, Jewish, Greek, Roman, Saracenic, and Crusading styles, and yet the experienced archæologist may have much difficulty in naming the builder and assigning the date of actual construction. So with regard to dress, amid certain features that were characteristic of Israel, the separated people copied largely from the customs of Canaan, Egypt, Babylon, Greece, and Rome. The chief points of inquiry are those that deal with 1. Materials of Dress; 2. Articles of Dress; 3. Oriental Custom and thought about Dress.

I. MATERIALS OF DRESS.—These were (1) wool and hair; (2) linen and cotton; (3) silk. 1. Wool (צֶמֶר), Hair (שֵׂעָר). One of the earliest forms of clothing in the East would be that of a sheepskin worn as a vest or jacket, or in the larger form of a cloak made of several sewn together, with the wool left on. These are still in use with the wool either inside or outside. The next stage was the removal of the wool and the art of weaving (which see). Sheep-shearing is mentioned in Gn 31[19] 38[12], 1 S 25[2ff.], 2 S 13[23ff.] etc. The hair of the goat has also been used from time immemorial, especially for material that had to bear much exposure and strain. The shepherds' tents are made of it, also bags for holding grain and flour. Hence it is called sackcloth (שַׂק). The hair of the camel was also manufactured into cloth, rougher than that made from wool, but softer than sackcloth. At present it is largely employed for cloaks and rugs, and naturally for camel-harness. The term אַדֶּרֶת (1 K 19[13. 19], 2 K 2[13], Jos 7[21. 24], Jon 3[6]) may either indicate that the cloak was originally taken from a skin, or may be simply descriptive of its size. The combination אַדֶּרֶת שֵׂעָר occurs Gn 25[25], Zec 13[4].

2. Cotton, Linen, שֵׁשׁ (Arab. *shash*), פִּשְׁתִּים; בַּד, בּוּץ (Arab. *bazz*), βύσσος; פְּתִילָה (Arab. *kitan*), ὀθόνιον, λίνεος. The warmth of the Oriental climate and the advance of civilization bringing more of indoor-life and social gradation, tended to create a wide-spread demand for this manufacture. Egypt and Syria sent their merchandise of linen and broidered goods to Tyre, Ezk 27[7. 16]. The Indian source of supply is preserved in the Arab. name *Shesh-Hindi* (Indian cambric). The word *karpas* (of Persian origin) should also be translated 'cotton' in Est 1[6]. See COTTON. Cotton and linen were not carefully distinguished. At the present day the Indian

cotton cloth with stamped bright patterns, used for hangings and dados, is very like the linen of the Egyptian mummy-cloths. For the Israelites it was enough to know that those stuffs were both of vegetable fibre, and not of wool. The mixture of wool and linen was called שַׁעַטְנֵז (Dt 22^{11}, Lv 19^{19} only), a word of uncertain (perhaps Egyptian) origin (see Driver, *ad loc.*). Garments made of it were forbidden to the Israelites.

3. Silk. מֶשִׁי * Ezk $16^{10.13}$, *σηρικόν*, Rev 18^{12} (from *Σῆρες*, the name of an Indian people from whom, acc. to Strabo [516, 701], the ancients got the first silk). A common name for silk in Arabic is *ḥarîr*, a word whose derivation is most uncertain (see Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, 39. In Pr 31^{22} AV incorrectly gives 'silk' as tr^{n} of *šēš* (RV correctly 'fine linen').

II. Articles of Dress.—1. *Shirt, Sheet, Linen Garment* (סָדִין *ṣādîn*, *σινδών*, Jg $14^{12.13}$, Pr 31^{24}, Is 3^{23}, 1 Mac 10^{14}, Mk 14^{51}). This was worn next to the body, and was nearest in purpose to the first coverings mentioned in Gn $3^{7.21}$. When it appears as the only garment, it is a cotton or linen wrapper of various sizes. Once representing all, it continued to give something of its character to all the other articles of Oriental dress. It would be the waist-cloth of the Israelites in the brick-fields of Egypt as shown in the monuments, a towel, white or coloured, wrapped tightly round the loins or reaching down towards the knees. Of similar material and shape, though somewhat larger, it was worn in Palestine by boatmen, fishermen, wood-sawyers, and drawers of water. It was also found as a simple large sheet thrown round the body (Mk 14^{51}), with an end flung over the shoulder, with or without a girdle.

When worn with other garments it took the form of a night shirt, of white cotton or linen, or coarse silk, reaching below the knees. It was made by taking a long piece of the material and folding it into two equal lengths, with the sides sewn up, and holes at the top corners for the arms, or with sleeves inserted. At the present day it is usually sold without any opening for the head. This is the proof that it is new, and allows the purchaser to please himself as to whether the opening is to be small or large, plain or ornamental. It is the same for men and women, the latter requiring a larger opening for convenience in nursing. Anyone wearing only the shirt is called naked (Jn 21^{7}). It is undress.

2. *Coat* (כְּתֹנֶת *kĕthôneth*, *χιτών*, *tunica*). The shirt passed by easy transition to the tunic-coat or second garment. It completed the indoor costume for family life, the shop, and familiar outdoor surroundings. It was not needed in the simple privacy of pastoral or Bedawi life, and its presence marked the change to the life of the village and town under conditions of trade and agriculture. The alterations consisted in having the entire front cut open, long sleeves attached, and the shape more adapted to the figure. The two fronts were drawn tightly round the body overlapping each other, and the waist was firmly bound with a

COAT (*Kĕthôneth*).

belt or sash. It thus resembled a cassock or dressing-gown. From the fact of its covering and supplementing the shirt, and being like it in form, it was obviously meant to be superior to it in material and appearance. It was most frequently made of striped and bright-coloured cotton or linen, and sometimes of woollen cloth. The overlapping front confined by the girdle formed a recess for carrying any small parcel, such as bread for the journey. A slit was made on each side of the skirt, about a foot long, so as to allow greater freedom in walking. See Coat.

EGYPTIAN LOIN-CLOTH AND SYRIAN SHIRT.

3. *Cloak* (מְעִיל *mĕ-ʿîl*, שִׂמְלָה *simlâh*, בֶּגֶד *beged*, *ἱμάτιον*; Arab. *jubbeh*, *meshlaḥ*, *abâa*'). — The outermost garment was distinguished by its greater size, and the absence of the girdle. There was much variety in shape, quality, and material caused by the social position of the wearer and the style of Babylonia, Egypt, or Syria, which it most resembled. It was called כָּר, *ποδήρης*, from its length; לְבוּשׁ, כְּסוּת, שִׁית, *ἐπενδύτης*, *περιβόλαιον*, from its enveloping fulness. Hence it represents clothing generally, and is translated 'apparel,' 'raiment,' 'vesture,' 'attire,' etc. To it especially refer the expressions 'changes of raiment,' 'suits of apparel.' Two varieties may be distinguished. (*a*) מְעִיל, *στολή*. This was a long loose robe with very wide sleeves worn over the belted coat and shirt. It was a dress

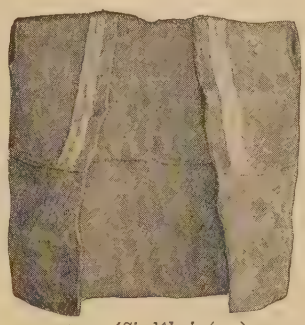
* 'Silk' is accepted by Siegfried-Stade as the meaning of מֶשִׁי, but A. B. Davidson (*Comm. ad loc.*) doubts if silk was worn as early as the time of Ezekiel. 'The LXX (*τρίχαπτες*) and ancients thought of some very thin and delicate material. The kind of garment was probably some large wrapper or veil covering the whole person.'

that expressed dignity, culture, and distinction, and was expressly the mark of the priestly, educated, wealthy, and official classes. It resembled (2) in length, and was as much superior to it as it was to the shirt. While a public dress, it was of lighter and more ornamental material than the square *simlâh*, which was pre-eminently the out-door cloak. It was the characteristic robe of the professions (1 Ch 15[27], 1 S 2[19] 15[27]), the mark of high rank and station (1 S 18[4] 24[5]), the מְעִיל *maḥălâṣâh*, suit of exchange of the Hebrews (Is 3[22], Zec 3[4]), the *thaub* or *badâleh* of the Arabs. In Egypt it is sometimes worn as a long black surplice, but usually it is open and unconfined. Such was the robe of the Ephod with its fringes and bells swaying with the motion of the figure. The Jewish *ṭallith* and the Arabic *burnous* resemble it in ornamental lightness, but the stripes of the one and the form of the other point rather to the *simlâh*. It was worn by Saul (1 S 24[4]), was given by Jonathan to David (1 S 18[4]), was the long robe of the Pharisees (Lk 20[46]), and of those 'arrayed in white robes' (Rev 7[13]). It was always emblematic of social intercourse and high rank. It was the

CLOAK OR ROBE (*Mĕ'îl*, στολή).

full dress of ancient times. At present in Syria it is almost confined to the Oriental clergy, and to Moslems of the official and merchant classes, the latter often having it faced and partly lined with soft fur. Joseph's coat (כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים) was most likely an open long *mĕ'îl*. It was an unusual article of pastoral or Bedawi dress, which generally comprises the shirt with belt, and the square cloak or *simlâh* of wool or haircloth, with frequently a sheepskin vest between. Such a special garment worn by Joseph would be a mark of favour and an occasion of jealous comparison. The coat (RV 'robe'), 1 S 2[19], annually brought to Samuel would also be of this sort.

(*b*) שִׂמְלָה *simlâh*, ἱμάτιον. This was the largest and heaviest article of Oriental dress, being the dress of travel, of the shepherd, worn for protection against cold and rain, and used as a covering during sleep (Ex 22[26]). It consisted of a piece of cloth about 7 ft. from right to left, and 4½ from top to bottom. A width of 1½ ft. was folded in at each side, and sewn along the top, with a slit at each top-corner through which the hand and wrist could pass. The garment thus losing about 1½ ft. on each side became a square. Usually, two pieces, each 7 ft. long and 2 ft. wide, were sewn together to make the block material, and the over-edged joining is seen running across the back. The finest kind, however, is made of one entire piece. Such, most likely, was Christ's 'garment without seam' (Jn 19[23]). The 'hairy garment' (אַדֶּרֶת), Gn 25[25], may have been a camel-hair *simlâh*. The Arabs



CLOAK (*Simlâh*, ἱμάτιον).

SIMLÂH AS WORN.

call their black tents *houses of hair*, and the term usually distinguishes cloth of camel or goat hair from that made of sheep's wool. Cloaks of camel hair are common at the present day, those made in the neighbourhood of ancient Cilicia having a rough surface like that of Scotch shooting tweed, but much firmer and heavier in the make. They are often of a coppery-brown colour, and the comparison in Gn 25[25] would be easily suggested. They are also made of wool and of goats' hair. Ornamentation of coloured silk or red wool is frequently sewn upon the neck, front, and back. The general surface is often further relieved by its being woven in broad stripes of darker and lighter, or black and white colours. In the ordinary *simlâh* of the Syrian shepherd and farmer this is the most characteristic feature. Elijah's mantle and John the Baptist's raiment were of the square cloak pattern. The Bab. garment in Jericho was an ornamental one, possibly of crimson colour, like those described in Ezk 23[15]. The large outer

SHEEPSKIN COAT.

garments of shepherds on the hills and inward plains is often made of sheep skins with the fleece left on; but as frequently this is a vest, and the ordinary cloak is worn over it. See CLOKE.

4. *Breeches of linen* (מִכְנְסֵי בָד *mikhnĕsê bad*, Ex 28[42]; סַרְבָּלִין *ṣarbâlîn*, Dn 3[21]; RV *hosen*; Ges. *Thes.* 'vel feminalia vel pallia'). The first word indicates that which is drawn together, that is, by the waist-cord passing inside the hem of the gathers. The second means most likely the Persian divided skirt or loose trousers, Arab. *sirwâl*, as the principal article of the common dress when such trousers are worn. In modern Arab. it is called

libâs = 'clothing,' for the same reason. It was evidently a modification of the long shirt or tunic-coat, dividing it into two parts at the belt, the upper part being a short Zouave jacket, often highly ornamented, and the lower part being the *ṣarbâlîn*, 'hosen.' A long piece of cloth was made into a wide

TRANSITION FROM 'KĔTHÔNETH' TO 'SARBÂLÎN.'

open bag by sewing up the bottom, except a hole at each corner for the feet to pass through. The upper edge was hemmed, and drawn together by a cord or sash within the hem. A mass of plaited cloth thus hung down between the knees, and even trailed between the feet, as a sign of leisure and luxury. During active exercise, such as hoeing, walking, running, these folds were tucked up under the belt in front or behind or at the sides. This was to have the loins girt.

5. *Girdle.* **1.** חָגוֹר 1 S 18[4]. **2.** אַבְנֵט *'abnêt*, only of high priest or a high official, Ex 28[4], Is 22[21], prob. a sash wound round the waist several times and falling to the feet; cf. Stade, *ThL* (1894), p. 236; Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 2. **3.** אֵזוֹר 'waistband,' see W. R. Smith as quoted in *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*, also *Expos. Times*, iii. (1893), 243, 256. The girdle was worn over (1) and (2), and was sometimes a cord, often a leather belt as now worn by Eastern monks. For the purse arrangement in it, see BAG. The girdle braced the hip-joints for prolonged exertion, and under it the hanging skirts were drawn up. It served to hold the ink-horn of the scribe, with its box of *atramentum* or black fluid, soaked up into sponge or pith, and its case for holding reed pens. The sash was *the order of the garter* in Oriental costume, the ends being richly ornamented with needlework in silk and gold (see EMBROIDERY). The military girdle (2 S 20[8]) was a baldrick, often set with gems. The girdle was not used to bind up the loose outer garment for purposes of activity, although the Bedawin occasionally apply it to this purpose. The *simlâh*, cloak,

1. LOINS GIRT. 2. GIRDLE WITH INKHORN.

was then rather folded over the arm, or thrown over the shoulder, or laid aside, as at the stoning of Stephen. But when a large bundle had to be carried a considerable distance, the cloak was drawn up somewhat, and the belt fastened tightly around it over the waist, thus forming a large pouch or sack behind. This was prob. the way in which the Israelites carried their kneading-troughs (Ex 12[34]).

6. *Head-dress*; AV Bonnet, RV Head-tire (מִגְבָּעָה *migbâ'âh* (see BONNET); פְּאֵר *pĕ'êr*, Is 3[20]; צָנִיף *ṣânîph*, Is 3[23]). The head-dress of the Israelites in early pastoral times would be the same as that which is worn by their successors the Bedawin. It is a piece of cotton or linen, white, blue, or black, or of brightly coloured silk, about a yard square, folded diagonally, and laid on the head so as to screen the eyes, protect the cheek-bones and the back of the neck. It is held in its place by a cord (פְּתִיל Gn 38[18]) of soft elastic wool, usually dark brown or black, or of twisted cotton whipped with threads of silk and gold, coiled in several rings tightly round the head, making a covering at once picturesque, comfortable, and protective. The rich colours of the Bab. head-dress are described as 'dyed attire,' פְּכוּלִים (Ezk 23[15]). The article is now called *kufiyeh* (from the town of Kufah). Afterwards a skull-cap came to be worn, with a napkin usually white, or white with gold thread, folded into a long band and wound round it. In 1 K 30[38. 41] the *head-band* is drawn over the face to conceal the features, after the manner of Bedawin robbers. The פְּשִׁישִׁין of Dn 3[21] (RV tunics, RVm turbans, see Bevan, *ad loc.*) may have been the Persian *fez*, named from the mould in which the felt was pressed. In the case of the royal crown the cord

MALE HEAD-DRESS (1. PASTORAL. 2. PERSIAN. 3. SYRIAN PEASANT).

of the original head-dress was represented by the gold circlet, and the scarf by the cap of cloth and the coronation veil. For military head-dress see HELMET.

7. *Border, Hem, Skirt* (כָּנָף *kânâph*, 1 S 24[4]; שׁוּל *shûl*, Ex 39[4]; κράσπεδον, Mt 9[20]). The outer garment had four cords with tassels (צִיצִת *ṣîṣîth*, Nu 15[38], גְּדִילִים Dt 22[12], see Driver's note) at the corners. To make the border and fringes large and conspicuous was part of the Pharisaic form (Mt 23[5]). The corner fringes are seen on the large *ṭallith* of synagogue worship, and on the small one

FRINGES.

of white cotton worn like an unseen ephod next to the shirt. In the large *ṭallith*, about 2 yds. sq., of white cotton or wool with black border or stripes, a sq. inch of coloured silk is sown on each corner inside, and through a hole made precisely in the middle of the patch, so as to make the opening a mathematical corner, there is passed a cord composed of eight threads and five knots. This, with the numerical value of צִיצִת, 600, makes up 613, the rabbinical number of commandments in the Law. During worship the tassel is taken in the hand and raised to the lips, and the symbol of devotion used by an unchanged heart becomes a substitute for obedience. It is the letter that killeth.

8. *Napkin* (σουδάριον, Lk 19[20], Jn 20[7], Ac 19[12]). In a climate like that of Palestine the need of a napkin was occasioned not by cold so much as by dust and heat, as its name implies. At the present day it is used to wipe the face and the back of the hands, and is often partly folded in around the neck to protect the collar of the coat from perspiration and to give coolness. The same name is given by the Arabs to the small cotton cap which they wear under the woollen fez, and call an *arḳiyeh* (sweat-cloth).

9. *Sandals* (נְעָלִים, נְעָלוֹת, σανδάλια, Mk 6[9], Ac 12[8]). The primitive shoe or sandal was a flat sole of leather, wood, or matted grass with loops attached, through which the shoe-latchet, a leather thong, passed and strapped in the foot. The Arab. *na'al* means the sole of the shoe, as being the principal part, thus pointing to the sandal origin. Even with the shoes or slippers of red, black, and yellow leather in common usage, the ancient habits survive, as the natives like to bend down the leather behind the heel, and make it more like a sandal. The wooden sandal in very common use has a strap nailed on to hold the foot across the toes, showing the beginning of the upper. Those worn by brides at the marriage feast are made 7 or 8 inches high to give the dignity of the cothurnus. Sandals are removed when entering a house or church, or any place where prayer is offered. The shoe being associated with outside defilement, and being the lowest article of dress, is used as an epithet of contempt and vituperation, and as an implement of beating. Socks are seldom worn, and in walking the shoe is often removed, or the foot with the shoe on is held up to shake out the dust.

10. *Female Dress.* This so far resembled male attire as to make interchange possible and prohibited, Dt 22[5]. There was the *ṣâdîn* or shirt-dress, Is 3[23]; over it a *kĕthôneth* or tunic-robe, Ca 5[3], bound with a girdle, Is 3[24]. Over this, ladies of nobility wore an ungirded *mĕ'îl* or robe after the pattern of Joseph's 'coat,' 2 S 13[18]. Social life made it possible also for women to have festival robes (AV 'changeable suits of apparel,' Is 3[22]). There is mention of *turbans*, ornamental bands of silk, or embroidered linen, Is 3[23], probably rather deeper than those commonly worn by men. Another ornamental head-dress is described by the term used for the priestly head-dress, פְּאֵר. These must have been very elaborate, judging from those

ELEVATED HORN.

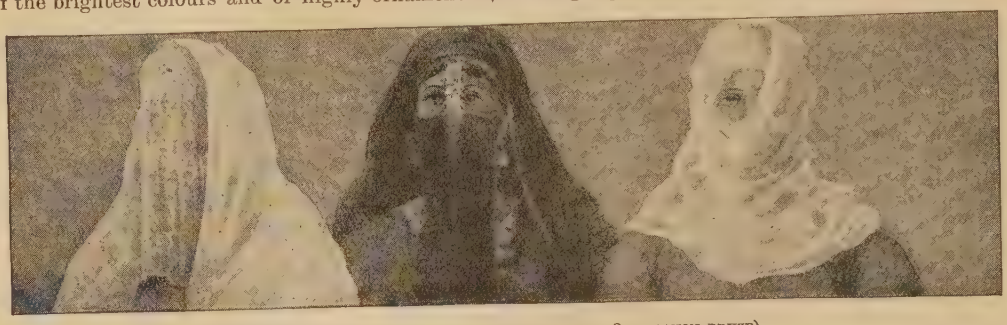
of the Egyptian monuments, and the tardiness with which the metal head-bowl and horn (Arab. *tantur*) were given up by the women of Syria in modern times. The horn was worn erect, day and night, the veil of a widow being black, others white.

The chief articles of specially fem. attire were the veils and mantles. There were *mufflers* (רְעָלוֹת), Is 3[19], thin face-veils like gauze-muslin and nun's-veiling, the former brightly coloured with floral designs, used for the face and breast (Arab. *barḳa'a, mandîl*).

It is impossible to say precisely what sort of mantle-robe the מַעֲטָפָה *mantle*, Is 3[22], may have been. The מִטְפָּחוֹת *shawls* (AV *wimples*), Is 3[22], were large veils of white lace, or tough muslin (white or indigo at present), worn over the head and falling down the back. Those worn by Bedawi and peasant women are often used for carrying grass, vegetables, or various parcels, Ru 3[15].

The *veils* (רְדִידִים Is 3[23]) were the largest enveloping veils, now called by the Arabs *izars*, made of

white cotton, black twilled silk, or rich silk stuffs of the brightest colours and of highly ornamental



FACE VEILS (1. SYRIAN MOSLEM. 2. EGYPTIAN. 3. LEBANON DRUZE).

patterns. This veil is one of the most familiar objects in the streets of Eastern towns. About

HEAD AND BACK VEIL (*Mitpaḥath*).

the *caul* (RVm 'networks,' שְׁבָכִים Is 3^{18}) there is no certainty; possibly it was a light netted veil covering

LARGE VEIL (*Rᵉdîd*).

the hair and falling over the shoulders, set with tiny discs of silver and gold and other pendants, something like what is still worn. So with regard to *stomacher* (פְּתִיגִיל), Is 3^{24}; as the antithesis suggests some sort of girdle, highly or even fantastically ornamental in contrast with sackcloth, it may have been the loose apron-sash with dangling ribbons and attachments worn by dancing girls.

III. ORIENTAL CUSTOM AND THOUGHT CONCERNING DRESS.—Food and clothing are the two great requisites of the natural life, 1 Ti 6^{8}. Clothing is the second necessity. Of its three services, *protection*, *decency*, and *ornament*, the warmth of the climate of Palestine causes the first to be less important than it is in colder countries, while the domestic customs make the second very important for women, and the love of respectful attention and dignity makes the third equally so for men. Clothing distinguishes man from the beast. 'To be unclothed' is not merely to suffer cold, but 'to be found naked' (2 Co 5^{3}). The phrase 'naked, and ye clothed me' (Mt 25^{36}), over and above personal comfort to the individual, means restoration to human society and human dignity. 'Clothed and in his right mind' (Mk 5^{15}) were two equal indications that Legion was no longer an outcast. So to have fine apparel was apt to carry the assumption of all inward graces (Ja 2^{3}).

Eastern clothing is throughout an adaptation not only to climate but to character. Clothes are flung off and on with the same rapidity as that with which heat changes to cold and sunshine to starlight; so it is with the quickly-varying moods of the people. Oriental clothes appear to the European to be cumbersome and prohibitive of exercise. This to the ordinary Oriental mind carries a subtle recommendation, implying that the wearer does not need to work. A common Arab proverb says, 'There is a blessing in being busy,' but it is usually the spectator that quotes it. The loose and ornamental style of Oriental dress emphasizes the thought that the chief good of life is not in active achievement, but in rest and the privilege of rest. Among the trades a work loses in public respect in proportion as the worker has to take off clothing when engaged in it. All clothing above the undermost easily takes on meanings of office, investiture, and precedence. Brightness and colour are synonymous with happiness and prosperity, and grief of soul is expressed by the darkest object seen in nature, the intense black of goat hair (Rev 6^{12}). Orientals always travel in their best clothes; it was scarcely necessary for the Gibeonites to assure Joshua that their raiment had been new when they started, except as indicating the length of their journey. In public worship Orientals are impressed and apparently satisfied by changed vestments and spectacular ritual to a degree that always puzzles the more ethical and introspective mind of the West.

In the Bible there are numberless instances of the employment of facts concerning dress for the expression of spiritual truth. The metaphorical application is carried out in much detail, showing that the subject was at once familiar and of extreme interest. We have such phrases as 'clothed with humility' (1 P 5^{5}), 'the garment of salvation, the robe of righteousness' (Is 61^{10}), into which is meant to be borne all that Oriental dress means with regard to completeness of covering and dignified grace. The girdle, head-dress, and sandals are especially rich in similitudes of strength, honour, and defilement. Thus with ref. to the *girdle*, there is the significance of its cleaving to the loins (Jer 13^{11}); of its being loosened (Is 5^{27}); its strengthening value (Is 22^{21}, 1 P 1^{13}, Eph 6^{14});

there is the pathos of being compulsorily girded (Jn 21^{18}); and the mystery of invisible support (Is 45^{5}).

LITERATURE.—Keil, Benzinger, and Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*; Schürer, *HJP* (see 'Clothing' in Index); Conder, *Handbook to the Bible*; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah* 4 (1887), i. 621–626; Thomson, *Land and Book*, 3 vols. 1881–1886 (see 'Garments' under 'Manners and Customs' in Index to each vol.); Tristram, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands* (1894), pp. 155–176; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization* (1896), p. 718 f.; Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1866), p. 209 ff. G. M. MACKIE.

DRINK.—See FOOD. **DRINK-OFFERING.**—See SACRIFICE.

DROMEDARY.—Besides the word (בִּכְרָה) rendered dromedary, but which ought to have been tr^{d}. young camel (see CAMEL), there are two words, רֶכֶשׁ *rekesh* (rendered in 1 K 4^{28} *dromedaries*, and in Est $8^{10.\ 14}$ *mules*, and in Mic 1^{13} *swift beasts*), and רַמָּךְ *rammâk* (Est 8^{10} AV *young dromedaries*). *Rekesh* (a rare synonym of סוּס) probably denoted a species of horse noted for some choice quality. That this quality was *swiftness* is quite uncertain. *Rammâk* is Pers. *ramah*, 'flock' or 'herd' (see Ges. *Thes.*). In Est 8^{10} רַ֫כֻּנֵי, lit. 'sons of the herd,' is tr^{d} in RV 'bred of the stud.' To all appearance, then, we must drop the dromedary from the list of Bible animals. G. E. POST.

DROPSY.—See MEDICINE.

DROSS (סִיג, Kethibh סוּג, sing. only in Ezk 22^{18a}, elsewhere always plur. סִגִים, סְגִים).—For the process whereby dross was separated from the pure metal, see FURNACE, REFINER. The word is several times used in the OT metaphorically for what is base and worthless, *e.g.* Ps 119^{119} (of the wicked), Is $1^{22.\ 25}$, Ezk $22^{18.\ 19}$ (of degenerate Israel). J. A. SELBIE.

DROUGHT.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, also FAMINE.

DROVE.—This word is the equivalent in AV of two Heb. words. **1.** עֵדֶר *'êder* (Gn $32^{16.\ 19}$). *'Êder* is elsewhere rendered *flock* (see FLOCK), except in one place (Jl 1^{18}), where it occurs twice in the construct state, עַדְרֵי־בָקָר, which is tr^{d} '*herds* of *cattle*,' and עֶדְרֵי הַצֹּאן '*flocks* of *sheep*.' **2.** מַחֲנֶה *maḥâneh*. This word, although rendered in Gn 33^{8} AV *drove*, is rendered once in the same connexion (32^{7}) *bands*, and twice (32^{8}) *company*. This last, which is the correct tr., is adopted by RV (cf. Gn 50^{9}). See HERD. G. E. POST.

DROWNING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

DRUNKENNESS.—The spectacle of men beside themselves through alcoholic drink has been familiar from the beginning of history, and all languages have terms in which to describe it. It is a subject that appears in the Bible, as in other ancient writings.

1. *Some of the terms used in the Scriptures in connexion with drunkenness.*—The Heb. has no word that describes this vice, like the Eng. words 'drunken,' 'drunkard,' 'drunkenness,' 'inebriate,' in terms derived from the physical act of drinking. It has two stems in common use ([*shâḳâh*] and *shâthâh*, שָׁקָה and שָׁתָה) referring to the act of drinking; and each denotes indifferently the drinking of water or wine or other liquids, drinking by men or by animals or by the ground. From one of these stems comes the word *mashḳeh*, not often used, denoting a butler or cupbearer, one who serves wine at table (Neh 1^{11}, Gn 40^{1} etc.). From the other comes the word *mishteh*, much used, denoting a formal feast, a banquet. This is often tr^{d} by the Gr. *πότος*, and once (Est 7) by *συμπόσιον*. Like the Gr. word, it has in it the idea of a social feast as a gathering where men *drink* together. This shows that the idea of social drinking is older than the differentiation of the Heb. language. Hence it is the more remarkable that the words of these Heb. stems never, of themselves, denote either vicious carousal or intoxication. They are sometimes used in connexion with carousal or intoxication, but in such cases the author always adds other words to indicate the vicious meaning. Even Ec 10^{17} is not an exception to this. See BANQUET.

A different stem is *râwâh* (רָוָה), occurring 14 times as a verb, and 6 times in all in the form of three different nouns. The idea is that of being brimful, or saturated, or soaked (Ps 23^{5}, Job 37^{11}, Is 58^{11} 16^{9} $34^{5.\ 7}$ etc.). It is possible to tr. the Heb., in every passage where these words occur, without recognizing an allusion to drunkenness. But LXX commonly tr. them by derivatives of *μεθύω* or *πίνω*, and they are no doubt to be regarded as denoting drunkenness. It is as when we speak of a habitually drunken man as a soaker, or as sodden with drink (Jer 46^{10}, La 3^{15}).

Another stem, *ṣâbhâ* (סָבָא), is used in all 8 or 9 times. Its meaning is nearly that of our Eng. 'to guzzle,' that is, to drink intoxicants greedily, with stupefying effect. The active participle denotes the guzzler as in the act, the passive participle describes him as affected by the liquor, the noun denotes either the liquor or the act of guzzling (Is 56^{12}, Dt 21^{20}, Pr $23^{20.\ 21}$, Nah 1^{10}, Is 1^{22}, Hos 4^{18}).

More important than all these is the stem *shâkhar* (שָׁכַר). The verb means to become intoxicated, and in common use are the nouns *shêkhâr*, 'intoxicating liquor' (see STRONG DRINK); *shikkôr*, 'drunkard,' and *shikkârôn*, 'drunkenness.' Many hold that the word is the same with our *sugar*, and that group of words in the Western languages. If so, the Heb. word and the Western word start together with the fact that sugar is present at the formation of alcohol, but follow entirely different lines of meaning. The usage of the Heb. stem is abundant and clear, leaving no doubt as to its meaning. Hebrew-speaking people were familiar with the spectacle of men overcome by alcohol, and they used the words of this stem to express this familiar fact.

In NT, and in Gr. VSS of OT, quite a variety of terms are used, but we need mention only one group: *μέθη*, 'habitual intoxication'; *μεθύω*, 'to be intoxicated'; *μεθύσκω*, 'to make intoxicated'; *μεθύσμα*, 'an intoxicant'; *μέθυσος*, 'intoxicated.' In their meaning and use (both literal and metaphorical) the words of this group are similar to those of the Heb. group last mentioned.

2. *Particulars given in the Bible concerning drunkenness.*—The OT and NT passages that give these particulars, though numerous, are too familiar to need direct citation. If one needs to refer to them, they are easily found by the help of a concordance. Of apocr. passages one will easily recall the contest concerning wine, kings, women, and truth, in 1 Es $3^{4\ ff.}$; the drunkenness of Holofernes, as described in Jth 12^{20} 13^{2}; the many references to drinking usages in Sir; and other like passages.

These various canon. or apocr. passages mention abundantly many of the familiar physical effects of drunkenness: staggering, reeling, dizziness, incoherent speech, redness of eyes, vomiting, stupid sleep, insensibility to blows, insatiable appetite for more stimulant. They speak of its mental effects: exhilaration, jollity, loss of good judgment, inconsequence of thought and purpose, inability to keep secrets, quarrelsomeness, shamelessness, failure to remember afterwards what occurred while one was drunk, the purposed for-

getting of one's misery, such facts as the nakedness of Noah, the helplessness of Amnon, the sodden condition of Nabal. They speak of festal drinking, of usages compelling one to drink, or exempting him from compulsion (Est 1^{8}), of carousals, dissipations, excess, riot, of the Syrian king drinking himself drunk in his tent in the face of the enemy, many times of the high-born people of both Israel and Judah as wasting their property and energies in costly drinking feasts, of the connexion of drunkenness with licentiousness and gambling, of orgies in which the three were mingled (Jl 3^{3}). They speak of the permanent effects of these things on one's condition of life, of the guzzler and the glutton who bring themselves to poverty, to loss of energy, to rags. They speak of sociological effects, of men who by reason of private dissipations neglect public duty, of men who ought to be ambitious to serve God and their country, but whose actual ambitions run in the line of compounding or drinking intoxicating beverages (*e.g.* Is $5^{11.\ 12.\ 22}$), of consequent incapacitation for leadership, and resulting oppression and injustice at home, and boundless defeat and slaughter by foreign invaders.

In these and other particulars no one can fail to recognize the widespread prevalence of drunkenness and its evils in the biblical times, and their identity with the same evils as now existing. Especial importance attaches, therefore, to anything the Bible has to say in regard to the remedy.

The author of Sir says: 'Wine drunk in season and to satisfy is joy of heart and gladness of soul; wine drunk largely is bitterness of soul, with provocation and conflict' ($31^{28.\ 29}$). Similar passages abound in ancient literature. They commend the moderate use of intoxicants, and condemn the excessive use; generally drawing the line, however, not between exhilaration and drunkenness, but between drunkenness that is regarded as occasional and seasonable and drunkenness that is habitual and unseasonable. In view of this, it is worth noting that our canonical books contain no such passage. On the other hand, they unqualifiedly condemn drunkenness. They lay down the proposition, 'Look not on the wine when it is red' (Pr 23^{31}). In such cases as those of the priests (Lv 10^{9}), of Daniel, of the Rechabites, of the Nazirites, they teach that even total abstinence is sometimes a duty.

An account of the intoxicating liquors mentioned in the Bible will be found under the titles STRONG DRINK and WINE. See also FOOD.

3. *The difference between the ancient and the modern problem.*—With all their many points of identity, there is a large and important group of differences. Any one who will carefully study all the passages in the Bible which speak of this matter will note that, in a large majority of them, drunkenness is explicitly spoken of as the vice of the wealthy. Perhaps there is not an instance in which habitual drunkenness is attributed to any who are not wealthy. In modern times, on the contrary, drunkenness is supposed to be much more prevalent among the poor than among the well-to-do. This difference is not an accident. It is mainly the result of the cheapening of intoxicants, through improved processes of distilling and brewing, introduced within the past two or three centuries. When the price of enough wine or beer to make a man drunk was equal to half a month's wages, and no other intoxicants were to be had, it was impossible for most men to become sodden drunkards. The case is different when an hour's labour will pay for an intoxicating quantity of cheap liquor. In the older time, habitual drunkenness was possible for thousands where it is now possible for hundreds of thousands. This vast modern extension of the domain of intemperance should not be forgotten when we study the Bible for practical light on the subject. To this might be added a large number of important differences of detail between ancient life and modern life that have bearings on the question in hand. The outcome of such a comparison is that drunkenness and its attendant evils, inexcusable, widespread, harmful, and dangerous as they were in the civilizations in which the Scriptures were written, are immeasurably more so in our existing civilization, and we ought to deal with the problem accordingly.

W. J. BEECHER.

DRUSILLA (Δρουσίλλα).—See HEROD.

DUKE.—This word being applied in AV with two exceptions * to the chiefs of Edom, the impression is formed that in the family of Esau this was a hereditary title, as it is in Britain now. It is, however, never a title in AV, but a general expression for 'chief,' being formed from Lat. *dux* (the word in the Vulg.), and the tr. of a word (אַלּוּף or אַלְוָף *'allûph*) which is also applied to the princes of Judah (Zec 9^{7} $12^{5.\ 6}$. See CHIEF, ii. 3).

The Heb. word is probably more specific than its Eng. equivalent, being held by Dillmann (on Gn 36^{15}) to be derived from אֶלֶף *'eleph*, a thousand; so properly 'a chiliarch,' and understood by Driver (*Expos.* III. ii. 9) 'to denote properly the *leader of a clan*,' and as 'probably the indigenous name borne in Edom by the chiefs of the several φυλαί or clans'; while in Eng. 'duke' was freely applied to any leader or chief of any rank and nation. Thus 'Annibal, duke of Carthaginensis'—Sir T. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 233: 'Ther was a duk that highte Theseus'—Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 2; after whom Shaks. *Mids. Night's Dream*, I. i. 20: 'Happy be Theseus, our renowned duke!'; Latimer (*Works*, i. 31) calls Gideon 'a duke'; and Wyclif uses the word of the Messiah, Mt 2^{6} 'And thou, Bethleem, the lond of Juda, art not the leest among the prynces of Juda; for of thee a duyk schal go out, that schal gouerne my puple of Israel'; and *Select Works*, iii. 137, 'Jesus Christ, duke of oure batel, taght us lawe of pacience, and not to feght bodily.' Between 1572 and 1623 (that is, when AV was made) the title was extinct in England.

J. HASTINGS.

DULCIMER.—See MUSIC.

DUMAH (דּוּמָה).—**1.** Son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{14}, 1 Ch 1^{30}), representing some Arabian tribe or locality. There are many places of this name mentioned by the Arabian geographers, its signification in Arabic (*daumun*, nom. unit. *daumatun*) being the branched wild nut, common in Arabia Deserta (Doughty, *Travels in A. D.*, Index). The most important of the places called after it, *Dumat al-Jandal* (also written *Daumat* and *Daumā'*) was identified by the earlier Mohammedan archæologists with the place mentioned in Gn (Yakut, *s.v.*); and it is probable that the same place is referred to by Pliny (*HN* vi. 32), who is acquainted with a *Domatha* in the neighbourhood of the Thamudeni (as well as a Thumati), and Ptolemy, who mentions a city Δουμεθά or Δουμαιθά in Arabia Deserta (v. 19, 7), as well as a city of importance of the same name in Arabia Felix (viii. 22, 3). Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* quotes Glaucus in the second book of his *Arabian Antiquities* as mentioning a city of the name, and Porphyry, *De Abstinent.* ii. 56, asserts that an Arabian tribe named *Dumathii* sacrificed a boy every year, and buried him under the altar which they used as an idol, probably with reference to the same place. Its site is fixed by the geographer Al-Bekri (i. 353) as 'ten days' journey from Medina, ten from Cufa, eight from Damascus, and twelve from Misr'; but by Mas'udi (*Bibl. Geog. Arab.* vii. 248) as 'five from Medina, and fifteen or thirteen from Damascus,' the latter numbers being probably more correct. The 'sūḳ Dūma,'

* The one exception is Jos 13^{21} 'dukes of Sihon' (נְסִיכִים, RV 'princes'), and the other 1 Mac 10^{65}, where Jonathan Maccabæus is said to have been made a 'duke' by king Alexander (στρατηγός, RV 'captain').

discovered by Burckhardt in the Jauf (*Travels in Syria*, 662), has been identified with it partly on the ground of the correspondence of the names of the surrounding villages with those mentioned by the geographers (cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Arabien*, ii. 360–388). The only further reference to it in the Bible is perhaps to be found in the heading of Is 21[11], where an obscure oracle in a strange dialect is introduced with the words 'the *massa*' of Dumah'; for this the LXX substitutes Idumæa, and many modern critics are inclined to interpret the name Dumah (in Heb. 'silence') allegorically. It is probable that more accurate knowledge of the purport of the oracle would show the geographical interpretation to be right. **2.** Name of one of the mountain cities of Judah (Jos 15[52]) according to the reading of most of the editions; but in that of Ginsburg, Rumah (רוּמָה) is substituted, and this reading is supported by the LXX ('Ρεμά or 'Ρουμά) and the Vulg. It is probable, however, that the ordinary reading Dumah is correct. In the *Onomast.* Δουμά is given as the name of a large village in the Daroma, seventeen miles from Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin); and it was identified by Robinson with *Khirbet Daumah*, in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, where are to be seen the ruins of a village situated on two hills separated by a valley, with remains of many cisterns and caves excavated in the rock, belonging to the Canaanite or Jewish epoch, as well as vestiges of Christian buildings. The 'seventeen miles' of the *Onomast.* is an overstatement, due to the tortuous routes followed in the mountain country (Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 359–361).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DUMB.—See MEDICINE.

DUNG.—1. Used in the East as manure (Lk 13[8]) and for fuel; especially that of cattle, where wood and charcoal are scarce or unattainable. In Eastern cities there is usually a receptacle for the offal of cattle, whence it is carried out and either burnt or used as manure. Directions for personal cleanliness are given in Dt 23[10-14]; and in the case of sacrifices the dung of the animals was burnt outside the camp (Ex 29[14], Lv 4[11. 12] 8[17], Nu 19[5]).

2. The word is used (*a*) to express contempt and abhorrence, as in the case of the carcase of Jezebel (2 K 9[37]); and in that of the Jews (Jer 9[22], Zeph 1[17]). (*b*) To spread dung upon the face was a sign of humiliation (Mal 2[3]). (*c*) As representing worthlessness, St. Paul counted all things but dung that he might win Christ (Ph 3[8]).

E. HULL.

DUNG GATE.—See JERUSALEM.

DURA (דּוּרָא Dn 3[1], a plain 'in the province of Babylon'). Etym. uncertain. The word may be connected with the Bab. *duru*, a strong wall or fortification, possibly also with Dor (Jg 1[27]) and with צוֹר. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxv. 6) mentions it as situated E. of the Tigris. The distance of such a locality from Babylon seems to preclude the possibility of its being the same as that alluded to in Daniel. The validity of this objection depends upon the extent of territory which may be regarded as included in the expression בִּמְדִינַת בָּבֶל. The same objection of distance applies to the place of this name which occurs in Polybius (v. 48), which was on the Euphrates near the mouth of the Chaboras, more than 200 miles N.W. of Babylon.

A third (and the most probable) locality suggested is to the E. of Babylon, where Oppert found what appears to be the base of a great statue, near a mound known as Dúair.

G. WALKER.

DURE.—The simple vb. 'dure' (fr. Lat. *durare*, 'be hard,' 'last') is now obsol., its place being filled by 'endure.' It occurs in AV Mt 13[21] only: 'Yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while' (RV 'endureth for a while,' Gr. πρόσκαιρός ἐστι, lit. 'is temporary'; Wyc. 'is temperal,' Rhem. 'is for a time'; 'dureth' is Tindale's word, who translates the same expression in Mk 4[17] by 'endure,' and is followed by AV). 'During,' still in use, is the pres. ptcp. of this verb; cf. Tindale, *Works*, p. 476: 'when the disciples were come together vnto the breakyng of the bread, Paule made a sermon duryng to mydnight.' Not in AV, 'during' is introduced by RV into Mt 26[5], Jn 2[23] 13[2], Rev 11[6]. **Durable** is still in use, and applicable to *clothing*, as Is 23[18], but scarcely now to *riches*, as in Pr 8[18]. Cf. Purchas, *Pil.* p. 28: 'They might take up their Crosse, and follow the second Adam unto a durable happinesse.'

J. HASTINGS.

DUTY is that which is *due*. In mod. Eng. it is only that which is due *by* one, but formerly expressed also that which is due *to* one. This is the meaning of Ex 21[10], AV 'If he take him another wife; his food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish' (so RV). Cf. Tindale's tr. of Mt 20[14] 'Take that which is thy duty, and go thy waye,' and of Lk 12[42] 'to geve them their deutie of meate at due season'; and Knox, *Hist.* p. 117: 'I will serve my Prince with body, heart, goods, strength, and all that is in my power, except that which is God's duty, which I will reserve to him alone.' Shaks. uses the word in both senses, *Tam. of Shrew*, IV. i. 40: 'Do thy duty, and have thy duty.' For the biblical conception of Duty, see ETHICS.

J. HASTINGS.

DWARF is the rendering in AV and RV of דַּק, a word (Lv 21[20]) denoting one of the physical disqualifications by which a priest was unfitted for service. The word means thin, lean, small. It is applied to Pharaoh's lean kine (Gn 41[3] etc.), to the minute grains of manna (Ex 16[14]), to the still, small voice (1 K 19[12]), and in other like instances. The conjecture that it here means a dwarf is plausible. But others regard it as meaning an unnaturally thin man—a consumptive, perhaps. The Sept. (ἔφηλος) and Vulg. connect this specification with the one that follows, as indicating defective eyes. So the meaning must be regarded as uncertain.

W. J. BEECHER.

DYEING.—The art of dyeing is not mentioned in Scripture, but *dyed stuffs* are referred to in various passages, and hence it is altogether probable that dyeing was known to the Israelites. The coloured stuffs mentioned are *blue*, *purple*, and *scarlet*; these all occurring together in the description of the hangings of the tabernacle (Ex 26[36]). It would seem that the yarn was dyed before weaving (cf. Ex 35[25]), as we know was the custom of the Egyptians (cf. Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* ii. p. 166, ed. 1878), from whom the Israelitish women may have acquired the art. The Egyptians were certainly acquainted with the art of dyeing by the use of chemicals, though they may not have understood the chemical properties of the materials employed (cf. Pliny, xxxv. 11, and Wilk. ii. 168, 169), and the Hebrews no doubt knew something of it at the time of the Exodus. At a later period they may have learned from the Phœnicians the process of making the Tyrian purple, so renowned among the ancients; but it is not probable that they produced it, as they could not readily procure the shell-fish used in its manufacture. The purple of the tabernacle, if made by the Hebrews, must have been obtained from other sources and by other methods. Purple occurs in Pr 31[22] as the clothing of the virtuous woman; and as it stands in a long list of items of her handiwork, it may indicate that she knew how to make it. Scarlet was obtained by a

process similar to that of purple, as we learn from Kenrick, *Phœn.* ch. viii., and Rawlinson, *Phœn.* ch. viii. Blue was doubtless obtained from indigo, which was known to the Egyptians from their commerce with India (Wilk. ii. 164). See COLOURS.

Rams' skins 'dyed' red (עֹרֹת אֵילִם מְאָדָּמִים) are mentioned in Ex 25[5]. This process the Hebrews could have learned also from the Egyptians (cf. Wilk. ii. 185). The art is still carried on in Syria, and large quantities of skins are tanned red for the native shoes and saddles. H. PORTER.

DYSENTERY.—See MEDICINE.

E

E.—The symbol ordinarily used in criticism of Hex. to signify the work of the [second] Elohist. See HEXATEUCH.

EAGLE (נֶשֶׁר *nesher*, *ἀετός*, *aquila*).—The Arab. retains the same name, in a modified form, *nisr*, substituting *sîn* for *shîn*. This term is used by the Arabs for the vultures, of which there are four species in the Holy Land. (1) *Gypœtus barbatus*, Cuv., the lammergeier, the פֶּרֶס *pereṣ* of the Hebrews, AV *ossifrage*, Arab. *'anûḳ*. (2) *Gyps fulvus*, Sav., the griffon. (3) *Neophron percnopterus*, L., the Egyptian vulture, called in Arab. *raḥam* or *dejâj-Fir'aun*, Pharaoh's hen. It is the *gier eagle* of AV, not of RV. (4) *Vultur monachus*, L.

It is also used for the true eagles, of which there are eight species in the Holy Land. (1) *Aquila chrysœtus*, L., the ospray of AV, which is the golden eagle, עָזְנִיָּה *'oznîyyâh*. (2) *A. heliaca*, Sar., the imperial eagle. (3) *A. clanga*, Pall., the greater spotted eagle, and perhaps *A. pomarina*, Brehm, the lesser spotted eagle, of which, however, only one specimen has been noted. (4) *A. rapax*, Temm., the tawny eagle. (5) *A. pennata*, Gmel. (6) *A. Nipalensis*, Hodges, the steppe eagle. (7) *A. bonelli*, Temm. (8) *Circœtus Gallicus*, Gmel., the short-toed eagle. The last is easily recognized by its large flat head, its huge golden eyes, and brightly spotted breast. Its short toes and tarsi are covered with tesselated scales to protect it from the serpents on which it preys. It is the most abundant of the eagle tribe in Palestine. All the above birds are included by the Arabs under the generic term *nisr=nesher*, even those which have also specific names, as the ossifrage, the ospray, and the Egyptian vulture. They agree in swiftness of flight (Dt 28[49] etc) in soaring high into the air (Pr 23[5] 30[19], Is 40[31]), in making their nests in high trees or inaccessible rocks (Job 39[27-30], Jer 49[16]), and in keenness of vision (Job 39[29]).

The expression 'enlarge thy baldness as the eagle' (Mic 1[16]), refers to the griffon, which has its head and neck free from feathers. The references to feeding on the slain (Job 39[30], Mt 24[28]) are not to be understood of vultures alone, as eagles also will feed on dead animals if they find them. But it is especially applicable to the griffon and Pharaoh's hen. Therefore in such passages (cf. Pr 30[17], Mt 24[28]) the allusion is generic. The 'ravenous bird from the East' (Is 46[11]) describes Cyrus, probably in allusion to the fact that the griffon was the emblem of Persia, and embroidered on its standard. This emblem in various forms has been copied by the Romans, Russians, Austrians, Germans, and by the United States.

The renewal of the youth of the eagle (Ps 103[5]) is an allusion to its longevity, which sometimes reaches a hundred years. The eagle is one of the 'living creatures' of Ezk 1[10], Rev 4[7]. It has been adopted as an emblem of St. John (in Irenæus of St. Mark), owing to his insight into the divine character, and his power of looking at the divine glory.

The 'bearing on eagles' wings' (Ex 19[4]) is clearly metaphorical, and does not refer to any habit of the eagle. The passage in Dt 32[11] 'As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings,' is explained by the preceding verse, which reads, 'He found him in a desert land, and in the waste, howling wilderness; he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye'; and in the following verse, 'So the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him.' The allusion is to the fostering care of the eagles for their young, and the pains they take to lure them from the nest and teach them to fly. These are well-known facts. It would be no wise difficult for an observer to fancy, in their evolutions, that the old birds actually bore up the younger ones in the air, as well as fluttered over them. G. E. POST.

EAR (אֹזֶן, *'ôzen*, *οὖς*).—Hearing is associated with obedience as seeing is with conviction. In the East when an order is given, the responsive gesture is to lift the hand to the head and breast, implying that the order is understood and will be carried out. Thus also in the *Arabian Nights*, after a command by a superior, the invariable reply is, 'Hearing and obeying!'

Eye, ear, and heart are concrete terms for understanding, will, and affection, and the gospel is declared to be something beyond human thoughts, desires, and passions. Men had at all times offered sacrifices to influence the will of the gods appealed to, but here God made the sacrifice to lead captive the will of man. 'Ear hath not heard' (1 Co 2[9]). Its limit is in man's willingness to listen (Mt 13[9], Rev 2[7. 11. 17], etc.). Assurance concerning God's ability to hear is drawn from the fact that He planted the ear (Ps 94[9]). The alienated heart is called an uncircumcised ear (Jer 6[10]).

The boring of a slave's ear by his consent was the token of life-long surrender and ownership (Ex 21[6]; but not Ps 40[5], see Kirkpatrick, *ad loc.*); the tip of the ear was touched with blood in the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Lv 8[23f.]) and in the cleansing of a leper (14[14. 17. 25. 28]); the cutting off of the ears is mentioned as one of the atrocities perpetrated by an enemy (Ezk 23[25]); to incline the ear is a frequent expression for to give attention (Ps 45[10], Pr 22[17] etc.); the ears tingle (צָלַל) at dreadful news (1 S 3[11], 2 K 21[12], Jer 19[3]); to open one's ear (גָּלָה אֹזֶן) is a common expression for to reveal a secret to one (1 S 9[15] 20[2. 12. 13], 2 S 7[27], 1 Ch 17[25] etc.). G. M. MACKIE.

EAR.—To 'ear' is to plough (Old Eng. *erian*, connected with *ἀρόειν* and *arare*), as 'After that he tempereth it with dong, then eareth it, soweth it, and haroweth it' (*Pilgr. Perf.* 1526, p. 23); 'A silver saucer . . . was eared up by a plough' (Harrison, *England*, i. 361). In AV, Dt 21[4] 'A rough valley, which is neither eared nor sown'

(RV 'plowed'; so at Gn 45[6], Ex 34[21], 1 S 8[12]); Is 30[24] 'the young asses that ear the ground' (RV 'till,' Heb. עָבַד 'work,' as in Dt 21[4]).

J. HASTINGS.

EARNEST.—There are three well-known NT passages in which this word occurs: Eph 1[14] 'The earnest of our inheritance'; 2 Co 1[22] and 2 Co 5[5] 'The earnest of the Spirit.' In all three instances the Greek word (introduced perhaps by Phœnician traders) is the same, ἀρραβών. Its Lat. equivalent is *arrha* or *arrhabo* (not *pignus*), and its Eng. *arles*, now obsolete except in Scotland. The corresponding word in Heb. עֵרָבוֹן (Gn 38[17. 18. 20]) means a pledge or token, something to be returned when the terms of the contract have been observed; but by ἀρραβών, *arrhabo*, *arles*, we are to understand a first instalment, given as a sure and binding engagement that the rest shall follow in due time. The earnest is a pledge, but it is a pledge consisting of part of the possession, or benefit, or blessing with which the contracting parties are concerned. The *arles* given to a servant signifies that a contract has been entered into, and it is a binding promise that the wages agreed upon will be forthcoming when the term of engagement has expired. It is really a part of the wages, and it is the same in kind as the money payment to be afterwards made. In very olden times a similar formality used to obtain in connexion with the conveyance of land, or houses, or mills. In buying a field, the purchaser had given him a clod of earth as an earnest that, at the appointed time, he should enter upon complete possession. When houses were transferred from one owner to another, the purchaser or receiver had handed him some of the thatch as *arles* or earnest that by and by the whole property should pass over into his possession. In the case of a mill, some small piece of the machinery was passed from hand to hand. These simple ceremonies were as binding as an agreement written upon parchment and made valid by the impression of a Government stamp. The idea underlying them all appears in various forms in Scripture history. Abraham's sojourn in Canaan was a kind of earnest to a wanderer like him that his seed should by and by possess the land. When Abraham's servant, having gone to Mesopotamia to fetch a wife for Isaac, gave Rebekah a nose-ring and bracelets and jewels of gold and silver, these were to her an earnest of Isaac's wealth, and the evidence of a comfortable home in Canaan. Using the word in the sense above explained and illustrated, the apostle tells us that the work of the Holy Spirit in our hearts is an earnest of our heavenly inheritance. Christian knowledge, holiness, and happiness are not only a pledge, but also a foretaste of heaven's bliss. See Eadie, *Eph.* p. 68f.

G. M. PHILPS.

EAR-RING.—נֶזֶם *nezem*, orig. nose-ring (נֶזֶם הַזָּהָב עַל־אַפָּהּ Gn 24[47], נִזְמִי חָאַף Is 3[21], cf. Ezk 16[12], where first clause should read as in RV 'I put a ring upon thy nose'), perhaps equiv. to חַח in Ex 35[22] (AV bracelet, RV brooch); also applied to ear-ring, הַנְּזָמִים אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם, Gn 35[4]. In RV it is tr. *ring*, where the text makes no special reference to nose or ear. For the nose the *nezem* was a plain ring of gold worn either in the wing or central cartilage of the nose. For the ear the circular form (עָגִיל Ezk 16[12]) was the most common, but usually ornamented with some sacred or talismanic symbol, or having one or more balls attached, hence called נְטִפוֹת Is 3[19] (AV *chains*, RV *pendants*). In Is 3[20] for לְחָשִׁים AV 'ear-rings,' RV gives 'amulets' (see AMULET). Such rings formed an important part of the bride's ornaments (Gn 24[22]). At the present day in Syria, when a young peasant woman comes into town with her friends to buy the marriage outfit, the first purchase is usually that of the ear-rings. Ear-rings are now confined to women, being regarded as barbaric and effeminate when worn by men. Among the Bedawin, in the case of an only son, the ear-ring is sometimes worn as

SYRIAN EAR-RINGS.

an amulet in the form of a large silver ring suspended round the outer ear, with discs or balls attached to the lower half of the ring, hanging visible below the lobe of the ear. Rings for nose and ear formed the material of the golden calf (Ex 32[2]), of Gideon's image (Jg 8[24]), and were offered for the furnishing of the tabernacle (Ex 35[22]).

LITERATURE.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 107; Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (Append. A. 'Female Ornaments'); Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 336 ff.; Hartmann, *Hebräerin*, iii. 205; Wellsted, *Travels*, i. 321; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 311, 314; Moore on Jg 8[24].

G. M. MACKIE.

EARTH is the tr. of various Heb. and Gr. terms, the most notable of which are—

1. אֲדָמָה (deriv. uncertain, perhaps from a root containing notion of being *tilled*, or of *smoothly covering and closely fitting*. See *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*), which with its LXX and NT equivalent γῆ is used (1) of the earth as tilled, Gn 2[5] 3[17] etc. Hence אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה = a husbandman, Gn 9[20]. (2) Of earth as a material substance, from which were fashioned man Gn 2[7], animals v.[19], vessels Is 45[9] (see POTTERY), of which at times altars were made Ex 20[24], cf. 2 K 5[17], and which was put upon the head as a token of woe or of contrition 1 S 4[12], 2 S 1[2], Neh 9[1]. In this last reference the term more frequently employed is עָפָר = dust, which is rendered *earth* in such passages as Gn 26[15], Job 8[19] 19[25] 28[2] 30[6] 41[33], Is 2[19], Dn 12[2]. (3) Of earth as the visible surface of the globe, in such phrases as 'everything that creepeth upon the face of the earth' (RV 'ground') Gn 1[25] 6[20] etc. (4) Of earth as = land or country Gn 47[19], Is 19[17], esp. of the Holy Land Zec 2[12]. (5) Of earth as = whole earth Gn 12[3] 28[14]. This last usage is rare, and, like the preceding, belongs rather to—

2. אֶרֶץ (in Aram. portions of Ezr and Dn אַרְעָא, Syr. *ar'â*), which is used (1) of earth as opposed to heaven Gn 1[1], cf. Mt 28[18]; (2) of earth as opposed to sea Gn 1[20], cf. Mk 4[1] 6[47]; (3) of the whole earth Gn 18[18], or its inhabitants Gn 1[28], cf. Lk 18[8] 21[35]; (4) = land, country, district Gn 10[10] 19[28], cf. Mt 2[20] 4[34]; (5) as synonymous with אֲדָמָה = soil Gn 1[11. 12], cf. Mt 13[5]. See GROUND.

3. A poetic synon. of אֶרֶץ is תֵּבֵל (perhaps fr. a root = *productive*; according to Hommel, *Expos. Times*, 1897, viii. 472, it had originally a mythological sense), 1 S 2[8], Is 14[21] etc. Both אֶרֶץ and תֵּבֵל are reproduced in the LXX by γῆ and οἰκουμένη, the

latter of which occurs a good many times also in NT, *e.g.* Lk 4^5, Ro 10^{18}, Rev 16^{14}.

See further COSMOGONY, WORLD.

J. A. SELBIE.

EARTHQUAKE.—Palestine has from time immemorial been a country subject to earthquakes, and it is therefore not surprising that several references to these phenomena should be found in Holy Writ. Nor is it improbable that during prehistoric times, especially during the Miocene and Pliocene epochs, it was even more liable to seismic shocks than in the former period, when we consider that the regions beyond the Jordan witnessed volcanic eruptions on a vast scale from craters and foci which are now altogether dormant.*

The references in this article will be restricted to the region of Pal. and the adjoining territories of Syria, Asia Minor, and Arabia Petræa, and the subject will be treated under the foll. heads :—

1. Historical. 2. Prophetic. 3. Earthquakes of the Christian Era. 4. Origin of Earthquake Phenomena. 5. Literature.

1. HISTORICAL.—(*a*) Earthquake at Mount Sinai on the giving of the Law: 'the whole mount quaked greatly' (Ex 19^{18}).

(*b*) Earthquake accompanied by fissures and sinking of the ground, by which Korah and his companions were destroyed (Nu 16^{31}; also Jos. *Ant.* IV. iii. 3).

(*c*) Earthquake in the days of Saul (1 S 14^{15}).

(*d*) Elijah, fleeing from the wrath of Jezebel, finds a refuge on the solitary heights of Horeb (Mount Sinai) in Arabia Petræa (1 K 19^{11}). Assuming Jebel Musâ to be actually the mount in question, tradition has handed down to us the name of the cave from which the prophet witnessed the effects of the earthquake. At about 200 feet below the summit of this mountain there lies in a recess a circular pool surrounded by rocks of granite and porphyry penetrated at one spot by a cave, probably of artificial origin, known amongst the Arabs and the monks of St. Catherine as 'Elijah's cave.' The position and surroundings fit in so well with the narrative that it would be useless to call in question the truth of this identification.† The solitude of the place would have afforded the prophet protection; the cave, shelter; and the pool, water to quench his thirst.

(*e*) Earthquake in the reign of Uzziah. This earthquake must have been one of extraordinary severity, as it is twice referred to, Am 1^1 and Zec 14^5; and from the latter passage we may infer that it caused a precipitate flight of the inhabitants of Jerus., and may have been accompanied by fissuring of the earth at the Mount of Olives. The exact date cannot be determined, as Uzziah's reign was long, extending from *c.* B.C. 790–740.

(*f*) B.C. 31, Sept. 2. In the reign of Herod an earthquake occurred in Judæa, 'such as had not happened at any other time,' destructive to men and animals (Jos. *Ant.* XV. v. 2).

(*g*) Earthquake at the Crucifixion. In this case the earthquake described in Mt 27^{51} was one of the miraculous manifestations of divine power which accompanied the death of our Lord on the cross, and was followed by rending of the rocks and of the veil of the temple, and opening of the tombs, A.D. 29.

(*h*) Earthquake at Philippi. This has often been considered a miraculous manifestation of divine power, called forth for the release from prison of St. Paul and Silas, A.D. 51.

* In Keith Johnston's *Physical Atlas*, as also in Prestwich's *Map of Active and Extinct Volcanoes* (*Geology*, vol. i.), the region of Pal. and Syria is shown as one greatly subject to earthquake shocks.

† The only other rival is that of Serbâl; but the claims of J. Musâ to be Horeb far outweigh those of Serbâl. See Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*, ed. 1860, p. 49; *Picturesque Pal.*, p. 113.

2. PROPHETIC.—Earthquakes being amongst the most terrible and impressive of natural phenomena, are made use of in the Bible for prophetic imagery connected with future calamitous events; thus—(*a*) 'she (Ariel or Mount Zion) shall be visited of the Lord of hosts with thunder and with earthquake' (Is 29^6, RV). (*b*) 'And there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places' (Mt 24^7). (*c*) 'And I saw when he opened the sixth seal, and there was a great earthquake' (Rev 6^{12}). (*d*) 'And he (the angel) taketh the censer, and he filled it with the fire of the altar, and cast it upon the earth; and there followed thunders, and voices, and lightnings, and an earthquake' (Rev 8^5). (*e*) 'And there were killed in the earthquake seven thousand persons' (Rev 11^{13}). (*f*) 'And there was a great earthquake, such as was not since there were men upon the earth' (Rev 16^{18}).

3. EARTHQUAKES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.—Out of the large number of recorded earthquakes, of greater or less intensity, from which Pal. and the neighbouring countries have suffered, only a few of special importance can be noticed here.

(1) A.D. 494. Syria and Asia Minor; the cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis, Tripolis, and Agathicum were overthrown (*Mar. Comes*, p. 46, quot. by Mallet).
(2) A.D. 551. Felt over Pal., Arabia, and Syria (Theophanes, p. 192).
(3) A.D. 653. Month of June; very destructive in Pal. and Syria (Theoph. p. 282).
(4) A.D. 746. Jerus. and surrounding regions suffered greatly (Theoph. p. 363).
(5) A.D. 755. A severe shock of earthquake occurred at Jerus., whereby the Haram es-Sherif ('Mosque of Omar') was much injured (Besant and Palmer, *Hist. Jerusalem*, ed. 1888, p. 97).
(6) A.D. 859. Earthquake throughout Syria; in Antioch 1500 houses were thrown down (Abulfaraj, p. 166, quot. by Mallet).
(7) A.D. 1036. Earthquake by which Jerus. was much injured (Cedrenus, p. 737).
(8) A.D. 1170. Succession of earthquakes passed through Pal., which, by their violence and frequency, filled all men's hearts with fear; hundreds perished in the ruins of their houses; grief and consternation spread around (*Hist. Jerusalem*, p. 352).
(9) A.D. 1202 (or 1204). An earthquake shook Pal. from end to end; Damascus, Tyre, and Nablûs were reduced to heaps of ruins; the walls of Acre and Tripoli fell; Jerus. alone seemed spared, and there Christian and Mohammedan met together to thank God for their safety (*Hist. Jerusalem*, p. 492; Abulfeda, *Ann.* iv. p. 211).
(10) A.D. 1402. Coast of Syria affected; sea retired and then invaded the land; several towns ruined (Muratori, t. xviii. p. 974).
(11) A.D. 1759. An earthquake protracted through a period of three months, in which Acco, Saphat, Baalbek, Damascus, Sidon, etc., were severely injured (*Volcanoes, Past and Present*, p. 219).
(12) A.D. 1822. On Aug. 13 an earthquake occurred at Aleppo, lasting only ten or twelve seconds, by which this town, together with several others in Syria, were converted into a heap of ruins, and 20,000 human beings were destroyed (Chesney, *Survey of the Euphrates and Tigris*).
(13) A.D. 1837, 1st Jan. Great earthquake in Pal. by which the town of Safed was destroyed, with many of the inhabitants (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 581).

4. ORIGIN OF EARTHQUAKE PHENOMENA.—From the observations made by Hopkins, Lyell, and others regarding the cause and nature of earthquakes, it seems clearly established that they have their origin in some sudden impact of gas, steam, or molten matter, impelled by gas or steam under high pressure, beneath the solid crust. The effect of such impact is to originate a wave of translation through the crust, travelling outwards from a focus, and causing a movement of the surface to greater or less distances. These waves of translation can in some cases be represented on a map by curved lines; each line representing approximately an equal degree of seismal intensity. That there is an intimate connexion between earthquake shocks and volcanic action is proved by the fact that eruptions from volcanic craters

are generally preceded by earthquake shocks, and these latter are more frequent in those regions where volcanoes, either active or extinct, abound. At the same time, the most destructive earthquakes are not necessarily in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, many of the most disastrous having occurred in places far removed from centres of eruption; as, for example, those of Lisbon in 1755, and of Charleston in N. America in 1886. Such cases as these have given rise to the view that active volcanoes act as safety-valves for the escape of the elastic gases and vapour underlying the crust.*

LITERATURE.—Hopkins, 'Theory of Earthquakes,' in *Rep. Brit. Assoc.* 1847, p. 33; Mallet, *Earthquake Catalogue, ibid.* 1858; Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii.; Prestwich, *Geology*, vol. i. ch. 13, with map of earthquake areas; Judd, *Volcanoes*, ed. 1888, p. 343; Hull, *Volcanoes, Past and Present*, Contemp. Science Ser. p. 217 (1892): for the earthquakes referred to in Bible, Plumptre, *Biblical Studies*, 136; Andrews, *Life of Our Lord*, 561, 575; Schürer, *HJP*, I. i. 403, 426; Pusey on Am 4[11].

E. HULL.

EASE.—The subst. is found chiefly in the phrase 'at ease,' which has both a good and a bad meaning: Ps 25[13] 'His soul shall dwell at ease; and his seed shall inherit the earth' (בְּטוּב 'in good'); but Am 6[1] 'Woe to them that are at ease in Zion' (הַשַּׁאֲנַנִּים), so Job 12[5], Ps 123[4], Is 32[9. 11], Zec 1[15] with same Hebrew. Once 'ease' means 'relief,' Sir 38[14] 'that which they give for ease and remedy to prolong life' (*ἀνάπαυσις*, RV 'relief'). Elsewhere 'rest' or 'enjoyment,' as Dt 28[65] 'among these nations shalt thou find no ease' (לֹא תַרְגִּיעַ); Jth 1[16] 'there he took his ease, and banqueted' (*ἦν ἐκεῖ ῥαθυμῶν*); Lk 12[19] 'take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry' (*ἀναπαύου*). But in Apocr. the word occurs as the opposite of difficulty, as 2 Mac 2[25] 'that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease' (*εὐκοπία*), 2[27] 'it is no ease' (*οὐκ εὐχερές*). In these places we should now use the adverb 'easily.' But we still have 'with ease,' as in Jg 20[43] 'they . . . chased them, and trod them down with ease' (מִנּוּחָה, RV 'at their resting place').

But the meaning of this passage is uncertain; Moore thinks the Heb. is corrupt. The word *mĕnûḥâh* means 'a resting place,' as Nu 10[33], and is often translated 'rest' (see Cox on Ru 1[9]); but it may be a place-name here, as AVm 'from Menuchah,' RVm 'at Menuhah'; there is, however, no prep. in the Heb. The older versions are at a loss. The AV rendering is from the Geneva Bible 'chased them at ease,' with marg. 'drove them from their reste.' Taverner gives 'chased them to Menoah'; Cov. 'folowed upon them unto Menuah'; Bishops' 'chased them diligently,' m. 'from their rest'; Wyc., Douay, 'neither was there any rest of men dying,' after Vulg. 'nec erat ulla requies morientium.' The LXX is *ἀπὸ Νουά*; Luther 'bis gen Menuah'; Osterwald 'depuis Ménuha.' On the whole it seems best, if we are to accept the text, to take the word as a place-name; and then Osterwald is probably nearest the mark 'depuis Ménuha jusqu' à l'opposite de Guibha.'

The verb has always the meaning of 'give relief'; but that may be either by lightening a burden, as 2 Ch 10[4] 'ease thou somewhat the grievous servitude of thy father'; or by removing it altogether, as Is 1[24] 'I will ease me of mine adversaries' (אֲנַחֵם), 2 Es 7[68] 'if he did not so of his goodness, that they which have committed iniquities might be eased of them, the ten thousandth part of men should not remain living' (*ut alleventur*). Cf. Jer. Taylor (1630), *Works*, iii. 90, 'I am no sooner eased of him, but Gregory Gandergoose . . . catches me by the goll'; and Pope, *Odyss.* xxi. 342, 'Ease your bosoms of a fear so vain.' Tindale meant to express the *removal* of the burden when he tr[d] Mt 11[28] 'Come unto me all ye that laboure and are laden, and I will ease you'; and so Hos 11[7] Cov. 'their prophetes laye the yocke vpon them, but they ease them not of their burthen.'

J. HASTINGS.

EAST, CHILDREN OF THE (בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם, *υἱοὶ ἀνατολῶν*).—A general name for the inhabitants of the country east of Palestine, especially the Syrian desert, but also including what was known of Arabia; in Jg 6[3] 7[12] and 8[10], the Children of the East are coupled with Midian and Amalek; in Jer 49[28] with Kedar. The mention of their שֵׁירוֹת, or Bedawin encampments (Ezk 25[4. 10]), which they are to erect on the lands of Moab and Ammon, identifies them with the Ishmaelites, of whom the same technical term is used. To their proverbial wisdom reference is made in 1 K 5[10] and Is 19[11], and it is probably the reason why the author of the Book of Job made his hero one of them (Job 1[3]). In Gn 29[1] 'the land of the children of the E.' might seem to be Mesopotamia; but it is more probable that different views of the habitation of Laban are conflated in that chapter.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

EAST SEA, EASTERN SEA.—See DEAD SEA.

EASTER, used in AV as the tr. of *τὸ πάσχα* in Ac 12[4] 'intending after E. to bring him forth to the people.' RV has substituted correctly 'the Passover.' The anachronism of AV was inherited from older Vss which avoided, as far as possible, expressions which could not be understood by the people.

A. C. HEADLAM.

EBAL or OBAL.—1. Name of a son of Joktan (עוֹבָל Gn 10[28] MT, עֵיבָל *ib.* Sam., Γαιβάλ Luc., 1 Ch 1[22]), probably representing a place or tribe in Arabia. There are several places in S. Arabia with names approximating to the Hebrew forms, *e.g.* *'Aibān*, a mountain near San'ā frequently mentioned by Hamdani; *'Obal*, a place in the neighbourhood of Hujailah visited by Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 427); *'Ābil*, mentioned by Halévy; but till more is known of the source of the ethnological tables in Gn, it is impossible to assign any probability to such identifications. Derivatives from the root *'abl* occur as tribal names at the commencement of Islam (*Tāj al-'arūs*, viii. 4), and it is likely that the author had in mind some tribe, otherwise unknown, bearing such an appellation. **2.** Name of a son of Shobal son of Seir (עֵיבָל Gn 36[23], 1 Ch 1[40]).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

EBAL (עֵיבָל, Arab. *el-Islamîyeh*). — Ebal and Gerizim, the mounts of Cursing and Blessing, form the most conspicuous and important summits of the hills of Samaria. This distinction is due partly to their superior height and to their central position in the whole land, but chiefly to the deep cleft between them which breaks the outline of the long mountain ridge running N. and S. This natural pass between E. and W., led up to by wheat-growing plains on each side, became inevitably a place of importance both for purposes of commerce and in times of war. The existence of a branch of the main road from N. to S. leading through the narrow opening between Ebal and Gerizim, would still further tend to make the locality familiar and important. It needed only the additional circumstance of numerous fountains in the fertile hollow where the bases met, to create an Oriental town where the traveller might rest in safety and the inhabitants would possess all that was necessary for man and beast. Such a town was the ancient Shechem (Gr. Neapolis, Arab. Nablûs), occupying the defile where it is only 150 yds. wide.

This attractiveness and convenience of the place is exemplified in the lives of Abraham and Jacob; the former arriving here on his first entry into the land of Canaan (Gn 12[6. 7]), and Jacob resting at

* The theory of Mr. R. Mallet differs somewhat from the above; briefly stated, he considers that earthquakes originate in shocks caused by the strain overcoming the resistance along lines of fracture traversing the earth's crust; this strain being due to the secular cooling of the crust and consequent contraction (*Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. xxi.).

the same spot on his return from Paddan-aram (Gn 33[18-20]).

Ebal and Gerizim face N. and S., the latter being the more celebrated in religious history, but the N. summit (3077 ft.) being 200 ft. higher, and commanding a more free and extensive prospect.

1. *View of the Land from Ebal.*—The beginning of the ascent from Nablûs is over grass of intensest green and enamelled lustre, through irrigated vegetable gardens of rank luxuriance, and under foliage of juicy transparency sparkling in the sunlight—one of the most fertile and picturesque spots in Palestine.

Above this, one enters immediately upon the silvery grey of the olive trees, which rapidly become scanty and irregular as the path opens in earnest upon the mountain climb. Then stony terraces and rocky face, with thistles and thorny shrubs, until the traveller reaches the broad, bare summit, and stands upon the central height of the whole land. Looking N., one sees Mt. Hermon towering aloft in the distance, glimmering with snow-streaked crests beyond the boundary plain in which lay Abel (Ibl), Baal-gad (Cæsarea Philippi, Banias), and Dan (Tell el-Ḳadi). On the E., rising steeply from the Jordan bed, is seen the long, slumbrous, uniform ridge of Gilead and Moab. To the S., conspicuous summits can be identified in the neighbourhood of Jerus.; and to the W., beyond the lower hills and patchwork of broad plain, the yellow coast-line sweeps from Jaffa to Carmel.

Such a commanding view from such a central point emphasizes at once the limitations of the land and the grandeur of the events that have given it immortality.

2. *Religious Connexion.*—One of the most important of those events was the arrival at this spot of Abraham in his journey of faith to the land of Canaan, and his receiving by the terebinth of Moreh a promise from the Lord, 'unto thy seed will I give this land' (Gn 12[7]). It was fitting that the fulfilment of the promise, after more than 400 years of waiting and preparation, should receive its great public announcement at the very place where it had been given. It was also deeply appropriate that in a land where customs and occupations, scenery and social life, were to be a storehouse of parable and moral teaching to the world, its central heights of Ebal and Gerizim should be baptized into this service and be known as the mountains of Cursing and Blessing. It was accordingly here that Joshua (Jos 8[30-35]) assembled the congregation, and erected the memorial altar according to the command and detailed instructions of Moses (Dt 11[29. 30] and 27. 28). In addition to the duty of formal compliance with such a command, there was an inner urgency of the hour that called for such an act of declaration and decision. During the past 40 years the Isr. had received the discipline of adversity: they were now to face the greater temptation of success. The emergency was a suitable one for setting forth the moral regalia of the kingdom, and the responsibilities of its service. The recent experience at Jericho and Ai had emphasized the plain conditions of triumph and failure. Still further the incident of the Gibeonites, and the rumour of confederated opposition, set before them the dangers and difficulties of the work. And so on that memorable day, in the defile between Ebal and Gerizim, the Isr. entered upon the inheritance of the promises in the only way that it can be entered—through the door of complete and conscious surrender to the will of God. They were to possess the land, but not for themselves. The assemblage was on a scale of vastness suitable to the moral elevation of the thought. In the central hollow of the hills rested the sacred ark that had so unerringly guided them in their journeyings, and was now pointing to the final resting-place of secure possession. Up the opposing sides of Ebal and Gerizim, six tribes to each, rising with the mountain slopes and terraces in solid masses where the ground was level, with fluttering groups and sprinklings on points of advantage, all bright colours mingling with the predominant white, the whole congregation of Israel was drawn up—an army in array for the battle of life. It was the Coronation Day of the Moral Law. God could not do more for His people, and, to invert the familiar phrase, *His* extremity became *man's* opportunity. If righteousness could come by law, it might have come then and continued. As the solemn entail of forfeiture was proclaimed from Ebal, and the bright succession of blessings from Gerizim, the announcement was received with an acclamation of amens. It was a mingling of the two voices of Destiny and Disposition, of Divine purpose and human choice.

Literature.—Robinson, *BRP*; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*; Thomson, *Land and Book*; Smith, *Hist. Geog.*; Murray's and Bædeker's *Guide Books.*

G. M. Mackie.

Ebed (עֶבֶד).—**1.** The father of Gaal, who headed the rebellion against Abimelech (Jg 9[26-35]). **2.** One of those who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr 8[6]), called in 1 Es 8[32] Obeth.

Ebed-melech (עֶבֶד־מֶלֶךְ).—An Ethiop. eunuch, at whose intercession and by whose personal exertions Jeremiah was released from the pit-prison of Malchiah. For this kindly service E. was promised immunity from the fate of his companions at the capture of Jerus. (Jer 38[7ff.] 39[15ff.]). It is possible that the name E., which means 'servant of [the] king,' may have been an official title. A very ancient seal (see fig. on p. 258 of Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.*) is inscribed 'Obadiah servant of the king' (*Obadjahu 'ebhed hammelekh*). More probable, however, is the view of Gray (*Heb. Prop. Names*, 117, 147), who takes Melech as a divine name.

J. A. Selbie.

Ebenezer (אֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר or הָאֶבֶן 'Stone of help').—Mentioned three times in 1 S. According to 4[1] 5[1] it is the scene of a great defeat of the Isr. at the hands of the Phil. in the time of Eli, while in 7[12] it is the name of a stone set up by Samuel to commemorate a great victory over the Philistines; it is further noticeable that in 7[12] the name is apparently given for the first time, though the victory there described happened some twenty years after the events of ch. 4[1] 5[1]. In 7[12], which belongs to a somewhat later document, E. is placed under Beth-car, and between Mizpah and Hasshen ('the tooth'); but we must here follow the LXX (*τῆς παλαιᾶς*), and read 'between Mizpah and Jashan (or Jeshanah)'; the latter (cf. 2 Ch 13[19]) is probably the modern 'Ain Sinia, to the N. of Bethel. On this view, E. would lie somewhere at the head of the valley of Aijalon; this site is further favoured by the notice in 4[1f.]. The more generally accepted theory, however, places E. more to the south, at the head of the vale of Sorek, and either identifies the stone set up by Samuel with the great stone at Bethshemesh (6[18]) or places it in the immediate neighbourhood. But this identification does not suit 7[12], and is hardly compatible with the narrative of 4[1]–7[1]. See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 223 f.

J. F. Stenning.

Eber (עֵבֶר).—**1.** The eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews (which see), great-grandson of Shem, son of Shelah, and father of Peleg and Joktan (Gn 10[24f.] 11[14ff.], 1 Ch 1[18. 19. 25]), perhaps used poetically for Israel in Nu 24[24] (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*).

2. The representative of the priestly family of Amok in the days of Joiakim, Neh 12^{20}. **3.** A Gadite family name, 1 Ch 5^{13}. **4. 5.** The name of two Benjamite families, 1 Ch $8^{12.\ 22}$. See GENEALOGY.

J. A. SELBIE.

EBEZ (אֶבֶץ), 'white.'—A city of Issachar (Jos 19^{20}). The site is uncertain. Probably the ruin *El-Beidhah*, 'the white,' east of Carmel. *SWP* vol. i. sheet v.

C. R. CONDER.

EBIASAPH.—See ABIASAPH.

EBONY (הֻבְנִים *hobnîm*).—The Arab. name for this wood is very near the Heb., being *ebnûs*. There can be no reasonable doubt of the identity of the wood intended in the single passage in which it is mentioned (Ezk 27^{15}). It was brought to Tyre by merchants from Dedan, on the Pers. Gulf. It is the black heart-wood of *Diospyros Ebenum*, L., and several other species of the same genus, trees growing to a large size in Ceylon and S. India. *D. Ebenum*, however, furnishes the best wood. It resembles the common and the Japanese *persimmon* in its mode of growth and inflorescence, and in bearing an edible fruit, between a pome and a berry. The sap-wood is white and valueless, but the heart often yields a log 2 ft. in diameter, and 10 to 15 ft. long.

G. E. POST.

EBRON (עֶבְרֹן).—A town in the territory assigned to Asher (Jos 19^{28} RV; wrongly written Hebron in AV, as if from חֶבְרוֹן, the name of the famous Judæan city). It is just possible that we should read 'Ebdon, for 'Ebron, the latter form having arisen from the substitution, not uncommon, of ר for ד. It is noteworthy that this name, 'Ebron, occurs but once, while in the other name-lists for Asher (Jos 21^{30}, 1 Ch 6^{74}) we have an 'Ebdon or 'Abdon, which is absent here. This supposition has the support of twenty MSS (Gesenius). It is, however, in conflict with the ancient versions, all of which give 'Ebron, with the single exception of B, which unaccountably has Ἐλβών. From the order in which the towns are mentioned, we should seek for E. somewhere north of Cabûl, and south of Rehob, Hammôn, and Ḳanah. No certain identification has yet been made: in position the ruin of *'Abdeh* answers well enough the condition indicated. Twelve miles north of Cabûl, about 10 miles N.N.E. of Acre, and 3 miles east of Achzîb,—the modern Ez-Zîb,—it occupies a slight eminence on the northern edge of the Plain of Acre, the mountains rising like grim guardians behind. If we accept the identification of 'Ebron with 'Abdon, this seems to be the most probable site.

W. EWING.

ECBATANA.—See ACHMETHA.

ECCLESIASTES (קֹהֶלֶת *Ḳoheleth*, LXX Ἐκκλησιαστής, Aq. Κωλέθ).—**1.** The TITLE.—This presents some difficulties, which have scarcely as yet been satisfactorily explained. The word is a fem. part. of the Qal conj. The verb is not found elsewhere in this conj. In the Hiph. the word means 'to call an assembly together.' It is commonly held that here the Qal is used with the force of the Hiph., and that *Ḳoheleth* means 'one who convenes an assembly.' There have been other interpretations, such as 'a collector of sayings,' or 'one who gathers wisdom from various quarters.' But since the verb is always used with ref. to persons and never with ref. to things, these are untenable. Tyler urges that the causative force cannot be put into the word, and he explains it to mean 'one who *is* an assembly.' *Koheleth* would thus be a personification of 'an ideal assembly of those Jewish philosophers, Stoic, Epicurean, and others, whose opinions were influential at the time when the book was composed' (Tyler, *Ec.* 59). But this is too artificial to be probable, and it seems best to fall back on the common view, that *Ḳ.* means 'the convener of an assembly.' A greater difficulty is caused by the fem. form. This has been explained on the hypothesis that the speaker is Wisdom, impersonated in Solomon, and *Ḳ.* is fem. as agreeing with the fem. word for Wisdom. This view has been taken by Ewald, Hitzig, Ginsburg, and others. Against this, however, serious objections may be urged. It is strange that Wisdom should be nowhere mentioned as the speaker. Further, it is barely conceivable that Wisdom should have used some of the language put into the mouth of *Ḳ.* ($1^{17.\ 18}$ 7^{23} etc.), or that Solomon should be regarded as her impersonation, considering the experiences through which the speaker says that he has passed. Again, the tone of the discourses is so different from what we find in those passages where Wisdom is actually represented as speaking, that if the writer had intended to make Solomon the spokesman of Wisdom he would have felt it necessary, in view of this striking difference, to say so explicitly. It is also to be observed that the verb used with *Ḳ.* is masc., and on the view we are discussing it is explained by the theory that the fem. Wisdom speaks through the masc. Solomon. The objections already urged against the identification of *Ḳ.* with Wisdom have led to the view that we are to find in the fem. form, not a distinction of sex, but a variation in meaning. In other words, the Preacher is a male, but the fem. termination conveys a special shade of meaning. This gives a better account of the use of the masc. verb. The word may then mean 'one who holds the office of a teacher or preacher' (Delitzsch, Nowack, Cheyne), or, if the fem. has an intensive force, 'the great orator' (W. Wright, RVm). Kuenen feels himself unable to decide between the view that *Ḳ.* is Wisdom and that the fem. does not express distinction of sex. The arguments for the latter view seem to be stronger, and we should probably interpret *K.* to mean 'one who holds the office of teacher.' The title *Ecclesiastes* comes from the LXX.

That by *Ḳ.* the author means Solomon has been subject to dispute, but should admit of none. He is identified with 'the son of David, king in Jerus.' (1^{1}), and says of himself, 'I, *Ḳ.*, was king over Israel in Jerusalem.' The son of David who was king is best explained strictly and not loosely to mean descendant. After the division of the kingdom a king could not have spoken of himself as reigning over Israel in Jerusalem. It is also clear that Solomon is the king whose varied experiences of wisdom and luxury are referred to in chs. 1 and 2.

2. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.—The book was, till the period of critical investigation, almost universally ascribed to Solomon. Some writers still support this view, though it is abandoned by all critics of eminence. The main reason is that *Koheleth* speaks in the first person, and therefore if the author was not Solomon he would be deceiving his readers. This does not follow. The author of Job uses the literary vehicle of a debate to reach the solution of his problem. Here the writer has chosen an autobiographical sketch of Solomon as his literary vehicle. And he has done so for reasons which are quite obvious. Solomon was the typical representative of Wisdom, and the author wished to set forth his conclusions as those of a man who had brought the deepest and sanest reflection to bear upon life. But it was also important that his experience should be wide, and his opportunities of testing the value of life in its

various forms of the fullest. Here Solomon admirably served his purpose. Not only was he the wise man, but he was a king whose magnificence has passed into a proverb, and who was able to gratify every wish. He was thus able to wring the most out of life, and from him the sentence 'All is vanity' would come with greater force than from any other. This is no proof that he is not the author, but it removes any antecedent prejudice against the denial of the Solomonic authorship, based on the statements of the book.

The objections to the Solomonic authorship are overwhelming. The very language quoted to prove it is seen on examination to be unfavourable to it. Solomon can hardly have said 'I was king,' as if he had ceased to be so, for he reigned till his death. The words 'over Israel in Jerus.' are most naturally explained by the writer's knowledge of kings of Israel who did not reign in Jerusalem. And since it was his own father who had made Jerus. the royal city, and Solomon had not been preceded by a long line of kings, he could scarcely have spoken of 'all that were before me in Jerus.' (1^{16} $2^{7.9}$). There are also many passages which do not suit the Solomon of history. The writer speaks with bitterness of the oppression of the weak and the perversion of judgment. Solomon would not have tolerated such abuses if he had felt them so keenly as the author. Certainly, so far from feeling any keen distress at oppression, his government was systematically oppressive. The words of the author do not impress us as those of a king who stands above his subjects, but as those of a subject sympathizing with the misery of his fellow-subjects. Instead of judgment and righteousness he sees wickedness, and bids his readers not to wonder at oppression and violence. The State is not well-ordered and prosperous as in the time of Solomon. 'Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low places.' This is an error which proceeds from the ruler. Servants ride on horses, and princes walk on the earth. Nor can the reference to the king's system of spies, and the writer's bitter advice based upon it, be seriously regarded as from a king (10^{20}). Other references to kings (4^{13-16} $10^{16.17}$) are equally inconceivable in Solomon's mouth. Nor has the popular view, that Solomon wrote the book in his old age after repenting of his idolatry, any support in the book itself. From beginning to end there is no confession of wrong-doing, no ref. to idolatry, no hint of repentance. It dwells on the unsatisfying nature of life, but penitent confession is quite alien to its whole spirit and purpose. The author is certainly not a satisfactory or edifying penitent.

But the same conclusion that Solomon cannot be the author is shown by the language. The linguistic evidence is so decisive that Delitzsch has said, in words that have been quoted with approval by many critics since: 'If the Book of *K.* be of old-Solomonic origin, then there is no history of the Heb. language.' And Driver, whose opinion on such a matter is of exceptional value, says: 'Linguistically, *K.* stands by itself in OT. The Heb. in which it is written has numerous features in common with the latest parts of OT, Ezr, Neh, Ch, Est, but it has in addition many not met with in these books, but found first in the fragments of Ben-Sira (*c.* B.C. 200) or in the Mishnah (*c.* A.D. 200). The characteristic of the Hebrew in which these latest parts of OT are written is, that while many of the old classical words and expressions still continue in use, and, in fact, still preponderate, the syntax is deteriorated, the structure of sentences is cumbrous and inelegant, and there is a very decided admixture of words and idioms not found before, having usually affinities with the Aramaic, or being such as are in constant and regular use in the Heb. of post-Christian times (the Mishnah, etc.). And this latter element is decidedly larger and more prominent in Ec than in either Est or Ezr-Neh-Ch' (*LOT*, 444). The phenomena, in fact, are consistent only with the post-exilic date, and the Solomonic authorship is therefore out of the question. The detailed evidence may be found in Delitzsch's *Com.* (Germ. ed.), or in Wright's *Ecclesiastes*, Excursus iv. (see also Driver, *LOT* as above).

Critics who deny the Solomonic authorship, *i.e.* all critics who need be taken into account, are unanimous in assigning the book to the post-ex. period. There are two main theories—one that it belongs to the later years of the Pers. period, which came to a close B.C. 332; the other, that it comes from the Gr. period, and should be dated about B.C. 200. The former is the view of Ewald, Delitzsch, Ginsburg, and Cheyne in his *Job and Solomon.* In favour of the latter are Nöldeke, Kuenen, Hitzig, Tyler, Plumptre, Cornill, and Toy; while Cheyne in his *Founders* thinks it is probably correct. Nowack and Driver think the language points to the later date, but is not decisive; and so much is undoubtedly correct, if we ought not to accept the later date on the ground of the linguistic evidence alone. There are other criteria of importance. The political conditions implied yield valuable data. Cornill says: 'The general picture of the circumstances makes us fix on a period of complete anarchy, in which well-ordered political life cannot be spoken of, worthless revolutionaries seize the government and exhaust the country, and political wisdom is recognized to consist in a dull, listless submission to despotism and tyranny' (*Einleit.* 251). The justice of this description is clear from these passages, 4^{1-3} 5^{9} $10^{5-7.20}$. This compels us to place it at the earliest in the later years of the Pers. period, and precludes a date in the earlier part of that period. But it will suit equally well the date in the Gr. period, about B.C. 200. Hitzig thinks on account of 10^{16} that its date is B.C. 204, when Ptolemy Epiphanes ascended the throne at the age of five. He takes 9^{13-16} to be an allusion to the siege of Dora in B.C. 218. But this did not succeed owing to the strength of the place, not because a poor wise man delivered it. He explains 4^{13-16} of the high priest Onias ('the old and foolish king') and his nephew Joseph ('the poor and wise youth'), but the statements of the passage are not true of them. The political circumstances admit of either date. Kuenen thinks that the cosmopolitan tone of the book speaks for its origin in the Gr. period; but, as Nowack points out, this is characteristic of Heb. Wisdom generally. In its attitude to the doctrine of a future life Kuenen regards it as a forerunner of Sadduceeism. The writer's views, it is true, are those of the older Heb. theology, but they are put forth in opposition to the newer doctrine. Nowack thinks that these arguments would tell rather in favour of a Maccabæan date, when the two tendencies of Pharisaism and Sadduceeism became explicit. This does not follow, since, as Kuenen points out, while he is a forerunner of the Sadducees, he is so little a Sadducee that Graetz could regard him as a disciple of Hillel. This is most naturally explained by the view that he wrote before the rise of these distinct parties.

The most plausible argument in favour of the later date is derived from the supposed influence of Gr. philosophy. Tyler was the first to work out in detail the supposed influences of post-Aristotelian philosophy, and he was followed by Plumptre in his Commentary. A full and apparently conclusive refutation may be found in Cheyne's *Job and Sol.* (see also Nowack). Tyler's view is that the signs of acquaintance with Stoicism and Epicureanism are unmistakable. The author, however, he takes to be neither Stoic nor Epicurean, but one who leaves the doctrines of the two schools side by side in order to warn his readers against studies which could conduct to no certain goal, but led to opinions so opposed. The following points of contact with Stoicism are adduced. The doctrine that man should live

according to nature is set forth in the catalogue of Times and Seasons (3^{1-8}). The doctrine of cycles, according to which history presents no progress, but only movement in a circle, is found in the description of the endless round in which the affairs of men move, so that all effort secures no progress but only return to a former condition (1^{2-10}). Fatalism is present in both; both regard the weaknesses of men as a kind of insanity, and both dwell on the nothingness of life. But no weight can be attached to these. The dreary repetition which characterizes life is not put forward as a philosophical doctrine, but as something taught by observation and experience. The sense of the emptiness of life is due to disillusion, and was not learnt in a school of philosophy, but in the hard school of life. Fatalism is only a coincidence, the Semite has a natural tendency to it. The view that the weaknesses of men are a kind of insanity is a genuine idea of Heb. Wisdom, which treats wisdom and folly as moral rather than intellectual. And the catalogue of Times and Seasons contains in its main idea nothing that cannot be well derived from Heb. thought. The traces of Epicureanism are equally unsatisfactory. Men are as beasts, coming from the dust and returning to it; pleasure is the highest good, esp. in the form of undisturbed tranquillity. The rivers run into the sea, yet the sea does not fill, the body is dissolved into its elements. The parallels are commonplace, and no distinctively Epicurean doctrine is to be found. It needed no acquaintance with Gr. philosophy to learn that man returned to dust, or that the sea was not filled by the rivers that fed it, or that pleasure was good if enjoyed in moderation. The comparison of man to the beasts that perish might occur to a Hebrew who did not accept the newer view of the future life. For traces of either Epicureanism or Stoicism the appeal is often to late authorities. And the coincidences are either unreal or insignificant, or readily explained from Heb. as well as Gr. ideas. We can therefore hardly rely on this alleged influence of Gr. philosophy as a criterion of date. Kuenen thinks that the proofs break down, and that the philosophical element in the stricter sense is absent. But a general influence, he thinks, may be detected. And if the date in the Gr. period is accepted, we may believe that the writer was susceptible to the influence of the atmosphere of Gr. thought, rather than of any special view.

So far, then, as the arguments for the two dates go, they cannot be said to be decisive. The linguistic argument pleads strongly for the later date, and there is no argument to set against it on the other side. The balance of probability, therefore, dips towards a date *c.* B.C. 200, though the book may possibly belong to the Persian period. Renan has put forward the view that the date is B.C. 125. But it was probably quoted as scripture shortly afterwards, which implies a longer previous history than Renan assigns to it. And after the Maccabæan struggle we should expect greater religious fervour. Graetz' view, that it belongs to the reign of Herod the Great (whom he identifies with *K.*), is probably excluded by the fact that it seems to have been quoted as scripture before that time; and apart from this it is questionable if the history of the Canon will permit of its composition so late.

3. The Integrity of the Book.—Certain passages have been suspected by several critics as later interpolations. The Epilogue (12^{9-14}) was the first to be suspected, but later the authenticity of the following has also been denied, 3^{17} 7^{5} $8^{12.\,13}$ 11^{9c} $12^{1a.\,7b}$. The whole of 12^{9-14}, however, does not stand or fall together, since vv.$^{9-12}$ are denied on other grounds than vv.$^{13.\,14}$. It will be most convenient to take 12^{9-12} first. The substance of the book evidently ends at 12^{8}. *K.* ends on the same note as that on which he began, 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.' In itself, however, this does not mark these verses as due to another hand. To the end of 12^{8} Solomon is represented as speaking, and in 12^{9-12} the real author may be regarded as speaking in his own person, and commending the book as the work of one of 'the wise.' Nor is it any serious argument against this that the author is represented in the body of the book as a king, but here as a wise man, for Solomon was the chief representative of 'the wise.' It is true that there are difficulties in the passage, and some uncommon expressions, but in themselves they do not warrant the view that the verses are the work of another writer. Those who think so regard them as a recommendation affixed to the work by a later hand. But the writer speaks of the author as if he were another than himself, in order to keep up the assumption of Solomonic authorship.

The other alleged interpolations raise a much more difficult question. $12^{13.\,14}$ are suspected partly on account of their general tenor, partly from their reference to the judgment. It seems strange to announce as the conclusion of the matter, that the teaching of the book may be summed up in the injunctions to 'fear God and keep his commandments.' Its teaching is rather that 'all is vanity and striving after wind,' and that man's wisest course is to recognize this and extract as much pleasure from life as he can. It is not denied that the fear of God is advised in the book, but that it is its main theme, or the chief lesson to be drawn from it. Kuenen, who gives a very long and elaborate defence of the authenticity of the entire Epilogue, admits that if this were interpreted in the highest sense as the one thing about which man had to concern himself, we should be compelled to deny $12^{13.\,14}$ to the author of the rest of the book. He argues, however, that the writer simply means that the fear of God and keeping of His commandments is the indispensable condition of enjoying life. But it is questionable whether the explicit words, 'for this is the whole duty of man,' do not compel us to interpret the command in the larger sense which Kuenen denies. This passage has been also suspected because of its ref. to a judgment. And the same objection lies against 3^{17} and 11^{9c} ('but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment'). If the reference is to a judgment after death, it seems improbable that they can be harmonized with other passages in the book (cf. 3^{19-21} $9^{5.\,6.\,10}$). But it is possible that a judgment in this life is referred to. This requires a change of reading in 3^{17}, when instead of 'there' (שָׁם *shām*), 'he hath appointed' (שָׂם *sām*) would be read. It is not clear, however, that this yields so good a sense, and it is not improbable that in all the passages a judgment after death is spoken of. In 12^{1a} the difficulty arises partly from the idea, which is thought to be alien to the general tenor of the book, partly from its incongruity with the context. The counsel, 'Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth,' is not what we expect from the author of such a book. Nor do the preceding counsels lead up to this. The young man is bidden to rejoice in all the days of his life, esp. in the days of his youth, remembering the dark days that await him in Sheol. But remembering not only these, but all the failure of manly vigour and his physical powers, and of the zest for pleasure that will come upon him with old age, he would do well to make the most of his prime of life. This gives a connected sense, and one in harmony with the rest of the book, and we obtain it by deleting 12^{1a} and connecting 12^{1b} with 11^{10}. The meaning in that case will be—make the best of your youth in the enjoyment of pleasures before the evil days of old age come, when you will say, I have no delight in them. It is true that the connexion of 12^{1b} with 11^{10} is a little awkward if 12^{1a} is omitted, but the connexion in the text is even more awkward. Graetz proposes to retain the words with a slight alteration of the Hebrew, and to read, 'Remember also thy fountain (*i.e.* thy wife) in the days of thy youth.' This is not grotesque, though it has been criticized as such; nor even unworthy, for it is an exhortation to a life of conjugal purity (in opposition to illicit amours), such as we have also in 9^{9}. But it is scarcely a happy suggestion. Bickell not only adopts the correction of the text, but attempts to improve the connexion by transposition. 12^{7b} ('and the spirit return unto God who gave it') may be retained on the ground that it simply implies the dissolution of the personality into its

original sources, the body will return to dust, the spirit to God. The 'spirit' probably means nothing more than the breath of life (cf. Ps 104^{29}). No very serious objection need be felt to 7^{5} or $8^{12.\ 13}$.

While Kuenen retains these passages (except 12^{1a}, which he regards as altered on dogmatic grounds) by denying that they contain anything of a higher point of view than we generally find in the book, several critics defend the genuineness of the whole, with the obvious interpretation. Sanday in his *Bampton Lectures* argues that they must have been included, for otherwise a scribe would have passed it by, and it would have been simply left out of the Canon. This, however, is questionable. A book professing Solomonic authorship would not be lightly rejected; it would be assumed that it must really teach true religion, and a few interpolations would bring this out more clearly. He also urges that it is psychologically more probable that an Isr. would 'have this reserve in the bottom of his soul, than that he should give way to blank and unrelieved pessimism.' It is more remarkable to find so radical a critic as Cornill defending their authenticity. He maintains that the same thoughts run through the whole book; the fear of God and God the Judge are cardinal conceptions. In his very striking passage on the contents of the book he says: 'OT piety has never achieved a greater triumph than in the Bk of K.' (*Einleit.* 251). While the author sees the misery of the world as clearly as our modern pessimists, he is so penetrated by the piety of OT that he does not hit on the simplest and most obvious solution, that the world is the plaything of blind chance. He returns to the faith of his childhood in a personal God and a moral order of the world.

These views, and they are shared by other critics, are of weight. Yet it is doubtful if they do justice to the phenomena on the other side. It is very significant that the author's meditations end as they began—'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.' Would this have been so if he had really fought his way back to the faith of his childhood? Cornill seems to overstate the case when he says that similar passages run through the book, and that the fear of God and God the Judge are cardinal conceptions. The theism of the book is not very pronounced. Cheyne says with justice: 'To me, K. is not a theist in any vital sense in his philosophic meditations. . . . He certainly never lost his theism, though pale and cheerless it was indeed, and utterly unable to stand against the assaults of doubt and despondency.' Looking at his speculations from a somewhat different viewpoint, it might even be alleged that K.'s theism is the source of all his perplexities. To every Hebrew, God and Providence were convertible notions, and this God, which to Job was an immorality, might be to K. a puzzle. Upon this theory it may, of course, be urged that rigid consistency is not to be expected in a man of the writer's temperament, who would speak according to his mood. Yet we may surely think that a man of his intellectual power and close observation of life would have some fixed principles; and we find them running through most of his meditations. When we find a few sayings that seem to run contrary to these, we may either try to explain them in harmony with the general view of the author, or regard them as interpolations due to a working over in the interests of orthodoxy. Either course seems preferable to that of leaving them as unreconciled contradictions. It seems on the whole most probable that at least $12^{1a.\ 13.\ 14}$ are later interpolations (assuming that 'thy Creator' is correctly read in 12^{1a}), and possibly also 3^{17} and 11^{9c}. On the other hand, 12^{7b} can be explained so as to avoid any conflict with the author's views.

The view of Krochmal with reference to the Epilogue must not be passed over in silence. He regarded $12^{11.\ 12}$ or 12^{11-14} (it is not clear which) as appended to the whole of the third division of the Canon (the Kethubim or Hagiographa), and not simply to Ec. Graetz adopted the view that 12^{11-14} was added as the conclusion of the Kethubim, but thought also that the collectors of the third Canon added $12^{9.\ 10}$ as an apology for Ec. Renan accepts $12^{9.\ 10}$ as by the author of Ec, and agrees with Krochmal as to $12^{11.\ 12}$, and also considers $12^{13.\ 14}$ as unauthentic. It is unnecessary to discuss this view, which rests on pure hypothesis, and has been almost universally rejected.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it remains only to speak of the bold and original theory of Bickell. Eng. readers may find it presented in Dillon's *Sceptics of OT*, with a tr. of the book as rearranged, and in Cheyne's *Job and Solomon* (p. 273 ff.), where it is criticized. It is that the Heb. MS. from which our text is descended met with an accident. The sheets became disconnected, and, in replacing them, owing to a turning of the 2nd and 3rd sheets inside out, the text was completely dislocated, and passages were brought into juxtaposition which had originally no connexion with each other. Two sets of interpolations were then made. One series was designed to connect the verses which had been thus brought together. The other interpolations were intended to give the book an orthodox tone. The detailed working-out, which is very brilliant and ingenious, cannot be exhibited here. We may, however, give his results as to the original book and its order. He makes the orig. K. to consist of the following passages in the order given:—1^{2}–2^{12} 5^{9}–6^{7} 3^{9}–4^{8} 2^{12}–3^{8} 8^{6}–9^{3} 8^{15} 9^{11}–10^{1} 6^{8}–7^{22}. 2^{0} 4^{9}–5^{8} 10^{16}–11^{6}. 5 7^{23}–8^{5a} 10^{2-15}. $14b$ 9^{3-10} 11^{7}–12^{8}. The theory is open to very serious objections. It is questionable whether it will stand the test of exegesis; and to quote Cheyne's words: 'Apart from other difficulties in the way of the theory, the number and arbitrariness of the transpositions, additions, and alterations are reason enough to make one hesitate to accept it.' Kuenen also says that it is as good as unthinkable that all the accidents assumed should have taken place together, and combined to produce our Bk of Ec. Euringer has urged an objection, which if valid is fatal to the supposition that such an accident could have occurred. It is that, at so early a period, the codex form would not be used, but the roll form, and therefore there would be no sheets to be dislocated by such accidents as are postulated by the theory.

4. Contents and Thought.—It is very difficult to give an account of the contents of Ec which shall be at once clear, brief, and adequate. There is very little strict development of the thought, and the endless repetition which the writer sees in nature and life has its partial counterpart in his book. The difficulty is increased by the uncertainty as to interpolations and the exegesis of particular passages. The following outline may be given. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. No profit comes to man from all his toil. Nature and man go ceaselessly round and round in the same course with utterly wearisome monotony, and there is no new thing under the sun (1^{2-11}). K. being king over Jerus. uses his wisdom to understand the life of men, and finds that all is vanity (1^{12-15}). He finds, too, that the search to know wisdom and folly is vanity, and that wisdom brings sorrow (1^{16-18}). He tries to find happiness in pleasure, and exhausts every source of enjoyment, but finds it is all vanity (2^{1-11}). Wisdom far excels folly, yet wise and fool perish and are forgotten alike (2^{12-17}). The accumulation of wealth is vanity, for the man who has gathered it by toil and wisdom must die and leave it to another, it may be to a fool (2^{18-23}). The best thing in life is to eat and drink, as God permits. Yet even this is vanity (2^{24-26}). A time is allotted for everything. This is the doing of God, who has set the world [or eternity] in man's heart, yet so that His plan cannot be understood. Since man cannot understand the plan by which the season for everything is appointed, he will do well to enjoy life as much as he can. All is fixed unalterably by God, that men should fear Him (3^{1-15}). The sight of oppression makes him think that God will judge the righteous and the wicked. But man dies like the beasts, and should enjoy life while he may, for he cannot return to it after he is dead (3^{16-22}). The oppression of the helpless convinces him that the dead are in better case than the living, and best of all is not to have been born at all (4^{1-3}). Successful labour is vanity, for it only causes a man to be envied (4^{4-6}). The efforts of the lonely man to attain wealth are vanity; and there is safety and comfort in the possession of a friend (4^{7-12}). A

poor wise youth succeeded an old and foolish king, yet the bright expectations of his rejoicing subjects were disappointed (4^{13-16}). Be very circumspect in your service of God and the vows you make to Him, or it will be worse for you (5^{1-7}). Do not be surprised at oppression, for the oppressors themselves are under tyranny. Far better the state which depends for prosperity on the pursuit of agriculture [*or* men are much more on a level than they seem; the king himself depends like all his subjects on the products of the earth] ($5^{8.9}$). Accumulation of wealth is vanity, for it brings little pleasure and much anxiety (5^{10-12}). Sometimes wealth is accumulated by labour and lost by misfortune, so that the possessor has no enjoyment out of it (5^{13-17}). It is best to eat and drink and enjoy life, so far as God gives one the power, and thus make life pass without too much reflexion (5^{18-20}). God sometimes gives the means of enjoying life, but withholds the power of enjoyment (6^{1-6}). Toil is for the appetite which is insatiable, the wise is no better off than the fool; possession is better than inordinate desire, but this too is vanity (6^{7-9}). The destiny of man has been determined for him, he cannot struggle against it, nor does he know what is good for him (6^{10-12}). A good name is better than ointment, death than birth, sorrow than mirth (7^{1-6}). The end is better than the beginning, patience than vexation, wisdom than property. Whether prosperity or adversity be your lot, consider that both come from God, and cannot be altered (7^{7-14}). Do not go to extremes in virtue or vice, in wisdom or folly (7^{15-18}). Yet wisdom is strength, since all sin and may need it. Gossip should not be listened to, for a man is sure to hear something unpleasant about himself (7^{19-22}). Ḳ. sought wisdom, but could not fully attain it. But he found this, that woman was more bitter than death, and only the man who pleased God would escape her snares. A good man was as one in a thousand, but a good woman he had not found at all. This was not the fault of God, but of man, who had sought out many inventions (7^{23-29}). Wisdom is the best. Be obedient to the king, and in time of oppression do not be tempted to rebel, for judgment will come on the tyrant (8^{1-9}). The wicked sometimes fare as the righteous, and the righteous as the wicked, yet it is better with the righteous than with the wicked; but since all is vanity, it is best to eat, drink, and be merry, for that, at any rate, will last as long as life (8^{10-15}). However wise a man may be, he cannot understand the work of God. All men are in His hand, and cannot escape the universal lot. Life is bad, but it has hope; death comes to all, and with it the loss of consciousness, feeling, and activity (8^{16}–9^{6}). Enjoy life to the full, unvexed by scruple as to the approval of God (?); get the most out of this life, for there is nothing to be looked for beyond it (9^{7-10}). In the conflict of life merit does not ensure success, but it is matter of chance and circumstance. Men are snared by misfortune as fish are caught in a net. Wisdom is better than strength, yet, as in the case of the poor man who delivered the city, it meets with ingratitude and forgetfulness (9^{11-16}). Wisdom is far better than folly, it will guide man aright in his relations with princes, save him from danger by putting him on his guard, and guide him in practical life. Yet a capricious ruler may exalt folly (9^{17}–10^{11}). A fool's talk is worthless, and his labour wearisome (10^{12-15}). Unhappy is the land whose king is a child and whose princes are slothful and gluttonous; while that country is blessed whose king is of noble character and whose princes are temperate. But if the king be bad, it is prudent not to curse him even in secrecy, for his spies are everywhere, and will tell him of it (10^{16-20}). Be benevolent [or prudent], so that you may be safe in time of calamity. Do the work you have to do without waiting for the exact circumstances you would like. The laws of nature are above you, and the attempt to attain too close conformity with them is likely to paralyze industry (11^{1-6}). Life is sweet, but let man remember also the days of darkness that await him after death. And, remembering these, let him enjoy life to the full in his youth, before the evil days of old age come on him, when all his physical powers will fail, and all appetite for pleasure be gone; before his life be shattered, and he pass away. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity (11^{7}–12^{8}).

So end the meditations of Ḳ.; for the Epilogue, whether in whole or part authentic or not, lies outside the work itself. There can be little question as to the fundamental thought of the book. All is vanity, life yields no real satisfaction. If we had unlimited means at our disposal to secure happiness, it is quite unattainable. The best thing is to seek for enjoyment, to eat, drink, and be merry. Yet we should do the author an injustice if we regarded him as a mere sensualist. From gross indulgence he would have turned with disgust. It was madness, and no man who valued his peace of mind would be enticed by it (cf. his words on 'the woman whose heart is snares and nets,' 7^{26}). He urges rather a moderate enjoyment of the good things of life: 'Eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; . . . Let thy garments always be white; and let not thy head lack ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity.' Life is a bad business at the best, but it lies within our power to palliate its misery by prudence and the due enjoyment of what little pleasure we can get. And we should be all the more eager to make the most of our opportunities for pleasure that in the dreary darkness of Sheol no possibility of enjoyment will be found. His motto is *Carpe diem*; and if in the abstract it be not a high motto, we must remember the misery of his time, and the absence of any hope of improvement in this world or immortality in the next. If we ask the cause of this misery, and of the general vanity of life and uselessness of all endeavour, it lies in the conditions of human life. God has a plan of the world, everything has its time and season. But man cannot find out what this plan is, and hence rarely orders his life in accordance with it. He may think that a certain line of conduct will produce a certain result; but it may be quite different, so that life may seem ruled by chance, not by law. And he is not master of his own fate. God has ordained this, and he helplessly struggles against it. He is caught in an evil snare and cannot escape. But when Ḳ. speaks of God, we may easily read more into his language than he meant. J″, the national name of the God of Israel, nowhere occurs. Ḳ. is certainly a theist, and the name of God frequently occurs. But God is withdrawn from the life of men ('God is in heaven, and thou upon earth,' 5^{2}). God is to be regarded with fear, and man must be very circumspect in his approaches to Him ($5^{1.2}$). Man should be very careful in his utterances, and especially avoid a hasty vow. If he vows he should not defer to pay, for God 'hath no pleasure in fools,' and if provoked to anger may destroy the work of his hands (5^{2-6}). Ḳ.'s conception of God has nothing attractive or winning, He is rather set before us as the omnipotent Ruler who has ordained all the course of history, which man vainly seeks to comprehend, and as the austere Deity on whose favour or forbearance none may venture to presume. Such enjoyment as may be gained from life in harmony with His laws is legitimate, hence the gratification of appetite in a legitimate manner has His approval, it is His gift (2^{24} 3^{13} $5^{18.19}$ 9^{7} etc.).

His view of the future is equally gloomy, but in this he stands upon the old ways of thought. Men are beasts. 'For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea they have all one spirit; and man hath no pre-eminence above the beasts: for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again' (3^{19-20}). On this follows the question: 'Who knoweth the spirit of man whether it goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast whether it goeth downward to the earth?' (3^{21}). This has been interpreted as if the writer meant to say that such a distinction really existed. But in face of the plain statements just quoted, it is hard to see how such a view can be maintained. The state of the dead is described in the most cheerless language. 'The dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. As well their love as their hatred and envy is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun' ($9^{5.6}$). 'There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in Sheol, whither thou goest' (9^{10}). 'Let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many' (11^{8}). Sometimes he speaks as though life were worse than death, and as if it had been best never to have been born at all ($4^{2.3}$ 7^{1}); sometimes as if death were worse than life ($9^{4.5}$), though for the grim reason that 'the living know that they shall die; but the dead know not anything.' There is no fundamental inconsistency; both life and death were so evil, that there was little to choose between them, and now one, now the other, might according to his mood be esteemed the worse. It would be different if we could assume, as some do, that he reached a higher point of view. Some of the passages already discussed under the head of the *Integrity of the Book* might be so interpreted. But it seems quite decisive against this that he *ends* his work with the words, 'Vanity of vanities, saith Ḳ., all is vanity.' Another passage which has been variously interpreted, is 3^{11} 'Also He hath set the world [or eternity] in their heart.' The word tr. 'world' is עוֹלָם, and it is found in this sense in later Heb., but nowhere else in OT. It is true that this pleads for the sense 'eternity' adopted by Delitzsch, Wright, and others. And this would point to belief in a future life in the higher sense. Man has the longing for immortality placed in his heart by God. But the context speaks rather for the other rendering. God has a plan for the course of history, and has given men their labour in which they toil. He has set the world in their heart; in other words, He has implanted in men the instinct which causes them to busy themselves with the things of the world.

5. Canonicity of the Book.—It does not fall within the province of this article to discuss whether Ec is or is not rightly included in the Canon. But the question of its canonicity is of considerable historical interest. It is well known that in the 2nd cent. A.D. there was dispute about it in the Jewish schools. The evidence may be conveniently seen in Wildeboer's *Origin of Can. of OT*. The question which is disputed by scholars is whether it was regarded as canonical in the 1st cent. B.C., and whether the later discussions concerned the question of its right to retain the position it had already attained, or whether it was first admitted into the Canon in consequence of these discussions. The question hardly admits of examination in our space, but the evidence seems to us to favour the latter view. The reader may consult the art. Old Testament Canon, and the works of Ryle, Buhl, and Wildeboer, especially the last.

Literature.—The *Comm.* of Ewald, Hitzig, Ginsburg, Graetz, Delitzsch, Tyler, Nowack, Plumptre, C. H. H. Wright. The *Introductions to OT* by Kuenen, Driver, Cornill, Wildeboer; A. B. Davidson in *Book by Book*; W. T. Davison, *Wis. Lit. of OT*; Cheyne, *Job and Sol.*; Renan, *L'ecclésiaste trad. de l'héb.* etc.; Bickell, *Der Prediger über d. Wert d. Daseins* (1884), and *Koheleth Untersuch. über d. Wert d. Daseins* (1886); Dillon, *Sceptics of OT*; C. Taylor, *Dirge of Koh. in Ec.* 12; Salmond, *Christ. Doct. of Immortality*, 165 ff., 267 ff.; and the literature in Strong, *Student's Comm.* pp. 31–38. A. S. Peake.

ECCLESIASTICUS.—See Sirach.

ECLIPSE.—See Astronomy and Astrology.

ED.—In the Hebrew (and also in the Greek) text of Jos 22^{34} the name given by the two and a half tribes to the altar erected by them on the east bank* of the Jordan has dropped out. Our English translators have filled the gap by inserting *Ed* as the name of the altar in question. For this they have the authority of a few MSS (see de Rossi, *Variæ Lectiones Vet. Test., in loc.*).

The Syriac (Peshiṭta) reads סרבתא רשהדותא 'altar of witness.' The suggestion of Dillmann in his commentary, *Die Bücher Num. Deut. u. Josua* (1886), that the original text had גַּלְעֵד *Gal'ed* (as Gn 31^{47}, EV Galeed), 'Mound of witness,' has been very favourably received (Oettli, Kautzsch, Bennett. See footnote). This name was probably dropped by some later copyist or editor who detected therein a possible inconsistency with the earlier narrative in Gn 31. The MT in its present form can only mean that the name of the altar was the whole sentence: It-is-a-witness-between-us-that-J"-is-God! A. R. S. Kennedy.

EDDINUS ('Εδδεινοῦς B, 'Εδδινοῦς A), one of the 'holy singers' at Josiah's passover, 1 Es 1^{15}. In the parallel passage 2 Ch 35^{15} the corresponding name is Jeduthun, which is read also, contrary to MS authority, by AV in 1 Es. The text of the latter is probably corrupt. 'Εδδεινοῦς may have arisen from one or other of the numerous Gr. equivalents (perhaps 'Εδειθοῦν) of the name Jeduthun, but a more difficult question is the substitution in the same verse of Zacharias (wh. see) for Heman. J. A. Selbie.

EDEN (עֵדֶן).—A Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{12} 31^{15}).

EDEN (עֵדֶן).—**1.** 'The children of E. which are (not *were* as in EV) in Telassar' are enumerated in 2 K 19^{12} (=Is 37^{12}) amongst the peoples conquered by Sennacherib's predecessors. Telassar, if Schrader is right in identifying it with *Til-Aššurri* of the inscriptions, lay on the east of the Tigris, and must have been the district to which the conquered had been deported, in accordance with the custom introduced by Tiglath-pileser III. From their being mentioned along with Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph, we naturally seek for the original home of the Bĕnê-Eden in Mesopotamia. They are doubtless the *Bit-'Adini* of the inscriptions, an Aramæan principality in the far west of Mesopotamia, some 200 miles N.N.E. of Damascus, which we know to have offered a stubborn resistance to Assur-naẓir-pal, and to have been conquered by Shalmaneser II., B.C. 856 (see Assyria, pp. 183b, 184b). In Ezk 27^{23} Eden is mentioned amongst the traders with Tyre. The name here also occurs in connexion with Haran, and is therefore probably *Bit-'Adini*, although the

* This location is required by the whole tenor of the narrative. The west bank is suggested by v.10 in its present form, and maintained also by RV in v.11, by a translation of doubtful admissibility, 'in the forefront of the land of Canaan, *on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel.*' See further the Comm. *in loc.*, and Bennett's edition of Joshua in Haupt's polychrome OT.

conjecture of Margoliouth (see ARABIA, p. 131[b]), that it may be the modern Aden in S. Arabia, is not without plausibility.

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *KAT*[2], 327; Delitzsch on Is 37[12]; Davidson on Ezk 27[23]; Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 4, 98, 184.

2. 'The house of Eden' (AVm and RVm **Beth-eden**) is mentioned in Am 1[5]. The context has led to the inference that it was in the neighbourhood of Damascus, 'some royal paradise in that region which is still the Paradise of the Arab world' (G. A. Smith, *Twelve Proph.* 125). Ewald (*Prophets*, i. 159, Eng. tr.) identifies it with the *Paradise* of Strabo, xvi. 2–19; and Farrar (*Minor Prophets*, 53) thinks it may be *Beit el-janne* 'House of Paradise' (see, however, Driver's note on Am 1[5]), about eight miles from Damascus, referring in support of this view to Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*, i. 313). Driver considers the most probable identifications to be (1) the modern *Ehden*, 20 miles N.W. of Baalbek; or (2) *Bit-'Adini*, described above. Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph.* 68) considers it improbable that Beth-eden is to be sought *near* Damascus, and is sceptical also about identifying Aven of the same passage with Baalbek. (See, further, G. Hoffmann in *ZAW*, 1883, p. 97; Schrader, *KAT*[2] p. 442; and esp. Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 132 f., 228 f.) J. A. SELBIE.

EDEN (עֵדֶן, Ἐδεμ).—We read that 'the LORD God planted a garden in Eden, eastward, and there put the man whom he had formed' (Gn 2[8]). 'And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads' (v.[10]). Two of these were the Tigris and Euphrates; a third was the Pison, which compassed the land of Havilah; the fourth being the Gihon, which compassed Cush. After Adam had been expelled from the Paradise, his firstborn, Cain, 'dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden,' and there built the city of Enoch (Gn 4[16f.]).

Eden means 'delight' in Hebrew, and the position of its garden has been assigned to various parts of the world. Even the North Pole and Australia have found advocates. Josephus (*Ant.* I. i. 3), the Book of Enoch (xxxii.), and Cosmas Indicopleustes place it in the extreme north-east, towards the Altai mountains of Mongolia. Sanson, Reland, Calmet, Bunsen, Keil, and von Raumer locate it in Armenia, between the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Araxes and the Phasis. Calvin, Bochart, Huet, Rask, and the modern Assyriologists assign it to Chaldæa. Le Clercq places it in the neighbourhood of Damascus, between the Chrysorrhoas and the Orontes; while Heidegger seeks for it in Palestine, near the sources of the Jordan; and Hardouin and Halévy in southern Arabia. Renan identifies Eden with Udyâna, 'the garden,' near Kashmir; Bertheau, Lassen, Obry, Spiegel, and Lenormant, with the Meru of the Hindu Puranas, and the Airyana-Vaêja and Harâ-Berezaiti of the Zoroastrian Vendidâd and Avesta. Meru seems primarily to have denoted the mountains above the Pamir, Airyana-Vaêja being the country between the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, and Harâ-Berezaiti the Belur-dagh. Ezk 28[14] is appealed to in behalf of the theory that the garden of Eden was on a mountain, though the text may be differently explained.

The rivers Pison and Gihon have been the subject of a similar variety of identifications. Josephus, Eusebius, Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome make the Pison the Ganges, Cosmas Indicopleustes identifies it with the Indus, while the Jewish commentators, Sa'adya and Rashi, as well as the Samaritans, declare it to be the Nile. The Nile, on the other hand, is identified with the Gihon by Josephus (*Ant.* I. i. 3), most of the Fathers, Kalisch, Gesenius, Lengerke, and Bertheau, as well as in Sir 24[25]. The Sept. also, in Jer 2[18], substitutes Gihon (Γηών) for Sihor, the Nile. Cosmas makes Gihon the Ganges; the Samaritan version calls it the Askôph, which seems to be the Cho-aspes. Mohammedan writers identified the Gihon and Pison with the Oxus and Jaxartes, whence their modern names of Jihûn and Sihûn, which were transferred by the Seljuk Turks to the Pyramus and Sarus in Cilicia. St. Martin identifies the Pison with the waterless Wady er-Ruma in Arabia.

The cuneiform inscriptions have, however, cleared up the geography of the garden of Eden. The Sumerian name of the 'plain' of Babylonia was Edin, which was adopted by the Semites under the form of Edinu. Its Assyr. equivalent was *Zeru*, corresponding to the Arab. Zor, the name still applied to the 'depression' between the Tigris and Euphrates. These rivers formerly flowed immediately into the Persian Gulf, though, owing to the silt annually deposited by them, their ancient mouths are now more than eighty miles distant from the sea. The seaport of primitive Chaldæa was Eridu, 'the good city,' now Abu-Shahrein, which stood near the mouth of the Euphrates. In its neighbourhood was a garden, 'a holy place,' wherein grew the sacred palm-tree—the tree of life—whose roots of bright lapis lazuli were planted in the cosmic abyss, whose position marked the centre of the world, and whose foliage was the couch of the goddess Bahu, while the god Tammuz dwelt in the shrine under the shadow of its branches, within which no mortal had ever entered. An oracle was attached to 'the holy tree of Eridu,' and Eri-Aku (Arioch) calls himself its 'executor.' This tree of life is frequently represented in the Assyr. sculptures, where it is depicted with two guardian spirits or cherubs, kneeling or standing on either side of it. They are winged, with the heads sometimes of eagles, sometimes of men. Lenormant states that on an Assyrian talisman in the collection of M. de Clercq he found the word *Kirubu* in place of the ordinary *sedu* or 'protecting genius' (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, i. p. 118). The flaming sword of the cherubim has its counterpart in the sword of Merodach 'with fifty heads,' 'whose light gleams forth like the day'; and Sumerian texts speak of 'the wicked serpent,' 'the serpent of darkness.' See further, art. CHERUBIM.

The statement of Genesis, that the river which went out of Eden was parted into four heads, is explained by the fact that the Persian Gulf was held to be a river by the Babylonians, and was accordingly called by them *nar marratum*, 'the bitter river.' In the second millennium B.C., not only the **Tigris** and **Euphrates**, but other rivers besides flowed into it; but the tide, which carried the salt water a long way up their channels, made it possible to speak of their mouths as 'heads.' The Tigris was called Idigla and Idigna, 'the encircling,' in Sumerian, and *id* signified 'a river.' The **Pison** and **Gihon** were identified by Sir Henry Rawlinson with the Uknu and Surappu, which Tiglath-pileser III. couples with the Tigris in southern Babylonia (*Report of Fortieth Meeting of British Assoc.* p. 173). Subsequently he held the Pison to be the Arakhtu or canal on which Babylon was built; and the Gihon the modern Jûkhâ, which flows westward from the Euphrates towards Abu-Shahrein. Friedrich Delitzsch also identifies the Gihon with the Arakhtu, which he believes to be the Shatt-en-Nîl of to-day; but the Pison with the Pallukat, the Pallacopas of classical geography.

The names of the two rivers are, however, still unidentified in the inscriptions. But the land of Havilah encompassed by the Pison was the 'sandy' region of northern Arabia, which extended westward towards the frontier of Egypt (Gn 25[18],

1 S 15[7]). The 'bdellium' that came from it may be the *budilkhati* of the cuneiform inscriptions, which is preceded by the determinative of vegetable; the 'onyx-stone' or *shoham* is the Assyr. *sâmtu*, which we are told was brought from the desert which lay to the east of Egypt.

The Gihon is perhaps the Kerkha, which rises east of the Tigris among the mountains of Luristan, formerly inhabited by the Kossæans, called Kassi in the cuneiform texts. The whole of Susiana was termed Kissia or Kyssia by the classical writers, and its two chief rivers were the Eulæus or Choaspes, the modern Kerkha, and the Pasi-tigris, the modern Karûn. In a cuneiform text the Ulai or Eulæus is described as entering 'the sea.' The land of Nod or the 'Nomads,' to the east of Edom, would correspond with the country of the nomad Sute and Manda in the Babylonian inscriptions.

Pinches has found the name of Pardêsu or 'Paradise' as that of a country, apparently mythological, in some Babylonian cuneiform tablets (*PSBA*, Dec. 1896). It is coupled with the 'land of Bit-Napsanu,' and in one passage, by a punning etymology, is derived from the name of 'the god Esu.'

LITERATURE.—Friedr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (1881); Sayce, *HCM* 95 ff.; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Tradition*, p. 314.

A. H. SAYCE.

EDER (עֶדֶר).—**1.** Gn 35[21] 'And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Eder' (AV Edar). '*Eder* means 'a flock'; and the phrase **Migdal-eder** ('flock-tower,' cf. Mic 4[8]) would have been the appellation given to a tower occupied by shepherds for the protection of their flocks against robbers (cf. 2 K 18[8], 2 Ch 26[10]). The tower here mentioned lay between Bethlehem and Hebron cf. vv.[19. 27]). Jerome mentions a Jewish tradition that this Eder was the site of the temple, 'hunc locum Hebræi esse volunt, ubi postea templum ædificatum est: et *turrim Ader*, turrim gregis significare, hoc est, *congregationis* et *coetus*: quod et Michæas Propheta testatur, dicens; Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion.' Jerome himself, however, prefers to think that it was the spot on which the shepherds received the angels' message, 'pastorum juxta Bethleem locus est, ubi vel Angelorum rex in ortu Domini cecinit' (*Quæst. in Gen.*). The tradition that the locality was near Jerusalem probably accounts for the verse ([21]) appearing in the LXX before v.[16]. This transposition would favour any identification which placed '*Migdal-Eder*' between Bethel and Bethlehem. The LXX transliterates עֵדֶר as Γάδερ. **2.** Jos 15[21]. The name of one of the towns of Judah 'in the south,' close to the Edomite frontier. For Eder, the LXX (B) gives Ἀρα; and (A) Ἐδραΐ. Conder (*PEF Mem.* iii. 236) identifies with Kh. el-'Adâr, 5 miles S. of Gaza. **3.** 1 Ch 23[23] 24[30]. The name of one of the Levites in the days of David, of the house of Merari, and the son of Muhi. For Eder we find in the LXX (B) of 1 Ch 23[23] Αἰδαθ, and of 1 Ch 24[30] Ἠλά, where (A) has Ἔδερ in both instances. **4.** A Benjamite, 1 Ch 8[15] (AV Ader), where LXX (B) gives Ὦδηδ and (A) Ὦδερ.

H. E. RYLE.

EDIFICATION, EDIFY, EDIFYING.—These words are always used in AV in the sense of building up *spiritually*, either (*a*) the Church, or (*b*) the individual Christian.

The Gr. vb. *οἰκοδομέω* and subst. *οἰκοδομή* are used in NT, as in class. Greek and in the LXX, in the lit. sense of building—a house (Ac 7[47]), tombs (Mt 23[29]), etc. But our Lord having employed the figure of building His *Church*, which is expressed in St. Matthew's report (Mt 16[18]) by the verb *οἰκοδομέω*, the metaphor was taken up, and gradually both verb and subst. were used with more and more freedom in this spiritual sense, esp. by St. Paul, to whom the metaphor may almost be said to belong. The Vulg. renders *οἰκοδομεῖν* by *ædificare*, and *οἰκοδομή* by *ædificatio*; and Wyclif, and all VSS following, render *ædificare* by 'edify,' *ædificatio* by 'edification,' or 'edifying.' See *Ecce Homo*, ch. xviii.

The word 'edification' seems to have been introduced into Eng. direct from the Lat. *ædificatio*, but 'edify' more probably through the Fr. *édifier*. They were used early, and probably first of all in a literal sense. Thus Paston, *Lett.* (1462), 'A plase late be the said Sir John edified at Caster'; Thomas, *Hist. Ital.* (1549), 'About 700 yeres after the edification of Rome.' The spiritual sense was due perhaps entirely to the influence of the Vulg., which sometimes was the cause of the literal use, as Wyclif's tr. of Gn 2[22] 'and the Lord God edified the rib, the whiche he toke of Adam, into a woman,' after Vulg. 'ædificavit.' Trench (*Eng. Past and Pres.* p. 161) states that the mod. use of 'edify' and 'edification' began with the Puritans; it is more correct to say that by them the words were first used freely and extensively in the spiritual sense, whence Oldham's complaint—

> 'The graver sort dislike all poetry,
> Which does not, as they call it, edify.'

J. HASTINGS.

EDNA (Ἔδνα = עֶדְנָה 'delight,' but Fagius עֹדֶנָה) was wife of Raguel of Ecbatana, and mother of Sarah, who became wife of Tobias. She gave a cordial welcome to Tobias and his attendant Raphael in disguise, and questioned them as to their kindred (To 7[3]), weeping over the recital of Tobit's adversities (7[8]). She prepared once more the ill-fated bridal chamber (7[14]), and led Sarah thither. Her maternal blessing (om. in Vulg.) was given on the departure of the bridal pair (10[12]); and (B only) she received the blessing of Tobias in return (11[1]). Vulg. and Itala call her Anna.

J. T. MARSHALL.

EDOM, EDOMITES (אֱדוֹם, Ἐδώμ, *Idumæa*).—Edom, the 'Red' Land, so called from the red colour of its sandstone cliffs, embraced the ranges of Mount Seir on either side of the 'Arabah, or depression which runs southward from the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Akabah. The name corresponds with that of Deser or 'Red,' applied by the Egyptians to the desert to the east of their country which was inhabited by the Shasu or Bedawin, and included Mount Seir. In the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, as we learn from the story of Sinuhit, the country in which Edom was situated went by the name of Tonu (or Tennu), the portion to the north-east of it being called Ḳadûmâ, the Ḳedem of the OT, whence the Ḳadmonites of Gn 15[19] (see also 1 K 4[30]). Sinuhit received in it the district of Aia. In one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (*The Tel el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, No. 64) the city of Udumu or Edom is mentioned as hostile to the Egyptian king, and as being in a foreign land, together with the cities of Aduri (Addar), Magdalim (Migdol), and Khini-a-nabi (En-ha(n)-nabi). Udumu is sometimes called a 'city' in the later Assyr. inscriptions, though it is also spoken of in them as a 'country.' We may conclude, therefore, that the country took its name from its capital. In the Leyden Papyrus (i. 343, 7) the wife of the Semitic fire-god Reshpu is said to be 'Edom' (*Etum*), and at Karnak both Amenophis II. and Thothmes III. mention the city of Shemesh-Edom (*Shemshu-Edum*), which is coupled with Anukhertu, the Anaharath in Issachar of Jos 19[19]. Rethpana, the Egyptian name of the Dead Sea, may be a derivative from Reshpu (cf. Job 5[7], where 'sparks' are called 'the sons of Resheph'). The name Obed-edom, 'servant of Edom,' occurs in the OT (2 S 6[10]). Edom, therefore, was probably (but not certainly [see Driver, *Text of Sam.* 205]) the name of a deity; and since both Udum and Etum correspond to the same Hebrew word, it would seem that the local and divine names were connected with one another.

The original inhabitants of Mount Seir were Horites (which see), who were 'destroyed' by the children of Esau (Dt 2[22]). The genealogies in Gn 36, however, show that the destruction was not complete, and that the two races intermarried. Esau himself married a descendant of 'Seir the Horite' (36[2], where 36[20. 21] show that we must read 'Horite' for 'Hivite'). When the campaign of Chedorlaomer and his Babylonian allies took place

the Horites had not yet been dispossessed (Gn 14[6]). The Horites were governed by *'allûphîm* or 'dukes,' and both the office and name were handed on to their Edomite successors (Gn 36[29. 40-43]). As the "*allûphîm* of Edom' are alone referred to in the song of Moses (Ex 15) after the overthrow of the Egyptians, we may perhaps infer that at the time of the Exodus a king had not been established in Edom; at any rate the reference is an indication of the antiquity of the passage in which it occurs. Before the Israelites had quitted the desert, however, there was a king in Edom. Moses sent messengers from Kadesh-barnea to the king of Edom asking him to permit his 'brother Israel' to pass through his territories, promising that they would march along the highway and do no injury to the country. But the Edomites refused permission, and came out with an army, so that the Israelites were obliged to 'compass the land of Edom' (Nu 20[14-21] 21[4]).

The kings of Edom who reigned 'before there reigned any king over the children of Israel' are enumerated in Gn 36[31-39]. The first, Bela the son of Beor, seems to be identical with Balaam the son of Beor, the seer of Pethor. If so, this would account for his having been slain in the war with the Midianites (Nu 31[8]). 'Rehoboth by the river,' from which Shaul came (Gn 36[37]), must have stood on the Euphrates, as that is 'the river' of the OT; consequently it cannot be the Rehoboth or 'Suburbs' of Nineveh (Assyr. *Ribit*), which were on the Tigris. The list of Edomite kings must have been extracted from the royal annals, and, as it breaks off in the reign of Hadar (Gn 36[39]) (or Hadad, 1 Ch 1[50]), may have been composed at that time. It will be noticed that the monarchy was elective, not hereditary.

The children of Israel were ordered not to 'contend' with their 'brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir,' for God had 'given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession'; and accordingly they turned eastward after passing the Edomite ports of Elath and Eziongeber (now 'Aḳabah and Ḳala'at el-'Aḳabah), at the head of the Gulf of Aḳabah, and made their way to Moab along the eastern edge of Mount Seir (Dt 2[4-8]). Similarly, the Edomite, like the Egyptian, was allowed to 'enter into the congregation of the Lord in the third generation' (Dt 23[7. 8]), in contrast to the Ammonite and Moabite, who could not do so till the tenth generation.

Ramses III. of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, after defeating the northern hordes who had attacked Egypt, and overrunning the south of Palestine, 'smote the people of Seir who belong to the Shasu (Bedawin), and plundered their tents.' Among the pictures of his prisoners at Medînet Habu is that of the Edomite 'chief,' who, it must be observed, is not called 'king.' So far as we know, it was the only campaign ever undertaken by a Pharaoh against Mount Seir. Its date was about B.C. 1230–1200, some thirty years after the Exodus, so that the Israelites might have been in the neighbourhood of Edom at the time (cf. Nu 21[14]).

Edomite tribes settled in the south of Judah, and even Othniel the brother of Caleb, and the first judge, was a Kenizzite (Nu 32[12], Jos 15[17], Gn 36[11. 15]). Saul warred with Edom (1 S 14[47]); and David conquered the country, putting garrisons throughout it, and occupying its ports in the Gulf of Aḳabah (2 S 8[13. 14], where we must read 'Edom' for 'Aram,' AV 'Syrians'). It was in these ports that Solomon with the help of the Tyrians constructed the merchant vessels which traded to Ophir for gold (1 K 9[26-28]). Throughout his reign, however, Edom was in a state of revolt under Hadad, 'of the king's seed,' who had escaped to Midian when Joab was for six months cutting 'off every male in Edom' after David's conquest of the country. From Midian he and his companions went to Paran, and from thence to the court of Egypt, where the Pharaoh gave him his sister-in-law as a wife, and his son Genubath was brought up as an Egyptian prince. But on the death of David and Joab, Hadad obtained leave to return to Edom, and became 'an adversary unto Solomon' (1 K 11[14-22]). He does not seem to have succeeded in making himself independent, however, as we find Edom still subject to Judah after the revolt of the Ten Tribes. Jehoshaphat still held Eziongeber, where he built ships to trade to Ophir; and it is stated that 'there was then no king in Edom: a deputy was king' (1 K 22[47]). This means that there was no independent king there, since, in the war against Moab, when Edom had to follow its suzerain, its ruler is called 'king' (2 K 3[9. 10. 12. 26]). In the reign of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat's successor, Edom revolted, 'and made a king over themselves.' The revolt spread to the south of Judah, where Libnah was the centre of disaffection; and though Jehoram defeated the Edomites at Zair, he was unable to reduce them to obedience (2 K 8[20-22]). About fifty years later Amaziah invaded Edom, slaying 10,000 of the enemy in the Valley of Salt, and taking Sela (or Petra), which he named Joktheel (2 K 14[7]). Edom seems to have been crushed by this defeat, as Amaziah's successor, Uzziah, 'restored' Elath to Judah, and rebuilt it (2 K 14[22]). It remained in Jewish hands till it was captured by Rezin of Damascus, who colonized it with Syrians* (2 K 16[6]). This was in the reign of Ahaz, when 'the Edomites had come and smitten Judah, and carried away captives' (2 Ch 28[17]). Rezin, however, was conquered and put to death in B.C. 732 by Tiglath-pileser III. of Assyria, who thereupon held a court at Damascus, where he received the homage and tribute of numerous princes, among them being 'Jehoahaz (Ahaz) of the land of the Jews,' and 'Ḳaus-malaka (Ḳaus-melech) of the land of the Edomites.' Schrader has pointed out that Ḳaus is the name of a god which appears as Kos in Greek inscriptions, with which Halévy compares the name of the early Arab. deity Ḳais (Heb. Kish, Kishon). In B.C. 711, Edom joined the league against Sargon along with Judah, Philistia, Moab, Egypt, and Merodach-baladan of Babylon; but Ashdod, the Syrian centre of the league, was taken by the Assyrians, and Edom, like Moab and Judah, paid tribute to the conqueror. Edom again joined the revolt against Assyria in B.C. 701, of which Hezekiah was the head; but when Sennacherib marched into Palestine, A-rammu of Edom submitted like the kings of Moab and Ammon. Esar-haddon caused Ḳaus-gabri, 'king of the city of Edom,' together with the other vassal kings of the west, including Manasseh of 'the city of Judah' and the king of 'the city of Moab,' to convey to Nineveh timber from Lebanon and various stones for the construction of his palace. When Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar, the Edomites took part with the enemy, and rejoiced over the calamities of Judah,—conduct which aroused bitter feelings against them on the part of the Jews (La 4[21. 22], Ezk 35[3-15], Ob[10-16]). These feelings were not diminished by their occupation of southern Judah, with Hebron as their capital, and their attacks upon the Jews during the Maccabæan war. Judas Maccabæus, however, drove them from the south of Judah (B.C. 164); and John Hyrcanus, in B.C. 109, conquered their country, and compelled them to adopt Judaism. Mount Seir, as far north as Petra, had already fallen into the hands of the Nabatæans, who spoke an Aramaic dialect. Hyrcanus II., the

* So the Kethîbh אֲרוֹמִים. The Kerê, however, reads אֱדוֹמִים (Edomites); and this, which has the support of the LXX Ἰδουμαῖοι, is adopted by Siegfried-Stade and *Oxf. Heb. Lexicon.*

grandson of John Hyrcanus, on being driven out of Jerusalem, was induced by the Idumæan Antipater to seek the help of Aretas, the king of Petra. Pompey, however, intervened, and after sacking Jerusalem, made Hyrcanus high priest (B.C. 63), while Antipater was subsequently (B.C. 47) appointed by Julius Cæsar procurator of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee on account of his services against Pompey. His son was Herod the Great.

Edomite proper names show that the language of Edom was practically identical with Hebrew. Of Edomite deities we know only the names of Hadad (also Dad), Ḳaus, Kozé, Edom, and Â. The name of Esau's son Jeush (Gn 36[5]), however, corresponds phonetically with that of Yaghûth, a pre-Mohammedan deity of Arabia.

LITERATURE.—Bæthgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 10 ff.; Reland, *Pal.* 230 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 117 ff., 168 ff.; Baedeker, *Pal.* 183 ff.; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 429 ff.; Hull, *Mount Seir*, 85 ff.; Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*; Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 263 f.

A. H. SAYCE.

EDOS (B 'Hδόs, A 'Hδαΐs, AV Edes), 1 Es 9[35] = IDDO, Ezr 10[43].

EDREI (אֶדְרֶעִי, 'Εδράειν, *Edrai*).—**1.** Edrei was a city of Bashan (now the Haurân, eastward of Lake Tiberias), where the Amorite king Og was defeated and slain by the Israelites (Nu 21[33], Dt 3[1], Jos 13[12]). It was then given to Machir, the son of Manasseh (Jos 13[31], see Jg 5[14]), the district in which it was situated being known as Gilead (Nu 32[39]). The Amorites do not seem to have been long in possession of it, as one of the letters of Tel el-Amarna, about a century and a half before the Exodus, is from Artama-Samas,* the governor of Ziri-Basana, 'the field of Bashan.' Edrei is the Adraha of classical geography, and in Christian times was the seat of a bishop. It has been identified with the modern Der'âṯ or Der'a, where there is a large reservoir, as well as an aqueduct and mausoleum. About 10 miles to the north of it is Tell 'Ashtera, the supposed site of Ashtaroth, which is associated with Edrei, and in the time of Abraham was inhabited by the Rephaim (Gn 14[5]). In one of the Tel el-Amarna letters (B. M. 43. 10) it is called Astartu, and the writer of the despatch accuses a certain Biridasyi of taking the chariots out of it and giving them to the Bedawin. The neighbouring city of Buzruna (Bostra) was at the time under a king of its own. W. Max Müller identifies the city of Autarâ in the Karnak List of Thothmes III. (No. 91) with Edrei. Philologically the names would correspond, but the identification is impossible, as Autarâ is enumerated among the towns of southern Palestine. Astartu or Ashtaroth is in an earlier part of the list (No. 28).

2. EDREI is mentioned in Jos 19[37] between Kadesh and En-hazor, in the tribe of Naphtali. The site of it is unknown.

LITERATURE.—Tomkins in *Records of the Past*, New Series, v. p. 43 ff.; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht üb. Hauran*, etc., 47, 77, 123; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 93 ff.; Baedeker, *Pal.* 201; Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 121–147; Dillmann on Nu 21[33] and Dt 3[10]; Driver on Dt 1[4] 3[1] 3[10], and his art. ASHTAROTH in present vol.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 528 n., 576.

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EDUCATION.—Every student of the history of education will endorse the judgment of the Alexandrian scholar (Prol. to Sirach), that Israel must needs be commended for its zeal in the cause of moral and intellectual culture (παιδεία καὶ σοφία), since the canonical Books of Deuteronomy and Proverbs, the deutero-canonical Wisdom of Jesus ben-Sira, and the Mishna treatise commonly called the *Sayings of the Fathers* (פִּרְקֵי אָבוֹת *Pirḳê 'Abôth*), provide a catena of pedagogic principles without a parallel in ancient literature. Two sentences only may be selected for quotation at this stage. The one is the motto prefixed to the Book of Proverbs: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge' (Pr 1[7], cf. 9[10]); the other is attributed to Simeon, the son of the famous Gamaliel: 'Not learning but doing is the chief thing' (*Ab.* i. 17).* In these maxims we find the two distinguishing notes of Hebrew education, which from first to last was at once religious and practical—an education which sought to combine instruction in the positive truths of the ancestral faith† with preparation for the practical duties of life. It was this successful combination which led Josephus in his treatise *Against Apion* to contrast the education of his countrymen with that of the Lacedæmonians and Cretans on the one hand, and with that of the Athenians on the other—the former being too severely practical, the latter too exclusively theoretical. 'But our lawgiver with great care combined these two methods, for he neither left the practice of right habits without oral instruction (lit. 'dumb,' κωφήν), nor did he permit the rules thus taught to remain unpractised.'

We propose here to study the educational methods of the Israelites historically. For this purpose it will be convenient to group the material at our disposal under three historical periods, as follows:—

i. HEBREW EDUCATION FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE EXILE.—When the Hebrews came to settle in the valleys west of the Jordan, they found themselves among a race or races immensely their superiors in all the arts of civilization and culture. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt, though we *may* doubt whether the country was so thickly studded with schools, teachers, and libraries as has recently been maintained.‡ In any case the troublous times of the conquest were not the most suitable for assimilating the higher civilization of the Canaanites. Reading and still more writing (Jg 8[14]) must rather have been the accomplishment of the few than the custom of the many. However that may be, one fact of Hebrew history remains indisputable, namely, that throughout the long period closing with the exile, education was exclusively domestic and private. It is true that the late Jewish writings, Talmud, Targum, and Midrash—those storehouses of magnificent anachronisms—represent even the patriarchs as attending school and college, but such statements are merely harmless flights of fancy. In the whole range of pre-exilic literature there is no trace of any provision by public authority for either elementary or higher education. The word 'school' occurs neither in the OT nor in the Apocrypha, and in the NT only of the lecture-room of a Greek rhetorician at Ephesus (Ac 19[9]). The explanation is that the home was the school, and the parents, in all but the highest ranks of society, were the only teachers. The duty of reverence for and obedience to parents imposed on children by the oldest legislation (Ex 20[12]), had its counterpart in the duty incumbent on the parents (and in particular on the father) to instruct their children in religion and morals. This aspect of parental responsibility is repeatedly emphasized in the Book of Deuteronomy (4[9] 6[7]), 'Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when

* Now read Artama-Ya or Artama-anya by Winckler.

* Quotations from *Aboth* will be made from 'The Authorized Daily Prayer-Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire' (ed. Singer), as providing the most easily accessible text and translation. References to other treatises of the Mishna are given acc. to the sections of Jost's edition.

† Contrast this with the statement of Iwan Müller: 'Special instruction in religion was not known to either the Greeks or the Romans of antiquity' (*Handb. d. klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, iv. p. 451 *b*).

‡ Esp. by Sayce in *Patriarchal Palestine* (*passim*), and elsewhere.

thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up' (6$^{20\text{-}25}$ 11^{19} 32^{46}). The special provision of Dt 31$^{10\text{-}13}$, requiring the presence of the children at the reading of the law in 'the year of release,' *i.e.* every seventh year, can have had only a very limited application before the great calamity of the exile (cf. Dt 31^{10} with Neh 8^{17}). In the families of the aristocracy the place of the parents, the child's natural teachers, was taken by tutors (אֹמְנִים 2 K 10$^{1.\ 5}$). The infant Solomon, according to the simplest rendering of 2 S 12^{25}, was entrusted to the care of the prophet Nathan.

It is now impossible to form an exact estimate of the extent to which education, as tested by the ability to read and write, was common among the people. The standard of learning would naturally be higher in the cities than in the country districts, highest of all in the neighbourhood of the court. Yet such facts as that Amos and Micah among the literary prophets belonged to the ranks of the people; that Mesha, king of Moab, could count on readers for the stele commemorating his victories; that the workmen who excavated the tunnel from the Virgin's spring to the pool of Siloam carved in the rock the manner of their work,—these facts, taken along with more than one passage of Isaiah (8^{1} 10^{19} 'a child may write them'; cf. 29$^{11.\ 12}$ the distinction between the literate and the illiterate), should make us pause before drawing the line of illiteracy too high in the social scale.

A single word must suffice for the **schools of the prophets** (an expression with no scriptural authority), of which so much was made by scholars of former days. All that the Scripture narrative warrants us in holding is that in a few centres, such as Bethel (2 K 2^{3}), Jericho (2^{5}), and Gilgal (4^{38}), men of prophetic spirit formed associations or brotherhoods (hence the name 'sons of the prophets') for the purpose of stimulating their devotion to J" through the common life of the brotherhood. Edification, not education, was the main purpose of these so-called 'schools.'

ii. From the Exile to Simon ben-Shetach, *c.* B.C. 75.—The arrival in Jerusalem of Ezra the 'ready scribe' (סֹפֵר) in the law of Moses (Ezr 7^{6}) was an event of epoch-making importance in the educational not less than in the religious history of the Jews. For Ezra had set his heart to *study* (לִדְרֹשׁ) the law (*Torah*) of J" and to do it, and to *teach* (לְלַמֵּד) in Israel statutes and judgments (Ezr 7^{10}). The story of Ezra's activity belongs to the general history of the period. For our present purpose it is enough to recall the fact that the culmination of that activity was the acceptance by the Jewish community of the Torah, in its written form, as the regulating norm in every relation of life. From this time onwards the Jews were preeminently 'the people of the book.' But in order that the moral precepts of a book may be obeyed, and its ritual requirements duly observed, the book must be circulated, must be read and studied. The first step in this direction was the great assembly of which we read in Neh 8 ff. The centre of interest throughout is not the living word of a prophet, but the book of the law and the exposition of its contents by accredited teachers (note Neh 8$^{7.\ 8}$ מְבִינִים, the same word as is rendered 'teacher' in 1 Ch 25^{8} and in Ezr 8^{16} RV). We would gladly know what measures were taken by Ezra and his associates for the continuance of the public instruction so auspiciously begun. Unfortunately, we have no information on this point from contemporary records, and what a late age has to tell of the work of the so-called 'Great Synagogue' belongs to the world of fable.* There can be little doubt, however, that one of the oldest institutions of Judaism, the **synagogue**, goes back to the time of Ezra, if not indeed to the days of the exile. The synagogue, it is important to remember, was not originally a place of worship but a place of religious instruction, and indeed it is so named by a writer so late as Philo of Alexandria (*Vita Mosis*, iii. 27, *τὰ προσευκτήρια τί ἑτερόν ἐστιν ἢ διδασκαλεῖα, κ.τ.λ.*). With this agrees the fact that in NT times *διδάσκειν*, to teach, is still used to express the function of the preacher in the synagogue (Mt 4^{23}, Mk 1^{21}, Lk 4^{15} and often).* But whether we regard Ezra as the immediate founder of the synagogue or not, there can be no doubt of the fact that, by securing the recognition by the public authorities of the need of organized religious instruction, he accomplished a work of supreme importance in the educational history of the Jews. 'The Bible became the spelling-book, the community a school, religion an affair of teaching and learning. Piety and education were inseparable; whoever could not read was no true Jew. We may say that in this way were created the beginnings of popular education. In what way this took place is, it is true, wrapped in mystery; in the synagogue men did not learn to write and read, and the scribes were not elementary teachers. But the ideal of education for religion's sake was set up and awoke emulation, even though the goal was not reached all at once' (Wellhausen, *Isr. u. jüd. Gesch.*[1] p. 159).

During the whole of the period under review the early education of the Jewish child continued, even more than before, to be the business of his parents. Elementary schools were still unknown. Now, as in much later times, it was 'the duty of the father to instruct his son in the Torah (*Ḳiddushin*, 29*a*),' a duty in which the mother took her share (Pr 6^{20} 31^{1}, Sus^{3}). The obligation extended even to 'children's children' (Dt 4^{9}). A noteworthy feature of the pentateuchal precepts, from the view-point of pedagogic method, is the extent to which certain religious rites are to be used as object-lessons to the children [Ex 12$^{26f.}$ 13^{8} (passover) 13^{14} (first-fruits), cf. Jos 4^{6}]. Their interest and attention are first to be aroused, and only after question asked is the explanation of the rite to be given. In the case of the passover the question, 'What mean ye by this service?' (Ex 12^{26})—now expanded to four—has remained as part of the ceremony to the present day.

The leading feature of the educational history of this period is the rise of a body of men as professional teachers. These are the *Sōphĕrîm* (סֹפְרִים, literally 'book men'), or scribes. For the circumstances which led during the exile to a species of literary renaissance, or rather to a new interest in the literature of the past, and thereby to the growth of a body of *literati* (*γραμματεῖς*),—students, copyists, and teachers,—we must refer to the article Scribes. We have seen, however, under what circumstances the study and the exposition of the Torah, in particular, were begun among 'the children of the captivity' in the new community at Jerusalem. From that time to the end of the Jewish state and beyond it, the office of the scribe was one of ever-increasing importance. But to identify, as is too often done, the scribes of the Persian and early Greek period with those whose character and aims are familiar to us from the Gospels, is to do the former great injustice. For these ancient scribes have shared in the rehabilitation of the late Persian and early Greek periods of Jewish history, which is so remarkable a feature of the critical scholarship of the day.† Here we

* See esp. Kuenen's classical essay, 'On the Men of the Great Synagogue,' now accessible in German in Budde's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen, etc., von Dr. A. Kuenen* (1894).

* For further testimony by Philo and Josephus to the teaching function of the synagogue, see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. p. 54.

† See, *inter alios*, Wellhausen, *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*[1], p. 154.

are concerned with them only in so far as they continued the work of instruction committed to them by Ezra. Unfortunately, from the lack of historical material, it is now impossible to trace the development of education under their guidance. We know, however, that by the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch 2^{55}) they had been 'organized in regular "families," or as we should now say "guilds," an institution quite in accordance with the whole spirit of the East, which forms a guild or trades-union of every class possessing special technical knowledge' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] p. 44). From the proverbial form of 1 Ch 25^{8b}—'as well the small as the great, the teacher as the scholar'—we may further infer that the relation of master and pupil was by this time (*c.* B.C. 300) a familiar one; which, of course, implies facilities for education other than the Levitical music schools to which the proverb is here applied.

Here we are met by one of the most interesting but difficult problems in the history of Hebrew education. Not the least important of the critical results above referred to, is the bringing down of the compilation of our present Book of Proverbs, and so of the Golden Age of the Wisdom Literature, to the Persian period. In this case, who are the 'Wise' (חֲכָמִים), the sages of whom this department of Hebrew literature is the characteristic and enduring memorial? May we identify them with the older race of Sopherim, the book-men or *literati* of the period?* The temptation is great. Thus the scribes were the accredited teachers of the people (see above), and the most venerable of the traditions preserved by the fraternity from the 'men of the Great Synagogue' was the obligation to 'raise up many disciples' (*Ab.* i. 1). But the sages were also teachers (מְלַמְּדִים, מוֹרִים Pr 5^{13}), who address a pupil as 'my son,' and whose teaching is known as 'the words of the wise' (Pr 1^{6} 22^{17}, Ec 9^{17} 12^{11}; see also the *Oxf. Heb. Lex. sub* חָכָם). Again, the scribes formed, as we have seen, a guild or corporation. But we have abundant evidence that the sages are also to be regarded as forming a distinct fraternity (Pr 1^{6} 13^{14} 22^{17} 24^{23}, Ec 12^{11}. Cf. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, p. 123 and *passim*; Riehm, *Handwört. d. Bibl. Alt.*[2] *sub* 'Weise'†; Kautzsch, *Abriss d. Gesch. d. AT Schrifttums*[2], 1897, p. 135 ff.). Wellhausen in his recent history, while maintaining their original independence, admits that by the time of Jesus ben-Sira (B.C. 200–180) the scribes 'were scarcely any longer to be distinguished from the sages' (*Gesch.* p. 154, note 1). This admission is due to the fact—and here perhaps we have the strongest argument for the identity of the two classes—that Ben-Sira, the last of the sages, was himself a scribe. Of this there can be no doubt; one has but to read his glowing panegyric on 'the wisdom of the scribe,' and the glory of his calling (Sir 38^{24}–39^{11}). It is therefore but natural that 'the best, and almost the only data regarding the earlier scribes, are to be found in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, $6^{33ff.}$ $9^{14ff.}$ $14^{20ff.}$ $38^{24ff.}$' (Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*).

For our present purpose the final answer to our query regarding the *personnel* of the sages is immaterial; for whether we hold that they are identical with the Sopherim or book-men, or regard them as forming a distinct but allied class in the pre-Maccabæan community, the fact remains that the sages represent a great educational force in the period under review. The Book of Proverbs is the repository of their pedagogic experience (see esp. 1^{2-6}), and so the oldest handbook of education. Life is here conceived as a discipline (מוּסָר, a word occurring 30 times in the book acc. to Driver, *LOT*[1] 380). This is its central thought. 'The whole of life is considered from the view-point of a pedagogic institution. God educates men, and men educate each other' (O. Holtzmann in Stade's *GVI*[2] ii. 296–97). Father and mother are the child's natural instructors (1^{8} 4^{1-4} 6^{20} 13^{1} 30^{17}); from them he shall first learn that 'fear of the Lord which is the beginning—or it may be the chief part—of wisdom' (9^{10}). Their duty in this respect is emphasized; they are to study their child, since his character is known by his conduct (20^{11}). To them is addressed the golden maxim, 'train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old he will not depart from it' (22^{6} RV). The child is by nature foolish, and needs the 'rod of correction' (22^{15}). Corporal punishment is repeatedly advocated ('he that spareth his rod hateth his son,' 13^{24}, cf. 19^{18} $23^{13.\ 14}$ $29^{15.\ 17}$, also La 3^{27}), yet with the intelligent child reproof is better than 'a hundred stripes' (17^{10}). From the parents' care the child—of the upper classes only, in all probability, cf. 17^{16} 4^{7} (RV) with Sir 51^{28}—if he would attain to 'wisdom,' passes into the hands of professional teachers (5^{13}), the sages, whose words 'spoken in quiet' (Ec 9^{17} RV) 'are as goads' (Ec 12^{11}), and whose direction (תּוֹרָה) is 'a fountain of life' (Pr 13^{14}). The pupil's progress in religion and morality is the teacher's highest joy ($23^{15.\ 16}$), but not all are capable of receiving this higher instruction (27^{22}). Prudence and forethought (24^{27}), temperance (21^{17} $23^{20.\ 21.\ 29-35}$) and chastity ($7^{6ff.}$ 29^{3} and oft.), diligence (6^{6-11}) and truthfulness (17^{7}), consideration for the poor (14^{21} 19^{17} 22^{9}), and a truly noble charity towards enemies ($25^{21.\ 22}$ = Ro 12^{20}), the value of true friendship (17^{17} 18^{24} 27^{10}), and the dignity of womanhood (31^{10-31}),—these are some of the moral lessons to be learned in 'the house of discipline' (*οἴκῳ παιδείας*, Sir 51^{23}) from 'the lips of the wise' (Pr 15^{7}).*

The founding of Alexandria was an event the importance of which for the history of Jewish life and thought even in Palestine it is impossible to overestimate. What would we not give to be able to trace the working of the subtle influences on the religious thought of the time, in particular, of those forces of Hellenism by which the little Jewish state was girt about on every side (cf. 1 Mac 1^{11})! For something like a century Alexandria, with its great library and university, its brilliant array of scholars and *littérateurs*, was the capital of Southern Syria as well as of Egypt. How was popular education affected by this close connexion of Alexandria and Jerusalem? A solitary notice, so far as we have been able to discover, from the period in question, almost warrants us in believing that the Greek educational methods had penetrated to Jerusalem. The infamous tax-farmer Joseph (*c.* B.C. 220),† we are told, sent his sons 'severally to those that had the best reputation for instructing youth' (Josephus, *Ant.* XII. iv. 6). The education required was certainly of the Greek type, and this fact, taken in connexion with the rapid progress of Hellenism at this particular epoch, even under the shadow of the temple (see 1 Mac 1, 2 Mac 2–4), makes it very probable that schools on the Greek model were then established in Jerusalem. When the author of Ps 119 says, 'I have more understanding than all my teachers,' etc. (vv.[99.\ 100]), there is good reason for thinking that he wishes

* This identification was first proposed by A. T. Hartmann (*Die enge Verbindung d. AT. mit d. Neuem*, 1831), and more recently and independently by Smend in his *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, 1893, p. 512 ff. Cf. Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 396 f.

† 'They (the sages) occupy in the everyday life of ancient Israel a position precisely similar to that of the scribes in later Judaism.' Riehm is, of course, assuming the *pre-exilic* date of Proverbs.

* How much, one wonders, of what is best in our Scottish character to-day is due to the use till almost the other day of this great book (*ἡ πανώφελτος σοφία*) as the reading-book of our parish schools?

† For this corrected date see Wellhausen, *op. cit.* pp. 197–98.

to exalt the study of Holy Scripture above the secular learning of the Greek schools. However this may be, Ben-Sira was still true to Jewish traditions and uninfluenced by Hellenistic culture. He had travelled in other countries, and studied perhaps in other literatures, but he remained 'a true "scribe," and gloried in the name' (38^{24}). The object his translator had in view, as we learn from his preface to his grandfather's work, 'was to correct the inequalities of moral and religious culture (παιδεία) among the Jews of Egypt by setting before them a standard and a lesson book of true religious wisdom' (Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*). 'The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach,' or 'Ecclesiasticus,' is therefore avowedly a manual of ethics, and as such deserves more space than we can give it in this review of Jewish educational history. 'Draw near unto me, ye unlearned,' we read in the epilogue, 'and lodge in the house of instruction. Say, wherefore are ye lacking in these things, and your souls are very thirsty?' (Sir $51^{23ff.}$). His religious standpoint is essentially that of the Book of Proverbs, on which his own is modelled. Thus the fear of the Lord is not only 'the beginning of wisdom' (1^{14}), but also wisdom's fulness (1^{16}) and crown (1^{18}). Yet the author's ethical tone is distinctly lower than that of his model. As a disciplinarian he is severe even to excess (30^{1-13} $7^{23.\ 24}$). The principles of humane conduct are exhibited in many lights, including even the 'manners' of the dinner table (31^{16-21}). The notable passage (38^{24}–39^{11}) in which he sketches his ideal of the scribe has been already adverted to. One point, however, must be further emphasized, viz. the assertion that learning is the monopoly of the wealthy: 'The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure. How shall he become wise that holdeth the plough,' etc.? ($38^{24ff.}$) Education is costly (51^{28}), but he himself offers the means of culture 'without money and without price' (cf. 51^{25}).

Many questions regarding the practical aspects of education in this period suggest themselves, to which only tentative answers can be given. Where, for example, did the teachers of whom we read (Pr 5^{13}, Ps 119^{99}, perhaps Dn 12^{3})—be they sages or scribes—meet their pupils? What were their methods of instruction? The synagogues first occur to one as the scene of those expositions of Scripture to which the name of *Midrash* was already applied (2 Ch 13^{22} 24^{27}). There the people were instructed on Sabbaths and feast-days by competent expounders of the Scriptures, as a rule, no doubt, by the scribes, although these never had a monopoly of the synagogue teaching. As early as the beginning of the 3rd cent. the scribes had apparently facilities for teaching within the temple precincts: such, at least, seems the legitimate inference from their description as 'scribes of the temple' in the edict of Antiochus III. (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3). 'Within the massive city gates or in the adjacent squares or "broad places" on which the streets converged (Pr $1^{20.\ 21}$, cf. Job 29^{7}) the "wise men" awaited their disciples' (Cheyne, *op. cit.* p. 124). Most of the instruction, however, was doubtless given by sage and scribe alike in private houses, their own or those of wealthy disciples. 'My son,' says Ben-Sira, 'if thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear out the steps of his house' (Sir 6^{36} RV). With this advice we compare that of José ben-Joezer of Zeredah, in the early Maccabæan days: 'Let thy house be a meeting-place (בֵּית וַעַד) for the wise; sit amidst the dust of their feet, and drink their words with thirst' (*Ab.* i. 4).*

* The אֲשְׁכּוֹלוֹת which, according to *Sota*, ix. 9, ceased since José's time, cannot, as some have thought, mean schools (σχολή—in late Heb. אִסְכּוֹלִי); see Derenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p. 456 ff

Here was found the opportunity for those 'words spoken in quiet' that were 'like nails fastened by the masters of assemblies' (Ec 12^{11}).

As to methods, we have still less information. To judge from the practice of a later age, the pupils would learn by frequent repetition the proverbs of the wise (cf. Cheyne, *loc. cit.*). The alphabet was already used in ways calculated to assist the memory, as in the 119th Psalm. To this period may be assigned the invention of the mnemonic device known as *Athbash* (אתבש), of which the present text of Jer 25^{26} 51^{1} affords the classical examples (see Giesebrecht's *Comm. in loc.*), as also the introduction of the 'numerical' proverbs, so much in vogue in later times (cf. Pr 30^{11-31} with *Aboth*, v.).

Finally, we may assume that, at least from the beginning of the Greek period, a fairly high standard of general culture prevailed. It was now that the editor, if not the author, of Ecclesiastes could write: 'Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh' (Ec 12^{12}). At the beginning of the Maccabæan revolt, also, the possession of copies of the 'book of the covenant' was certainly not the exclusive privilege of priest and scribe (1 Mac 1^{57}).

III. From Simon ben-Shetach (*c.* B.C. 75) to the end of the Jewish State (A.D. 70).—Just as the synagogue was the novel feature of the preceding period from the educational point of view, so is the elementary **school** the feature of this third period. Such, at least, is the tradition preserved in the so-called Talmud of Jerusalem. In a passage commemorating the merits of the famous scribe and leader of the Pharisees, Simon ben-Shetach (or Shâtach),* brother of queen Alexandra, we read that three additions were made by him to the statute-book, so to say, the second of which runs thus—

שיהיו התינוקות הולכין לבית הספר 'that the children shall attend the elementary school' (Talm. Jer. *Kethuboth*, viii. 11, p. 32*b*; see the whole passage in Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 108). The words quoted, it will be seen, are not altogether free from ambiguity. They may also be interpreted to mean that attendance on schools *already existing* was henceforth to be compulsory. In view of what was said above regarding the spread of Greek ideas in pre-Maccabæan days, it is difficult to believe that schools preparatory to the more advanced instruction in the scribal college (see below) were not to be found—at least in Jerusalem. One can hardly escape the conviction that the erection of the Greek gymnasium at Jerusalem (1 Mac 1^{14}, cf. 2 Mac $4^{9ff.}$) was not the first step, but the last, in the assimilation of Jewish and Greek education. Be this as it may, there is no good reason for rejecting the tradition regarding Simon ben-Shetach's efforts on behalf of popular education. All that we know regarding the predominant influence of the scribes in the reign of Alexandra (B.C. 78–69) prepares us for more aggressive measures for the extension of their principles among the people. According to unanimous tradition, the elementary school (בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר 'house of the book,' see below) was always in intimate connexion with the synagogue. Either the synagogue proper—in this period to be found in every considerable village in the land—was used for this purpose (Löw, *Die Lebensalter in jüd. Literatur*, p. 287, where the reff. are to *Berachoth*, 17*a*, *Taanith*, 23*b*, *Kiddushin*, 30*a*), or a room in the same building. The school might also be held in the teacher's house (Hamburger).

By all writers on Jewish education it is stated

* See Schürer, *HJP*, index; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 96–111, and the Jewish historians Grätz, Herzfeld, etc.

that the synagogue officer (חַזָּן הַכְּנֶסֶת)—the minister (ὑπηρέτης) of Lk 4[20]—was the teacher of the synagogue school. This uniform tradition seems founded on a precept regarding Sabbath observance in the Mishna treatise of that name, where, even on the sacred day, 'the חַזָּן (*Ḥazzān*) is allowed to look on where the children are reading, but he may not read himself' (*Shabbath*, i. 3). Now it will be observed that the proper title of the synagogue official, as given above, is not found here—a fact hitherto overlooked. For חַזָּן is a word of general application, meaning 'overseer,' 'inspector,' or the like, and its exact significance has to be decided by the context (see the *Lexx.* of Buxtorf, Levy, and Jastrow). In the passage quoted the context requires us to render 'overseer' or 'master (of the school).' This rendering is supported by a passage in the treatise *Sota* (ix. 15), where R. Eliezer says: 'Since the destruction of the temple the sage (חכימיא) has become like the scribe (ספריא), and the scribe like the *Ḥazzān* (חונא), and the *Ḥazzān* like the uneducated man.' Here we have evidently the hierarchy of the teaching profession, and it may fairly be assumed that they all belong to the ranks of those who, in the NT, are known as νομοδιδάσκαλοι, 'doctors of the law' (Lk 5[17]), *i.e.* the scribes. Now this passage of St. Luke (cf. Mt 9[3]) is of the utmost importance, as showing that these doctors or teachers were to be found in 'every village (κώμη) of Galilee and Judæa.' It is absurd to suppose—even granting the hyperbolic nature of the evangelist's statement—that the higher colleges, where alone the scribes are usually supposed to have taught, were to be found in such numbers throughout the country. But there would, at this time, be an elementary school wherever there was a synagogue. We conclude, therefore, that teachers of all grades were members of the powerful guild of the scribes (οἱ γραμματεῖς, cf. γραμματιστής, 'a schoolmaster'). In the Aramaic of the period סָפְרָא no doubt already meant 'teacher' in general, since we find בית ספרא = 'school' (see the *Lexx.*, and cf. Targum on 1 Ch 25[8], where 'the teacher as the scholar' is rendered ספרא עם תלמידא). It follows, therefore, that the *Ḥazzān* or master, who conducted the elementary school, was an official of a higher social grade than the '*Ḥazzān* of the synagogue,' who had to perform such menial offices as the whipping of criminals (*Makkoth*, iii. 12).

The most usual form of address to a teacher was Rabbi (רַבִּי 'my master,' lit. 'my great one'), but it 'does not seem to have been used as a title [*e.g.* Rabbi Eliezer, Rabbi Akiba, etc.] till after the time of Christ' (Schürer). In the NT our Lord is addressed by His disciples as ῥαββεί (ῥαββουνεί), κύριε, διδάσκαλε, and—in Lk only—as ἐπιστάτα.

The opinion just stated, that in the time of our Saviour every place of any size in the country was provided with an elementary school, does not quite coincide with that of the Jewish doctors of a later day, unless we suppose (as is not unreasonable) that the political and religious troubles of the period injuriously affected the provincial schools. We refer to the oft-quoted eulogium on Joshua ben-Gamala (Gamaliel), who was high priest about A.D. 63–65:

'Verily let it be remembered to that man for good, R. Joshua ben-Gamala is his name, for had he not been, the Law would have been forgotten in Israel. At first every one that had a father (alive) received from him instruction in the Law, but he that had no father (alive) learned not the Law. . . . Thereafter teachers for the children were appointed in Jerusalem. . . . But even this measure sufficed not, for he that had a father was brought by him to school, and was taught there, but he that had no father was not brought to be taught there. In consequence of this, it was ordained that teachers should be appointed in every district. To them the children were sent when they were 16–17 years of age. When a teacher became angry with a scholar, the latter stamped his feet and ran away. In this condition education remained until the time of Joshua ben-Gamala, who ordained that in every province and in every town there should be teachers appointed, to whom children should be brought at the age of six or seven years' (*Baba bathra*, 21*a*).*

It is not now possible to speak with certainty regarding the condition of the elementary school at the period of which one would most like to know, the period of the childhood of our blessed Lord. The Mishna, almost our only authority, is not, as a whole, older than A.D. 200. Accordingly, we must be content to infer—and always with caution—that some, at least, of the methods there referred to as of long standing may have been operative in the 1st cent. But before attempting even such hesitating results, it will be convenient to give at this point what requires to be said of the education to be got beyond the synagogue schools. For the great mass of the boys—for the girls no public provision was made (see below)—these schools sufficed. Only those destined for the study of the Law were sent to the Beth ham-Midrash (בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ) or 'house of study,' as the colleges of the scribes were called. These colleges were probably a development of this period. They were, naturally, most numerous in Jerusalem, where the most famous scribes seem to have had each his 'house of study.' Josephus mentions two by name (*Wars*, I. xxxiii. 2; *Ant.* XVIII. x. 5) who drew crowds of students in the last days of Herod the Great. But by far the most famous of these 'doctors of the law' were the two heads of the rival schools, Hillel and Shammai, although for Christian students a greater interest attaches to Hillel's grandson, himself the most respected teacher of his day, Gamaliel I., who numbered the young Saul of Tarsus among his pupils (Ac 22[3]). At these colleges the scribe-aspirant received a professional rather than a general education, for which reason the further discussion of their subjects and methods of study belongs rather to the article SCRIBE.

Returning now to the elementary school, we propose to touch briefly on such of the outstanding features of the school system as we have reason to believe existed in the century preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. As regards the age of the pupils on admission, our authority, though often quoted, is unfortunately too late to be of value for the period in question. 'At five years the age is reached for the study of the Scripture (מִקְרָא), at ten for the study of the Mishna, at thirteen for the fulfilment of the Commandments, at fifteen for the study of the Talmud, at eighteen for marriage,' etc. (*Ab.* v. 24). There is a consensus of opinion, on the other hand, in the Talmudic writings that six was the earliest age at which school life should begin.† The child had already learned from his parent to repeat the Shema (see Driver on Dt 6[4]), selected proverbs, and verses from the Psalms. He had also had the historical significance of various rites and ceremonies explained to him (see p. 647[b] above).

It is extremely unlikely that the subjects of instruction included more than reading, writing, and, perhaps, the elements of arithmetic. The first of these was by far the most important, and

* The above is Wünsche's translation in *Der babyl. Talmud*, *etc.*

† For the curious ceremonies observed at a later period on the child's first appearance at school, see Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 368.

the fact that the much esteemed privilege of reading, and even of expounding, the law in the synagogue was open to all, must have acted as an incentive to diligent study. The only text-book was the Scriptures—hence the most usual name for the elementary school בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר the 'house of the Book'—mostly but not exclusively the Pentateuch. 'Turn it (the Torah), and turn it over again, for everything is in it' (*Ab.* v. 25), well expresses the attitude of the orthodox Judaism of the time to secular literature. Even so early as the beginning of our era, it was probably usual to begin with the Book of Leviticus, as the book whose contents it was necessary for every Jew to know. Care would be taken that the words of the sacred tongue (for only Hebrew was allowed in school) should be correctly pronounced * and reverently read. Foreign languages were no part of an ordinary Jewish education, as Josephus expressly informs us (*Ant.* XX. xii. 1); yet few lads can have grown up in the busy cities of Palestine without learning to speak both Aramaic and Greek, and at least to read Hebrew. Tradition has it that a knowledge of Greek was an essential qualification for membership of the Sanhedrin (*Sanhed.* 17*a*). †

The Latin maxim, 'repetitio mater studiorum,' may be taken as the keynote of Jewish educational method. So great was the importance attached to constant repetition, that the verb שָׁנָה 'to repeat' came ultimately to mean both 'to learn' and 'to teach.'‡ After the letters were mastered § the teacher copied a verse which the child had already learned by heart, and taught him to identify the individual words. The absence of vowel signs in Hebrew, as then written, prevented the child from learning to read syllables as he does in the 'Talmud Torah' schools of the Jewish communities in the East at the present day. In one point, however, the schools of 1900 years ago resembled those schools of to-day, namely, the babel of childish voices that rose from every corner of the schoolroom, for 'audible study and distinct pronunciation' (*Ab.* vi. 6) were the first of numerous requisites for the proper study of the Torah. Was there not once a pupil who learned his tasks without repeating the words aloud, and who, in consequence, forgot all he had learned in three years? (*Erubin*, 54*a*). The ideal schoolboy of the period was R. Eliezer, whom his teachers likened to 'a cemented cistern which loses not a drop' (*Ab.* ii. 11).

The scholar sat on the ground facing the teacher (cf. Ac 22^3, *Ab.* i. 4), who sat slightly raised above his pupils. Benches were a later invention. The old conception of education as above all a discipline was not forgotten, and probably never before was education so exclusively religious and scriptural, with so little reference to the teachings of nature and history. The teacher's function, as then conceived, was not to inform the mind or to impart knowledge for its own sake, but to train up his pupils in the fear of the Lord, and so to prepare them for the ceremonial and moral duties incumbent on them as the true sons of the covenant of Abraham.

It has become a commonplace that the scribes taught gratuitously. This may have been true of the great doctors of the capital,—although even then, perhaps, only as regards judicial work (Schürer),—but scarcely of the elementary teachers in the provinces. It has been suggested that the honorarium was paid under some pretext, such as compensation for loss of time, etc. (Lewit, p. 26). This is quite in the spirit of the casuistry of the time. Still, as is well known, the scholars of the day had a much worthier conception of the dignity of work than had Jesus the son of Sirach (Sir $38^{25ff.}$), and taught that the study of the Law should be combined with the exercise of a trade (*Ab.* ii. 2).

We must not suppose that the educational system here outlined was the only system then to be found in Palestine. It was the system adopted by the strict Jews, it is true, but there were other schools of the Greek type, not only in the many Hellenistic centres,—whence came some of the most famous poets, philosophers, and orators of that age (see Schürer, II. i. 28),—but even in Jerusalem itself. Such a school was that which the youthful Herod attended (Josephus, *Ant.* XV. x. 5). In nothing, however, did the Jewish educational ideal (for which cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XX. xii. 1, *μόνοις δὲ σοφίαν μαρτυροῦσι τοῖς τὰ νόμιμα σαφῶς ἐπισταμένοις, κ.τ.λ.*) differ so widely from the Greek as in the value attached to physical training. For the ordinary forms of gymnastic exercise the Jew apparently had little inclination, unless, perhaps, for swimming (*Kiddushin*, 29*a*), while wrestling in public was peculiarly abhorrent to his sense both of dignity and decency (1 Mac $1^{14ff.}$, 2 Mac $4^{10ff.}$).

We have said nothing hitherto of the education of Jewish girls. These were from their birth to their marriage their mother's special care, by whom they were taught, like their brothers, 'to fear God and keep his commandments.' By her, too, they were taught to read, and perhaps to write, as boys in former days were taught by their father, and thereafter instructed in the domestic arts corresponding to their station. The deeper study of the Torah, and still more the higher secular learning, were discouraged. The ideal to which every Jewish daughter was—and we may add, is—taught to aspire is that of the 'virtuous woman' who 'looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her, *saying*: Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all' (Pr 31^{27-29}). Truly a noble ideal of womanhood!

LITERATURE.—A critical history of Hebrew education is still a desideratum. The standard works of the historians, Jewish and Christian, contain only incidental references. Professor Laurie's *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, 1895, pp. 69–105, gives a good account of the subject from the conservative standpoint. Quite a number of Jewish writers have dealt with it in recent years, mainly, however, as organized by the Jewish authorities from the 2nd cent. A.D. onwards. The following are the best of these special works (only those with the number of pages added have been consulted): M. Duschak, *Schulgesetzgebung und Methodik d. alten Israeliten*, 1872; E. van Gelder, *Die Volksschule d. jüd. Alterthums*, 1892, 31 pp.; Seidel, *Ueber die Pœdagogik d. Proverbien*, 1875; S. Marcus, *Die Pœdagogik des Israel. Volkes*, 1877; J. Simon, *L'Education et l'instruction des Enfants chez les anciens Juifs*[3], 1879, 63 pp.; A. Astruc, *L'Enseignment chez les anciens Juifs*, 1881; B. Spiers, *The School System of the Talmud*, 1882, 27 pp.; B. Strassburger, *Geschichte d. Erziehung und d. Unterrichts bei d. Israeliten*, etc., 1885, 310 pp. (Pre-Talmudic period, pp. 1–24; bibliography of Jewish pedagogics, pp. 273–77); J. Lewit, *Darstellung d. theoretischen u. praktischen Pädagogik in jüd. Altertume*, 1896, 80 pp.; Oehler's 'Pädagogik d. Alten Test.' in Schmid's *Encyclopädie d. gesammten Erziehungs und Unterrichtswesen*, vol. v. 1866, pp. 653–695 (1883, pp. 537–578), is full and suggestive, but in great part antiquated; Gustav Baur in Schmid's *Gesch. d. Erziehung*, 1892, pp. 554–570 (not seen). Hamburger's *Real-encyclopädie d. Judenthums*, 1883 (vol. i. art. 'Erziehung'; ii. 'Lehrer,' 'Schule,' 'Unterricht, etc.), is a mine of information for the later period; see also Schürer's *HJP* II. i. 25, 'Scribism,' vol. ii. 27, 'School and Synagogue' (older literature of the subject, p. 46); Ginsburg in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopœdia*[3], art. 'Education'; Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social*

* On the defects of the Galilean pronunciation (Mt 26^{73}), see Buxtorf *sub* גָּלִיל, and Lightfoot's dissertation in *Hor. Hebr.* (ed. Gandell) i. 170 ff.

† See also *Sota*, ix. 14, for a statement that the study of Greek had only been stopped since the 'war of Titus'—for which read 'war of Quietus,' with most modern scholars.

‡ Cf. the interesting quotation from St. Jerome in Schürer, *op. cit.* II. i. 324.

§ On the later method of teaching the alphabet on the 'A-was-an-Archer' principle see *Shabbath*, 104*a*, given in full in Wünsche's *Der Babylon. Talmud*, etc., i. pp. 155–57, cf. Lewit (title below), p. 47.

Life in the Days of Christ (esp. chs. vii. viii.), and *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*; L. Löw, *Die Lebensalter in d. jüd. Literatur*, 1875, *passim* (esp. p. 130 ff.: 'Education in Bible Times,' and relative notes); S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 1896 (p. 343 ff.: 'The Child in Jewish Literature'). The standard authorities for Jewish education in the Middle Ages (which may be added for completeness' sake) are the works of M. Güdemann, *Geschichte d. Erziehungswesen u. d. Kultur d. Juden*, etc., France and Germany, 1880; Italy, 1884; Spain, 1888. See also I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 1896 (esp. chs. xix. xx.). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

EFFECT.—In 2 Es 9^6 'effect' is used in the obsolete sense of 'deed,' 'the times also of the Highest have . . . endings in effects and signs' (consummatio in actu et in signis); cf. Shaks. *Lear*, II. iv. 182—

> 'Thou better know'st
> The offices of nature, bond of childhood,
> Effects of courtesy, dues of gratitude.'

In Ezk 12^{23} the sense is *purport, significance.* 'The days are at hand, and the effect of every vision' (דָּבָר 'word,' as RVm). So Chaucer, *Merch. Tale*, 153—

> 'And for his freendes on a day he sente,
> To tellen hem th' effect of his entente.'

With those exceptions, the use of 'effect' is much as in mod. English, though the phrase in Ro 9^6 may be noticed, 'as though the word of God hath taken none effect' (ἐκπέπτωκεν, lit. 'has fallen out,' RV 'hath come to nought'). The usual phrase is 'to make of none effect,' always a single vb. in the original, of which the most interesting is καταργέω (Ro 4^{14}, Gal 3^{17}; trd 'make without effect' Ro 3^3), a characteristically Pauline word. Its opposite is ἐνεργέω, a word always in NT of some principle or power at work, esp. in the soul (see Mayor on Ja 5^{16}). Wherever 'effectual' and 'effectually' occur in NT they translate either ἐνεργεῖν, as Gal 2^8, 1 Th 2^{13} 'work effectually'; 2 Co 1^6 'be effectual'; Ja 5^{16} 'the *effectual fervent* prayer of a righteous man availeth much' (RV 'the supplication of a righteous man availeth much *in its working*,' Rendel Harris, 'the *energized* prayer of a righteous man is of great force'*); its adj. ἐνεργής, as 1 Co 16^9, Philem 6; or its subst. ἐνέργεια, whence Eng. 'energy,' as Eph 3^7 4^{16} 'effectual working,' RV 'working.' In all these places we should now use 'effective,' 'effectively.'

J. HASTINGS.

EGGS.—See FOWL.

EGLAH (עֶגְלָה 'a heifer').—One of the wives of David, and mother of Ithream (2 S 3^5). Both here and in 1 Ch 3^3 she is distinguished by the title 'David's wife.' Jewish tradition (cf. Jer. *Quæst. Heb. in libros Regum*) identified E. with Michal, since the latter was his first and best-loved wife. More probably the name of E.'s first husband is concealed in the word 'David.' J. F. STENNING.

EGLAIM (אֶגְלַיִם), Is 15^8. — Noticed with Moab. The name has not been recovered. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* Agallim) it is placed 8 Roman miles south of Areopolis. C. R. CONDER.

EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH (עֶגְלַת שְׁלִשִׁיָּה) occurs in an ancient oracle against Moab, which is quoted in Is 15^5 and Jer 48^{34}. In both these passages RV takes the word to be a proper name, giving in margin the alternative tr^n '[as] an heifer of three years old,' which is AV in Jer 48^{34} and AVm in Is 15^5. In the latter passage, AV text omits '[as].' It is still somewhat uncertain whether the word is an appellative or a proper name, although the latter view has commended itself to the majority of modern scholars (Ewald, Reuss, Graf, Rothstein in Kautzsch's *A.T.* etc.). Delitzsch (*Isaiah, ad loc.*) defends the rendering of AV and Luther, laying stress upon the fact that both in Is and Jer עֶגְלַת שְׁלִשִׁיָּה occurs asyndetically. He points out that it might be an appellative of Moab (cf. Jer 46^{20} 50^{11}, Hos 4^{16} 10^{11}, in all of which 'heifer' is similarly used), but thinks it more probable that the reference is to Zoar (Is) or Horonaim (Jer) as beautiful, strong, and hitherto unsubdued cities. In Is 15^5 after Σήγωρ (Zoar) LXX has δάμαλις γάρ ἐστιν τριετής, referring to Moab. In Jer 48 [Gr. 31]^{34} the MSS show a perplexing variety of readings (see Swete). B has, after Horonaim, καὶ ἀγγελίαν Σαλασειά. Aq. and Symm., however, had δάμαλις τριετής (see Field).

LITERATURE.—Comm. on Is and Jer; Baudissin in *SK*, 1888, p. 509 ff.; Dietrich in Merx' *Archiv*, i. 342 ff.

J. A. SELBIE.

EGLON (עֶגְלוֹן).—A king of Moab who, upon the relapse of the children of Israel into idolatry after the death of Othniel, was the divine instrument for punishing them. He is represented as forming a confederation with Amalek and Ammon,* and in conjunction with them taking possession of Jericho ('the city of palm trees,' Jg 3^{13}).† For eighteen years he ruled over them, till a deliverer arose in the person of Ehud, of the clan of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin. With the excuse of taking Eglon his tribute (or, perhaps, a present), Ehud with a retinue of servants went to the king's court. The king, we are told, in order that we may understand what is coming, was a very fat man. The present was offered, and the whole party started on their way home again. When they reached the graven images (LXX, Vulg. AVm, RVm), or perhaps graven stones (by some connected with the twelve stones of Jos 4^{20}), or the quarries (AV, RV, following Targ. Syr.),‡ Ehud went back to the king by himself, and, by giving him to believe that he had a secret to communicate to him, obtained an interview with him by himself alone. He was sitting in his cool upper-chamber. Now that he has the king by himself, Ehud claims that his message for the king is from God, upon which Eglon rises out of respect to the source of the message. Ehud then draws his two-edged dagger, taking advantage of his left-handedness, which would enable him to do so without much notice being taken of his act, and stabs E. with such force that the dagger, haft and all, goes into him, while the fat closes upon the blade.§ It is some little time before the murder of E. is discovered, and meanwhile Ehud has escaped and summoned his countrymen to the destruction of the Moabites on the W. of Jordan with such success, that 'the land had rest fourscore years.'

Jos. (*Ant.* v. iv.) makes several additions to, and variations in, the story told in the Book of Judges; that E. built a palace at Jericho; that Ehud also dwelt there, and became familiar with E. by means of his presents, and was beloved by E.'s courtiers. Ehud gathers the Israelites together to destroy Moab almost before his murder of E. is known.

LITERATURE.—For the latest description of the history of Eglon, see Moore, *Judges*, 89 ff. H. A. REDPATH.

EGLON (עֶגְלוֹן).—An ancient town in the Shephelah, close to Lachish. Its king, Debir, joined in the alliance formed by the king of Jerus. against the Isr. under Joshua, and after the battle of Aijalon it was captured and destroyed (Jos $10^{1\text{-}37}$ 12^{12}). It is not again named in Scripture, so that it was prob. utterly destroyed. In LXX, cf. Jos 10, Adullam takes its place by some (prob.) early mistake, they

* Having given 'earnest' as one meaning of 'effectual' when used of prayers, the *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* (*s.v.*) adds: 'Cf. Anglo-Lat. *effectuose supplicantes* "earnestly entreating," A.D. 1229 in Rymer, l. 308. Perhaps this use was originally due to confusion with *affectual*; but the translators of AV ingeniously availed themselves of it in Ja 5^{16} to render Gr. ἐνεργουμένη.' It is to be observed, however, that AV uses two words, 'effectual fervent,' for this one Gr. word. Tindale's tr. is 'if it be fervent.'

* This is held to be an exaggeration of D by those who distinguish various hands in this book; see, however, Ps $83^{6.7}$, which seems to refer to the period of the Judges.

† The fortifications, at any rate, of Jericho must have been in ruins (cf. Jos 6^{26} with 1 K 16^{34}), but we are never told that the ruins left from the burning of Jericho were pulled down.

‡ The notion that they were boundary stones or images scarcely deserves mention.

§ For the meaning of the last clause of verse 22 see Moore, pp. 97, 98.

are in consequence identified in the *Onomasticon*. The name remains in 'Ajlân, some 15 miles N.E. from Gaza and 2 miles N. of Tell Hesy, now conclusively identified with the ancient Lachish. But Flinders Petrie (*PEFSt*, 1890, pp. 161–163) points out *Tell Nejîleh* as probably the true site. *Khŭrbet 'Ajlân* his practised eye pronounced unlikely to be the site of an ancient town. On the other hand, 'it is certain,' he says, 'that Tell Hesy and subordinately *Tell Nejîleh* must have been positions of first-rate importance from the time of the earliest settlements; they would then agree to the character of Lachish and Eglon. The history of *Tell Hesy* begins about B.C. 1500, and ends about B.C. 500; while Tell Nejîleh, as far as can be seen on the surface, is of the same age, or ruined even earlier.' 'There are no sites in the country around so suited to the importance of Lachish and Eglon as these two Tells.' To this may be added, that the course of Joshua (ch. 10) brought him first to Lachish—Eglon lying between Lachish and Hebron; and the position of Tell Nejîleh suits this account better than that of 'Ajlân. See LACHISH.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* ii. 49; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 209; *PEF St* (1895), 165; Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities* (1894), 142. A. HENDERSON.

EGYPT.—

i. Name.
ii. Physical character.
iii. Fauna.
iv. Flora.
v. Ethnology.
vi. Language.
vii. Chronology.
viii. History.
ix. Relations with Asia.
x. Religion.

i. NAME.—The name by which the Egyptians at all times designated their country was Kîmet (Copt. ⲕⲏⲙⲉ, ⲭⲏⲙⲓ), a word of which the probable etymology—root *km* 'black'—would confirm the statements of Herodotus and Plutarch, who connect it with the dark colour of the soil. The contrasting redness of the neighbouring desert sand gave to that the name of 'the Red Land.' It is phonetically impossible to connect Kîmet with the name Ham (חָם). To the Semites the country was known as Mizraim (מִצְרַיִם, seldom מְצוֹר, Μεστραίμ, Μεσαραίμ), the termination here being no doubt locative and not a dual. The older cuneiform texts vocalize Muṣr, the later Miṣr; the Amarna letters have generally Miṣrî, *pl.** For this word a favourite though undemonstrable derivation is that from מָצוֹר 'fort.' The Greek name Αἴγυπτος (Arab. *Ḳibt*, Eth. *Gebṣ*, and European *Copt*) is of equally obscure origin. It cannot be satisfactorily derived from any Egyptian or Semitic word or combination of words. In the earliest Greek writers (*Odyssey* generally) it is the name of the river, for which Νεῖλος (cf. נָהָר, נַחַל?) is first found in Hesiod. In the later epochs and in poetical texts we meet with many other names for Egypt. Of such *t' mri* is among the most frequent, and seems connected specially with Lower Egypt and the inundation. 'The Land of the Sycamore,' 'of the Olive,' 'of the Sacred Eye,' are names which require for their explanation a greater knowledge of the geographical myths than we possess.

ii. PHYSICAL CHARACTER.—The geological constitution of Egypt is simple; its elements are three—the bed of rock (limestone for the most part, with sandstone and granite in the S.), which stretches across the N.E. corner of Africa; then the sand which lies upon this, and extends from the Arabian desert hills on the E. to the Libyan range on the W.; lastly, the black Nile mud, resting upon the sand in the centre of the valley, and forming the highroad for the great stream on which the prosperity of the country depends. The number and dimensions of the buildings erected at all periods gave a high importance to the geological elements of the country. The limestone obtained near Memphis (Turrah) furnished the material for the principal works of the early periods. The great temples higher up the valley, especially those of Thebes, are built of sandstone, conveniently obtainable at Silsileh. Red granite for statues, sarcophagi, etc., was worked at the first Cataract (Aswân); black granite and diorite for similar purposes came from the eastern desert (Hammâmât). Alabaster, a favourite material, usually for smaller objects, was quarried opposite Dahshûr, or (a better quality) at *Ḥtnb*, near Beni-Hasan, whence it was extracted under the earliest Dynasties. In metals the Nile valley itself is poor; those most valued come from abroad,—gold in plenty from Nubia or the eastern desert; silver, which was rarer, probably from Cilicia; copper from Sinai, later also from Cyprus; malachite and lapis lazuli from Sinai and Mesopotamia. Bronze, familiar during all later epochs, was made with tin, the provenance of which is uncertain, but which was already used under the 6th Dynasty. Nor can we tell whence iron, well known at any rate from about 800 B.C., was obtained, though a limited amount could be got from the western desert.

The course of the Nile through Nubia is hindered by a succession of rocky barriers, the last or northernmost of which—the first Cataract—has often been the political as it is the natural frontier of Egypt. Between the Cataracts and the Delta the country is of a very uniform character. The valley is extensive or narrow as the two hill-ranges recede from or approach the stream. Its breadth varies from about nine to four miles. As the river progresses northward, the hills gradually fall back and the valley expands into the plain of the Delta, across which the river makes its way by various channels to the Mediterranean. Although the surface-denudation recognizable at certain points of the river's course and the petrified forests still extant testify to very different climatic conditions at a remote geological period, it is unlikely that during the five or six thousand years of historic Egypt there has been much change in the aspect of the country. By the opening of that period the valley had been dried, the river-bed raised, and the stream's course fixed practically to its actual extent, though the number of its mouths was greater than it is to-day.

History is concerned during the earlier periods almost exclusively with the upper valley; the Delta was evidently still but partially reclaimed, though certain towns there are already met with in the myths and in the earliest history. Physical contrasts are coincident with that division into Upper and Lower Egypt which we find an established fact of the remotest historic times; already the two kingdoms—for such undoubtedly they once had been—are united, each, however, retaining its own tutelary deity, and its independent capital, *Nḫb* (El-Kab) and Buto.

Beyond this twofold partition, Egypt appears from the earliest times subdivided into a number (about 22 in south and north respectively) of smaller districts (nomes, from νομός), which become later the basis of an administrative system, but

* According to W. Max Müller (*Z. Ass.* viii. 209), Muṣru, whence Shalmaneser II. received presents, was Egypt, not a N. Syrian or Armenian district (Winckler, Hommel, etc.). Winckler has suggested (*Alt. For.* 24 ff.) that another Muṣri, which he locates in Edom or Sinai, may have been the real origin of the Exodus tradition, reminiscences of wanderings in that district having got confused with the name of Egypt. In S. Arabian inscriptions this Muṣri and Egypt are distinguished as מצרן and מצר (Hommel in *Festschrift f. Ebers*, 27).

which originated probably in the vaguely defined settlements of different tribes. The lists of the nomes are our chief source of topographical knowledge; but no full lists are preserved from early periods, although several most ancient documents (tomb of *Mṭn*, Pyramid texts) mention a few of the nomes. In the later lists each nome is personified by its guardian deity, fetish, or emblem, which serves as a kind of coat-of-arms. A nome was held to be composed of four elements: (1) the metropolis, the seat of the tribal religion and residence of the chief; (2) the cultivated land; (3) the canals by which the fields were fed with river-water; (4) the marshes which, rarely cultivable, served as a hunting-ground for the local nobles. The hieroglyphic , which expressed one of the words for 'nome,' is a testimony to some primitive irrigation system, representing as it does a canal-divided field, and the founder of the 1st Dynasty is credited with the construction of the great dyke which still protects the province of Gizeh from a too extensive inundation, while his successors had all to occupy themselves with the regulation of the water, the cutting of canals, and the satisfaction of local claims upon the benefits of proximity to the river itself. Variations in the annual height of the inundation were no doubt carefully observed in the remotest ages; we know that they were recorded in the Cataract district by the kings of the 12th Dynasty, and at Karnak in later times.

The Nile is not only the great fertilizer; it is also, now as formerly, the main highway. We hear relatively little of journeys by road; locomotion was normally by water, either upon the river or upon the subsidiary canals. The commonest words for journeying implied the idea of sailing up or down stream. The dead were drawn to their rock-cut tombs on boat-formed cars; the solar gods were thought to traverse the sky in a divine bark. Such roads as we do hear of are chiefly those leading from the Nile across the desert—eastwards (from Coptos) to the Red Sea, westwards to the Natron Lakes, or southwards into the Soudan.

iii. FAUNA.—The bones of sacrificial animals from various periods, and countless animal mummies from the base epochs, might, if carefully preserved and located, teach much as to the ultimate homes of several species, while an extensive knowledge of both the domesticated and wild animals might be had from the frescoes of the tombs—especially those of the Middle Kingdom. Each animal is there accompanied by its name, though it is often difficult to find for these their modern equivalents. For the earliest times the hieroglyphic signs themselves would supply a considerable list, giving evidence that the species then known have since changed little. The lion is frequently depicted, though probably seldom met with until the desert had been reached. The lion hunts recorded in the New Kingdom refer mainly to Syria or Nubia, though Thutmosis IV. hunted lions in the neighbourhood of Memphis. Leopards (or panthers?) seem to have been seen in the south; elephants and giraffes were not unknown to those who traded on the Upper Nile; jackals, then as now, were very familiar; desert wolves and hyænas somewhat less so; many kinds of antelopes were well known. The hippopotamus, once commonly met in the river and hunted in the swamps, has by now been driven far up the Nile. Of oxen various breeds were kept; the familiar long-horned species existed until the plague in the middle of the present century. Oxen are often represented ploughing or threshing. Certain varieties, or rather individual members of certain varieties, distinguished by peculiar, carefully sought markings, were held sacred from the earliest times—Apis at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, Bacis at Hermonthis. Sheep were no doubt kept, but occur rarely on the monuments. Varieties of the long- and the spiral-horned ram were sacred. The ass was the usual beast of burden, and was not rivalled by the camel till a very late date. It will be remembered that in Gn 12^{16} (Abraham and Pharaoh) and Ex 9^{3} (Moses) camels are nevertheless mentioned—both by J—as if known in Egypt. The horse is likewise unknown in the older epochs; as it appears first after the Hyksos period, it is assumed to have been introduced by those invaders. The reference to Egyptian horse-breeding in 1 K 10^{28} should more probably be applied to some Asiatic country (Winckler, *Altt. Unt.* 173 A). The Egyptian name for the horse meant properly 'a pair,' and was due probably to its first employment in the war-chariot. Foreign names, among them Semit. סוס, once borrowed, became even more usual. The horse appears to have been seldom ridden. Several breeds of dogs were known; some were valued for the chase. The names of some breeds are preserved, and show that certain Libyan (or Nubian?) varieties were popular. The cat, sacred to the goddess *B'stt*, was larger in ancient than in modern Egypt. It figures in a very ancient solar myth (*Book of the Dead*, ch. 17). The pig, except for its mention in the sacred books, is not met with until late times. Of birds a great number are depicted—geese, ducks, herons of many sorts; migratory birds, *e.g.* swallows, plovers, quails. Eagle, vulture, hawk, and owl are among the most constantly recurring hieroglyphics, while the vulture, hawk, and ibis were sacred to prominent divinities, and were embalmed in numbers (in the base epochs) in the localities of which those divinities were the patrons. It is remarkable that, though hen-breeding is universal in Egypt to-day, that bird was apparently unknown to the ancients. Of the larger reptiles the most important was the crocodile, now no longer to be met with below the Cataracts. There is a variety of snakes, the best known being the *urœus*, emblem of the patron-goddess of Lower Egypt and hence of the king, and the horned viper. From the importance and frequency in the earliest religious literature of charms against large snakes, it may be inferred that their numbers and dimensions were once greater than they are at present.

The texts show us several insects, notably the *scarabœus*-beetle, regarded, especially in later times, as a symbol of eternity and of the sun-god, and the bee, associated in writing from the remotest times with royalty in Lower Egypt.

Fish are often represented. The most peculiar is the *oxyrrhynchus*, the badge of the 19th nome of Upper Egypt. Fish were much eaten; some of the oldest frescoes depict them speared in the marshes, landed in drag-nets, and then split for drying; while texts equally ancient tell of the construction of fish-ponds.

iv. FLORA.—Egypt is remarkably poor in variety of vegetation. Many of the cultivated plants most common now—cotton, sugar, rice—are modern importations.

In prehistoric ages the valley was no doubt considerably wooded; but to-day, with the exception of the various palm species, trees occur only singly or in small groups. The representations of the flora—of trees especially—in the frescoes, carvings, or hieroglyphics are generally too far conventionalized to be instructive. More can be learned from extant remains of edible grains or funerary floral wreaths (from the New Kingdom onwards), or of woodwork (from all periods). From these it is clear that the native vegetation has altered very little during the course of history. The Egyptians

were at all times ill off for workable woods, and were compelled—where the stalks of river plants would not serve—to make the best of their own sycomore or acacia (the latter especially in the older epochs), or to import yew from Cilicia (?) and ebony from Nubia. More than one Pharaoh of the New Kingdom brought specimens of trees and vegetables from Syria or the Red Sea coasts, either as curiosities or with a view to their propagation. From the nature of the soil, agriculture must always have been the main occupation of the population, and we learn from the monuments the names of several cereals, of which wheat and barley were the commonest, dhurah being well known since the New Kingdom. Gardens were laid out, and much interest was shown in them since the 4th Dynasty. Many vegetables are represented in the frescoes and as hieroglyphic signs, especially the bulbous sorts—onions, leeks, etc. (cf. Nu xi. 5). The vine was always largely cultivated, and from the Delta came several famous wines of Greek and Roman times. The fig, too, is early represented. Many plants were valued medicinally, as can be shown from the numbers occurring in the medical works, notably in the Papyrus Ebers; others were used for dyeing. The most important of all plants to the Egyptians was the **papyrus**, which, unknown now in the Delta, grew there once in vast thickets where the nobles hunted, and whence was obtained the material, not only for writing, but also for numerous other purposes, decorative and useful. As the papyrus became one of the pictorial emblems of Lower Egypt, so the lotus was often that of the southern country, although a sort of water-reed seems also to have been so employed.

v. ETHNOLOGY.—The problem of the origin and relationships of the Egyptian race is still unsolved. Its solution is to be sought in the evidence of (1) philology; (2) mythology; (3) physical anthropology; and (4) material culture. Investigations in these various fields have hitherto given results partially discordant. (1) The most ancient linguistic documents point to an undeniable though already very remote relationship with the Semitic languages (see below). (2) The divinities and myths familiar to the earliest texts were, until recently, accepted as growths of the Egyptian soil, the inclination being to recognize in extraneous elements, if any, the influence of neighbouring African races. Hommel indeed invites us to take other considerations into account by pointing out certain coincidences between the ancient religions of Egypt and Babylonia. (3) Racial types, as depicted on the monuments, and the measurements, etc., of mummies, have led to no uniform results. Formerly, anthropologists saw in the sculptures and paintings one race, identical with the Copts of to-day; now they generally discern various types among the most ancient portraits, and seek on such evidence to distinguish at least two races. Few mummies remain from the oldest epochs—one of the most ancient is that from Medûm, at present in the Royal College of Surgeons, London,—and those from later times point apparently to a short-skulled, while the modern Egyptian is of a long-skulled type. Probably the oldest group of remains (from Abydos, 1895–96) seems to point to a long-skulled, orthognathous, smooth-haired race; but the type there is not homogeneous, neither is that of the Medûm mummies, and their relationship to the race of historic Egypt is not yet clear. (4) There is certainly evidence of African elements, whether due to primitive kinship or to mere proximity, in some branches of the material civilization, such as dress, weapons, possibly circumcision. On the other hand, Hommel seeks to show that a very early form of religious or sepulchral architecture (pyramid) is derived from Babylonia. It must be owned that the oldest remains of Mesopotamian civilization appear to exceed in antiquity any hitherto brought to light in Egypt.

Most are agreed that, whatever be the case with their forerunners, the Egyptians from the 3rd or 4th Dynasty onwards were not a negroid race; that they came, on the contrary, from Asia. But the questions of their previous home there and the route by which they reached the Nile,—whether by Bab el-Mandeb and Abyssinia or the Wady Hammâmât and Coptos, or by the Syrian desert and the Isthmus,—are as yet unanswered. The route S. Arabia-Hammâmât-Coptos has for it the evidence (*a*) of prehistoric remains at Coptos, pointing to a people coming direct from the Red Sea; (*b*) of certain facts—physical resemblance, peaceful relations, and the apparently reverential attitude of the Egyptians—which have been held to point to *Pwnt*, *i.e.* the country about the southern end of the Red Sea, as a former home of the race. To this may be added the tradition that the founders of the monarchy came from Thinis, a town not far distant from Coptos—a tradition which has been confirmed by the recent discovery of the First Dynasty tombs in the same neighbourhood (Abydos). No reminiscence has been discerned in the literature of a prehistoric immigration. The people apparently considered themselves aborigenes, and called themselves merely *Rôme(t)*, 'men' *par excellence*. Traces of a stone age, undeniable though complicated by the long historic survival of flint-working, show that the country has been inhabited since the Pliocene period. Palæolithic remains are rare, but some half-dozen stations are said to have been recognized. Considerable evidence has been adduced (though contested) to demonstrate a New Stone age. That a Hebrew writer of the 6th or 7th cent. speaks (Gn 10^6) of Mizraim as related to Cush (Ethiopia), Put (S. Arabia, *Pwnt*), and Canaan, is not a fact of much ethnological importance. By the earlier annalist (*ib.*$^{13ff.}$) eight names—mostly unidentifiable—are given which may preserve a then current Hebrew view of Egypt's ethnological relationships.

vi. LANGUAGE.—The relative position of the Egyptian language among its neighbours is a question closely associated with that as to the racial connexions of the people. Our means of comparison with the surrounding idioms are not of equal value. For the Semitic languages—for the Mesopotamian dialects at least—we have documents perhaps as ancient as any from Egypt. For the Berber and Cushite languages of Africa we can but infer from quite modern evidence the linguistic conditions of earlier ages; and in this important field, therefore, little has as yet been attempted.

The Egyptian language, together with certain languages of Barbary, Nubia, and Abyssinia, used to be regarded as forming one of the distinct main divisions of human speech; now it is clear that this isolating classification cannot be justified. The group is not independent. Since Benfey's attempt to demonstrate the affinity of the Egyptian and Semitic languages, his main contention has received increasing confirmation, until it is no longer possible to deny an originally very close relationship—collateral rather than filial—between the proto-Hamitic and proto-Semitic groups. The affinity is specially prominent in grammatical features common to both. Of these the principal are—(1) the same gender-endings, masc. *w*, fem. *t*; (2) an all but identical series of pronominal suffixes; (3) the use in both of a peculiar adjectival termination, 'nisbeh'; (4) identity in four or five of the numerals; (5) analogous treatment of the weak

verb and derivatives; (6) the identity of an old form of Egyp. verbal flection and the Sem. perfect; (7) verbal nouns with prefixed *m*; (8) the importance of a single accent-vowel in each word or syntactical group, and the resultant 'construct' state of the remaining vowels. There is, moreover, to be noted the correspondence between the Sem. and Egyp. consonants, extending to some fifteen undoubted equations (which embrace the important series א, ו, י, ע); also two or three more which are almost certain.* Further, the same lack of any written representatives of the vowels. In the vocabulary the case for Sem. affinity is less strong. The number of Egyp. roots for which correspondents can reasonably be claimed in any Sem. dialect is small; the large Sem. element in the language of the New Kingdom owes its presence, not to any primitive relationship, but merely to the political circumstances of the time. The bulk of Egyp. roots is of a decidedly non-Sem. type. One of the most distinctive features of the Sem. languages—the preponderance of triliteral roots—is, at any rate, not paralleled, even in the oldest Egyptian documents, though it has been suggested that the divergence here is due to early phonetic degeneration. Hommel offers another explanation of the facts. By the aid of certain very potent phonetic laws he institutes comparisons between a number of Egyp. and Sumerian words, the latter being, in his view, an import dating from the prehistoric (Semitic) immigration from Mesopotamia. It is a question of at least equal difficulty how large a proportion of the roots should be regarded as of African, *i.e.* negroid, origin, and so as vestiges of a still remoter, pre-Semitic period, during which the valley was peopled by an African race, part of whose linguistic stock was subsequently amalgamated with that of the invading Asiatics.

If it were possible to trace with certainty the genealogy of the hieroglyphic script, we might expect to find ourselves nearer the birthplace of the language. Hommel's theories do not ignore this problem; the hieroglyphics came, he holds, like the rest of the intellectual equipment of the Egyptians, from Mesopotamia. If this were true of the script as a whole, it would nevertheless be obvious that many of the signs had their origin in Africa; they represent natural objects, to be met with only there. Be this as it may, it is evident that the Babylonian and Egyptian systems had, for ages before we first meet with them, followed widely divergent lines of development. The former, influenced by the nature of its writing materials, had lost almost entirely the pictorial character which the latter, on the contrary, retained from the beginning to the end of historic times. A conventionalizing, abbreviating tendency was, of course, inevitable if a script so ponderous was to be put to any but occasional decorative uses. But the abbreviated forms — first the 'hieratic,' later the 'demotic' script—grew and found employment side by side with their prototypes, the hieroglyphics, which to the end were alone held suitable for sacred literature or ornamental inscriptions.

The signs in general employment during the classical period — the Middle and earlier New Kingdoms — are estimated at about 500; some from the older epochs had then fallen into disuse, many employed later had not yet appeared.

The signs are pictures of material objects—natural and artificial,—or of parts of such objects. Primarily, each sign must have had for its phonetic value merely the name of the object depicted. But since no provision was thus made for expressing abstract ideas or the grammatical needs of the language, a secondary use of the signs had been developed, and abstractions were expressed by the same signs as those material objects of which the names contained the identical consonants. For example, is the picture of a 'rib,' written by the consonants *s p r*; the verb 'reach' is also spelt *s p r*; it, too, is therefore written with the sign . Besides such signs as these, capable unassisted of expressing complete words, there are many with only the value of single syllables (*i.e.* consonant + vowel + consonant). These are, no doubt, primitive word-signs which have lost their original function, and so become available as pure phonetics for the writing of longer words. A still remoter stage of the language is recalled by the 24 signs called by us the 'alphabet,' and reduced from the representation of 24 monosyllabic words (? consonant + vowel) to that of 24 consonants, the initials of those forgotten words. To these three phonetic elements is to be added one purely ideographic and complementary. To avoid ambiguities certain signs, 'determinatives,' are added, as in Babylonian and Chinese, to phonetically written words in order to indicate the class of ideas to which such words refer. Thus, dignity or age would be followed by the figure of an old man, strength or power by that of an armed hand, literature or learning by that of a papyrus roll. The absence of written vowels leaves us ignorant of the correct pronunciation of Egyptian words; our only guides are the transcriptions in vocalized foreign languages—cuneiform or Greek,—or in Coptic, which is but the youngest stage of Egyptian, expressed in the Greek alphabet. Yet by these aids we merely approximate to the vocalization of the later epochs; for that of the Old Kingdom we have no guide. The Egyptians themselves did indeed, during the period of their intimacy with Asia (18th and following Dynasties), feel the need of some system of vowel-transcription, and they naturally took as their model the cuneiform syllabary, already in common use in Syria. The vowels which under this influence they aimed at representing were *a*, *i*, and *u*, and for their hieroglyphic representation the signs for three approximate weak consonants were selected. Similar necessities were met at later periods (the Persian, Ptolemaic, and Roman supremacies) by similar means, though during these the elements of the ancient hieroglyphic system were speedily losing their original values, and complete irregularity already reigned in the transcription of foreign consonants as well as vowels.

vii. CHRONOLOGY.—Many of the problems involved in this subject still await satisfactory solution. Astronomical calculations combined with the monumental evidence have doubtless done much already to fix the dates of later epochs; but beyond the age of the New Kingdom it seems impossible to find unanimous acceptance for more than approximate dates. Much obscurity still prevails as to the eras and methods employed by the Egyptians in their calculations.

A. The available Egyptian documents are—(1) The lists of kings inscribed in temples or private tombs. The three most important (at Abydos, Karnak, Sakkara) date from Dynasties 18 and 19, and give the names of 76, 61, and 47 kings respectively. Tombs and MSS of the same period have preserved shorter lists. In such lists the sequence of names

* The following are the conventional transcriptions used in this article (see *Æg. Zeitschr.* xxxiv. 61 and *ZDMG* xlvi. 727).

1. Ascertained equations: א *'*, ב *b*, ה *h*, ו *w*, ח *ḥ*, ח *ḫ*, י *i*, כ *k*, ל *l*, ר *r*, מ *m*, נ *n*, ע *'*, פ *p*, ק *k*, ת *t*; 2. doubtful: ג *g*, ט *ṯ*, ם *d*, ס *s*, ט *ṯ*, ץ *ḍ*, ש *š* (the values of the sibilants, of course, particularly uncertain). The Egyp. *ƒ* and a form of *ḫ* are without Semitic equivalents. *V* and *i* represent secondary forms of *i*.

is not always correct, nor is more than a selection (political or ritualistic?) from the full series of past kings given. They supply no data as to length of reign. (2) The lists in a dilapidated papyrus of the Ramesside period at Turin, which probably enumerated when complete all kings from the 1st to the Hyksos Dynasty. (3) Dates are found in, or can be reckoned from, the annals inscribed in the temples by certain kings, or incidentally in the tombs of private persons. This is the most reliable class of document, and the records in private tombs are the sole contemporary source for a chronology of the early Dynasties.

B. Of Greek writers, by far the most important is Manetho, a native priest, *c.* B.C. 250, whose works are known only by the excerpts preserved by Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius, or by the medium of still later chronologists. We are ignorant of the sources upon which his *Αἰγυπτιακά* was based; presumably, he had at his disposal documents far fuller and more reliable than any now available, though his chronology of the remoter periods can be proved much at fault. Nor can we judge how far he manipulated his authorities to suit his own views; and it is, moreover, probable that his Jewish and Christian abbreviators had their own systems to harmonize with his statements. The misfortunes inevitable in the long transmission of such writings must also be considered in estimating their present value. The lists appended to Manetho's history divided the Egyptian kings into 31 Dynasties. The grounds for such divisions are often difficult to appreciate; they do not always coincide with the divisions in the Turin papyrus. The lists compiled by Eratosthenes, B.C. 275–194, in which pretended Greek interpretations of the royal names are given, contain in reality many words which are but inaccurate transcriptions of titles, formulæ, etc., which accompanied the names.

Many scholars have occupied themselves with these Greek chronologists. Böckh sought to demonstrate an astronomical era as the basis of Manetho's calculations. Lepsius appealed to the 'Sothis' book, — a Christian forgery, — which ascribed 3555 years as total duration to the Egyptian monarchy; while, according to Unger, Manetho's system gave 5613 as the date of its foundation. Brugsch has attempted reckoning from the basis of average length of generations and reigns, and thus arrives at 4400 for the same event. Ed. Meyer lays stress chiefly on data as to length of reigns actually recorded on the monuments, and has thus constructed a series of 'minimum dates,' *i.e.* dates *below* which, at any rate, the various periods could not be brought down; but C. Torr has since re-examined the monuments with the result of a possible further reduction of Meyer's figures.

The most important assistance towards the establishment of indisputable dates is derived from astronomical calculations, based on the following ascertained facts as to the Egyptian calendar. The Egyptians did not use a leap year. Consequently in every four years a day was lost, and in 1460 years these losses had resulted in a complete shift of all the nominal months throughout the seasonal year. An absolute method of reckoning could, however, be obtained by observing the variation in the sun's position. This variation was gauged by the first visible (heliacal) rising of Sothis (Sirius), an event which coincided with the beginning of the Inundation. When the 'natural' years, reckoned from this point, amount to 1460, that total is therefore called a Sothis period. The natural or Sothic year was probably of importance to the Egyptians only for agricultural and ritualistic calculations; but to us it is of great value. For the known fact that a Sothis period began in A.D. 139 enables us to fix its previous occurrences in B.C. 1322, 2784, 4242, etc. With these points for a basis, and taking into consideration the recorded Sothis risings under kings *Mrnpth* (Merenptah) and Amenophis I., Ed. Mahler fixes the reign of Thutmosis III. at 1503–1449. He has, indeed, also calculated exact dates for the remainder of the 18th and 19th Dynasties; but results drawn from documents still often disputable cannot be relied on. To such astronomical dates Flinders Petrie has contributed 3410 as the probable commencement of the 6th Dynasty. The following are selected dates, from those provisionally adopted by Petrie,* Ed. Meyer, Mahler, and Steindorff (in 'Baedeker,' 1897):—

Dynasty.	Petrie. B.C.	Meyer. B.C.	
I.	4777	3180	
IV.	3998	2830	
VI.	3410	2530	
XI.	2985		
XII.	2778	2130	
XIII.	2565	1930	Mahler.
XVIII.	1587	1530	1575
XIX.	1327	1320	
XX.			1240
XXI.	1089	1060	
XXII.		930	
XXV.		728	
XXVI.		663	
XXVII.		525	Steindorff.
XXX.			382
Macedonians.			332
Romans.			30

viii. HISTORY.—Modern historians conveniently partition Manetho's series of 31 Dynasties into the following groups: (*a*) *the Old Kingdom*, Dyns. i.–vi.; (*b*) *the Middle Kingdom*, Dyns. xi.–xiii.; (*c*) *the New Kingdom*, Dyns. xviii.–xx.; (*d*) *the Foreign Dominion*, Dyns. xxii.–xxv.; (*e*) *the Restoration*, Dyn. xxvi.; (*f*) *the Persian Supremacy*, Dyn. xxxi. Between these lie obscure, disturbed periods, not assignable to any of the more distinctly defined groups.

(*a*) *The Old Kingdom.* — Although nothing is known of the history of the earliest Pharaohs, the tombs of the 1st and 2nd Dynasties have lately been discovered at Abydos (Om el-Ja'ab), the legendary cradle, it will be remembered, of the monarchy. Unfamiliar royal names of the same remote age have come to light somewhat farther south (Negadeh);† while the so-called 'New Race' cemetery—the remains of a very rude stage of culture—in the latter locality, is regarded as dating from at least as distant a period. In Greek times legends could still be collected, attributing to some of these early kings notable achievements, such as the first damming of the river, the establishment of a certain divine cult, or the regulation of succession to the throne; to others, some memorable experience—a devastating plague, or an earthquake.

It is to be remembered that, while the first historic Dynasty and that of demigods which preceded it are said to be native to Upper Egypt, the legends of the still remoter Dynasty of gods are localized in the North; the great gods were at home first in Heliopolis and the Delta. This may point, it is said, to a racial contrast which, however strong at first, was early obliterated. One of

* So far as yet published; see *History*, vols. i. ii.; Meyer's are the minimum dates referred to above.

† See *Æg. Zeitschr.* xxxv. 1 ff.

the prehistoric races had occupied districts about the river's mouth; another—that, perhaps, to which the rude monuments at Coptos are due — had arrived in the upper valley, and one of its chiefs, attaining, we may suppose, at Abydos, or more properly Thinis, to a position of supremacy, had been able to extend thence his power down the river, settling near the later Memphis, subduing or absorbing the Delta tribes, and finally identifying himself with the religion of the district which became thenceforth the state religion of the nation. Relics of a possibly pre-dynastic monarchy can be traced in archaic survivals in the titles, functions, dress, etc., of the later kings; but of the people ruled by these primitive Pharaohs, or of the limits of their domains, little can as yet be said. Interments, flints, pottery, regarded by some as prehistoric, are by others assigned to far later ages.

History properly so called opens with Dyn. 3. Yet here still we have knowledge of only one or two out of half a dozen kings. Some fragments on which the name of *Nbk'* (Nebka) occurs are held to belong to his time; *Dsr* (Zezer), his successor, in all probability built (possibly usurped) the step-pyramid of Sakkara. He was a monarch of some power, for he extended his activity to the mines of Sinai, where his name is found, and his cult was revived at quite a late epoch. The Dynasty closes (or the next begins) with a better known king, *Snfrw*-Soris, whose name survives on numerous monuments, the most important being his pyramid-tomb at Medûm. He, too, exploited the Sinaitic copper, not, however, as his inscriptions there show, until he had crushed the hostile nomads of the neighbourhood. The tombs of several of his nobles are extant in the cemeteries of Abusir, Dahshur, and Medûm. The 4th Dynasty has left a memorial more indelible than that of any that followed it; for the successors of Soris built as their tombs the three great pyramids of Gizeh. Their relationships to Soris and to one another are uncertain. Some close blood connexion can be argued from genealogies in contemporary tombs and from later tradition. *Ḫwfw*-Cheops, *Ḫ'fr'*-Chephren, and *Mnk'wr'*-Mykerinus appear to have spent their energies chiefly on the construction of their pyramids. With this object they brought granite from Aswân and alabaster from quarries near Tel el-Amarna. Cheops, however, continued the work in Sinai, and built in the Delta (Tideh and Bubastis). Indeed we learn from the inscriptions of *Mṯn* (Methen), a magnate of the time, that the Delta was already, at any rate in part, reclaimed and worked for the crown by great functionaries. Of the remaining three or four kings of the Dynasty, one at least is known to have built a pyramid. The great Sphinx is usually attributed to this period, though it possibly belongs to a considerably later age. The relative scarcity of remains of the 4th Dynasty probably points to the small development of the custom of building monumental tombs.

Tradition regarded the 5th Dynasty as a new family, possibly as one of usurpers. One legend—probably not without interested motives—ascribes to it an origin half-priestly, half-divine, and places its home in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis; elsewhere it is called native to Elephantine. The Dynasty consisted of some nine kings, mostly little more now than names; for we know of no achievements more remarkable than work in the mines of Sinai or Hammâmât and a trading expedition down the coasts of the Red Sea. The pyramids of all but one of the kings are identified—mostly at Abusir. That of *Wnis*-Onnos, the last of the Dynasty, is at Sakkara, and, though smaller than most tombs of its class, is to us of much greater importance than the gigantic but barren erections of earlier reigns; for in it are inscribed the most ancient texts of all Egyptian literature (see below).

The 6th Dynasty, in its widespread activity abroad and at home, is a strong contrast to its forerunner. Inscriptions of its kings meet us in all parts of Upper and Lower Egypt, as well as in Sinai and the desert quarries. And now, moreover, we may read in the earliest of narrative inscriptions—those of *Wni* (Una) and *Ḫrḫwf* (Herkhuf), the generals and ambassadors of kings *Ppy* (Pepy) I. and *Mrnr'* (Merenera)—of expeditions against both the Syrian and Nubian barbarians. These resulted, indeed, in little but booty and conciliatory presents from the tribes over whom a temporary victory could probably be achieved with little trouble, by the (at least partially) disciplined troops of Egypt. One of the latter kings of this Dynasty, *Ppy* II., sat longer on the throne than any monarch in the world's history; native and Greek documents assign him a reign of over 90 years.

We know not under what circumstances the 6th Dynasty had reached the throne,—whether through some blood claim or by violence,—nor do we know amidst what events its rule closed. Evidently, however, it had no peaceful end. The last of its kings are but empty names, and indeed in the latter years of *Ppy* II. complete obscurity surrounds the political and social existence of Egypt. When, some two or three centuries later, that obscurity is dissipated, the country has assumed a new face, the capital is no longer at Memphis, the centre of gravity is several hundred miles farther south.

The outward characteristics of the Egyptian polity show little change under the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Dynasties. The southern and northern kingdoms, bound together, it has been said, in a sort of personal union, each retains to some extent its separate organization, although important offices, once proper to one or other of them, are often found united in the hands of a single functionary, just as the official nomenclature of the Pharaoh combined the royal titles of both South and North. The king is omnipotent; his ministers—a mere bureaucracy—are members of the royal house or of the great territorial families. The ancient division of the country into nomes forms the basis of an elaborate financial and judicial administration, yet controlled by the court through officials dependent on the central government, by whom the royal dues are collected and legal questions settled independently of the local authorities. But as time goes on, and (as we may infer) weak rulers succeed the strong, the old provincial independence reasserts itself, and the nomarchs begin to move beneath the weight of central despotism. One of the first signs of this decentralizing tendency is the growth of the custom of burial, now no longer at Memphis, beside the king, but at home, in the cemeteries of the provincial capitals, at Akhmîm, Abydos, Thebes, Elephantine, and elsewhere. The court of the nomarch was modelled upon that of the king; its officials grew in number, its militia in strength. The kings of the 6th Dynasty are left surrounded only by courtiers and placemen; the magnates seem to have withdrawn, and to be ready, when opportunity offers, to reassert the primitive independence of their position.

The period between the 6th and the 11th Dynasties is one of the most obscure in Egypt's history; yet the complete dearth of monuments can scarcely be fortuitous. Manetho localizes the 7th and 8th Dynasties still at Memphis, and we may indeed suppose that there was no sudden break with the past. The provincial nobles could only gradually assert their strength, and the Pharaohs still

reigned, at least nominally, in their ancient capital. But of these kings we know nothing, scarcely their names. Possibly they were, in later times, regarded as usurpers. Genealogies in certain tombs (El-Bersheh) appear to reach back to their times, and show how the nomarchs already flourished. The succeeding Dynasties, the 9th and 10th, would be equally unknown were it not for the inscriptions of Siut, whose princes record their participation in the struggle of the petty Dynasty of Heracleopolis (Ahnas) against 'the South.' The 9th and 10th Dynasties are indeed currently ascribed to Heracleopolis, while subsequent events make it evident that by 'the South' is here meant the principality of Thebes. That town had been the seat of a noble family under the 6th Dynasty; and while the royal power had grown weak, the Theban nomarchs had nursed their strength, till at length, having overcome the Heracleopolites, they by degrees re-established unity and order.

(*b*) *The Middle Kingdom.*—The claims of these first Theban Pharaohs—the 11th Dynasty—to be the legitimate successors of the Memphite kings were recognized in their own and future generations. Their number and sequence is not clear. They bear alternately the names *Mntwḥtp* (Mentuhotep) and *Intf* (Intef), though it is pretty certain this does not imply the undisturbed succession of one family. The royal honours were not attained by the first member of the series, who bears merely the title of nomarch; the kingly titles are assumed by his successors. One at least of them—*Mntwḥtp* III.—had a long reign, and left evidence of his power from the Cataracts to the Delta. Another records a trading expedition on the Red Sea as well as quarrying work in the eastern desert.

Whether the 12th Dynasty succeeded the 11th without disturbance is not certain. It gave to Egypt seven of the most active, powerful, and long-lived of her kings, and seems in every sense to have been worthy of the admiration bestowed on it in after ages. To *Imnmḥ't*-Amenemes I. fell the task of completing the work of union and pacification initiated by his predecessors. The magnates of Middle Egypt (Beni-Hasan) have recorded his intervention to settle local disputes as to territory on the basis of former arrangements, and to confirm his faithful vassals in their possessions. Elsewhere we read of revolts suppressed and of conquests abroad. Indeed, Egypt had now for the first time a royal house whose aspiration it was to extend the frontiers of their dominions. It is true that booty or tribute were still the chief inducements to war; but the campaigns were now upon a larger scale, the enemies attacked more distant, and the results of victory more lasting. The energies of the kings were turned chiefly southward, towards the gold mines of Nubia. That country, once subdued,—mainly by the exertions of *Wsrṭsn* (Usertesen) III.,—was to be held by means of fortresses, of which two can still be traced beyond the second Cataract. All Egypt contains scattered remains of the building activity of the 12th Dynasty, whose kings resided in various capitals—the earlier in Thebes, where the nucleus of the Amon temple dates from their time, and possibly at Memphis; the later, in the Fayyûm, where Amenemes III. built the most colossal of Egyptian funerary temples, known in later ages as the Labyrinth, and where he utilized an extensive natural lake (L. Moeris) to fertilize the whole district. The custom of burial in pyramids, maintained on a modest scale by the 11th Dynasty at Thebes, was carried on by their successors, who built large tombs of this class near Memphis (Lisht, Turrah, Dahshur) or in the Fayyûm (Illahun, Hawarah). There are grounds for supposing the later kings of the Dynasty to have had foreign blood in their veins; their portraits show features singularly different from the accustomed type of the age. The internal history of the middle kingdom is the history of the development of the decentralizing tendencies which had their rise in the conditions of the 6th Dynasty. The development can be traced in the inscribed tombs of the noble families buried at Beni-Hasan, El-Bersheh, Siut, and Aswân. The nomes of Middle and Upper Egypt are the centres of interest, each of them in the hands of a family of which the genealogy can, in some cases, be traced back to the Old Kingdom. The nomarchs were still, however, under certain obligations to the central power. But the crown was no longer in the position of irresponsible despotism which it had enjoyed in former times. Its powers were restricted on all sides by the growth of the provincial resources. The nomarchs, some of whom by judicious marriages had become lords of several provinces at once, had their own courts, officials, and levies, though the latter were apparently at the king's disposal for external wars. So far, however, as we can judge, the country suffered little as yet from these conditions. The age of the Middle Kingdom, though differing rather in degree than in kind from that of the Memphite Dynasties, was one of probably greater material, artistic, and literary wealth, and appeared, not undeservedly, to succeeding generations as a golden age.

The obscurity which gradually follows the extinction of the 12th Dynasty is no less impenetrable than that which follows on the Dynasties of the Old Kingdom. On some sides, indeed, the decline is scarcely perceptible; the outward aspect of the kingdom is little changed; the southern conquests are maintained, commerce on the Red Sea continues, and the art of the period does not fall far short of the high standard lately set. But of the individual Pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty we know scarcely anything; of those of the 14th, absolutely nothing. The former series, with the names (among others) of *Sbkḥtp* (Sebekhotep) and *Sbkms'f* (Sebekemsef), is localized in Thebes; the latter in Chois, an obscure Delta town, though it is quite possible that the Theban tradition was being upheld by a contemporary Dynasty in the south. The whole interval, indeed, between the 12th and 17th Dynasties may have been occupied by the struggles of rival houses, each claiming legitimate rights to the throne, yet none strong enough to vindicate its claims permanently.

We do not know at what point in this dark period of some 150 years the internal troubles were first complicated by foreign invasion. The name of one of the kings assigned to this time is regarded as evidence for an Ethiopic supremacy; on the other hand, there is perhaps ground for placing here one of the frequent Libyan invasions. Of trustworthy contemporary documents there is a complete dearth; the Turin papyrus and the Manethonian fragments are our sole authorities. In Manetho's arrangement these two obscure Dynasties are followed by two more of which still less is known; yet they are of greater interest, for they are drawn from those foreign invaders who by this time had subdued at least a part of northern Egypt, and whom Manetho names Hyksos (Ὑκσώς, ? pl. Ὑκουσσώς). The racial position of this people is still unknown. Their Greek (= Egyptian) name means merely 'Sheikhs of the (south Syrian) Bedawin,'* and it has been supposed that they consisted of mixed hordes, partly Semite, partly of some other race. Another hypothesis, based on the fact that the worship of *Swṯḫ* (Set) was common to Hyksos and Hittites, and on the occurrence in

* The gloss 'shepherd' for *Ḥ'sw* is demonstrable only at a far later period of the language.

cuneiform documents of *Ḫy'n* (Khyan) as a Hittite king's name, while his namesake in Egypt is regarded as a Hyksos king, would make of Hyksos and Hittites one race. From the language we can draw no arguments, for we know nothing of it save a few Greek transcriptions of the royal names. Nor can we appeal to the portraits of the kings; for the Sphinxes, etc., formerly regarded as such, are now held by many to belong rather to the latter kings of the 12th Dynasty.

Asiatics had undoubtedly been crossing the frontier for ages past; but only in small numbers. Now they appear to have made a much more formidable onslaught upon the eastern Delta, and, after slaying, plundering, and burning, to have established themselves there in a dominant position. The events which had produced this southward migration from Asia are quite unknown; possibly, the contemporary attack of Elam on Mesopotamia gave the immediate impetus.

Egypt was weak, and the earlier at least of the Hyksos princes were strong rulers; and though resistance was persistent farther south, northern Egypt remained in their hands for two or three centuries, possibly longer. They resided in the eastern Delta, in the fortress of *Ḫtw'rt*-Avaris or at *D'nt*-Tanis (Zoan), where they soon so far assimilated Egyptian civilization that the remains of their work is indistinguishable from that of the native kings.

(*c*) *The New Kingdom.*—Just as the disorders of a former period had been ended by the energy or fortunate position of the Theban nomarchs, so now resistance to the Hyksos oppression centred at Thebes, which may even itself have suffered at their hands, since traces of them have come to light still farther south. Their expulsion necessitated a long struggle, and they probably only finally quitted the Delta many years after being driven from Upper Egypt. The 17th Dynasty, which began the war of liberation, seems for some time to have been contemporary with the Hyksos kings. It is, however, only of its later members that we have any knowledge. There is preserved from this period the autobiography of an Egyptian officer, *I'hms*-Amosis, who took part in the war, and from it we learn that, Avaris having been captured, the foreigners were not merely expelled from Egypt, but pursued into S. Palestine and their stronghold (or, perhaps, place of temporary retreat) Sharuhen (Jos 19[6]) taken.

The military expeditions here described are the first-fruits of a new tendency in the history of the nation. The art, language, and social organization of the early period of the New Kingdom bear a close resemblance to those of the age that had sunk in the obscurity of the Hyksos invasion. Indeed, that the change had been so slight may be an argument for the relatively short duration of the foreign occupation. But the political history of Egypt, with the rise of the new Theban Dynasty, begins to follow a new course. Instead of a nation content with victories over the wild tribes of Nubia and the Soudan, both kings and people appear now to be eager for conquest among races of quite other attainments, in the arts both of peace and war. The nations of Syria had not, so far as we know, seen an Egyptian invasion since that conducted by *Wni* (6th Dynasty). The Pharaohs of the New Kingdom, however, initiated into Asiatic warfare by the circumstances of the Hyksos expulsion, soon came to regard such campaigns—aggressive now—as their most important occupation. But first they set about the reconquest of Nubia, and before long carried their southern frontier as far as Dongola.

The decisive strokes in the war of liberation were fought under the first king of the 18th Dynasty, *I'hms*-Amosis, who seems to have been the lineal descendant of his predecessors. The relationships and sequence of the kings and queens—the latter, heiresses in their own right—who followed him are much disputed. His son and successor, *Imnḥtp*-Amenophis I., was a king of no great political importance, though popularly revered, as we see from his special deification in later times. His chief occupation was the reorganization of the Nubian dependencies. He was followed by his son, *Dḥwtims*-Thutmosis I., though this prince's succession was only legitimized by marriage with a half-sister, the direct heiress. Whether he was the father of his three successors Th. II., Th. III., and queen *Ḥ'tšpswt* (Hatasu) or only of Th. II. and the queen, Th. III. being a generation farther off, it is difficult to decide. The queen, though certainly daughter and heiress to Th. I. and wife of her brother Th. II., may have been either half-sister or aunt (and stepmother) to Th. III. She was, at any rate, a princess of strong character, and a very important factor in the politics of the time, acting at least once as co-regent and, during the minority of Th. III., ruling on his behalf. We have evidence, however, in the successive erasure of these royal names upon the monuments, that, whatever was the sequence of the changes of rule among them, such changes were not made in any spirit of friendly acquiescence. Queen *Ḥ'tšpswt* never really reigned alone, though for years, whether owing to the insignificance or youth of the king, the fortunes of the country were in her hands. Beyond the proofs of her activity recorded at Deir el-Bahri (Thebes), we know little of the direction her energies took. The Hyksos were no doubt not yet completely expelled, and there is again mention of a Nubian campaign. The event of which we know most, however, is her expedition to *Pwnt*, *i.e.* the Somali coast. Her fleet had, like its predecessors from the 6th Dynasty onwards, solely a commercial object. *Pwnt* (Punt), the 'Land of the Gods,' the home of the 'bearded' people,* was rich in frankincense, and a market for ebony, ivory, and panther skins. Beyond the vast temple, on whose walls the expedition is depicted, the queen found opportunity to build also in other quarters of Thebes, and erected at Karnak the loftiest (with one exception) of extant Egyptian obelisks.

Left free by the death or final retirement of *Ḥ'tšpswt*, Thutmosis III., who had already reached the age of thirty, at once set about a campaign in Syria which culminated in a great defeat at Megiddo of the confederated Syrian princes, who forthwith recognized the Pharaoh as overlord, and professed themselves, with more or less sincerity, the vassals of Egypt. Not, however, that one campaign sufficed to ensure this condition of things. During twenty years Thutmosis III. himself led some fifteen expeditions into Syria, where the withdrawal of his armies was repeatedly the signal for a rising among the subjugated states. His most distant vassals at the time of his death were in the neighbourhood of Mt. Amanus and the upper Euphrates; he was suzerain of the Canaanite plain and coasts and of the Amorite hill-country, while Egypt's 'sphere of influence' embraced, moreover, 'the isles of the Great Sea,' *i.e.* the Ægean islands, as well as Cyprus, the nearer parts of Asia Minor, and the Hittite territory around Kadesh (on the Orontes). 'Tribute' is recorded from Assyria, though here, as often elsewhere, the annalist probably refers but to propitiatory gifts, which indicated a desire to stand well with the powerful invader. The Nubian dependencies were

* So W. Max Müller, *Z. Ass.* xi. 82, and not حبشى Abyssinians.

also extended in this reign as far south as Gebel Barkal and probably far across the Soudan, while we hear, too, of campaigns against the Libyan nomads. Thutmosis III. was not less active as a builder than as a warrior; his architecture meets us on all hands. In every considerable town he built or enlarged a temple, as at Thebes, where he surrounded the central shrine of Amon with extensive halls and corridors. His name, engraved on scarabs, etc., is more frequent than that of any other king, and seems, in later ages, to have been regarded as a talisman.

He was succeeded peacefully by his son, Amenophis II., whose long reign is not remarkable. His father's energy had secured, for the time, the Syrian conquests. Nubia seems to have occupied him somewhat more, and from his reign date the most southerly of Egyptian monuments (Ben-Naga). The reign of the next king, Thutmosis IV., was short and still less remarkable. There were occasional demonstrations of supremacy to be made in Syria and Nubia, and tributes of respect to be paid to the gods by some additions to their temples. That the contact with Asia was already of influence is shown by this king's marriage with a princess of *Mṭn*-Mitanni, the then leading power beyond the Euphrates.

Amenophis III. sat for thirty-five years on his father's throne. He seems to have been still able without much exertion to maintain abroad the position he inherited, for we hear nothing of Asiatic and but once of Nubian campaigns. Extensive building and much observance of religious ceremonies are—for us, at least—the characteristics of the reign. At this period of the 18th Dynasty the royal marriages are among the most significant and influential in Egyptian history. Amenophis III., himself possibly the son of his father's foreign wife, took into his harem *Kirgip'* (cuneif. Giluḫipa), another daughter of the house of Mitanni, while we know that among his wives was also a Babylonian princess. He had, moreover, already married a lady named *Tyi*, who may or may not have been of foreign parentage, but who, at any rate, took a prominent share in the public life both of her husband and son. It is thought, indeed, that Amenophis IV. was influenced by his mother towards those reforms in the state religion, initiated a few years after his accession, which have left to his name a peculiar interest. (See below.)

The marriages, domestic relations, and foreign history of this period can be followed in exceptional detail owing to the records deposited at el-Amarna, where a portion of the correspondence between the Egyptian court and its allies, envoys, and vassals in Syria lay stored until its discovery in 1887. The correspondence was almost wholly in the Babylonian language,—clearly the diplomatic medium of the age,—though the writers were not, with one or two exceptions, Babylonians. Some of the letters are from the kings of Mitanni, but most are from the Syrians entrusted with the government of the subjugated provinces. Those letters which belong to the reign of Amenophis III. show a condition still of peaceful allegiance to Egypt and respect for its king. Those, however, dating from his son's reign bear witness to the defection of the vassals and speedy loss of the Asiatic empire, which resulted from the neglect and incapacity of the suzerain power. Amenophis IV. was too fully engrossed at home to spend time or money upon external affairs.

Although this king reigned for some seventeen years, there is nothing recorded of him beyond his religious activity. The religious revolution was accompanied by an ephemeral, though for the time complete, revolution in art, traceable throughout the remains of the great palace and temple which Amenophis, no longer content to reside at Thebes, had built at el-Amarna in Middle Egypt. Place and personal names were changed, in accordance with the reformed cult; the new residence was called 'Horizon of the Sun,' the king took the name *Iḫnitn* (Khuenaten), 'Spirit of the Sun,' the names of his wife—another princess of Mitanni and his own cousin—and daughters being likewise altered. There has been much speculation as to the king's personality, owing to the wide divergence between his youthful and mature portraits. The peculiar, almost deformed, type of the latter has been thought in some way connected with the religious change. It is scarcely likely that the very similar portraits of his courtiers are due to more than imitative flattery.

On the death of the reformer-king, he was presumably interred in the great tomb hewn for him at el-Amarna. His courtiers had planned to lie around him there; but only some of them were destined to complete their tombs. For in a short time it was clear that the schism had depended on the energies of its originator; with him dead, the ancient religion quickly reasserted itself. His two sons-in-law, who succeeded him, were not the men to resist the reaction which, within twenty years of Amenophis' death, was complete, and left the 18th Dynasty to end its course where it had begun it, at Thebes.

The most conspicuous results of the intercourse with Asia of which the 18th Dynasty had witnessed the growth, are naturally seen in the military character of the age, the new basis on which the army was levied,—dependent no longer on the feudal nomarchs, but immediately on the king,—and the new methods of warfare taught by the introduction of the hitherto unknown horse and chariot into Egypt. The gradual extinction of the nomarchs—an effect perhaps of civil war—implied a corresponding exaltation of the crown; their lands seem mostly to have passed into the king's hands. Conquest gave to the new monarchy a prestige and resources (treasure and slave-labour) which placed it in a position of hitherto unattained magnificence. The country became, as under the early Dynasties, filled with royal officials and favourites, who soon rose to form a new nobility; a royal tax was levied upon all land, and royal justice administered by mixed courts of officials and priests. The Asiatic vassal-provinces were governed chiefly by native viceroys, whom the Egyptian court controlled by means of envoys. Nubia and part of S. Egypt were entrusted to an official known as the 'Prince of Kush.' The evils of the irresponsible security attained by the capacity and fortune of the earlier Pharaohs of the New Kingdom and those resulting from their close alliance with the all-powerful priesthood, become visible first under the following Dynasty.

Whether *Ḥrmḥb*-Armais be reckoned the last king of the 18th or the first of the 19th Dynasty, it is he who really initiates the new epoch. The disturbance for which Amenophis IV. had been responsible could not be quieted without vigorous reorganization, and this was the main work of Armais, a strong ruler, and probably already acting regent when called by his patrons, the priests of Thebes, to the throne. Beyond reconstructive work at home, we hear of one Asiatic war in which the principal enemy is the Hittite power, now advanced southward (probably from the Armenian highlands) and making havoc among Egypt's allies and vassals in N. Syria. It is uncertain whether this reign saw a treaty between them and Egypt. Armais was followed by the first of the famous Ramesside Pharaohs who ruled Egypt during the following 200 years. But

Ramses I. died after a short and uneventful reign, and his son *Sty*-Sethôs was the first whose hands were free enough at home to allow of any real attempt to regain abroad the ground of late lost. Yet now even Sethôs was unable to do more than assure his hold upon such districts as the Hittites had not already annexed. A march through Palestine to the Orontes and back by the Phœnician coast overawed Bedawins and Canaanites; but he made no fresh conquests, and finally came to terms with the Hittite king, who was to be suzerain from the Lebanon northwards, while Palestine remained in allegiance to Egypt. Nubia, Libya, and, with the last, the Mediterranean pirate hordes who now begin to appear on the N. and W. for the first time, were likewise chastised or repelled; but most of the reign must have been spent peacefully, as the king's colossal monuments at Thebes and Abydos testify.

His son, Ramses II.—the best known of Egyptian Pharaohs, because the most industrious in recording his own glory,—succeeded young, and reigned for 67 years. Of these the first score were occupied in the war with the Hittites, till it became evident that a peace, similar to that of the last reign, could alone end a struggle in which neither side was strong enough to retain the mastery. An alliance, offensive and defensive, was at the same time concluded and cemented, some years later, by a marriage. The war had been signalized by at least one great battle—that at Kadesh,—in which prodigies of valour are ascribed to the king. But the position of Egypt in Asia, as defined by the peace of the king's 21st year, was far inferior to that attained two centuries earlier by Thutmosis III. Instead of the frontier at the Euphrates and Mt. Amanus, Ramses II. had to be content with one which crossed the Lebanon about Beirût. As a means of controlling Phœnicia and Palestine, he erected a series of forts across the desert, while strengthening various Delta towns (cf. the Hebrew tradition of 'Pithom and Raamses,' Ex 1^{11}), and choosing for his favourite residence Tanis (Zoan), a much more apt centre than Thebes for the direction of operations in Syria.

After the Hittite peace, Ramses II. appears to have devoted himself principally to architecture. Not only did he build endless temples to the gods (and some even to himself) throughout the country, but he did not scruple, while restoring, to appropriate the work of his predecessors, whose names he frequently replaced on their buildings and statues by his own. He had more than 150 children. His successor was his fourteenth son, *Mrnptḥ* (Merenptah), whose reign is as yet the only one in which reference has been found to the Israelites (see below). As well as his famous Libyan war, *Mrnptḥ* boasts of a campaign in Syria, where he still claimed the allegiance of the southern half of the country. The great Libyan host, defeated in his 5th year, had come allied again with those pirate hordes which had appeared in the Delta under Sethôs, and whose homes it is impossible to localize, owing to the difficulty in exactly identifying their names. They came, at any rate, from the Mediterranean coasts; but whether Asia Minor, the Ægean islands, and the Italic countries all sent contingents, cannot be decided. The name of *Mrnptḥ* is found on numerous monuments, but we know little of his doings.

The long reign of Ramses II., and perhaps apathy and self-indulgence in his latter years, had enfeebled the royal power, and by the time of *Mrnptḥ's* death the country was ready for revolution. Power fell into the hands of the magnates and great officials, and only after half a century of disturbance did *Stnḫt* succeed in re-establishing order. This prince, who presumably had claimed legitimate Ramesside descent, left the throne to his son, Ramses III., whose reign lasted over 30 years. During its first decade, three formidable attacks from without had to be repelled—two by Libyan coalitions, and one by a host of the northern maritime invaders, whom the wealth of Egypt had more than once attracted under former kings. This time, however, they approached the eastern Delta by land through Syria as well as by sea, and it was only after a destructive battle at the frontier fortress of Magdolos that they were repulsed. The hold of each successive Pharaoh upon the Asiatic provinces was growing weaker, and it is doubtful how far the authority of Ramses III. was effective there, even though the Hittite empire had long been dissipated. At home the king's tranquillity was broken by a widespread and mysterious conspiracy, originating in the palace, and suppressed with great severity. Otherwise, the reign appears to have been peaceful. The king's chief ambition was the imitation in all points of his ancestor, Ramses II. The wealth of the country was enormous. The king lived the life of a self-indulgent despot, while the real power was with the Theban priests and the foreign mercenaries—mainly Libyans and *Š'rdn'*, *i.e.* Sardinians, of whom the latter had already served the Pharaohs of the preceding Dynasty.

Ramses III. was followed by a series of his sons and grandsons, who each bore the name of Ramses. Under their weak rule Egypt finally lost her Syrian dependencies, and left them open to the conquests of Assyria. Each king seems to have been principally occupied with the preparation of a vast rock-tomb (Bîbân el-Mulûk), and meanwhile the ascendency of the priests of Amon grew always greater, until *Ḥrḥr* (Herhor), who had already added to the office of chief priest the principal political and military titles, felt strong enough to mount the throne and thus put an end to the Ramesside rule. The Ramesside Pharaohs had, with even greater resources at their command, rarely displayed the capacity or vigour of the 18th Dynasty, and the nation had readily relapsed into the unwarlike apathy and distaste for foreign intercourse which had marked its earlier history. Mercenary troops became therefore the only means of retaining a hold on the foreign provinces, and the king grew more and more completely the tool of the military leaders. On the other hand, the recent triumph of orthodoxy had further strengthened the position of the priesthood, on whom royal piety heaped untold quantities of treasure, the product of the foreign tributaries. The great offices of state in the hands of a mere bureaucracy were effective only in filling the royal treasury, while the population at large was starving and discontented.

(*d*) *The Foreign Dominion.*—But the 21st Dynasty does not, according to Manetho, consist of the priestly successors of *Ḥrḥr*. The legitimate Pharaohs he held to be the Tanite princes (*S'mntw*-Smendes, *P'sbḫ'nnt*-Psousennes, etc.) who rebelled against this usurpation, and were acknowledged first in the North, then also in the Thebaid. Before long the rival families intermarried and so restored unity; but their relationships and sequence are not clearly ascertained. On the monuments little more than their names occur, though mummies (of the priestly family) and much genealogical evidence were found in the famous *cachette* at Deir el-Bahri.

The next Dynasty, the 22nd, owed its rise to the political conditions of the period. The captains of the Libyan mercenaries had by this time attained a position, territorial as well as military, which made usurpation easy, and, when the opportunity offered, their chief *Š'š'nḳ*-Sousakim-Shishak was able without serious opposition to assume the royal

titles. He was ambitious, and had pretensions to a reconquest of Syria. His inscription records a raid against both the Hebrew kingdoms—not against Judah only (1 K 14[25ff.]). The Dynasty resided at Bubastis, and built extensively upon the ancient temple of the goddess *B'stt* (Bast); but we know little of its kings beyond their names, *Š'šnḳ*, *W's'rkn*-Osorkon, *Ṯkrt*-Takelothis. The Dynasty by which they were (presumably) overthrown shows likewise Libyan names, but ruled from Tanis. The times may well have been too disturbed by dynastic rivalries to leave leisure for building; at any rate, the history of the 23rd Dynasty is as yet totally obscure.

During the period of weakness and dissension through which Egypt had been passing, the Nubian princes of Napata (Gebel Barkal) had been growing in strength, and were able now to shake off the Pharaoh's sovereignty, and even to contemplate the invasion of Egypt. This adventure was not difficult to carry out in the southern country, where there was no leader to withstand them; but as they advanced northward, the Ethiopians found an obstinate opponent in *Tfnḫt*-Tnephachthos, the powerful prince of Sais (W. Delta), whose supremacy was recognized as far south as Hermopolis (Eshmunein). To this town the Ethiopian king, *P'nḫy* (Piankhi) (775) laid siege. The Saites capitulated, and Tnephachthos fled, while the victors advanced to Memphis. A treaty was, however, soon arranged, neither party being strong enough to suppress the other. The Ethiopians retired up the river, nominally in possession of the whole valley; but the Delta remained in the hands of Tnephachthos and his son *Bknrnf*-Bocchoris, who seems to have finally extinguished the old legitimist families, extended his authority up to Thebes, and reigned for some time in comparative tranquillity. The Ethiopians, however, had not abandoned their ambitions, and, strengthened by a marriage with a Tanite princess, and favoured by the still powerful Theban priesthood, they again marched northward and put an end to the rule of Bocchoris. This time their conquest was more complete. Their family, whose relationships and history are as yet far from clear, constitutes Manetho's 25th Dynasty, and its most conspicuous member is its first king, *Š'b'k'*-Sabakon (707–695). His successors were not, however, strong enough, at such a distance from home, to maintain a dominant position in the North, though the petty princes of the Delta towns accepted for the moment the Ethiopian suzerainty. One of the latter—and probably not Sabakon himself, as was formerly assumed—was the So (סוא=Sewe*) of 2 K 17[4], who ventured, in alliance with Gaza and Israel, to withstand the threatening growth of the Assyrian power in Palestine. Sargon, however, defeated the coalition at Raphia, though he seems afterwards to have made a treaty with Egypt.

Throughout this period the hopes of the small Syrian states were placed on Egypt, whence, however, in the confusion of party strife, no effectual help could come. Yet it was toward Syria that the ambitions of Sabakon's son, *T'hrḳ*-Tharaka-Tirhakah (690–664), were directed. He was there brought, however, into speedy collision with Sargon's successor, Sennacherib, who, at Eltekeh, defeated the combined troops of several Egyptian princes. Attempts at interference in Asia were thus for a time checked, and Tirhakah had leisure for considerable building, both at Napata and at Thebes. But the Syrians still counted on an Egyptian alliance, and it was clear that, if the Assyrian rule was ever to be peacefully accepted by them, Egypt must once and for all be rendered powerless. An Assyrian army proceeded therefore southwards, and, while Tirhakah fled to Ethiopia and the minor princes submitted, Esarhaddon advanced as far as Thebes and subsequently organized a government under twenty local regents, of whom the most notable was *Nḳ'w*-Necho of Sais. Yet still Tirhakah had hopes, and his advances from the south, abetted by some of the local princes on whom Assyria relied, resulted at length in the expulsion of the invaders from Memphis. Assurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon, thereupon hastened to Egypt, and, with small trouble, reestablished the Assyrian supremacy, while Necho, who had joined Tirhakah, became a temporary captive in Nineveh. At length Tirhakah died, and his successor, *Tnwtimn* (cuneif. Tandamanie), having failed to recover the lost position, the Ethiopians finally retired homeward, while Assurbanipal requited the sympathy his opponent had received in Upper Egypt by devastating Thebes. For two or three years Assurbanipal was undisputed master of Egypt. Then came an Elamite war and simultaneous revolts in Babylon, Arabia, and Lydia.

(*e*) *The Restoration.*—Incited by Gyges, king of the last country, *Psmtk*-Psammitichus of Sais (663–610), son of Necho, whom the Assyrians had reinstated, seized this opportunity to raise a fresh insurrection. He was himself of either Libyan or Nubian descent, and the success of his policy depended wholly on the foreign troops he employed. With the help of Lydia and of Ionian and Carian mercenaries (the χάλκεοι ἄνδρες of the prophecy, Herod. ii. 152), Psammitichus overthrew the Dodecarchy, *i.e.* the Assyrian regents, and, by marriage with a niece of Sabakon's, gained the approval of the Theban priests and so of Upper Egypt. He pursued the Assyrians into Palestine, and captured after a long siege the town of Ashdod. The misfortunes of Assyria favoured the attempts of the Saite Pharaohs to re-establish their dominance in Asia, and during this and the following reign (Necho II.) Syria was again brought under Egypt's sovereignty. But the rise of Babylon under Nebuchadrezzar put a check on this revival, and Necho II. (610–594), after defeating Josiah of Judah at Megiddo,* was himself routed by Nebuchadrezzar at Carchemish, and expelled from Syria.

The energies of the 26th Dynasty were directed before all things to taking advantage of Egypt's geographical situation and bringing her, by the help of hired Phœnician ships, within the sphere of Mediterranean commerce. Relations were opened with Periander of Corinth and with other Greek states. Greek traders were assigned special quarters in Memphis, where a Tyrian colony had already been settled; indeed, *I'ḥms*-Amasis, a later king of the Dynasty, allowed them to found a separate town on the Greek model—Naucratis in the W. Delta—to which their operations were to be restricted, and which only waned in importance before the rise of Alexandria. Amasis had been the general of *W'ḥibr'*-Apries-Hophra (588–569), whom the troops had driven from the throne in his favour. About this time Nebuchadrezzar appears to have invaded Egypt, though the history of the campaign is not known. His object was presumably vengeance for the part which Apries had recently played in Syria, where Judah, again trusting to Egyptian support, had begun the hostilities which ended in the fall of Jerusalem (586) and the flight of many of the inhabitants—among them Jeremiah—to Egypt, where they were settled in Tahpanhes (Tell Defeneh), a frontier fort in the E. Delta.

* Greek Σηγώρ, Σώα. The Lucianic text has the inexplicable variant Ἀδαρμίλεχ.

* Presumably S. of Carmel, though this identification is disputed.

The characteristics of the Saite period are, in all but commercial aspects, those of an archaizing renaissance. To judge by art, literature, names, titles, etc., we might imagine ourselves again in the age of the Pyramid builders, though on closer inspection the resemblance is seen to be but superficial.

(*f*) *The Persian Supremacy.*—This prosperous and uneventful period was suddenly terminated by an invasion by the great power which was now overturning the political balance of W. Asia. Cyrus had seen the formation of a hostile league between Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt; but his death had delayed chastisement, and the expedition against Egypt was left for his son, Cambyses (525), who appears not to have acted with the customary clemency of Persian conquerors; for his memory was execrated throughout Egypt. The Saites had grown weak, and the country lay an easy prey to the invaders. The conquest was turned to full advantage by his successor Darius (521–486), who set about the reorganization of the country on its former lines, and won the acquiescence of priests and people by assuming the ancient titles and functions of the native kings. The check suffered by the Persians at Marathon, however, gave courage to the patriotic party in Egypt, and under the leadership of a Libyan, *Ḥbbś* (Chabash), the Persians were for a time expelled. But a fresh expedition was undertaken by Xerxes (486–465), and the insurrection suppressed with severity, Egypt being constituted a satrapy under the king's brother Achæmenes. Some years of quiet followed, and then, in the W. Delta, came a fresh revolt led by Inaros—possibly a Saite prince—and aided by the Athenians (463). This in turn was suppressed by Megabyzus, the general of Artaxerxes, while the leadership of the party fell to Amyrtæus, for whose support Cimon, on his Cyprian expedition, sent a fleet (449).

The history of this period is fragmentary and obscure; of native records we have none. The chronology of events cannot be accurately settled. We gather that, throughout the time of Persia's decline, various revolts of the national party took place in northern Egypt—the upper valley plays by this time no historical part. Manetho introduces, in the midst of the Persian supremacy, two more native Dynasties, the 28th and 29th, of which we know very little, and then another, the 30th, to which belong two kings, *Nḫthrḥbt*-Nektanebes (382–364) and *Nḫtnbf*-Nektanebo (361–343), the former of whom succeeded in suppressing his rivals, while the latter, during a long reign, was active as a builder throughout the country (Philæ, Edfu, Thebes, Heliopolis, the Delta). Persia, however, by a final effort, was able to reinstate herself (343), and Nektanebo, the last of the Pharaohs, abandoned his Greek allies and fled to Ethiopia.

But the Persian domination, too, was at an end. In a few years Alexander of Macedon had dismembered the empire of the Achæmenides, and in 332 he led his armies into Egypt, which submitted without resistance.

The Macedonians.—The rule of Alexander's successors, the Ptolemies, brought Egypt again into the advantageous position attained for her in some degree by the 26th Dynasty. Now, however, the Greek element became the dominant factor in her prosperity; the ancient native culture gradually faded and retreated from the North, where Alexandria, the new capital, had become the centre of the Hellenic world. But the wide dominions of the Ptolemies were not to be retained by a series of rulers so degenerate as those of the house of Lagus soon became. After a century of good government and unequalled prosperity (323–222), the political fortunes of Egypt began again to decline and anarchy to spread throughout the country. Insurrections followed each other in constant succession, while treachery and murder shortened the reigns of many of the kings. At length the Romans, under whose toleration the Lagides had for a century and a half existed, were able, by the victory of Octavius over Anthony and Cleopatra (30), to assume the actual government of the country, which remained thenceforth a part of the empire, either of Rome or of Byzantium, until conquered by the Saracens A.D. 642.

ix. Egypt's Relations with Asia.—Our sources of knowledge are (1) for the primitive periods, chiefly inferences from the foreign words already in use in the ancient (religious) texts, especially the names of cereals, woods, oils, etc., known to have been not native; (2) under the Dynasties of the Old Kingdom we have early evidence from the mines of Sinai,* where the troublesome nomad tribes were known as *Śs* (cf. ? עפה), from a 5th (?) Dynasty fresco depicting the capture of a Syrian fortress, and from at least one biographical narrative—that of *Wni*, Dyn. 6—recounting several military and commercial expeditions to Syria, the land of the *''mw* (root probably *''m*, 'boomerang,' not עמ). We here read of the fruitfulness of the land through which the Egyptian army marched, and it is evident the description is that of S. Palestine. The same text tells, too, of a journey by sea to the Phœnician coast; (3) under the Middle Kingdom Dynasties we can see that a considerable intercourse is arising. Embassies come with presents from Semitic chiefs and are received by the king or the nobles (Beni-Hasan), and no doubt many groups of nomads had by this time crossed the frontier and got leave, as they did later (*Æg. Zeitschr.* xxvii. 125), to settle in the Delta. Journeys into Palestine became so frequent that they formed the subject for a story—founded, no doubt, upon fact, and popular for many centuries—whence many details of Syrian desert life at the time may be learned (*S'nḥt*). The tribes among which the hero of this story passes many years are called by the general term *stī*, 'archers' (cf. Babyl. *sutī*). Egyptian traders visited them, and the conditions of life appear very similar to those of the modern Bedawin. (4) But the relations of Egypt with her northern neighbours were revolutionized by the Hyksos invasion and the long series of military expeditions which followed. The language receives a very strong admixture of foreign (not exclusively Semitic) loan-words, and is forced even to evolve a new system of orthography for their reproduction. Syrian slaves—females, at least, *''mt*—met with in the households of the Middle Kingdom, are now employed in great numbers. Asiatic textile work, weapons, vases (pottery and metal), musical instruments, besides various wines, beers, oils, breads, etc., are imported from Syria, Asia Minor, and possibly even lands farther west, and preferred to the native products. The native names even of many objects are discarded and replaced by corresponding foreign terms. Syrian deities—Baal, Astarte, Anat, Resheph—are gradually admitted to places beside the Egyptian gods, and the Pharaohs appear now and then under their special protection.

The countries whence these new influences emanate, bear in the Egyptian texts of different epochs different names, many of which are confusing and elude exact definition. All Syria, as far as the Euphrates, is divided into the countries of Upper (Southern) and Lower (Northern) *Ṯtnw* (cf. the more ancient *Tnw* and the cuneif. *Tidnu*). Palestine proper bears also the name *Ḥ'rw*, originally only the designation of the southern (later

* See *Æg. Zeitschr.* xxxv. 7 ff.

Philistine) coast. Phœnicia, on the other hand, was known by the name *D'hï*, and, together with the still more northerly coast, by the vaguer term *Ḳdï*, 'the Circular (land),' perhaps from the form of the Gulf of Issus. *Kft* was the name, perhaps, of Cilicia, perhaps of the N. Syrian coasts. Certain peoples whom we find, under the 19th Dynasty, among the allies of the Hittites, have been localized in W. Asia Minor; the *Rwk'* Lycians, *D'rdny* Dardanians, *Ywnn'* Ionians, *Iḳ'yw'š'* Achæans,* and others. The difficult designation *Ḫ'wnbw*, found in the oldest literature, appears to embrace the peoples of the North in the vaguest way; only in late epochs was it used for the Hellenic race. Cyprus, whence much copper was imported, is *'sy*, a part of it *Irs'*-Alasia. Mesopotamia was, until the New Kingdom, practically unknown to Egypt; then we begin to read of presents passing between the court of Egypt and those of *Bbr*-Babylon, called in the Amarna letters Shankhar (*S'ng'r* שִׁנְעָר) or Karduniash, and *Isswr*-Assyria. Asia east of these was always unknown to Egypt.

The votive inscriptions, in which the 18th and 19th Dynasties recorded their conquests, have preserved the names of many towns, etc., in Syria, of which, however, the majority are still unidentified. The campaigns of Thutmosis III. furnish the best of such material; the lists of his successors are often mere copies of his, and of relatively small value. The Amarna tablets show several of these same names in a cuneiform transcription. Of the localities identified the following are among the best known: Aleppo, Carchemish, Kadesh (on Orontes), Damascus, Hamath, Byblos, Simyra, Beirût, Sidon, Tyre, Megiddo, Akko, Joppa, Gaza, Ashkelon, Janoah, Taanak. In one group of the Amarna letters Jerusalem is often mentioned, but in hieroglyphic texts it has not been found. Certain names, though not yet identified, are compounded of interesting elements: for example, *Ḥ'rir* הראל, *B'ty'* ביתיה, in which the divine names appear—the second already (Dyn. 18) abbreviated; or *Y'ḳb'r*, *Yš'pir*, in which have been recognized the names יַעֲקֹב and יֹשֵׁף combined with אֵל (as in Israel, Ishmael). These much-discussed names are more likely to have then had local than ethnic significance.† A connexion between them and the names of the patriarchs, Jacob and Joseph, cannot of course be proved; indeed the equation *Yš'p* = יוֹסֵף has considerable phonetic difficulties. It may here be noted that certain scarabs, probably of the Hyksos period, appear to bear royal (?) names compounded of *Y'ḳb* and *ḥr* (? אֵל), which might point, at any rate, to the Semitic name Jacob at an unexpectedly early period. The whole tradition of Israel's early connexion with Egypt—the sojourn there of the patriarchs and the exodus of their descendants—is still obscure, and the recent discovery for the first time of 'Israel' in a hieroglyphic text seems but further to complicate the problem.

The facts as to this document are the following: In 1896 an immense stele was discovered, one text of which commemorates the victory of *Mrnpth*, son and successor of Ramses II., over the Libyans in his 5th year.‡ In the latter part of the text where other triumphs are enumerated, the localities subjugated occur in the following order: the Hittite land, Canaan (? land or town), Ashkelon, Gezer, Janoah (?), *Ysïri'r*-Israel, S. Palestine, 'all lands.' There is no corroborative evidence for an Asiatic campaign of *Mrnpth*; possibly, in the fashion of the age, he is here merely assuming to himself the conquests of his predecessors. The name Israel is written so as unmistakably to indicate a people, not, like the other names, a locality. Further, the words used of its condition imply devastation and the destruction of crops. The obvious and only safe conclusions to be drawn from these facts are that Israel, or a part of that people, was already in some part of Syria, and had been in hostile contact with Egypt. On the assumption that 'Pithom and Raamses' were built for Ramses II., whose long reign answered the requirements of Ex ii. 23, the Pharaoh of the Exodus has been identified as *Mrnpth*;* though, owing to the supposed more appropriate political conditions, others would place the Exodus 30 or 40 years later, about the time of *Stnḫt*.

If we assume that by the reign of *Mrnpth* the Exodus had already been accomplished,—the name *Isrw* is found in the previous reigns in the territory of the tribe of Asher,—we have an argument for the proposed identification of the Hebrews with the Khabiri, of whose invasion of Palestine, some 150 years earlier, the Amarna letters say so much, and whom it is proposed to identify with the *Š'sw* chastised by Sethos I.† The story of the priest Osarsiph (?= Osiris + *x*) and the impious lepers, whose revolt he led, converted by Josephus into a history of Moses and the Hebrew struggle for freedom, has been with some probability referred rather to a reminiscence of the expulsion of the heretics of Amenophis IV.‡ The name Hebrews has not been met with in Egyptian texts. That of the foreign tribe of *'prw*, found variously employed throughout the 19th Dynasty, is rarely now held to represent it, and may be merely a form of a familiar Egyptian term for 'workmen.' The Egyptian names given to Joseph, his wife, and father-in-law in Gn xli. 45 have received various inadmissible interpretations. The only transcriptions which conform to Egyptian grammar and usage are (1) *Jephnoute'fônch*, 'God speaks (and) he lives'; (2) [*N*]*asneith*, 'devoted to (the goddess) Neith'; (3) *Pedephrê*, 'he whom the sun-god gives.' All three names are cast in forms increasingly frequent from the time of the 22nd Dynasty onwards, but practically unknown earlier—except, indeed, the second; and this fact agrees with the date (8th cent.) to which the document E is assigned.§ For a difficult word used in the story of Joseph, אַבְרֵךְ Gn xli. 43, a parallel expression has been noticed in a text of the 21st Dynasty, where the words *ib rk* seem to form an interjection, '*Give heed!*' or the like.‖

x. RELIGION. — Our sources of information on this subject are very numerous, but at the same time very inadequate. Egyptian texts not bearing, even indirectly, upon some aspect of the religion are in an extremely small minority; yet some primary questions remain unsolved for lack of explanatory documents. Since it is wholly owing to the supreme importance attached to the preparation for a future life that Egyptian antiquity has come again within our reach, it is natural that the side of religious life upon which we are best informed should be that dealing with the dead. Of the everyday religion of the people we know practically nothing. We have the names of many deities, and can enumerate their functions, attributes, and temples; but we are quite ignorant as to the way in which they were worshipped. It has been mentioned that Hommel

* See Streitberg in *Indoger. For.* vi. 134.

† The former, which occurs twice, can be localized in the district Ephraim-Dan (see W. M. Müller, *Asien*, 164).

‡ His reign began, according to Mahler, in 1280.

* On the still less demonstrable assumption that the Hebrew immigration had been a part of the Hyksos invasion, Mahler bases calculations which give 1335 (*i.e.* Ramses II.) as the year, and, with the help of Rabbinical tradition, March 27 as the day of the Exodus (*Der Pharao des Exodus*, 1896).

† See Ed. Meyer in *Festschr. f. Ebers*, 75.

‡ Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. Æg.* 276; Wilcken in *Festschr. f. Ebers* 146.

§ See Steindorff, *Æg. Zeitschr.* xxvii. 41.

‖ See Spiegelberg in *Not. et Extr.* xxxiv. 261.

is eager to demonstrate a Babylonian origin for the civilization of Egypt. One of his chief contentions is that some of the principal Egyptian deities can be proved identical with those of Babylon, from the identity of their attributes, distinctive animals, legends, etc. It is, however, as yet in many cases impossible to recognize what were the original rôles and functions of the Egyptian gods, and it seems more probable that, should a prehistoric immigration from Mesopotamia ever be demonstrated, the invaders will be found to have at most adopted certain of the native divinities and combined them with corresponding figures from their own Pantheon.

No religious document of the earlier ages compares in importance with the great body of texts —some 4000 lines—collected and copied on the interiors of the 5th and 6th Dynasty Pyramids, but in partial use, too, in all succeeding ages. Some of the documents thus brought together belong undoubtedly to a far earlier period, and give evidence that the official religion was even then completely developed, many of the gods having already the rôles by which they are characterized throughout history, and several of the most popular myths—notably that of Osiris—being referred to as already current. Certain of the gods are conspicuously absent from the Pyramid texts; Amon, for example, who being originally but the local god of Thebes, remained obscure until his city rose (Dyn. 11) to political importance.

Indeed the local divinities as such play a remarkably small part in these texts. Yet the local cults were the real basis of the popular religion, which did not, so far as we can see, recognize any single unifying element before the various tribal districts had been united under the first historic Dynasties. The nomes (see above) corresponded to independent cults, each centred in the shrine of the local god, who revealed himself to his worshippers in an animal, tree, or other material object—perhaps once the tribal totem. One aspect of the advance from this primitive stage of fetish worship can be seen in the semi-human and finally completely human representations of certain of the gods in art. Yet the sacred animal was revered side by side with the anthropomorphic god, receiving, as we know, much honour even in Greek and Roman times.

Beyond the famous story of Osiris and many otherwise unknown legends, the Pyramids contain countless allusions to that cycle of myths which subsequently produced the doctrines of the other great school of theology. For as Abydos appears very early—though probably not originally—as the home of the Osirian legend and of the all-important views of future life and retribution attached to it, so does Heliopolis (Ὼν, יאן) become the centre of the solar theology represented by the myth of Re', the sun-god, and his daily contest with the dragon of darkness.

A number of the gods—many merely local deities once—had been gradually drawn within the cycles of Osiris or of Re'. The chief actors in the former story are, besides Osiris himself (whose original locality and character are very obscure), his brother Sêt-Typhon, regarded now as the impersonation of darkness (when Osiris is a solar god), now as the god of the barren desert (when Osiris is the fruitful river-valley); Isis, wife of Osiris, a goddess (from the Delta or Philæ) of merely mythological importance until the base epochs; Horus, his son and avenger, a puzzling figure owing to the variety of his local forms; and Thouth, the god of Hermopolis, the ally of Horus.

The myths of the sun-god are concerned either with the phases of the sun's daily and also supposed nightly, invisible journeys, or with cosmic phenomena. In the former, Horus again plays a part, now as the son of Re'; in the latter, local divinities such as *Itm* (Tum) of Heliopolis, or elemental gods, as *Ḳb*, *Nwt*, *Šw*, *Tfnwt*, are introduced. Cosmic speculations produced a variety of myths. In one heaven and earth are female and male; in another the sky is a cow with spotted hide (the stars); another held the earth to be a box, with the sky for its raised lid, supported on the encircling hills or on four tree-stems. The gods and goddesses associated with Re' are 9 in number (Ennead), and are regarded as a related family, just as later theology grouped several of the local deities into family 'triads.'

Not all cosmic doctrines, however, were concerned with the Heliopolitan gods; various local gods had once been regarded as creators, *e.g.* *Ḫnmw*-Chnoubis who, in the clay districts near the Cataracts, had formed the world upon a potter's wheel; and Ptah of Memphis was a similar artisan god.

Other and very ancient divinities were the local earth and harvest gods, *e.g.* Mîn of Coptos and (perhaps) Amon of Thebes. Others, again, were water deities, *e.g.* *Sbk*-Souchos of the Fayyûm and Ombos—for the same god is frequently met with in several localities, though originally proper, no doubt, to but one of them. Several were guardians of the local cemeteries, *e.g.* Sokaris at Memphis, Anubis at Siut, 'The Lord of those in the West' at Abydos.

The doctrines and practices of which the Osirian legend was at once the pattern and consequence are chiefly to be studied—beyond very numerous passages in the Pyramid texts—in the great heterogeneous collection of incantations known to us as the 'Book of the Dead,' but to the Egyptians probably as ('the Book of) coming out from (*i.e.* departing from) the Day and from the Necropolis.' The work is composed of texts ('chapters'), some as ancient as those of the Pyramids, others much later, and was intended as a guide through the various difficulties, and a magical protection against the enemies to be encountered by the dead, with whom a copy of it was buried. Some of the texts seem to be remnants of primitive rituals, but all had been by the time of their definite collection (beginning of the New Kingdom) edited for the use of the dead himself. It is this more than once repeated editing which has rendered the Book for the most part unintelligible to us. It may be asserted that none of the older chapters are now available in their first simplicity. The oldest MSS (Dyn. 12, 13) already show the glosses of more than one redactor, and each successive gloss seems but to obscure the original text.

Several totally divergent views, Solar and Osirian, as to the future life are represented in the work. The soul is, according to some chapters, to take the form of a bird and quit the tomb, and may accompany the sun bark on its heavenly journey; elsewhere it is regarded as appearing before Osiris, and, after the famous 'negative confession,' receiving merited justice. If judged 'of true voice,' *i.e.* correctly pronouncing the potent magic formulæ, the deceased proceeds to the 'Fields of *I'rw*,' and spends eternity in a very materialistic paradise, conceived upon the model of rural life in Egypt.

The elements in man which survived death were four: *b'* soul, *iḫw* spirit (?), *ḫ'ybt* shadow, and *k'* double. What were intended by the first three of these it is difficult to say; the fourth is that of which we hear most; for its maintenance was the object of all the funerary rites which from the earliest times occupied so much attention among all classes. The double, in appearance the exact counterpart of the man, after accompanying him

through life, lived on in the tomb so long as the corpse remained intact, and the piety of the survivors provided sufficient nourishment. Hence the processes of mummification, the inscriptions whose magic could, if supplies failed, call up food, the portrait-statues into which the double could enter.

Certain of the Pyramid texts and recent excavations do indeed recall an age in which funerary practices differed much from those of historic times — an age in which cannibalism and human sacrifice were not extinct, and in which all but the most rudimentary embalmment was unknown.

Confusion of doctrines is not characteristic of the funerary literature alone; it is common to all aspects of the Egyptian religion. The priestly tendency, discernible from the first Theban supremacy onwards, to assimilate all secondary deities to those at the head of the Pantheon, and, finally, to teach that all were but manifestations of the supreme deity (*i.e.* the sun-god), introduced, indeed, a kind of order, though for us the course of the foregoing development is thereby but obscured. The supremacy of the Theban Amon, assimilated in the first place to the sun-god, led to his identification with such a host of other deities, while the wealth and power of his priests became so threatening a danger to the state, that Amenophis IV., urged perhaps by the ancient hierarchy of Heliopolis, was tempted to a reform which should replace as the state religion the worship of Amon and his associated divinities by that of the sun's orb, *itn*, alone. This is the only conscious movement towards monotheism recorded in the religious history of Egypt. It is not necessary to seek in it the reflexion of some of the foreign influences of the time; the *itn* was a recognized aspect of the sun-god in Egypt in previous periods. The reformed doctrine contained conceptions far more lofty and enlightened than those of the ancient religion; yet it had but an ephemeral success, and became extinct shortly after the reforming king's death.

LITERATURE.—(*A*) GENERAL :—*Descript. de l'Égypte*, a colossal publication, the result of the Napoleonic expedition, containing monographs upon many branches of Egyptology, ancient and modern (1809 and 1817); Wilkinson, *Mann. and Cust.*, ed. Birch (1878); Erman, *Ægypten u. Ægypt. Leben* (1885 ff.), supersedes in most respects the foregoing work; Ebers, *Cicerone* (1886); *Baedeker*, by Steindorff (1897). (*B*) LAND :—On Geology, Zittel, in *Baedeker*, *Unterägypten*[2] by Ebers (1885); first part of De Morgan, *Rechs. s. les Origines de l'Ég.* (1896); chaps. in Fl. Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging*, *History I.* and in *Ninth Or. Congr.* (1893). On Metals, Lepsius, *Die Metalle* (1872), and articles by Montelius, M. Berthelot, etc. (*C*) FAUNA AND FLORA :—The respective chapters in *Baedeker* (1885 and 1897); articles by V. Loret in *Rec. de Trav.* (Paris); chapters of the works under *A* (above).—(*D*) ETHNOLOGY :—J. de Morgan, *Rechs. s. les Origines* (1896); Sergi, *Anthrop. de la Stirpe Camitica* (1897); R. Hartmann, *Völker Afrikas* (1879); Amélineau, *Nouv. fouil. d'Abydos* (1896); articles by Virchow; chapters by Schweinfurth in *Baedeker*; chapters in the works of Erman, Maspero, Ed. Meyer, Petrie. (*E*) LANGUAGE :—Erman, *Ægypt. Gram.* (1894), esp. for classical periods; do. *Neuäg. Gram.* (1880), for the New Kingdom; Brugsch, *Gram. démotique* (1855), works and articles by Revillout, Krall, W. Max Müller, J. J. Hess, for language of Saite and following epochs; G. Steindorff, *Kopt. Gram.* (1894), for language of Christian epoch; Dictionary, Brugsch, *Dict. hiérogl.* (1867 ff.). For Semitic affinities, Erman in *ZDMG* xlvi.; Bondi, *Dem Hebr. Sprachzw. angeh. Lehnwörter* (1886); Hommel in *Beitr. z. Assyr.* ii., and in *Ninth Or. Congr.* (1893, cf. Brünnow in *Z. Ass.* viii.). For African affinities, Prætorius *Beitr. z. Assyr.* ii. (*F*) PROFANE LITERATURE :—Chapters in the works of Erman, Maspero; Maspero, *Contes pops.* (1889); Petrie, *Egyp. Tales* (1895); Amélineau, *Contes de l'Eg. chrét.* (1888). (*G*) CHRONOLOGY :—Lepsius, *Königsbuch* (1858); Brugsch-Bouriant, *Livre des Rois* (1887); Wislicenus, *Astron. Chronol.* (1895); articles by Mahler in *Ægy. Z.* xxvii. xxviii. xxxii., and *Der Pharao d. Exod.* (1896); articles by Petrie and chapters in his *History*; C. Torr, *Memphis and Mycenæ* (1896, cf. Myres in *Class. Rev.* 1897); for Manetho, Unger, *Chronol. d. Man.* (1867). (*H*) HISTORY :—Maspero, *Hist. anc. d. peup. de l'Or. class.* (2 vols. 1895–96, transl. *SPCK*); Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.* i. ii. (1884, 1893); do. *Gesch. d. Alt. Ægy.* (1887); Erman, *Ægypten* (*passim*); Petrie, *Hist. of Eg.* i. ii. (1894, 1896); Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Gesch.* (1884 ff.); do. *Gesch. v. Altäg.* (1891), with special ref. to OT; Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptols.* (1895). For Herodotus, Wiedemann, *Herod.'s 2. Buch* (1890). Hist. Geography, Dümichen, *Geogr. d. Alt. Æg.* (1878). (*J*) RELATIONS WITH ASIA :—W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa* (1893, cf. Jensen in *Z. Ass.* x.). For relations with OT, Ebers, *Æg. u. Büch. Mose's* (1868); do. *Durch Gosen z. Sinai* (1872); C. Niebuhr, *Gesch. d. Ebr. Zeitalters* (1894); Sayce, *Patr. Palestine* (1895); Ed. Meyer in *Festschr. f. Ebers* (1897). (*K*) RELIGION :—Erman's *Ægypten*; Maspero's and Meyer's Histories (*passim*); Maspero, *Ets. de Mythol.* (1893), the most important work on the subject; do. *Pyramides de Saqqarah* (1894 = *Rec. de Trav.* iii.–xiv.), with transl.; Le P. Renouf, *The Book of the Dead*, transl. (*PSBA* xiv. ff.); Lange in C. de la Saussaye, *Lehrb.*[2] (1897), an excellent summary. (*L*) ART :—Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. (1882); Maspero, *L'Archéologie ég.* (1887); chapters in Erman's *Ægypten*, Maspero's *Histoire*. (*M*) PUBLISHED MONUMENTS, ETC. :—The chief collections are those of Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, Sharpe, Prisse, de Rougé, Mariette, the *Mission franç. au Caire*, *Eg. Explor. Fund*, the Leyden Museum. Catalogues of the museums of Gizeh-Boulak (Maspero), Berlin (Erman), Louvre (de Rougé, Pierret, Devéria), Florence (Schiaparelli), Turin (Rossi, Lanzone), St. Petersburg (Golénischeff). Further, the works of Fl. Petrie; de Morgan, etc., *Catal. de Mons. et Inscrs.* (1894 ff.); do. *Dahshour* (1895); Translations in *Records of the Past* (first and second series). (*N*) PERIODICALS :—*Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.* (Leipz.); *Rec. de trav. rel. à la phil. ég. et ass.* (Paris); *PSBA* (Lond.); *Sphinx* (Upsala, Leipz.). W. E. CRUM.

EGYPT, RIVER OF, occurs repeatedly in AV (Nu 34[5], Jos 15[4. 47], 1 K 8[65], 2 K 24[7], 2 Ch 7[8], Is 27[12]) as tr[n] of נַחַל מִצְרַיִם (ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου, Jth 1[9]). The term is used to designate not the Nile, whose common title is יְאֹר, and which cd. never be called נַחַל, the latter word being the exact equivalent of the modern *wady*. (See BROOK.) In all the above OT passages (cf. also Ezk 47[19] 48[28]) RV substitutes 'brook' for 'river,' but inconsistently retains 'river' in Jth 1[9]. The stream referred to is the *Wady el-'Arîsh*, which flows through the northern portion of the Sinaitic peninsula, draining into itself the waters of many other wadies, and flows into the Mediterranean midway between Pelusium and Gaza (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 348). It derives its name from the village *el-'Arîsh* (the ancient *Rhinocolura*, Diodor. i. 60), situated near its mouth. The 'river of Egypt' is repeatedly specified in OT as the S.W. boundary of Canaan. The same stream is called *naḥal Muzur* by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, who apparently means to distinguish it from the Nile by adding *ashar naru lâ ishu*, 'where no river is,' *i.e.* no continuous stream (Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 257).

Once in OT (Gn 15[18]) the 'river of Egypt' (נְהַר מִצְרַיִם, not נַחַל) means the Nile if MT is correct, but we shd. probably emend to נַחַל (so Lagarde, followed by Ball in Haupt's *OT*). *Shîḥôr*, which elsewhere (Is 23[3], Jer 2[18]) is applied to the Nile, appears to be a designation of the *Wady el-'Arîsh* in Jos 13[3], 'Shihor (RV 'the Shihor') which is before Egypt,' and 1 Ch 13[5] (cf. 1 K 8[65]), 'from Shihor of Egypt (RV 'Shihor *the brook* of Egypt') even unto the entering in of Hamath.' (So Del. on Gn 15[18] and Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 242 f., although Frd. Delitzsch and Dillmann prefer to understand it of the most easterly arm of the Nile.) J. A. SELBIE.

EGYPTIAN, THE (ὁ Αἰγύπτιος). — In Ac 21[38] Claudius Lysias the chief captain (Chiliarch) is represented as saying to St. Paul, 'Art thou not then the Egyptian, which before these days stirred up to sedition and led out into the wilderness the four thousand men of the Assassins?'

This E. is mentioned by Josephus in both his works. While describing the procuratorship of Felix, he mentions the Sicarii or ASSASSINS, then in distinction to these the religious impostors, then a certain Egyptian. The latter professed to be a prophet, and collected together a body of 30,000 persons, whom he led to the Mount of Olives, asserting that the wall of Jerus. would fall down before him, and that he could capture the city. Felix attacked him with a considerable force, and dispersed his followers, slaying 400, and taking prisoner 200. The Egyptian himself escaped.

Krenkel, following Holtzmann, Hausrath, Keim, and the author of *Supernatural Religion*, attempts to show that the author of the Acts is indebted to Josephus for his knowledge of this event. He is quite unsuccessful. There are no signs of literary obligation, and very definite discrepancies. Josephus gives different numbers; he does not definitely connect the Egyptian with the Sicarii, but rather contrasts him; and he does not represent the wilderness as the place to which the people were led, but the Mount of Olives. It may be quite possible to explain these discrepancies so as to save the historical accuracy of both writers, but they are fatal to our regarding Josephus as the source of information. The only reasonable opinion that can be held is that we have two independent and contemporary accounts of the same event, and that the resemblances arise from this fact.

LITERATURE.—Jos. *Ant.* xx. viii. 6; *BJ* II. xiii. 5; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 180; Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 240.

A. C. HEADLAM.

EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.—The various Egyptian dialects and the Versions contained in them are a subject of so much confusion that it will be well for the sake of distinctness to deal in this article first with the Dialects and their proximate dates, and then with the extant remains of the Versions and their proximate dates. We will conclude with a short study of the Greek Text implied by the Versions, and the history of the criticism of them.

1. DIALECTS OF COPTIC.—The latest stage of the Egyptian language, and that which was spoken in Christian times, is now known by the name of Coptic. The word itself comes from a corruption of the Greek Αἴγυπτος. Coptic was written in Greek characters, with the addition of some extra letters representing sounds which could only imperfectly be expressed by the Greek alphabet. These letters were modifications of characters found in Demotic—the popular form of the old Egyptian language spoken in the centuries immediately before the Christian era. Although it is still used in the services of the Church, Coptic is now practically a dead language. Our knowledge, therefore, of it must be derived from manuscripts and inscriptions. When these began to be studied by European scholars, it soon became evident that the language as spoken in different parts of the country presented certain dialectical peculiarities. Not only was it early recognized that the dialect used in the North differed considerably from that used in the South, but a third dialect was also detected, which, as a general rule, resembled the southern: it had, however, many northern forms, and sometimes showed peculiarities of its own. A long controversy, lasting for more than a century, was waged over the district to which this third dialect was to be assigned. The attention of Coptic scholars was early directed to a noteworthy passage from Athanasius, a bishop of Kos in the Thebaid, who flourished in the 11th century. In his Arabic-Coptic Grammar, Athanasius says: 'Know that the Coptic language is divided into three branches. One of them is the Coptic of Misr, which is the Sahidic; and another is the Bohairic Coptic, which gets its name from El-Bohaira;[α] and the other is the Bushmuric Coptic, which is used in the country of El-Bushmur, as thou knowest. But those now in use are only the Bohairic Coptic and the Sahidic. And the origin of them is one language.'[β] Here we have a mention of three dialects — Sahidic, Bohairic, and Bushmuric. The first two are, as Quatremère pointed out,[γ] clearly the same as those sometimes called Thebaic and Memphitic. But what was the last? Was it to be identified with the third dialect known to us? Or was it the name of a still unknown dialect? Before this question could be answered, the position of Bushmur had to be determined. Quatremère proved that it could not be placed in the South of Egypt, nor in the Oasis and neighbouring deserts, but that it must be situated in the North.[δ] It is the country in the east of the Delta bordering on the sea.[γ] Quatremère was of opinion that our third dialect had no connexion with Bushmuric, of which we had only a single word preserved to us.[δ] But if it was not Bushmuric, how came it not to be mentioned by Athanasius? Quatremère answered the question by supposing that it was in use not exactly in Egypt, but in a country close by—the great and little Oases, 'which, situated at a little distance from Egypt, stretch from north to south, from the parallel of Assouan as far as the frontier of the Fayûm.'[ε] Since Quatremère's time a large number of fragments have come to light which prove that he was right in refusing to call the dialect Bushmuric. Whether or not it was spoken in the southern Oasis, we now know for certain that it was used in the neighbourhood of the Fayûm and Memphis; and a study of Middle Egyptian shows us that the reason why Athanasius did not mention it may have been that he did not regard it as a separate dialect. This third dialect, lying as it does geographically and linguistically between Sahidic and Bohairic,[ζ] may conveniently be termed Middle Egyptian. When we come to examine it more carefully, we are confronted with fresh difficulties. Whilst Sahidic and Bohairic are for the most part clearly defined and regular dialects, Middle Egyptian presents us with an almost bewildering number of alternative forms. When spoken in the Nile Valley the dialect is a kind of mixture between Sahidic and Bohairic. But in some of the fragments which come from the Fayûm—a district some distance to the west—the dialect has developed more decided peculiarities of its own. It is dangerous, however, to draw any hard-and-fast distinction between the forms of the language current in the two places; for at a later date the dialect used in the Fayûm bore a considerable resemblance to that used at one time in Memphis.[η] Many of the other varieties are no doubt due to ignorance or indifference on the part of scribes, some of whom in the Fayûm belonged to the peasant and artisan class.[θ] Such an explanation does not, however, cover the case of some fragments recently found in Akhmîm and in the Fayûm, which present further dialectical peculiarities unknown to us before. Stern has carefully examined the dialect of these fragments, and has shown good reason to believe that it presents us with an earlier form of Middle Egyptian, closely allied to the dialect found in fragments written at Memphis.[ι]

We may sum up these results as follows:—

Sahidic = Dialect of Southern (or Upper) Egypt: sometimes called 'Thebaic.'

α *I.e.* the district south of Alexandria.

β The original of the passage is given in Quatremère, *Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1808), p. 21.

α Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 22.

β *Ib.* p. 147 ff.

γ See Yâkût, i. 634.

δ Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 214.

ε *Ib.* p. 217.

ζ Sometimes it very closely resembles Bohairic. See the dialect of the Fragment of the Song of Moses given by Crum, *Coptic MSS brought from the Fayyum*, p. 12 ff.

η Cf. the dialect of the Fayûm fragment published by Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 248 ff., with the dialect of those edited by Revillout, *Papyrus Coptes* (Paris, 1876), p. 101 ff.

θ See Krall, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Vienna, 1887), i. p. 65.

ι *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1886, p. 129 ff.

Middle Egyptian = Dialect of (*a*) Memphis and neighbourhood, and (*b*) the Fayûm.

Bohairic = Dialect of district south of Alexandria: sometimes called 'Memphitic' (or 'Coptic').

2. Relative Dates of Dialects.—The Arabic historian Macrizi, who flourished at the beginning of the 15th century, speaks of Sahidic as 'the primitive source of the Coptic language, and that from which is derived the Bohairic dialect.'[α] Such evidence as there is confirms his statement as to the late date of Bohairic. Bohairic (which was originally confined to the district south of Alexandria) is the most literary and artificial of Coptic dialects. The form of many of its words, when compared with the corresponding Sahidic, points to a later stage of development. Its frequent use of connecting particles, reminding us of Greek rather than Egyptian, seems also to point in the same direction. It was most probably developed from Middle Egyptian, which at one time may possibly have been spoken in the neighbourhood of Alexandria itself.[β] To what extent it was used for other than ecclesiastical purposes we have at present no means of ascertaining.[γ] But if it was in the main a literary rather than a popular language, this fact would explain why it died out, except for ecclesiastical purposes, earlier than Middle Egyptian and Sahidic.[δ] There is, on the contrary, no doubt that the last-named dialects were the language of the people. We have numerous fragments of letters in Middle Egyptian and remains of school-books in Sahidic.[ε] The line of demarcation between the two dialects was not sharp, and sometimes pieces of writing are found in which single sentences are almost entirely written in Sahidic, whilst others are almost entirely in Middle Egyptian.[ζ] Thus, whilst we find Sahidic forms in use in documents written in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis Magna and Antinoe,[η] we have evidence that as far south as Thebes pure Sahidic was not always written.[θ] When Middle Egyptian and Sahidic began to be written we do not know. As far as the evidence of documents is concerned, we have fragments in Middle Egyptian (earlier and later) and Sahidic, some of which take us back to the 4th or 5th centuries.[α] But as early as the 2nd century efforts were made to write Egyptian in characters not unlike our present Coptic ones.[β]

3. Extant Remains of Versions.—We have remains of biblical versions in all three dialects; but a considerable portion of the Sahidic has disappeared, whilst only very short fragments of the Middle Egyptian are extant. A useful list of MSS containing portions of the Coptic Bible has been given by M. Hyvernat in the *Revue Biblique Internationale* for 1896, No. 4, p. 540 ff. We shall here confine ourselves to editions of the versions.

(*a*) *Sahidic.*—The fullest collections of extant fragments of the version of the NT are those published by Woide[γ] and Amélineau.[δ] Some fragments of the Apocalypse have recently been brought together by Goussen.[ε] A complete collection, together with a translation, is urgently needed. The best collections of the remains of the OT have been made by Ciasca,[ζ] Maspero,[η] and Lagarde.[θ] Quotations from the Sahidic Bible are found in the 'Pistis Sophia,'[ι] and other Sahidic books. The Psalms quoted in the former work resemble the Sahidic version. In fact, as a general rule citations in either the Bohairic or Sahidic dialect agree with the version of the Bible current in that dialect.[κ] Other collections of fragments of the Sahidic Bible are described in the *Revue Biblique Internationale*, 1897, No. 1, pp. 55–62.

(*b*) *Middle Egyptian.*—That there was a separate Middle Egyptian recension of part, at least, of the Bible is proved by the text of some of the NT fragments published by Zoega[λ] and Maspero.[μ] These are written in the dialect as spoken in the Fayûm, and sometimes in text and translation differ considerably from the corresponding Sahidic and Bohairic. How far all the biblical fragments extant in Middle Egyptian really constitute a separate version, we shall be able to judge with greater certainty when more fragments have been discovered, and when the Sahidic NT has been edited. Meanwhile, it is unsafe to conclude that a fragment written in this dialect necessarily presents a distinct recension. It may give, with merely dialectical changes, exactly the same version as the Sahidic.[ν] We shall here simply state where specimens of the Bible written in Middle Egyptian may be found, without venturing to determine whether they are parts of a single version. Besides the fragments already alluded to,[ξ] Bouriant has published two Gospel fragments, together with a

[α] Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 42.

[β] See the interesting fragment published by Krall, at the end of an art. "über die Anfänge der Koptischen Schrift," *op. cit.* i. p. 112, where an Alexandrian in signing his name makes use of the Fayûmic dialect. Too much stress, however, must not be laid on this passage; for, as Mommsen points out, 'the belonging to' an Egyptian district 'was independent of dwelling-place, and hereditary. The Egyptian from the Chemmitic nome belonged to it with his dependents, just as much when he had his abode in Alexandria as the Alexandrian dwelling in Chemmis belonged to the burgess-body of Alexandria' (Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, c. xii. Eng. trans. p. 235). The arguments put forward in that article in favour of an early date for the Bohairic dialect (see also Headlam in Scrivener's *Introduction to NT*[4], ii. 126 f., and Hyvernat, *Revue Biblique*, 1897, No. 1, p. 67) are valueless. (1) The abbreviations found in Coptic MSS for 'God' and 'Lord' need not have originated in Bohairic. If they occurred (and they never do, as far as I know) in MSS written in pure Sahidic, they might as easily have been taken from M.E. as from Bohairic. Indeed an abbreviation of 'Lord,' which is almost exactly the same as the one in common use in Bohairic, is found in a M.E. MS, which 'in its writing,' says Krall (p. 110 f.), 'reminds us of the Codex Sinaiticus.' (2) Even if Krall's hypothesis of the origin of the last letter of the Coptic alphabet were satisfactory, it does not prove his point. The contraction might have arisen in M.E. as easily as in Bohairic. But most probably his hypothesis is wrong, and the letter is derived from Demotic (see Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 4).

[γ] Attempts to use Bohairic for letter-writing, using throughout Greek characters, are given by Krall, *op. cit.* ii.–iii. p. 56, v. 41; Crum, *op. cit.* p. 59 f. Unfortunately, as Krall says, 'the geographical and climatic conditions of the Delta are not favourable to the preservation of papyrus.' We cannot therefore be certain of the exact dialect which the hermits near Lake Menzaleh spoke, when Cassian visited them at the end of the 4th century. It may have been a form of M.E. or Bohairic. We gather from Cassian (*Coll.* xi. 3, xvi. 1; Migne, *P.L.* xlix. 850, 1011) that some of them did not know Greek.

[δ] Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 41 f.

[ε] Krall, *op. cit.* ii.–iii. 43 ff., iv. 128 ff.

[ζ] Krall, *op. cit.* i. 64.

[η] Krall, *op. cit.* i. 64, ii. 63 f.

[θ] *ZAS*, 1884, p. 140 ff.

[α] Crum, *op. cit.* plate i. No. 2; Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS*, p. 163 (plate xvii.); Krall, *op. cit.* i. 110; *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1892), p. 33, Tafel iii.; Stern, *ZAS*, 1886, p. 135.

[β] Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 2.

[γ] *Appendix ad editionem Novi Testamenti Græci* (Oxford, 1799).

[δ] *ZAS*, 1886–1888.

[ε] *Apocalypsis S. Johannis Apostoli* (Leipzig, 1895).

[ζ] *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani*, Rome, vol. i., 1885; vol. ii., 1889.

[η] *Mémoires publiées par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* (Paris, 1892), vol. vi.

[θ] *Ægyptiaca* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 65 ff.

[ι] Cf. Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* vii. 2. 2 ff.

[κ] See *e.g.* F. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, vol. iv. No. 2, p. xix.

[λ] *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum* (Rome, 1810), p. 149 ff.: cf. Engelbreth, *Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Copenhagen, 1811), p. 20 ff.

[μ] *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Phil. et à l'Arch. Égypt. et Assyr.* (1889), xi. p. 116.

[ν] Cf. the translation in old M.E. of Jude 17-19 with the corresponding Sahidic. See Crum, *op. cit.* p. 4.

[ξ] Zoega publishes the first half of 1 Th and part of the following chapters: Is 1. 5, Jn 4, 1 Co 6–9. 14. 15, Eph 6, Ph 1. 2, He 5–10 (Engelbreth gives the same). 1 Co 9. 10–15 had already been edited by Giorgi (*Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis*, etc., Rome, 1789, p. 55 ff.), and Münter (*Commentatio*

small portion of Isaiah, the end of 2 Co and the beginning of Hebrews.[α] A single verse from Jon 2 will be found in Tuki;[β] the last part of La and most of the Epistle of Jer. (with Latin translations) in Quatremère.[γ] Crum has given a few verses from Mt 11. 12,[δ] and Krall some verses of Ro 11. 12.[ε] Besides these, Von Lemm has made another short collection of fragments in this dialect.[ζ] To this list must be added some interesting biblical remains written in Old Middle Egyptian.[η] Small portions of Exodus, Sirach, and 2 Mac are published by Bouriant.[θ] We have an incomplete MS of the Minor Prophets, from which Krall has published specimen verses,[ι] briefly enumerating the contents of the rest, which he will shortly publish.[κ] Part of the same MS has recently been edited by Bouriant.[λ] The NT fragments published by Crum[μ] are unfortunately very minute. Jude $^{17-20}$ and part of Ja $4^{12.\ 13}$ alone survive.

(*c*) *Bohairic.*—The best edition of the Gospels is that of Schwartze,[ν] and of the Acts and Epistles, that of Lagarde.[ξ] The NT as a whole has never been satisfactorily edited. A serviceable edition was made by Wilkins, but the Latin translation which it contains is unsatisfactory.[ο] A new edition of the Gospels is being prepared for the Clarendon Press by G. Horner. The Pentateuch was first published by Wilkins (with a translation),[π] and then more carefully by Lagarde.[ρ] Tattam has edited and translated (but uncritically) the Major and Minor Prophets and the Book of Job.[σ] The best editions of the Psalms have been made by Schwartze[τ] and Lagarde,[υ] the latter edition being unfortunately printed in Latin characters. F. Rossi has lately edited a MS containing part of the Psalter.[φ] Only small portions of the rest of the OT have been printed. For a list of these portions and of editions not mentioned here, see Hyvernat, *op. cit.* 1897, No 1, p. 48 ff.

4. Date of Versions.—The earliest evidence for the existence of a Coptic version is usually said to be afforded by the Life of St. Antony, commonly attributed to St. Athanasius. We are there told that he was an Egyptian, that his parents were Christians, and that as a child he went with them to church, and 'gave attendance to the readings' (*i.e.* from the Scriptures).[α] When about 20 years of age 'he went into the church, and it happened that the Gospel was then being read.'[β] He heard a text which influenced him profoundly. On other occasions, also, he heard passages read, and 'he gave such attendance to the reading that none of those things which were written fell from him to the ground, but he retained all, and thereafter his memory served him for books.'[γ] From these passages it has been argued that, since we further know that St. Antony as a boy refused to learn letters,[δ] and was unable throughout life to speak Greek,[ε] there must have been in his boyhood a translation of the Scriptures in the Egyptian tongue. This, it is maintained, is confirmed by other passages in his Life, especially by the discourse which begins at c. xvi. We are there told that he spoke to the monks in the Egyptian tongue, saying, 'The Scriptures are sufficient for teaching; but it is good for us to exhort one another in the faith, and encourage with words.'[ζ] In the discourse which follows there are quotations from, or allusions to, texts from various parts of the Bible. Since Antony, shortly before his death in A.D. 356, said, 'I am well-nigh one hundred and five years old,'[η] he must have been born about A.D. 250. Therefore there must have been a translation of the Bible into Egyptian about the middle of the 3rd century. But such reasoning is not conclusive. This Life never speaks of Antony as reading the Bible. He only hears it read. The Coptic translation which he heard might well have been made at the time by an interpreter. The need of a written translation in the services of the Church would not at once be felt.[θ] The Gospel would first be read in Greek, and then the Greek would be rendered into Coptic,[ι] as at a later date the Coptic was rendered into Arabic by 'anyone who had the gift of speaking, so that he could interpret aright.'[κ] In so far as Antony was in the habit of repeating texts in his discourses, he was enabled to do so by his remarkable memory. For we have no reason to suppose that he had a Bible of his own. But the speeches put into the mouth of the hermit cannot be used as evidence in such a case. For, even if we admit the historical character of the biography, it does not in the least follow that the discourses are verbatim reports.[λ] On the authority, therefore, of this Life alone it is unsafe to base any conclusion as to the existence of a Coptic version of the Bible in the 3rd century.

There is, however, good ground for believing that a version existed in the 4th cent. It was at the beginning of this century that St. Pachomius first gathered solitary ascetics together in the south of Egypt under a common rule. If we may trust the

de Indole Versionis Novi Testamenti Sahidicæ, Copenhagen, 1789, p. 78 ff.). Maspero has published Mt 5^{46}–6^{19a}.

[α] Bouriant, *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, vol. ii. (Cairo, 1889), p. 567 ff. The Gospel fragments are parts of Mt 13. 14, and of Mk 8. 9. The difficulty of drawing a sharp line of distinction between the various forms of the M.E. dialect is shown by the fact that Headlam is inclined to regard two parts of one MS of the Gospels as belonging to separate versions and dialects (see Headlam, *op. cit.* ii. p. 141 f.; cf. Hyvernat, *op. cit.* 1896, No. 4, p. 565 ff.).

[β] *Rudimenta Linguæ Coptæ* (Rome, 1778), p. 446.

[γ] Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 228 ff.

[δ] Crum, *op. cit.* p. 1 f. Cf. also the fragments of the Song of Moses and the Song of the Three Children on p. 12 ff.

[ε] *Op. cit.* ii.–iii. p. 69 ff. In i. p. 69 he gives quotations in this dialect from Mt 11^{27}, Ps 148^{4}.

[ζ] *Mittelaegyptische Bibelfragmente, Études Archéologiques Linguistiques et Historiques dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans*, Leyden, 1885.

[η] Old M.E. is often called Akhmimic, because most of the fragments of it come from Akmîm.

[θ] *Mémoires Miss. Arch.* i. p. 246 ff.

[ι] Krall, *op. cit.* ii.–iii. (1887) p. 265 ff. A list of the verses will be found in Hyvernat, *op. cit.* (1896), No. 4, p. 568, under the title 'Version Akhmimienne.'

[κ] *Ib.* iv. p. 143 f.

[λ] *Recueil de Travaux*, xix. (1897) p. 1 ff.; cf. also viii. (1886) p. 181 ff.

[μ] Crum, *op. cit.* p. 2 ff.

[ν] *Quatuor Evangelia in Dial. Memph.* (Leipzig, 1846–7).

[ξ] *Acta Apost. Coptice, Epist. Novi Test. Coptice* (Halle, 1852).

[ο] *Nov. Test. Ægyptium vulgo Copticum* (Oxford, 1716).

[π] *Quinque libri Moysis Prophetæ* (London, 1731).

[ρ] *Der Pentateuch Koptisch* (Leipzig, 1867).

[σ] *Prophetæ Majores* (Oxford, 1852); *Duod. Proph. Min. Libr.* (Oxford, 1836); *The Ancient Coptic Version of the Book of Job* (London, 1846).

[τ] *Psalterium in Dialectum Memph. translatum* (Leipzig, 1843).

[υ] *Psalterii Versio Memphitica* (Göttingen, 1875).

[φ] *Di Alcuni Manuscritti Copti* (Turin, 1893)

[α] Athan. *Vit Ant.* 1 (Migne, *PG*, xxvi. 840 f.).

[β] *Ib.* 2. The Syriac version of the Life has: 'There was the reading in the church; and at the end of all the Scriptures the Gospel was read' (see Schulthess, *Probe einer Syrischen Version der Vita St. Antonii* (Leipzig, 1894), Syriac text, p. 6, lines 12 f.

[γ] *Vit. Ant.* 3.

[δ] *Ib.* 1.

[ε] *Ib.* 74; Hier. *Vit. Hil.* 30 (Vall. ii. 31); Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 26 (*PG*, xxxiv. 1076).

[ζ] *Vit. Ant.* 16.

[η] *Ib.* 89.

[θ] See Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* (Paris, 1716), vol. 1, p. 203 ff.

[ι] *Ib.* pp. cxxiii, 207.

[κ] *Ib.* p. 204.

[λ] *E.g.* the discourse in chapter 74. Robertson, who believes in the genuineness of the Life, admits that 'even an Athanasius would not so entirely rise out of the biographical habits of his day as to mingle nothing of his own with the speeches of his hero' ('Athanasius' in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, p. 191).

accounts given in his Life, he himself spoke Egyptian, and only acquired Greek in later years.[α] His monks as a rule were common Egyptian peasants, who knew no language but their own. The Greeks and Romans of his settlement were in a separate house, presided over by Theodore of Alexandria.[β] Yet throughout his Life great stress is laid on the study of the Bible, and there are frequent allusions to learning passages by heart.[γ] Pachomius himself was in the habit of speaking from the Scriptures to his monks.[δ] When a novice first came, according to the rules of the monastery extant in Greek, he began by receiving 'the Prayer of the Gospel' (*τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*) and learning certain Psalms.[ε] Unless our accounts of Pachomius' life and work are most misleading, we can scarcely doubt that there was, early in the 4th cent., a Coptic version of the Bible. The attempt to trace the translation further back is beset with difficulties. We know very little concerning Christianity in Upper Egypt before the time of Pachomius. Eusebius indeed tells us that in the persecution under Severus (A.D. 202), which was especially felt at Alexandria, martyrs were brought to that city from 'Egypt and all the Thebaid.'[ζ] But no such tradition survives in Coptic literature. We have no evidence that in early days the Alexandrian Church seriously attempted missionary work. If the Alexandrians had wished to do so, it would have been no easy task. For they were regarded as foreigners by the rest of Egypt;[η] and their position was not unlike that which Englishmen occupy in India to-day.[θ] Besides the difficulty of the language,[ι] they found it, as Origen says, no easy task to persuade an Egyptian to give up idolatry and 'despise those things which he had received from his fathers.'[κ] Heathen worship down to a late time 'retained its firmest stronghold in the pious land of Egypt.'[λ] The increase of the Episcopate under Demetrius (*c.* 189–232 A.D.), and more especially under his successor Heraclas (*c.* 233–248 A.D.), must indeed be regarded as an indication of missionary activity.[μ] If Christianity in the time of Demetrius had spread as far south as Antinoe,[ν] the Church was evidently becoming too large for the personal supervision of a single bishop at Alexandria.

The bishop who succeeded Heraclas—Dionysius the Great—has given in his letters a vivid picture of the Alexandrian Church of his time, but has told us little of the rest of Egypt. In his day no imperial edict was needed to start a persecution of Christians (A.D. 249). A large part of the population of Alexandria was still pagan, and only needed a leader to revive 'their native superstition' (*τὴν ἐπιχώριον δεισιδαιμονίαν*). When the Decian persecution (A.D. 250) broke out, he specially mentions four 'Egyptians' as among the sufferers.[α] The persecution was not confined to Alexandria, but many others 'in cities and villages' were martyred, and the bishop of Nilus (in Middle Egypt) fled from his see.[β] Coptic traditions of this persecution are scanty,[γ] and we do not precisely know how far it extended. We find the same bishop writing letters to the brethren in Egypt[δ] and to Egyptian bishops.[ε] He also went to the Fayûm district. Here the teaching of Nepos, an Egyptian bishop (*ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον*), had for a long time prevailed, so that 'schisms and defections of whole churches had taken place.' Dionysius therefore called together 'the presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages,' and discussed their difficulties with them for three successive days.[ζ] We cannot gather, from any letters of his which have come down to us, information regarding Christianity farther south. We have to wait for such information till the beginning of the next cent. In the latter part of the Diocletian persecution Eusebius in person visited the Thebaid. He was an eye-witness of the massacres, and of the fanatical enthusiasm of many of the martyrs. The persecution continued, 'not for a few days or for a short time, but for a long period of whole years' (*ἐπὶ μακρὸν ὅλων ἐτῶν διάστημα*). Most of the sufferers apparently belonged to the lower classes of society, but there were some of high birth and distinction.[η] Many bishops suffered for the faith,[θ] but Eusebius does not say whether any of them came from the south. He has described the sufferings of the rest of the Egyptian Church in Egypt itself[ι] and elsewhere;[κ] and has preserved an account by an eye-witness of the persecution in Alexandria.[λ] But when we bring together all the historian's statements, it is singularly difficult to determine how far they imply the existence of a widespread native Christianity. We can only conjecture that amongst the numerous martyrs some of those in a lower station of life were natives. A century had passed since the bishop of Jerusalem wrote to the Greek-speaking population of the capital of the Thebaid.[μ] In the meantime the Christians in that town may have done good work amongst the 'barbarians,' even if they had not attempted such work at first.

[α] Cf. Amélineau, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, xvii. pp. 147, 629; Acta SS. Mai. xiv. *Vit. Pach.* 60; *Paral. de SS. Pach. et Theodor.* 27.

[β] Amél. *op. cit.* pp. 147, 150.

[γ] See *e.g.* Amél. *op. cit.* pp. 12, 18, 22, 37, 41 f., 50 f., 73 f., 92, 99.

[δ] *Ib.* p. 141; *Mission Arch. Mémoires*, iv. p. 553.

[ε] Migne, *PG*, xl. 949. For the corresponding Ethiopic see Basset, *Les Apoc. Éthiopiens*, viii. (1896) p. 31. The Latin form is found in Hieron. *Vall.* ii. 62.

[ζ] Eusebius, *HE*, vi. 1.

[η] In the Life of Theodore we hear of brethren 'who interpreted his words in Greek to those who did not know Egyptian, because they were strangers (*ξενικοί*) and Alexandrians.' See Zoega, *op. cit.* p. 371; Amél. *Annales du MG*, xvii. p. 302.

[θ] Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Dickson's Eng. trans.), ii. p. 262.

[ι] See the account of Macarius, bishop of Antaeopolis, in Amél. *Mission Arch. Mémoires*, iv. pp. 93, 95 f.; Zoega, *op. cit.* p. 99.

[κ] Origen, *Contra Cels.* i. 52 (Lomm. xviii. p. 97).

[λ] Mommsen, *op. cit.* ii. p. 266. See also Amél. *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'église copte* (Paris, 1890), p. 7, note 2; Erman, *ZAS*, 1895, p. 43 ff.

[μ] Eutychius, *Annales* (Pococke, Oxford, 1656), i. p. 332 (see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 231 f.). The fact that before the time of Demetrius there was no Egyptian bishop outside of Alexandria need not suggest that 'the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city' (see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. xv. Bury's ed. ii. p. 60). For the Alexandrian diocese might have been, like the early dioceses of Gaul and N. Italy (Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, i. p. 33 ff.), of very considerable extent. See Pearson, *Vindiciæ Epist. S. Ignatii* (Cambridge, 1672) i. p. 170.

[ν] Between the years *c.* 212–216 A.D. we find Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, writing to the Antinoites and exhorting them to be of one mind (*ὁμοφρονῆσαι*). See Eus. *HE*, vi. 11. In the next century a bishop of Antinoe was present at the Council of Nicæa (Zoega, *op. cit.* p. 244).

[α] Dion. ap. Eus. *HE*, vi. 41. Their names were Heron, Ater, Isidore, and Nemesion. Dionysius seems to imply that most of the others at Alexandria were Greeks. Arguments cannot be safely based on the absence of Egyptian names. Thus we have in the Fayûm a son of Satabus bearing a Latin and Greek name 'Aurelius Diogenes.' See Benson, *Cyprian*, Appendix B, p. 542.

[β] Dion. ap. Eus. *HE*, vi. 42.

[γ] See Amél. *Actes des M.* pp. 14–17. 'Matra' (p. 15) is probably the same as 'Metras,' who suffered the year before the Decian persecution (Eus. *HE*, vi. 41). See also Malan, *Calendar of the Coptic Church*, p. 10.

[δ] Eus. *HE*, vi. 46, vii. 22.

[ε] The bishop of Hermopolis (vi. 46), Hierax, an Egyptian bishop (vii. 21).

[ζ] *HE*, vii. 24.

[η] *HE*, viii. 9.

[θ] *HE*, viii. 9, 13, ix. 6; *De Mart. Pal.* 13. We gather from Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxviii. 8 (*PG*, xlii. 197), that Potamo of Heraclea lost an eye in the persecution.

[ι] *HE*, viii. 6, 8, 13, ix. 11; *De Mart. Pal.* 8, 13.

[κ] *HE*, viii. 6 f.; *De Mart. Pal.* 8, 10, 13.

[λ] Phileas, ap. Eus. *HE*, viii. 10. The account of Phileas' own trial is given by Ruinart, *Act. Sinc.* 2nd ed. p. 494 ff.

[μ] Eus. *HE*, vi. 11.

The Coptic accounts of this persecution were written at a later date, and are disfigured by legendary additions. Yet the traditions of martyrdoms having taken place in the towns lying between Antinoe and Latopolis α must have some historical foundation. They point to the fact that the persecution was particularly severe in the south. Many of the martyrs bear Greek names, and are connected with the army.β Comparatively few bishops are mentioned.γ Diocletian is hated with a wild, unreasoning hatred, due no doubt in part to political considerations. A religion must have gained in popularity among the fanatical, disorderly natives of Upper Egypt, simply because Diocletian and the Government were opposed to it. In fact we find, as we study these Coptic traditions, that however much the new religion had already appealed to the natives, a fresh era began with Diocletian,δ and Christianity became, in a fuller sense than ever before, the religion of the people. Hatred of Diocletian, the faith of the martyrs, the sufferings which they endured, all contributed to this result. The consequence was that, when the persecution was over, 'the repentance of the heathen (*τῶν ἐθνῶν*) was multiplied in the Church, the bishops leading the way unto God, according to the teaching of the apostles.'ε

It will be evident from this brief study of the subject, that but little is known of Egyptian Christianity outside of Alexandria before the time of Pachomius. The state of the Church in his time—the history and legends of the Diocletian persecution—the increase of the Egyptian episcopate under Demetrius and Heraclas—suggest, but do not prove, that some time before the end of the 3rd cent. there was a considerable number of native Christians. They would soon feel the need of a translation of the Bible. Historical evidence, then, on the whole, points to the 3rd cent. as the period when the first Coptic translation was made.ζ But this view can only be regarded as tentative. In the light of future discoveries it may have to be modified. This translation was most probably made, not in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, but in Middle or Upper Egypt. Here the native element was stronger than in the north; and, as Greek was less spoken, the need for a translation would be more keenly felt. All the evidence that we possess at present goes to prove that Coptic literature, whether orthodox or heretical, took its rise in the south; its development being assisted by the hatred felt towards the foreign or Greek element.η

α Amél. *Actes des M.* p. 30 ff.

β *Ib.* pp. 26, 30, 103, 219.

γ Zoega (*Cat.* pp. 237, 239) and Amélineau (*op. cit.* pp. 39, 53 f.) speak of the martyrdom of the bishops of Ptolemais and Hermopolis Magna. Amélineau (*op. cit.* p. 47 ff.) tells of the martyrdom of the bishop of Latopolis. Pisura and three other bishops (Zoega, *Cat.* p. 52; Hyvernat, *Actes des M.* i. p. 114 ff.), and the bishop of Prosopis in Lower Egypt (Zoega, *Cat.* pp. 62, 133; Hyvernat, *Actes des M.* i. p. 225 ff.), were also martyred. The bishop of Akmîm fled (Amélineau, *Actes des M.* p. 32). The bishop of Lycopolis used the persecution as a means of self-aggrandisement (Hyvernat, *Actes des M.* i. 260), and, according to Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arianos*, 59) and Socrates (*HE*, i. 6), actually sacrificed.

δ The era of the martyrs, on which Coptic chronology is usually based, begins with A.D. 284, the year of the accession of Diocletian.

ε See Amél. *Vie de Pakhôme, Annales du MG*, xvii. pp. 2, 339; Acta SS. Mai. xiv. *Vit. Pach.* Prolog.; cf. also Migne, *PL*, lxxiii. 231.

ζ The evidence of MSS does not help us much. Our oldest MSS are fragmentary, and their date a matter of uncertainty. But a Sahidic MS of part of 2 Th 3 (Kenyon, *op. cit.* plate xviii), and fragments in Old Middle Egyptian of Jude (Crum, *op. cit.* plate 1, No. 2), and of the Minor Prophets (Krall, *Führer*, p. 33, Tafel iii.) take us back to the 4th or 5th cents. Cf. also Stern, *ZAS*, 1886, p. 135.

η Cf. Guidi, *Nachrichten von der K. G. d. W. zu Göttingen*, 1889, No. 3, p. 50 f.

5. GREEK TEXT IMPLIED BY VERSIONS.—All three versions of the NT must be more carefully edited before we can determine with certainty the underlying Greek text. The Sahidic NT contains some remarkable interpolations, usually classed as Western. Two striking ones are found in Lk. The parable of Dives and Lazarus begins thus in the Sahidic Bible: 'Now there was a certain rich man, whose name was (*lit.* is) Nineveh' (16[19]).α When Joseph had laid the body of Jesus in the tomb (23[53]), the Sahidic adds: 'Now when he had laid him, he placed (*or* laid) a stone at the door of the sepulchre, which twenty men could not have rolled'β (cf. Dc). Several interesting 'Western' interpolations are found in the Acts. Three examples may be quoted.γ After the words 'ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence,' the Sahidic has a strange gloss, 'but (*ἀλλά*) until Pentecost' (1[5], cf. D). The negative form of the 'Golden Rule' is placed at the end of the apostolic injunctions to Gentile converts (15[20. 29], cf. D). After the vision of the man of Macedonia to St. Paul, the tenth verse of Ac 16 runs thus: 'And when he had risen, he told us the vision. Straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia, telling (*or* showing) them that the Lord had called us for to preach unto them' (cf. D). On the other hand, several 'Western' interpolations, which we might have expected to find, are absent from the Sahidic.

The text of the Bohairic version, as is well known, corresponds in general with that of Codex Vaticanus. Whether it is yet more closely allied to the text used by Cyril of Alexandria is a matter which still remains to be determined. There can be but little doubt that in their original form both the Bohairic and Sahidic were free from 'Antiochian' interpolations. A collation of the versions in those parts of the NT, where all three are extant together, proves that the Middle Egyptian is often closely related to the Sahidic. This is most clearly seen in the Pauline Epistles. Thus an examination of the three versions in 1 Co proves that the Sahidic and Middle Egyptian are not entirely independent translations. Sometimes they are based on a different Greek text from that which underlies the Bohairic. But, even when they are translating the same original, their rendering is often strikingly different from that of the Northern version. We may take 1 Co 15[12-14] as an example. Here the Sah. and M.E. translations are practically identical: 'But δ if Christ is preached that he rose from the dead, in what manner do some among you say that the dead do not rise? If the dead do not rise, then Christ did not rise. If Christ did not rise, then is our preaching vain, and vain is our ε faith also.'ζ The Boh. translation is not so free: 'But if Christ is preached that he was raised from the dead, how (*πῶς*) do some among you say that there is no resurrection (*ἀνάστασις*) of the dead? But if there is no resurrection (*ἀνάστασις*) of the dead, then not even (*οὐδέ*) was Christ raised. But if Christ was not raised, then (*ἄρα*) vain is our preaching, vain also is your faith.'η This instance—and it is one among many—shows us that the Sah. and M.E. must in some way be related to one another. A cursory examination might suggest that they are practically the same version,

α Cf. Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* xiii. 1, 75 ff.

β In the bilingual MS described by Amélineau (*Notice des MSS Coptes de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris, 1895) the Gr. runs thus: *και θεντος αυτου επεθηκαν τω μνημειω λιθον μεγαν ον μογις εικοσι ανδρες εκυλιον.* The corresponding Sahidic is not published.

γ Other interpolations will be found in Ac 1[2] 2[33] 3[22] 5[35] 6[8] 8[1] 9[40] 12[7] 14[10] 15[1. 23. 34] 18[12. 19] 19[6. 25] 20[24] 21[1].

δ M.E. omits 'but.'

ε So Engelbreth's Sah. Amélineau has 'your.'

ζ Sah. omits 'also.'

η A Coptic word for 'faith' is used. B. and M.E. employ the Greek *πίστις*.

and that the differences between them are purely dialectical. But when we inquire more closely into the passages where all three are extant, we find that such an explanation is not satisfactory. Sometimes each version is apparently an independent translation. Occasionally the Sahidic and Bohairic agree in rendering or in underlying text as against the Middle Egyptian. In other places—and this is especially the case in the Gospels α—the Bohairic and Middle Egyptian are opposed to the Sahidic. Thus, in St. Matthew's account of the Lord's Prayer the difficult word ἐπιούσιος is represented in Sahidic by *that which is coming*, in the other two versions by *of to-morrow*.β When we have recovered a larger portion of the Middle Egyptian version, and when the fragments already known have been collected and edited, we shall be able to speak with greater security. Meanwhile we may provisionally state our view as follows. The New Testament was first translated into Sahidic from a text containing a considerable 'Western' element. The translation was idiomatic and in some cases inexact. The Middle Egyptian,γ probably made very soon afterwards, was largely influenced by the Sahidic. The Bohairic, made last of all, though in places influenced by the two previous translations, represented an effort to translate with more literal exactness what was felt to be a superior Greek text.

The Coptic versions of the Old Testament are based upon the LXX. The study of them is of great interest, because it may help us to reconstruct the edition of the LXX made by Hesychius, which, as we learn from Jerome, was well known in Alexandria and Egypt.δ Whether any of the versions of the Coptic Old Testament are free from the influence of Origen's revision is doubtful. Some Sahidic MSS give the Book of Job in a shortened form. The claim has been put forward ϵ that we have in these MSS a witness to the original text of the LXX, before Origen made his copious additions from Theodotion's version.ζ But the last word on this subject has not been said. (Cf. Burkitt, *Texts and Studies*, iv. 3, p. 8.) The relation of the Middle Egyp. of OT to the Sah. has yet to be worked out.η

5. History of Criticism of Versions.—A careful study of the Coptic versions of the New Testament is given by Lightfoot in Scrivener's *Introd. to the New Test.*θ Lightfoot, as many distinguished scholars before him,ι believed that 'we should probably not be exaggerating, if we placed one or both of the principal Egyptian versions,' *i.e.* the Bohairic and the Sahidic, 'or at least parts of them, before the close of the 2nd cent.'α This view has been followed by Westcott and Hort, who maintain that 'the greater part of the' Bohairic 'version cannot well be later than the 2nd cent.,' whilst 'the Version of Upper Egypt . . . was probably little if at all inferior in antiquity.'β Headlam, who, in the last edition (1894) of Scrivener's *Introduction*, has given a summary of the history of the criticism of the Coptic NT from the point where Lightfoot stopped, considers that 'it has been sufficiently proved that translations into Coptic existed in the 3rd cent., very probably in the 2nd.'γ Ciasca, in the introd. to his edition of the Sahidic OT (where references will be found to the work of former editors δ), discusses the text and date of the Book of Job.ϵ His examination of the book confirms him in the belief that Lightfoot was right in assigning part at least of the Coptic versions to the 2nd cent.ζ It is with the greatest diffidence that we have ventured to suggest that this early date (even if it is right) has not been proved. Our belief in the historical evidence for such a date was shaken by an article η published by Prof. Guidi, to which reference has already been made; and subsequent study has confirmed us in the view that there is, as yet, no adequate evidence of the existence of a Coptic version at such an early date as is often maintained.

Forbes Robinson.

EHI (אֵחִי).—The eponym of a Benjamite family, Gn 46[21], where, however, אֵחִי וְרֹאשׁ קְפִים must be corrected after Nu 26[38f.] to אַחִירָם וְשׁוּפָם. 'The corruption was perhaps prior to the adoption of the square character; ם and *v* in the old script being similar and liable to confusion. It may, however, be due to mere transposition of the two letters' (Ball in Haupt's *Genesis, ad loc.*). See further Ahiram, and cf. Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, 35.

J. A. Selbie.

EHUD (אֵהוּד), son of Gera, a left-handed Benjamite, delivered his people by a bold exploit from Eglon, king of Moab, who had captured Jericho and oppressed Israel for eighteen years. This history is given in Jg 3[12-30]. The compiler has furnished an introduction and conclusion in his usual manner (vv.[12-15a. 30b]); the narrative itself (vv.[15b-30a]) is one of the most ancient in the book, and a characteristic specimen of the best style of Heb. story-telling. Doubts have been cast upon the name of the hero, because Ehud and Gera elsewhere are names of Benjamite clans. Gera is a son (Gn 46[21]) or grandson (1 Ch 8[3]), Ehud is a great-grandson (1 Ch 7[10]), of Benjamin (Nöldeke, *Untersuch.* p. 179 f.; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 68). But E. may well have been the name of the hero before it was the name of the clan called after him (Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 100). Wellhausen (*Gott. Nachrichten*, 1893, p. 480) suggests that אהוד may be an abbreviation of אביהוד in 1 Ch 8[3].

G. A. Cooke.

EITHER.—1. Now alternative, *one or the other*; in older Eng. 'either' was comprehensive, *each of*

α An examination of Mt 6[5-15] and Jn 4[28-30] will prove the truth of this assertion.

β This translation in the Bohairic of Mt is probably the result of a deliberate revision. The older rendering (cf. Lat. Vulg.) still remains in Lk, where the Boh. has *that which is coming* (M.E. is wanting in Lk 11). At the end of the prayer the Doxology is wanting in Boh. The Sah. has, 'For thine is the power and the dominion for ever and ever, Amen.' The M.E. has, 'For thine is the power and the glory for ever, Amen' (cf. Didache viii. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας).

γ The fragments of the NT written in Old M.E. are too minute for classification. The little that remains shows the same text as the Sahidic. But when we recover more, we may find that it differs only dialectically from the ordinary M.E. version.

δ *Præf. in Par.* (Vall. ix. 1405); *Apol. adv. Rufin.* ii. 27 (Vall. ii. 522).

ϵ See Ciasca, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. xviii ff.; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 216.

ζ Hier. *Præf. in Job* (Vall. ix. 1097).

η The translations of Zec 13[5] in Sah. and Old M.E. cannot be independent. Both add (? cf. Field) καὶ ἔδειξέ με—a reading evidently derived from Theodotion, and omitted in Boh. The words διότι ἄνθρωπος ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν ἐγώ εἰμι are found in the Old M.E., but not in Boh. and Sah.

θ Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*, ed. iii. p. 365 ff.; see also Gregory, *Prolegomena* (1884), 859 ff. For an interesting and concise account of these versions see Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS* (1895), p. 75 f. 160 ff. A useful summary of the literature of the subject is given by Nestle, *Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (1897), p. 144 ff.

ι See Quatremère, *op. cit.* p. 9. Cf. Schwartze, *Ev. in Dial. Memph.* p. xviii.

α Scrivener, *op. cit.* ed. iii. p. 371.

β Westcott and Hort, *The NT in the Original Greek*, smaller ed. p. 574.

γ Scrivener, *op. cit.* ed. iv. vol. ii. p. 105 f.

δ Ciasca, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. viii f.

ϵ *Op. cit.* vol. ii. p. xviii ff.

ζ *Op. cit.* vol. ii. p. xxxvi f.

η *Nachrichten von der K.G. d. W. zu Göttingen*, 1889, No. 3, p. 49 ff. Steindorff (*op. cit.* § 2) suggests the end of the 3rd cent. as the date of the Coptic translation of the Bible. Stern in his *Critische Anmerkungen zu der boheirischen Übersetzung der Proverbia Salomonis* (*ZAS*, 1882, p. 191 ff.) conjectures that the Bch. Version may be much later than the Sah., which, in part at least, was made in the 3rd cent. (p. 202). He thinks it possible that the Boh. and Sah. Versions may prove to be based on some form of the M.E. (*ZAS*, 1886, p. 135).

two, like its German equivalent 'jeder.' Thus Lv 10^{1} 'Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took either of them his censer'; 1 K 7^{15}; Jn 19^{18} 'on either side one,' and Rev 22^{2} 'on either side of the river was there the tree of life.' Cf. Ridley, *Brefe Declaration* (1555), p. 102 (Moule's ed.), 'as some of them do odiously call either other'—changed in the Oxf. ed. 1688 into 'each other.' **2.** 'Either' was formerly used to introduce the second or any later alternative, as well as the first; so Ja 3^{12} and Ph 3^{12} 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect' (RV 'or'); and so Lk 6^{42} 'Either how canst thou say to thy brother' (RV 'Or'). In this sense 'either else' is also found, as Stubbes, *Anat. Abus.* ii. 10, 'Either else they would never be so desirous of revenge.'

J. HASTINGS.

EKER (עֶקֶר).—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{27}). See GENEALOGY.

EKREBEL (Ἐκρεβήλ), Jth 7^{18}.—Apparently the town of *'Akrabeh*, E. of Shechem, the capital of Akrabattine (*SWP* ii. sh. 12).

EKRON (עֶקְרוֹן, Ἀκκαρών), one of the five principal cities of the Philistines, the one farthest to the N. (Jos 13^{3}). It was a centre, having towns and villages dependent upon it (Jos 15^{45}). In the first division of the land W. of the Jordan it was assigned to Judah, being on the N. boundary of that tribe (Jos $15^{45.\ 46.\ 11}$), but in the later division the boundaries were so rectified as to give it to Dan (Jos 19^{43}). It is mentioned as among the cities not captured under Joshua (Jos 13^{3}). After his death it was taken by Judah (Jg 1^{18}); but the possession was not permanent, for we afterwards find it in the hands of the Philistines till the time of David. It is prominently mentioned in the history of the time when the ark was in the land of the Philistines (1 S 5. 6), and in connexion with later events (1 S 7^{14} 17^{52}). Like the rest of the Phil. cities, it became practically independent soon after the disruption. It is mentioned in history in the time of Jehoshaphat (2 K $1^{2.\ 3.\ 6.\ 16}$), in the time of Amos (Am 1^{8}, Zec $9^{5.\ 7}$), and in the time of Jeremiah (Jer 25^{20}). The records of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, mention a revolt of E. from the Assyrians to Hezekiah, and the condign punishment inflicted (see, *e.g.*, Smith's *Assyr. Disc.* pp. 304–306). It is found in the Apocrypha (1 Mac 10^{89}, AV **Accaron**) as a place given by Alexander Balas to Jonathan Maccabæus in reward for his services. It is spoken of in connexion with a march of king Baldwin the crusader, A.D. 1100 (Robinson, *BRP* ii. 228). It is apparently identified with *'Akîr*, 4 miles E. of *Yebna*, and is now a station on the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. (See PHILISTINES. See also Smith, *HGHL* 193, 218). **Ekronite.**—A citizen of Ekron. The word is used in the singular in Jos 13^{3}, where 'the Ekronite' is spoken of, meaning the people of Ekron collectively, and in the plural in 1 S 5^{10}, where the citizens are spoken of individually.

W. J. BEECHER.

EL.—See GOD.

ELA ('Ηλά). **1.** 1 Es 9^{27}=ELAM, Ezr 10^{26}. **2.** (1 K 4^{18} אֵלָא, AV **Elah**) Father of Shimei, who was Solomon's commissariat officer in Benjamin.

ELAH (אֵלָה 'terebinth').—**1.** (Gn 36^{41}, 1 Ch 1^{52}) The fifth 'duke of Edom.' These names prob. indicate districts called after certain chieftains. Comp. the use of Mamre, Caleb, etc. **2.** (1 K 16^{6-14}) King of Israel, son of Baasha. His reign can scarcely have lasted two years, since he came to the throne in the 26th year of Asa, and was killed in the 27th. The story of Elah's death suggests that he was a worthless sot ('drinking himself drunk in the house of Arza his steward,' 1 K 16^{9}). Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. xii. 4) says that Zimri took advantage of the absence of the army at Gibbethon (1 K 16^{15}) to kill Elah while unprotected. His death was followed by the extirpation of his family, in fulfilment of the prophecy of Jehu (1 K $16^{3.\ 4}$); but the sacred narrative reminds us that the fact of a man's being the rod of God's anger does not exempt him from punishment for the crimes he commits in accomplishing the design of Providence (1 K 16^{7}), cf. Hos 1^{4}, Am 1^{4}. The office which Arza held was a very high one, see 1 K $4^{2.\ 6}$. **3.** Father of Hoshea, last king of Israel (2 K 15^{30} 17^{1} $18^{1.\ 9}$). **4.** (1 Ch 4^{15}) Second son of Caleb. Rawlinson suggests that the last words of the verse should be: 'and the sons of Elah, Jehallelel and Kenaz.' (So Keil.) Similar omissions occur in 6^{28} 8^{29} 9^{41}. **5.** (1 Ch 9^{8}) A Benjamite who dwelt in Jerus. in the time of Neh. He is not mentioned in the parallel list, Neh 11.

N. J. D. WHITE.

ELAH, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הָאֵלָה; ἡ κοιλὰς Ἠλα, A τῆς δρυὸς 'the valley of the terebinth').—The scene of the defeat of the Phil. champion Goliath at the hands of David (1 S $17^{2.\ 19}$ 21^{9}). The valley of E. is probably the modern Wady es-Sunt (=terebinth), the third and most southerly of the valleys which cut through the Shephelah, and so lead up from the Phil. plain into the heart of Judæa. 'An hour's ride from Tell es-Safi' (at the entrance to the Phil. plain) 'up the winding vale of E. brings us through the Shephelah to the spot where the Wady es-Sur turns S. towards Hebron, and the narrow Wady el-Jindy strikes up towards Bethlehem. At the junction of the three there is a level plain, a quarter of a mile broad, cut by two streams, which combine to form the stream down Wady es-Sunt. This plain is probably the scene of David's encounter with Goliath' (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 227).

The Philistines had pitched their camp between Socoh and Azekah, *i.e.* on a ridge separated from the rest of the low hills, and facing the Israelites across the valley. The 'gai' (גַּיְא) or ravine, which separated the two armies, is the deep trench formed by the combination of the two streams; this, in fact, formed a valley within the valley. The Israelites had taken up their position on the farther or eastern side of the vale, somewhere on the slopes of the Wady el-Jindy, thus securing their line of retreat up the Wady. The natural strength of both positions was thus very great, since, if either army attacked, they must not only cross the ravine, but also climb the opposite slopes, and so place themselves at a great disadvantage; the long delay of the two armies, in face of each other, was probably due to this fact.

J. F. STENNING.

ELAM (עֵילָם).—**1.** A son of Shem (Gn 10^{22}=1 Ch 1^{17}), the eponymous ancestor of the Elamites (see following article). **2.** A Korahite (1 Ch 26^{3}). **3.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{24}). **4.** The eponym of a family of which 1254 returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{7}, Neh 7^{12}, 1 Es 5^{12}) and 71 with Ezra (Ezr 8^{7}, 1 Es 8^{33}). It was one of the Benê-Elam that urged Ezra to take action against mixed marriages (Ezr 10^{2}), and six of the same family are reported to have put away their foreign wives (Ezr 10^{26}). Elam acc. to Neh 10^{14} 'sealed the covenant.' **5.** In the parallel lists Ezr 2^{31}, Neh 7^{34} 'the other Elam' has also 1254 descendants who return with Zerubbabel. It appears certain that there is some confusion here (cf. Berth.-Ryssel, *ad loc.*, and Smend, *Listen*, p. 19). **6.** A priest who took part in the dedication of the walls (Neh 12^{42}).

J. A. SELBIE.

ELAM, ELAMITES (עֵילָם, Ἐλάμ, *Elymais*).—The Heb. Elam is the Assyr. Elamtu, 'the Highlands'

(a name also applied to the Amorite 'Highlands' in the west), Elamû, 'an Elamite.' Elamtu is the Semitic translation of the Sumerian Numma or Nimma, which has the same signification, and was the name applied by the Proto-chaldæans to the mountainous land to the east of them. Elam possessed two ruling cities, Susa or Shushan, called Susun ('the old') in the native texts (now Shuster), on the Ulai or Eulæus, and Anzan or Ansan, nearer Babylonia in the south-west. The two cities gave their names to the districts in which they were situated, an inhabitant of Susiana being called Susunḳa, the 'Susanchite' of Ezr 4^9. The district of Anzan was more extensive than that of Susa, and at one time was equivalent to 'the land of Elam' among the Babylonians (*W. A. I.* ii. 47. 18). Cyrus and his immediate predecessors were kings of Anzan, the country having apparently been conquered by the Persian Teispes during the decline of the Assyr. empire. Sir H. Rawlinson notices that an early Arab. writer, Ibn en-Nadîm, states that writing was invented by Jemshîd, who lived at Assan, one of the districts of Shuster. The kings of Susa, however, eventually got possession of Anzan, and so founded the kingdom of Elam. They call themselves lords 'of the kingdom of Anzan'; and as this title is found on their bricks at Bushire, the kingdom must have extended as far as the sea.

To the east is the plain of Mal-Amir, where there are sculptures and cuneiform inscriptions, from which we learn that here was another kingdom called Apirti, the 'Apharsites' of Ezr 4^9. In the agglutinative language of the second transcript of the Achæmenian texts the name is written Khapirti, and it has there taken the place of Anzan or Susa as the equivalent of the Bab. Elamtu. The equivalent in the Persian transcript is Uwaja, whence the modern Khuzistan.

The dialects of Mal-Amir, of Susa, and of the second Achæmenian transcripts differ but slightly from one another. They are agglutinative, and, so far as can be judged, unrelated to any other known language. The statement in Gn 10^{22}, that Elam was the son of Shem, does not imply any racial or linguistic connexion, the object of the chapter being purely geographical.

According to Nearchus, as reported by Strabo (xi. 13. 3, 6), 'four bandit nations' inhabited the mountainous region east of the Euphrates, the Amardians or Mardians who bordered on the Persians, the Uxians and Elymeans on the frontiers of Persia and Susa, and the Kossæans contiguous to the Medes. The Amardians may be the people of Khapirti, the Uxians belonged to Uwaja, Elymais (1 Mac 6^1) is Elam, and the Kossæans are the Kassi of the Assyr. inscriptions of whose language many words are preserved, which, however, seem to have no connexion with the dialects of Elam.

'Ansan, in the land of Numma' or Elam, was conquered by Gudea, an early viceroy of southern Babylonia (in B.C. 2700), whose monuments have been found at Telloh; and Mutabil, another early viceroy (of Dur-ilu on the eastern frontier), 'broke the head of the armies of Ansan.' Kudur-Mabug, the prince of Iamutbal, a district of Elam immediately eastward of Chaldæa, was the father of Eri-Aku or Arioch (which see), and 'father of the land of the Amorites' or Syria. At the same period Chedorlaomer (Kudur-Lagamar) was suzerain of Babylonia and Palestine (Gn $14^{1\text{-}16}$), and the notices in the Bab. astrological tablets which refer to 'the king of Anzan and Subarti' or Mesopotamia probably belong to the same date. The defeat of the Elamites by Khammurabi, king of Babylon, enabled him to overcome Eri-Aku, and make Babylonia a united monarchy (B.C. 2330). In B.C. 2280 the Elamite king Kudur-Nankhundi made a raid into Babylonia, and carried away the image of the goddess Nanæa (see 2 Mac 1^{13}), which Assur-bani-pal recovered 1635 years afterwards. Nearly a thousand years later we find Khurba-tila of Elam going to war with Kuri-galzu II. of Babylonia (B.C. 1340); but his own men revolted from him, and he was defeated and captured at Dur-Dungi by Kuri-galzu. About a century afterwards (*c.* B.C. 1230) Kidin-Khutru invaded Babylonia, and, after taking Dur-ilu, put an end to the Kassite dynasty at Babylon. A second invasion by the same king was not so successful. In B.C. 1115 (?) Babylonia seems to have been conquered by the Elamites, as a dynasty of two Elamite kings then began to rule it. In B.C. 742 Umman-nigas or Khumba-nigas became king of Elam, and in 721 assisted Merodach-baladan against Sargon of Assyria, whom he repulsed at Dur-ilu. He died in 718, and was succeeded by his sister's son, Sutruk-Nankhundi, who in 711 again assisted Merodach-baladan, but this time to no purpose. Sargon defeated and captured his general Singusibu, and added the Elamite districts of Iatbur, Lakhiru, and Rasi to Assyria. After a reign of eighteen years Sutruk-Nankhundi was imprisoned by his brother Khalludus, who seized the crown. He captured Babylon in the rear of Sennacherib, who had gone by sea to Nagitu, on the Elamite coast, in order to destroy a settlement made there by the fugitive Merodach-baladan, and the Bab. king, who was a son of Sennacherib, was carried captive to Elam. A year and a half afterwards (B.C. 693) the Elamite nominee at Babylon was captured by the Assyrians, and in the following September Khalludus was murdered. Kudur-Nankhundi succeeded him, and Sennacherib ravaged Elam, capturing even Madaktu north of Susa, until driven back by the winter. The following July, Kudur-Nankh. was killed in an insurrection, and Umman-menanu put on the throne. In B.C. 690 came the great battle of Khalulê, when Sennacherib met the combined forces of Elam and Babylonia, and both sides claimed the victory. The king of Elam had under him the troops of Parsuas (Persia), Anzan, Pasiru, and Ellipi (where Ecbatana afterwards stood), besides the Aramæans and Kaldi or Chaldæans of southern Babylonia. On the 15th of Nisan, B.C. 689, he was paralyzed, and died the following November. Umman-Khaldas I., his successor, reigned eight years, when he was burnt to death on the 3rd of Tisri, and Umman-Khaldas II. ascended the throne. He was murdered in 675 by his two brothers, Urtaki and Te-Umman, the elder of whom took the crown, and about ten years later made an unprovoked raid into Babylonia. The result was the conquest of Elam by the Assyr. king Assurbanipal, who placed Umman-igas the son of Urtaki on the throne as a tributary prince. He joined the great revolt against Assyria, which was headed by the viceroy of Babylonia; but he had hardly sent his army into that country when his son Tammaritu conspired against him, and, cutting off his head, sent it to Assurbanipal. Tammaritu then joined the Babylonians, and, during his absence, one of his servants, Inda-bigas, usurped the throne. Thereupon Tammaritu surrendered to the Assyrians. Shortly afterwards Inda-bigas was murdered by another military adventurer, Umman-Khaldas III., and the Assyr. army again entered Elam, took Madaktu, and restored Tammaritu to the throne. He was soon found to be plotting against his masters; and as Umman-Khaldas once more possessed himself of the country, the Assyr. general wasted it with fire and sword. Susa and the other cities were levelled with the ground, the temples and palaces destroyed, and the sacred groves cut down. Thirty-two

statues of the kings were carried to Assyria, as well as the images of all the Elamite deities—Susinak, the god who delivered oracles, and whose image was concealed from the sight of the laity, Sumudu, Lagamar, Partikira, Amman-Kasimas, Uduran, Sapak, Ragiba, Sungursara, Karsa and Kirsamas, Sudanu, Apak-sina, Bilala, Panintimri, Silagara, Napsa, Nabritu, and Kindakarbu (to whom we have to add also Laguda, Nakhkhunte or Nankhundi, and Khumba). The kingdom of Elam perished, and a desolated province was added to the Assyr. empire. But the empire was already on the decline, and in a few years Elam ceased to belong to it. In B.C. 606, the year probably of the destruction of Nineveh, Jeremiah refers to 'the kings of Elam' (Jer 25^{25}), and eight years later he declares that Elam is about to be consumed by its enemies, its king and princes destroyed, and its people scattered (49^{35-39}). This would fit in with the conquest of Anzan by Teispes the Persian, the ancestor of Cyrus (which see). When Elam and Media are called upon to besiege Babylon in Is 21^{2}, Cyrus, king of Anzan, must be meant, as Anzan was synonymous with Elam among the Babylonians. It would appear from Ac 2^{9} that the old language of Elam was still spoken there in the first century of our era.

LITERATURE.—Billerbeck, *Susa* (1893); Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse* (1890); Sayce, 'The Inscriptions of Mal-Amir,' in the *Transactions of the Leyden Oriental Congress* (1885); Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana* (1857). A. H. SAYCE.

ELASA ('Ελασά), 1 Mac 9^{5}.—The site may be at the ruin *El'asa*, near Bethhoron (*SWP* iii. sh. 17).

ELASAH (אֶלְעָשָׂה 'God hath made').—**1.** One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{22}). **2.** The son of Shaphan, who along with Gemariah, the son of Hilkiah, carried a message from king Zedekiah to Babylon (Jer 29^{3}). For no apparent reason, RV retains the AV spelling Elasah in both the above passages, although both AV and RV give for the same Heb. the form **Eleasah** (wh. see) elsewhere. J. A. SELBIE.

ELATH or ELOTH (אֵילוֹת, אֵילַת).—A seaport in the extreme S. of Edom, at the head of the Gulf of Akabah. It is mentioned in Dt 2^{8} in connexion with Ezion-geber, one of the 'stations' of the Israelites. Elath, Eloth, and Elim may possibly be various names of one and the same place, the 'palm-grove' which was the second halting-place after the passage of the Red Sea. (See Sayce, *HCM* p. 268). E. is probably identical with **El-paran** of Gn 14^{6} and **Elah** of Gn 36^{41}. It has also been suggested that it is referred to in 1 Ch 4^{15}, where for 'Iru, Elah' (עִירוּ, אֵלָה) we might read 'Ir and Elah' (עִיר וְאֵלָה). See further Dillmann on Gn 36^{41}. The history of E. was a chequered one. Coming into the possession of Israel when Edom was subdued by David (2 S 8^{14}), it was an important naval station during the reign of Solomon (1 K 9^{26}). When the disruption of the kingdom took place, Edom continued to be a vassal of the house of David, until it recovered its independence in the time of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat (2 K 8^{20}). The port of E. passed once more into the possession of Judah, when Amaziah and Uzziah had inflicted a succession of defeats upon Edom (2 K 14^{22}). It was wrested permanently from Judah during the operations undertaken against Ahaz by Pekah and Rezin (2 K 16^{6}), and either the Syrians (*Kethîbh*) or the Edomites (*Kerê*) became its possessors. With this event (*c.* B.C. 734) ends its history as far as OT is concerned. E. is the modern *'Akabah*. J. A. SELBIE.

EL-BERITH (Jg 9^{46}).—See BAAL-BERITH, and cf. Moore, *Judges*, 242, 265; W. R. Smith, *RS* 93 n.; Baudissin in *PRE*^{3} ii. p. 334.

EL-BETHEL (אֵל בֵּית־אֵל).—The name which Jacob is said to have given to the scene of his vision on his way back from Paddan-aram, Gn 35^{7} (P?). The LXX (Βαιθήλ), Vulg. (*Domus Dei*), Pesh. and Arab. VSS omit 'El,' which Ball (in Haupt's *OT*) suggests may have been corrupted from הַהוּא 'that,' which would naturally be attached to לָקְחוּם (so in Pesh. and Vulg.). Ball justly adds that *God of Bethel* is an extraordinary name for a *place*. See, however, the note (*) on p. 278^{a} of the present volume. J. A. SELBIE.

ELDAAH (אֶלְדָּעָה, perhaps 'God hath called').—A son of Midian (Gn 25^{4}, 1 Ch 1^{33}). See GENEALOGY.

ELDAD (אֶלְדָּד). — One of the seventy elders appointed to assist Moses in the government of the people. On a memorable occasion in the wilderness journey, he and another named Medad were not present with Moses and the rest of the elders at the door of the tabernacle to hear God's message and receive His spirit. But the spirit of the Lord came upon them where they were, and they prophesied in the camp. Joshua regarded this as an irregularity, and appealed to Moses to forbid them. But he received the reply, 'Art thou jealous for my sake? would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!' (Nu 11^{26-29}). R. M. BOYD.

ELDAD AND MODAD, BOOK OF. — The fact that the prophecies of these men are unrecorded in Nu 11^{26-29} furnished an inviting theme for imagination to some unknown seer and author. His book is quoted in Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 3: 'Thou shalt say to Maximus. Behold the tribulation cometh . . . "The Lord is near to them that turn to Him," as it is written in the (book) of Eldad and Modad.' The Pal. Targums (*Jerus.* i. and *Jerus.* ii.) both supply us with the subject of E. and M.'s prophecy, filling in, as is their wont, the supposed hiatus in the Heb. Bible. They agree with Hermas that it had reference to pre-Messianic tribulation, which is described under the coming of Magog against Israel at the end of days. *Jerus.* ii. says that Gog and Magog shall both fall by the hand of King Messiah. *Jerus.* i. omits this; but adds, 'The Lord (see Levy, *s.v.* קירים) is near to them that are in the hour of tribulation.' The close resemblance thus pointed out between Hermas and the two Targums seems certainly to indicate that all three authors were acquainted with the same Bk of E. and M.; and renders the hesitancy of Schürer and Zöckler no longer necessary. In 1 Clem. xxiii. 3. 4 and 2 Clem. xi. 2. 3 is a long quotation, called in the one case γραφή, in the other προφητικὸς λόγος, but not in OT, which Lightfoot and Holtzmann conjecture to have been taken from our book. In both cases, as well as in Hermas, the quotation is designed to refute one who is sceptical about the approaching tribulations 'at the end of the days.' Our book is found in the Stichometry of Nicephorus (400 στίχοι), and in the Synopsis Athanasii (see ABRAHAM, BOOK OF).

LITERATURE. — Fabricius, *Codex pseudep. V.T.* i. 801-804; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 29; Zöckler, *Apoc. des A.T.* 439; Weber, *Lehren des Talm.* 1886, p. 370 (who, however, mistranslates the Targ. *Jerus.* i. in the line cited); Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, 553. J. T. MARSHALL.

ELDER (IN OT).—In ancient days the institution of Elders was not peculiar to the Jewish people, and the word *elder* did not suggest those purely ecclesiastical and religious functions with which it is now associated. The origin of the office is easily traced. Under the primitive conditions of society that prevail in the early history of all nations, *age*

is an indispensable condition of investment with authority. [Cf. the γέροντες so frequently mentioned by Homer (*e.g. Il.* xviii. 503), the γερουσία of the Dorian states, the *Patres* and *Senatus* of the Romans, the πρεσβύς at Sparta, and the *Sheikh*, *i.e.* elder, in Arabia]. Hence from the beginning of Israel's history downwards we hear of elders (זְקֵנִים, πρεσβύτεροι) as an official class. The title, which at first is inseparably associated with the idea of age, came afterwards to designate merely the dignity to which age was formerly the necessary passport.* In the narratives of the Hex. both J and E are acquainted with the institution of elders (Ex 3^{16} 19^{7} 24^{1}, Nu $11^{16ff.}$, etc.), and that not only in Israel but amongst the Egyptians (Gn 50^{7}) and the Moabites and Midianites (Nu 22^{7}). Their position and functions in early times are thus described by Wellhausen (*Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* 15), 'What there was of permanent official authority lay in the hands of the elders and heads of houses; in time of war they commanded each his own household, and in peace they dispensed justice each within his own circle.' They are frequently referred to in Deut. as discharging the functions of local authorities (Dt 19^{12} 21^{2} 22^{15} 25^{7}, cf. also Jos 20^{4}, Jg 8^{14}, Ru 4^{2}). Their number varied with the locality, it must sometimes have been considerable; *e.g.* the elders of Succoth who came into collision with Gideon (Jg 8^{14}) numbered seventy-seven. At a later period they appear in connexion with the adoption of the kingly form of government (1 S 8^{4}), with the intrigues of David and Abner about the succession to the throne (1 S 30^{26}, 2 S 3^{17}), while the part they played in the judicial murder of Naboth is well known (1 K 21^{8-11}). It was from amongst the previously existing body of elders that Moses, according to Nu $11^{16ff.}$ (JE), chose an inner circle of seventy 'to bear with him the burden of the people.' (The important part played by this incident in late Jewish traditions will be referred to under SANHEDRIN).

The elders of the city (זִקְנֵי הָעִיר) acted as judges (Dt 22^{15}), just as the village *Ḳādi* and his assistants do in an Arab community at the present day (Driver, *Deut.* 199). It is true that in Dt 16^{18} 'judges' (שֹׁפְטִים) and 'officers' (שֹׁטְרִים) appear to be distinguished from elders; but Schürer is prob. right in his suggestion, that both these classes were selected from the general body of elders, the 'judges' being entrusted with the administration of justice, while the 'officers' took charge of the executive department. Elders reappear in the Persian and Greek periods (Ezr $5^{5.9}$ $6^{7.14}$ 10^{8}, Jth 6^{16} 7^{23} 8^{10} 10^{6} 13^{12}, 1 Mac 12^{35}, and in the story of Susanna), while the πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ during the Rom. period are often mentioned by Josephus and NT. The authority which the elders of any community possessed as the municipal council in civil affairs extended also to religious matters, particularly after the synagogue (see SYNAGOGUE) had become a flourishing institution. 'In purely Jewish localities the elders of the place would be also the elders of the synagogue' (Schürer). As a general rule, at least, they had absolute jurisdiction, and had not to take the sense of the congregation or the community. In Nu $35^{24f.}$, Jg 20. 21, Ezr 10, we have rare exceptions to this rule (see CONGREGATION). The right of exercising religious discipline was in their hands, and in particular it lay with them to pass the sentence of exclusion from the synagogue, to which allusion is frequently made in NT (*e.g.* Lk 6^{22}, Jn 9^{22} 12^{42} 16^{2}).

In addition to what is contained on the NT Elder in art. BISHOP, various details regarding this office, esp. in the later periods of Jewish history, will be found under artt. SANHEDRIN and SYNAGOGUE.

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 150, 165 f., 174 f., ii. 58 f.; Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*, and Thayer, *NT Lex.*, s. πρεσβύτερος; Driver, *Deut.* 233; Hartmann, *Die enge Verbind. d. AT mit d. N.* 163 f.; art. 'Aelteste,' in Herzog, *RE*^{3}, Winer, *RW*, and Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*; Vitringa, *de Syn. Vet.* 595, 613, etc.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 296, 306, 314 f., 320, 328 f.; Kosters, *Het herstel v. Isr.* etc. 99 f., 116 f.; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 300 f., 320 f.; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 153 f.

J. A. SELBIE.

ELDER IN NT.—See BISHOP.

ELEAD (אֶלְעָד 'God hath testified').—An Ephraimite (1 Ch 7^{21}). See GENEALOGY.

ELEADAH (אֶלְעָדָה 'God hath adorned,' AV Eladah).—An Ephraimite (1 Ch 7^{20}). See GENEALOGY.

ELEALEH (אֶלְעָלֵה in Nu 32^{37} א־, 'Nu $32^{3.37}$, Is 15^{4} 16^{9}, Jer 48^{34}.—A town of the Moabite plateau, conquered by Gad and Reuben, and rebuilt by the latter tribe. The expression (v.^{38}), 'their names being changed,' referring to this and other towns, is rendered by Knobel (following the LXX), 'enclosing them with walls'; but this is very improbable (שׂוּר 'wall' is only poetic). See Dillm. *ad loc.* Elealeh is noticed with Heshbon, and in the 4th cent. A.D. was known (*Onomasticon, s.v.*) as being a Roman mile from Heshbon. It is now the ruined mound of *El-'Al*, about a mile N. of Heshbon. See *SEP* vol. i. under the Arab. name.

C. R. CONDER.

ELEASAH (אֶלְעָשָׂה 'God hath made'). — **1.** A Judahite (1 Ch $2^{39.40}$). **2.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{37} 9^{43}). See ELASAH.

ELEAZAR (אֶלְעָזָר 'God has helped.'—Cf. Azarel, 1 Ch 12^{6}, and the Phœn. names Eshmunazar = 'Eshmun has helped,' *CIS* I. i. 3, l. 1; Baalazar = 'Baal has helped,' *CIS* I. i. 256, l. 2).

Ten or eleven persons bearing this name are mentioned in the canonical and apocryphal books.

1. The third son of Aaron by Elisheba (Ex 6^{23}, Nu 3^{2}), who, with his father and three brothers, was admitted to the priestly office (Ex 28^{1}). After the death of Nadab and Abihu by fire, E. and Ithamar were the chief assistants of Aaron (Lv $10^{12.16}$). The former is represented as the chief of the Levites in the time of Moses (Nu 3^{32}). When Aaron died, E. succeeded him in his functions (Nu $20^{25.28}$, Dt 10^{6}). He is spoken of as taking part with Moses in the numbering of the people (Nu $26^{1.63}$); and after the death of Moses he aided Joshua in the work of partitioning the newly conquered land of Canaan amongst the twelve tribes (Jos 14^{1} 17^{4} 19^{51} 21^{1}). His burial-place is mentioned in Jos 24^{33}. From Eleazar and his wife, a daughter of Putiel (Ex 6^{25}), were descended all succeeding high priests down to the Maccabæan period; the only exceptions being the high priests who lived in the period between Eli and Solomon, when, for some unexplained reason, the office was held by members of the family of Ithamar. **2.** A son of Abinadab, who was sanctified to take charge of the ark at Kiriath-jearim, after its return from the country of the Philistines (1 S 7^{1}). **3.** Son of Dodo, one of David's three principal mighty men (2 S 23^{9}, 1 Ch $11^{12.13}$). The name should probably be inserted in 1 Ch 27^{4}. **4.** A Levite, son of Mahli, and grandson of Merari (1 Ch $23^{21.22}$ 24^{28}). **5.** A priest of the time of Ezra (Ezr 8^{33}, Neh 12^{42}). (There may be here two distinct persons.) **6.** One of the family of Parosh, who had married a 'strange woman,' *i.e.* one of non-Israelitish descent, in the time of Ezra (Ezr 10^{25}). **7.** The fourth son of Mattathias, and brother of Judas Maccabæus, surnamed Avaran (1 Mac 2^{5}). He fell in the battle

* The AV tr. of זְקֵנִים sometimes by 'elders' and sometimes by 'ancients' (*e.g.* Is 3^{14}, Jer 19^{1}) is unfortunate and misleading. See ANCIENT.

fought at Bethzacharias against Antiochus v. Eupator, B.C. 163 (1 Mac 6^{43-46}). His name occurs also in 2 Mac 8^{23}. **8.** 'One of the principal scribes' martyred during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 168 (2 Mac 6^{18-31}). **9.** The father of that Jason who was sent on an embassy to Rome by Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 161 (1 Mac 8^{17}). **10.** An E. is mentioned in the genealogy of our Lord given by St. Matthew (1^{15}).

W. C. ALLEN.

ELECTION [ἐκλογή. The subst. is rare, not found in LXX (yet Aq. Is 22^{7}, Symm. Th. Is 37^{24}, cf. Ps.-Sol 9^{7} 18^{6}). In NT, Ac 9^{15}, Ro 9^{11} $11^{5.7.28}$, 1 Th 1^{4}, 2 P 1^{10}. Cf. ἐκλέγομαι (in LXX generally for בחר=to 'choose,' implying (see Cremer's *Lex.*) (1) a special relation between the chooser and the object of his choice, and (2) the selection of one object out of many: ἐκλεκτός (in LXX for בָּחוּר or בָּחִיר, also fairly often for var. forms of ברר, besides being used occasionally, sometimes by a misreading of the Heb. text, for 17 other Heb. roots='chosen' or 'choice' (adj.)]. The word is common in Dt and II Is. It is not in Hos, Am (but *idea* in 3^{2}), or Is (yet cf. LXX Is 28^{16}, which is the source of 1 P 2^{6}). It is used chiefly to describe God's choice of Israel out of all the nations of the world to be His own people, Dt 4^{37} 7^{7} etc., and of Jerus. to be the covenant home of worship, Dt 12^{5} etc. It is used also of God's choice of individuals to the chief offices in the nation, *e.g.* His choice of Aaron and his family for the service of the sanctuary, His choice of the king, and especially of David. It is once used of Abraham; and in Is 40–66 it passes naturally from its use in connexion with Israel to the 'Servant of the Lord.'

It is rare in the Apocrypha; yet cf. Wis 3^{9}, Sir 46^{1} etc. It is constant in Enoch. Cf. Ps-Sol 9^{7} 18^{6}.

In NT it is used once of God's choice of OT Israel (Ac 13^{17}), but for the most part it passes over with other theocratic titles to the 'Israel of God,' and describes either the Church as a whole, or individual members of it, sometimes merely in virtue of their membership, sometimes as chosen to some special office or work, *e.g.* the Twelve, St. Peter, St. Paul. It is twice used as part of the title of our Lord (Lk 9^{35} [*var. lect.*] 23^{35}, Jn 1^{34}). The word appears constantly in the Apostolic Fathers, especially in 1 Clement and Hermas.

The thought of 'election' has formed so prominent a feature in all the most important attempts that have been made in Western Christendom for the last 1500 years to provide a complete and formulated scheme of Christian doctrine, that it is peculiarly hard for us to approach the consideration of the original meaning of the term in Holy Scripture without distracting associations. And yet the effort is worth making. The only hope of any further progress in the elucidation of the problem, the only prospect of extricating its discussion from the deadlock at which it has arrived, lies in a careful reconsideration of the scriptural premisses on which the whole argument has been based.

The questions that require examination fall naturally into three divisions. i. The questions touching the author of election—who chooses the elect? What can we know of His character? What are the grounds of His choice so far as He has vouchsafed to reveal them? ii. The questions touching the persons of the elect—who are they? and for what end are they chosen? iii. The question belonging to the effect of election—what influence does the fact that they have been chosen by God exert over the elect?

i. On the first part of this question there is no difference of opinion. Every theory of election is based on the fact, constantly emphasized in Holy Scripture, that election is the immediate work of God. It is His act as directly as creation is. In fact, God's purpose in creation, His eternal purpose (ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν αἰώνων, Eph 3^{11}), is revealed in Holy Scripture as working to its end by the method of election. It is in St. Paul's language κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις, Ro 9^{11}. The two thoughts are in reality inseparable. We can understand, therefore, how it is that St. Paul should say that God chose His elect before the foundation of the world in His Son (Eph 1^{4}). He is only expressing the truth that underlies our Lord's words when He says, 'To sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give, but it is for them for whom it hath been prepared of my Father' (Mt 20^{23}). Our first conclusion then, the one fixed point in the whole discussion, is this: God is the author of election. He Himself chooses His own elect.

When we go on to ask on what grounds His election is based, by what considerations, in accordance with what law His choice is determined, we find ourselves at once on debatable ground. To some minds, indeed, the question put in this form seems foolish, not to say irreverent. It involves in their judgment a pitiable blindness in regard to the inexorable limits of human knowledge. In the spirit, sometimes in the very words of Zophar the Naamathite (Job 11^{7}), they ask, 'Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection?' 'The main facts of the divine government may, indeed, be known, but the reasons which underlie them, the motives which prompt them, are unfathomable; only an unchastened curiosity can seek to intrude into such secrets.' To some minds, again, the question involves an assumption inconsistent with one of their primary philosophical or theological postulates. It seems to them inconsistent with the reality of the divine freedom, which in this connexion is only another name for the divine omnipotence, to suppose that God should acknowledge any law as regulating His choice.

If either of these objections is well grounded, further discussion of the question is, of course, precluded. We must therefore begin by defining the position we are prepared to take up with regard to them. Let us consider the second objection first. No doubt, if in its ultimate analysis our conception of God resolves itself into a conception of abstract omnipotence, or of an absolutely sovereign will, and if omnipotence means the power to do *anything*, and if no will can be absolutely sovereign which is not as free to do wrong as to do right, it is meaningless if not profane to inquire into the laws which regulate the choice of God. An abstract omnipotence must be inscrutable. We cannot even begin to understand the action of a will in this sense 'absolute.' But if goodness, and not power, lies at the heart of our conception of God, then we shall not be ashamed to confess that for us, in Westcott's magnificent phrase, 'Truth and justice define omnipotence.' And we shall not shrink from pressing to the full the human analogy which is present, though latent, every time we use the word 'will' in relation to God. We shall contend that the action of the divine will, like the action of the human will, of which it is the archetype, must be at once determined by, and reveal, the character which lies behind it. We shall maintain the paradox, if paradox it be, that the will of God is free, only because, by the blessed necessity of His being, He cannot will anything but that which is perfectly holy and righteous and good. And we shall claim every revelation that He has given us of His character as a revelation of the principles which regulate His choice, the laws of His election.

And if we are met at this point by the warning, that as men our powers of apprehending and expressing truth are limited, and that there must

be infinite depths of mystery in the divine nature which we are powerless to fathom, we shall hope to learn humility and patience from the caution. But we shall not desist from pushing our inquiries to the utmost limit of the power that is given to us. We believe that, in spite of all our limitations, we yet were created to know God. And it is a matter of life and death for us that we should be able to bring this revealed method of His working into harmony with the rest of the revelation that He has given us of His character. Nor can we doubt that He will justify us as He justified Job for refusing to be satisfied with any explanation of the facts of the divine government which cannot be reconciled with the sense of justice which He has Himself implanted in us. He has revealed election to us as the method of His working. There can be no presumption in asking whether in making this revelation He has given us any help to enable us to understand His purpose and enter into His plan.

When in this spirit we approach the examination of the scriptural evidence, the result may well, at first sight, seem disappointing. Great pains are taken to negative what we are naturally inclined to regard as the simplest and most obvious solution. The ground of a man's choice lies not so much in himself as in the object that he chooses. It is, of course, true that his own character determines what qualities in an object will, and what qualities will not, prove attractive to him. But, for all that, it is the real or supposed loveliness of the object that rules his choice. It would be natural, therefore, to assume that the choice of God is in like manner determined by the loveliness of its object. But it is just at this point that the analogy of the human will is necessarily imperfect. It is not, indeed, that we are required to believe that God can love that which is, in itself, neither lovely nor capable of developing loveliness; but that since the root of all loveliness is in God, and since there can be no goodness apart from Him, we cannot argue as if it were possible for man to possess or develop any goodness or loveliness independent of, and so constituting a claim on, the choice of God. We ought not, therefore, to be surprised when we find Israel expressly warned in Holy Scripture to reject the flattering assumption that they had been chosen on the ground of their own inherent attractiveness. They were not as a nation either more numerous or more amenable to the divine discipline than other nations (Dt 7^7 9^6). We can understand why St. Paul declares that the election of Christians does not depend on the will or the energy of men (Ro 9^{16}). It is not of works but of grace (Ro 11^6, cf. Jn 1^{13}).

It must therefore be a mistake to try to discover the ultimate ground of God's choice in any consideration drawn from outside Himself, even though it be in His foreknowledge of the faith and obedience of His chosen; for the goodness in which He takes delight is, after all, from first to last His own creation. The testimony of Scripture is not, however, really limited to this negative result. The choice which is not determined from without is all the more certainly determined from within. And the ground of the choice which we are forbidden to look for in ourselves or in human nature is expressly declared to lie in the love (Dt 7^8) and the faithfulness (Dt 9^5, Ro 11^{29}) and the mercy of our God (Ro 9^{16}).

ii. We pass on now to consider the second group of questions connected with our subject. Who are the elect? and for what end are they chosen? In OT the term 'elect' is most often applied to the nation of Israel, regarded as a whole. They are at all periods of their history taught to regard themselves as the 'chosen people.' At the same time special divisions of the nation, *e.g.* the tribe of Levi and the house of Aaron, are chosen to perform certain functions on behalf of the whole body; and certain prominent individuals, *e.g.* Abraham and David, are regarded as the objects of a special election. In Is 40–66 the term is applied to the nation generally and to the 'servant of J″' in all the different connotations of that many-sided title,—so little is the prophet conscious of any fundamental contradiction between the thought of a national and an individual election. In NT the universal Church takes the place of Israel as the 'chosen race,' and not only her head and her most prominent ministers, but also all her individual members, sometimes by name, sometimes by an inclusive form of address, which it is impossible to narrow down, are described as 'elect,' just as they are described in similar connexions as 'called' and 'holy' and 'faithful' and 'beloved.'* It does not seem possible to determine on NT evidence whether the individuals are regarded as owing their membership in the Church to their election, or as becoming elect by virtue of their membership. Three points are clear—(1) that they were chosen before the foundation of the world; (2) that they were chosen 'in Christ'; (3) that membership in the Church is treated as an objective assurance to each individual of his personal interest in this eternal election.

Such in outline are the different classes described as 'elect' in Holy Scripture. We must consider next what can be learnt with regard to the purpose for which they were chosen. We must not, of course, assume that the purpose is the same, or even in all points analogous in the different cases. Still it is not unnatural to suppose that we shall gain some help towards understanding the application of the method in any one case by a careful study of its application to the rest.

The selection of the family of Aaron and the tribe of Levi need not detain us long. It is a simple case of the choice of certain individuals to fill an office of trust, a position at once of privilege and responsibility on behalf of their fellow-countrymen.

The choice of Israel presents a more complicated problem. The choice in the first instance involved a call to occupy a special position in relation to J″—to be, and to be acknowledged before the world as, His peculiar people. 'Ye are my witnesses,' saith the Lord, 'my servant whom I have chosen; that ye may know and believe me, and understand that I am he' (Is 43^{10}). And this position of privilege involved a special responsibility towards God and towards the rest of mankind. On the one side, they were the trustees of God's glory in the world, 'his witnesses,' 'the people which he formed for himself, to show forth his praise.' On the other, they were the heirs of the promise made at the call of the Father of the elect, that 'in him and in his seed should all the families of the earth be blessed' (cf. Gn 18^{19}). And this work for others is the characteristic function of the ideal 'servant of the Lord,' who embodies in himself all that is most characteristic of the chosen Israel.

In NT comparatively little is told us of the purpose of election. 'The poor in this world,' St. James writes, 'God chose (to be) rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him.' 'God chose you,' writes St. Paul to the Thessalonians, 'from the beginning (*or* "as a firstfruit," ἀπαρχήν for ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) unto salvation.' 'He chose us,' he writes again (Eph 1^4) 'in him (*i.e.* in Christ) that we should be holy and without

* There is, indeed, one passage in the Gospels, which will call for notice later on, in which a distinction is drawn between the many 'called' and the few 'chosen.' But the existence of this one passage does not invalidate the statement in the text, which merely asserts that there are other passages in which this narrow signification for 'elect' is excluded.

blemish before him in love.' The Christian, therefore, stands as the Israelite stood before him in a special relation of intimacy with God, receiving from Him the spiritual gifts and graces, together with the responsibility for appropriating them (Col 3^{12}), which such an intimacy presupposes, and the assurance of eternal salvation, of which that intimacy is at once the foretaste and the pledge.

The indications of a wider purpose in the election of the Christian are not, indeed, as definite as in the case of OT Israel. It would, however, be a mistake to regard them as altogether wanting. Our Lord (Jn 15) Himself told His apostles that He had chosen them that they might bear much fruit. The chosen race exists, as St. Peter reminds us (1 P 2^9), appropriating the words of Is 43, 'to show forth the excellencies of him who called them out of darkness into his glorious light.' And St. Paul, in the same sentence (Eph $1^{4\text{-}14}$) in which he speaks of our election in Christ 'to the praise of the glory of his grace,' reveals as the final goal of the eternal purpose, 'the summing up of all things in Christ, the things in heaven and the things upon the earth'; a goal towards the attainment of which our election cannot be regarded as more than a preparatory stage.

We conclude, therefore, that according to the predominant use of the term in Holy Scripture, election is an attribute of the visible Church, and finds its true goal, not simply in the salvation of certain elect individuals, but in the evangelization of the race. There is indeed good scriptural analogy for a concurrent use of the term in a narrower sense, to describe as it were an election within the elect. For St. Paul uses it (Ro 11^7) to describe the inner circle in Israel who accepted the gospel when it came to them—'the remnant' to which alone an immediate salvation had been promised by Isaiah (Ro 9^{27}, Is 10^{23}). And our Lord again and again warns us in His parables that the members of His Church will be subjected to a searching judgment—as the result of which the unworthy will be cast into the outer darkness. It is in this connexion that He uses the warning words about the many called and the few chosen to which allusion has already been made. But there seems no authority for restricting the use of the term, as some theological systems do to this narrower sense—refusing to recognize as elect in any real sense, either those Israelites who in St. Paul's day were disobedient to the gospel, or those members of the visible Church who fail to stand in the judgment. Still less justification is there for assuming that the object of the election of this restricted circle has no end beyond the personal salvation of the individuals who compose it.

iii. We pass on now to the last stage in our inquiry, the consideration of the effect of election. We ask what influence does the fact that they have been chosen by God exert over the elect? May we assume that the divine purpose working through election must of necessity attain its goal? Can we, granting this assumption, find a place in our system for any self-determining power in the human will?

The theological systems, which adopt the restricted sense of the term election, and limit the scope of its operation to its effect on this limited circle, find no difficulty in supplying a logically coherent set of answers to these questions. It is inconsistent with any real faith in the divine Omnipotence to suppose that any deliberate purpose of God can finally fail of its accomplishment. The elect, therefore, being chosen for salvation, cannot fail to attain salvation. No power from without or from within can prevent this result. The fact that they have been chosen for this end carries with it the divine determination to provide all the means required to ensure its attainment. The elect, therefore, receive first a gift of 'irresistible grace' to raise them out of their naturally depraved state, and then a gift of 'final perseverance,' as the result of which they are assured, whatever their intervening lapses may have been, of being found at the moment of death in a state of grace.

These systems do not seem to find room, at least in the all-important moment of conversion, for any true act of self-determination on the part of the human will. A doctrine of reprobation forms an inevitable, however unwelcome, complement to the doctrine of election so defined.

It is impossible not to regard with the deepest respect systems which embody the conclusions of the most strenuous thinkers on this subject, from St. Augustine to Calvin and Jonathan Edwards. At the same time it is a remarkable fact that these conclusions have never been able to secure general acceptance. Unassailable as they may be in logic, it is felt that somehow they fail to fit the facts of life. There are elements in human experience and elements in the divine revelation for which they fail to account. And the general result is one from which the Christian consciousness seems instinctively to shrink in horror. It can only be accepted, if it is accepted at all, as a dark enigma, which our present faculties have no power to solve.

What, then, we seem forced to ask, are the foundations on which these conclusions rest? Can it be that the results of the argument are vitiated by any unsuspected flaw in the premisses?

The premisses are these—(1) God is omnipotent. (2) Because God is omnipotent, the final goal of creation must correspond at all points to His original purpose. (3) The final goal of creation, as far as it affects the human race, involves the division of mankind at the day of judgment into two sharply defined classes, the saved and the lost. (4) The position of any individual man in one or other of these two classes must be traced back in the last resort to the original purpose of God with regard to him.

It seems impossible to take exception to either of the first two of these premisses. It is part of the idea of God, that He must be able to effect what He purposes. To speak in human language, there may be enormous difficulties to overcome in the tasks to which He sets Himself. We have therefore no right to assume that at any moment before the end all things are as He would have them to be. But the end must be a perfect embodiment of His original design.

Again, if the third of these premisses is sound, the fourth seems to follow from it by an inevitable deduction. Everything, therefore, depends on the validity of the third premiss. Is it, or is it not, a true and complete statement of the end towards which 'the whole creation moves'? Now, there can be no doubt that it expresses accurately one side of the scriptural teaching on the subject. It is, however, very far from expressing the whole. On this point, as is well known,* the evidence of Holy Scripture seems divided against itself. It speaks of eternal punishment (Mt 25^{46}). It speaks also of the divine will that all men should be saved (1 Ti 2^4). It speaks of those who shall be cast into the outer darkness on their Lord's return (Mt 24^{51} etc.). It speaks also of an end, when God shall be all in all (1 Co 15^{28}). It seems clear that to our apprehension these two sets of statements must be mutually exclusive, unless we may regard the judgment as being not the end, but only a means towards the end. If we reject this solution of the difficulty, we must remain content with an unreconciled antinomy. But, in any case, it is important to remember which

* Westcott, *Historic Faith*, p. 50 ff.

side of the antinomy was dominant in St. Paul's mind in the chapters (Ro 9–11) which contain his most explicit teaching on the subject of election.

These chapters are devoted to a consideration of the problems raised by the failure of Israel to accept the offer of salvation made to them in the gospel. The first line of solution is suggested by the thought, to which attention has already been called, of an election within the chosen people (Ro 9^6 11^7). Such an election has parallels in the history of the patriarchal family (9^{8-13}). It is in accordance with express utterances of prophecy (9^{27}). It is therefore no evidence of a final defeat of the divine plan that Israel, as a whole, should for a time be shut out from salvation, and only the election should attain it. St. Paul, however, expressly and indignantly refuses to accept this as a complete solution (11^{11}). It is very far from the perfect triumph, the vision of which has been opened before him. He finds in the salvation of the part a sure pledge of the ultimate deliverance of the whole. 'If the first-fruit be holy, the lump is holy too' (11^{16}). However much the nation as a whole had incurred the divine wrath by their opposition to the gospel, they were yet dear to God for their fathers' sake (11^{28}). The power of their original election was by no means exhausted. The gifts and the calling of God are without repentance (11^{29}). In the end all Israel shall be saved (11^{26}). And lest we should think that in this respect Israel stands on a different footing from the rest of the world, he adds—'God hath shut up *all men* unto disobedience, that he may have mercy upon all' (11^{32}).

In the face of these utterances no scheme of election which assumes the doctrine of everlasting punishment as one of its fundamental postulates, can claim to rest on the authority of St. Paul.

Leaving, then, on one side the attempt to consider the effect of election in its relation to the elect in the narrower sense of the term, what are we to say of its influence in the case of the wider circle? St. Paul's argument in relation to Israel ($11^{28f.}$) is sufficient to show that in his view, even in the wider sense, the fact of God's election carries with it an unalterable declaration of the divine purpose for good towards those to whom His call came. He believed also that the will of each man was in its natural state so utterly enslaved to evil that nothing but the divine power could set it free (Ro 7^{14-25}). At the same time, the action of the divine will on the human was not to overwhelm it, but to restore its power of action. He exhorts men to work out their own salvation, just because it is God who is working in them both to will and to do of His good pleasure (Ph 2^{13}). The love of Christ is indeed a constraining motive (2 Co 5^{14}). Without faith in that love as its abiding source and spring the Christian life is impossible (Gal 2^{20}, cf. 1 Jn 4^{19}).* And surrender to that love is the last act for which a man could dream of claiming any credit to himself. It is the gift of God (Eph 2^8). Yet the refusal to surrender is not due to defect of grace. It is possible to receive the grace of God in vain (2 Co 6^1).

Again, the presence of the divine grace does not supersede the necessity for constant watchfulness (cf. Mk 13^{37} etc.). Even the 'chosen vessel' (Ac 9^{18}) contemplates the possibility of becoming himself a castaway (1 Co 9^{27}). Branches have been cut out of the good olive tree before now—and what has been done once may be done again (Ro 11^{22}). While, however, his language does not leave us room to believe that he regarded himself, at least at this part of his career, as possessing any inalienable gift of 'final perseverance,' or as absolved from the necessity for strenuous effort on his own part 'to make his own calling and election sure' (2 P 1^{10}), it is clear that he had an unfaltering faith in the perseverance of God. He knows whom he has trusted (2 Ti 1^{12}), and is convinced that He is able to keep what has been entrusted to Him. He can trust God to bring to perfection any good work in a man when He has once set His hand to it (Ph 1^6). Even the human potter, whom the prophet watched at his work (Jer 18^4), when the vessel that he made of clay was marred in his hand, made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it.

If anything like this is the truth about the doctrine of election, we need no longer shrink from the contemplation of it as if it were 'a portion of eternity too great for the eye of man.' The favoured few are not chosen, while the rest of their race are left to their doom in hopeless misery. The existence of the Church, however much it may, nay must, witness to a coming judgment, has in it a promise of hope, not a message of despair for the world. As Israel of old was chosen to keep alive in the hearts of men the hope of a coming Saviour of the world, so the Church is chosen to bear abroad into all the world the gospel of a universal redemption, forbidden to leave out one single soul from the vast circle of her intercessions and her giving of thanks, because she is called to live in the light of a revelation which bids her believe and act in the belief that God will have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth (1 Ti 2^{1-4}). We can enter with full hearts into the spirit of the marvellous doxology with which St. Paul concludes his study of the subject, and cry with him in exultant adoration, 'Oh, the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out. . . . For of him and through him and to him are all things; to whom be glory for ever.'

* Cf. Council of Orange, A.D. 529, Canon xxv, *Donum Dei est diligere Deum. Ipse ut dilligeretur dedit qui non dilectus diligit.*

LITERATURE.—The history of the various controversies connected with Election is given in outline in various treatises on the history of Christian Doctrine as a whole, *e.g.* Hagenbach, Shedd, and G. P. Fisher. The Pelagian controversy is treated at length, in Latin, by G. T. Vossius, 1618; and, in German, by Wiggers, 1821, 1833; Part I. tr. by R. Emerson, Andover, U.S., 1840. *The Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine* have been edited for the Oxford University Press by W. Bright, D.D. (1880), and for D. Nutt by Woods and Johnston (1888): cf. J. B. Mozley on *The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination* (3rd ed. 1883); Cassian's *Conferences*, tr. by E. C. Gibson in Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 1894. A full collection of documents connected with the Gottschalk controversy in 9th cent. in Mauguin, Paris, 1650, 2 vols. 4to; cf. Archbp. Ussher, *Works*, vol. iii. The Scholastic Theories are discussed in chs. ix. and x. of J. B. Mozley. Special treatises by St. Anselm, *De conc. Præsc. et Præd.* etc. (1100), and Thomas of Bradwardine, *De causa Dei c. Pelag.* etc. 1325. For Reformation and Post-Reformation controversies see esp. the various collections of Confessions and Doctrinal Standards, esp. Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*; Niemeyer, *Coll. conf. eccl. reform.* in Latin; cf. Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*, 1521; Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, with Erasmus' reply, 1525; Calvin, *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*, 1536; Arminius, *Disputationes*, xxiv., 1609. For the Jansenist controversy see Molina, *Conc. lib. arb.* etc. 1588, and Jansenius, 'Augustinus,' 1640. The most important treatise of 18th cent. is J. Edwards on *Free Will*. In 19th cent. note esp. Whately, *Essays on some difficulties in the writings of St. Paul*, 1828; G. S. Faber, *The Primitive Doctrine of Election*, 1835; T. Erskine, *The Doctrine of Election*, 1837; T. Chalmers, *Five Lect. on Predestination*, 1837; W. Channing, *The Moral Argument against Calvinism*; Müller, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, 1839; M'Cosh, *The Method of the Divine Government*, 1850; Copinger, *A Treatise on Predestination, Election, and Grace*, 1889, including a full bibliography, pp. ccxvi. The relevant sections in Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics* and Cunningham's *Historical Theology* repay careful study; cf. also Sanday-Headlam on *Romans* ix.–xi.

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ELECT LADY.—See JOHN (EPISTLES).

EL-ELOHE-ISRAEL (אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).—Upon the 'parcel of ground' which he had bought from the Bĕnê-Hamor, Jacob erected a *mazzēbâh* (so Well.,

Kautzsch-Socin, Ball, Dillm., etc.), and built an altar, giving to the latter the name *El-elohe-Israel*, 'El, the god of Israel,' Gn 33^{20} (E). This appears a strange name for an *altar*, hence Delitzsch (*ad loc.*) supposes it to be meant, as it were, of its inscription. The LXX reads ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν θέον Ἰσραήλ, 'he called upon the God of Israel'; and it is just possible that this is correct, and that we should emend the MT וַיִּקְרָא לוֹ אֵל to וַיִּקְרָא לְאֵל. See GOD.

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EL ELYON (אֵל עֶלְיוֹן) occurs in RVm of Gn $14^{18.\ 19.\ 20.\ 22}$ where RV (text) has 'God most High,' and AV 'the most high God.' It is probably a proper name, the appellation of a Canaanite deity. In v.[22] 'I have lift up mine hand unto J", God most High,' there can be little doubt that the introduction of the word 'J"' and the identification of the latter with El Elyon are due to a redactor (so Ball, Kautzsch-Socin, Hommel, etc.). The word J" is wanting in the LXX (*θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον*), and the collocation of names reminds one of 'Jahweh-Elohim' of Gn 2^{4}–3. See further under GOD.

It has been proposed by Sayce to identify El Elyon with the 'mighty king' referred to in the letters of Ebed-tob (or, as Hommel writes the name, Abdi-khiba) to the Pharaoh Amenôphis (*c.* B.C. 1400). This 'mighty king' is indeed generally supposed to be the king of Egypt; but Hommel, while agreeing with Driver, against Sayce, that an *earthly* potentate is meant, argues, from the use of the term in the letter of Rib-Adda of Gebal, that it cannot be intended to designate the Pharaoh, but was more probably the king of the Hittites. He suggests, further, that the title 'mighty king' had *originally* a religious significance. He remarks that the thrice-repeated asseveration of Abdi-khiba, that he owed his exalted position not to his father or his mother, but to the 'arm of the mighty king,' sounds like the echo of some ancient sacred formula. 'To the Pharaoh, of course, the "mighty king" meant nothing more than his rival the king of the Hittites; but in Jerusalem the original significance of the words "not my father and not my mother, but the arm of the mighty king" (*i.e.* of El Elyon), must still have been perfectly familiar.' It is well, however, to remember that this is pure conjecture. There is no reason why a title like the 'mighty king' should not have been applied to more monarchs than one. In the letters of Abdi-khiba it may refer to the Hittite king, as elsewhere it may designate the king of Egypt or the king of Babylon, but that it has ever anything to do with El Elyon remains to be proved.

LITERATURE.—Dillm. and Del. on Gn 14; Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, i. 179 f.; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Tradition* (1897), 151 ff., 156 ff., 226; a series of papers in the *Expository Times*, vols. vii.–viii. (1896–97), on 'Melchizedek,' by Sayce, Driver, and Hommel.

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ELEMENT.—A word, with its original *στοιχεῖον* (always in pl.) and its derivative *στοιχείωσις*, entirely confined in sacred literature to the Apocr. and NT. AV renders the Greek variously: six times as 'elements' (Wis 7^{17} 19^{18}, Gal $4^{3.\ 9}$, 2 P $3^{10.\ 12}$), twice as 'rudiments' (Col $2^{8.\ 20}$), once as 'principles' (He 5^{12}), once (*στοιχείωσις*) as 'members' (2 Mac 7^{22}). RV gives 'elements' in Wis, 2 Mac, and 2 P; elsewhere (St. Paul and He) 'rudiments.' In the untranslated (LXX) Apocr. it occurs once, 4 Mac 12^{13}, plainly meaning *elements*. In Wis, as in 2 P, it means unmistakably the physical elements of which the cosmos is composed; in 2 and 4 Mac those of which the human body is composed; in Hebrews its defining genitives show that it stands with them for the elements of Christian knowledge. All these significations march with the usage of the word in secular Greek and follow from its original signification—that which stands in a *στοῖχος*, 'row,' 'series'; then (1) in pl. the letters of the alphabet, not as written signs, but as the primary elements of words (Plat., Aristot.); (2) the primary elements of the universe (from Plat. downwards); (3) as suggested by the usage in Xenoph. (*Mem.* II. i. 1) and Aristot. (see Bonitz, *Index Arist.* p. 702),—where it occurs as the simplest elements of an argument or demonstration,—but definitely only in later Greek from Cornutus (1st cent. A.D.), Plut., Diog. L., downwards, the primary elements, the first principles, of knowledge, almost always with a defining genitive or a guide from the context determining what the knowledge is.

The passages in St. Paul alone remain, Gal $4^{3.\ 9}$, Col $2^{8.\ 20}$. In each of these there is the defining genitive *τοῦ κόσμου*, except in Gal 4^{9}, where, however, the *τοῦ κόσμου* of v.[3] clearly fixes the context. The first natural impression, therefore, is that the *στοιχεῖα* in all these places should be interpreted in the same way; and the second is that, as *τοῦ κόσμου* is not a branch of instruction, like *λογίων* in He, or *ἀρετῆς* in Plut. (*De puer. educ.* 16), the basis of the interpretation should be physical, as with the other instances in biblical literature (cf. for the influence of Wis upon St. Paul, Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 51), rather than ethical; 'elements of the material world' (cf. Philo, *De Vita Contempl.* ii. 472), rather than 'elements [of religious knowledge] furnished by the material world' (Lightfoot), or 'elements [of religious knowledge] characteristic of the non-Christian world,' *i.e.* elements of religious truth belonging to mankind in general (Meyer). The 'religious knowledge' and 'religious truth,' with their alleged relation to *τοῦ κόσμου*, seem to be imported to help interpreters out of a difficulty.

The impression in favour of the physical interpretation (the interpretation of the word in Clem. *Hom.* x. 9) is confirmed by the context of the passages. In Col 2^{8} what is referred to is not an elementary knowledge from which a moral and spiritual advance could be made, not a circumcision and a ceremonial law with which the heathen cultus would in its ritual have something in common, but a 'philosophy' and a 'deceit,' a delusive speculation offered as superior to the ordinary belief in Christ, and spoken of later (v.[18]) as characterized by a false humility and a worship of angels. In Gal $4^{3.\ 9}$ the 'elements of the world,' 'the weak and beggarly elements,' to whose service Jew and heathen Christians were set on returning, are put parallel to 'them that by nature are not gods,' and such service is exemplified in the keeping of days and months and seasons and years. This context at once suggests the worship of the heavenly bodies, which were called especially *στοιχεῖα* as elements of the universe (Just. Mart. *Dial.* 23; Polycrates in Euseb. *HE* iii. 31; Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* i. *in hær. Pharisæorum*, 2), and whose movements regulated the calendar (Just. Mart. *Apol.* ii. 5; *Letter to Diognetus*, 4); the Colossian worship of angels finding its explanation in the fact that the heavenly bodies were supposed by Jew and heathen to be animated heavenly beings; cf. Philo, *Mundi op.* i. 34; *Enoch* 41. 43; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 5; Orig. on *Jn* 4^{22}; and, within the Scriptures themselves, Job 38^{7} (*morning stars=sons of God*), 1 Co 15^{40} (*bodies* clothing spirits), Ja 1^{17} (*Father of the lights*). Cf. also Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* 52 f., and Meyer-Haupt on Col 2^{8}.

But a philosophy of astral spirits (which reminds us of modern theosophical speculation) is not quite homogeneous, after all, with the reference to food and drink in Col 2^{16}, though, no doubt, food and

drink were 'features of the world's life,' which, for its times and seasons, was under the governance of the heavenly στοιχεῖα. And, further, κόσμος, as predominantly used in biblical Greek, seems to lead us away from rather than towards οὐρανός, and must, at any rate, emphatically include the world inhabited by men. Hence, apparently, we must seek a consistent interpretation for the Pauline passages in a meaning of στοιχεῖα clearly sanctioned by usage at a later date, and also in harmony with ideas prevalent in St. Paul's day. It may be called an extension of the meaning we have just been considering, for it maintained that not only the heavenly bodies, but *all things*, in the heavens and in the earth alike, had their angels, and were under the governance of spirits. This view reveals itself not only in the later Jewish literature, but also in OT and NT.

In the former region we find, for example, in the *Book of Jubilees*, a Jewish composition belonging to the century immediately preceding the Christian era (see Charles, *Eth. Version of the Heb. Book of Jubilees*, Oxford, 1895), the following passage (c. 2): 'On the first day created he the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits that serve before him, and the angels of the face (or presence), and the angels that cry "holy," and the angels of the spirit of fire, and the angels of the spirit of wind, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds of darkness and of hail and of hoarfrost, and the angels of the depths and of thunder and of lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, of winter and of spring, of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of his works in the heavens and on the earth and in all depths, and of darkness and of light, and of dawn and of evening, which he has prepared according to the discernment of his understanding.' Everling (see appended literature) quotes also *Enoch* 82[10-14] (angels of the stars, with names of leaders), 60[11ff.] (angels appointed over the various phenomena of nature); *Ascensio Isaiæ* (2nd cent. A.D., according to Harnack) 4[18] (angel of the sun, etc.), 2 Es (81–96 A.D., acc. to Schürer) 8[21f.] (army of angels . . . in wind and fire), and *Sibyll. Orac.* (2nd cent.) 7[33-35] (angels of fire, rivers, cities, winds).

The same view is found in the region of OT and NT. In Ps 104[4] (according to the LXX, as quoted also in He 1[7]) angels take the shape of winds and fire; in Rev 7[2] there are the four angels of the four winds, in 14[18] there is an angel of the fire, in 16[5] an angel of the waters (cf. the angel of the pool of Bethesda in the spurious passage Jn 5[4]). In Dn 10[13. 20] we have angels as princes of Persia and Greece, and in 12[1] Michael as the great prince 'standing' for Israel, just as he stands for the Church as a whole (Rev 12[7]), and as each of the seven Churches has its angel (Rev 2. 3), and perhaps also each individual human being (Mt 18[10]). Everything that happens is wrought by angels: 'there are no secondary causes.' Angel powers are the invisible background of human life and of nature. Such angels are sometimes called 'gods,' as in Ps 82[1. 6], being 'sons of the Most High' (the Peshitta actually gives *angels* in both clauses of the first verse), and God Himself is the 'God of gods' and 'Lord of lords' Dt 10[17], Ps 136[2. 3]; cf. *Apoc. of Zephaniah*. 'In the fifth heaven . . . angels called lords,' quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. xi. 77. Hence St. Paul's expression 1 Co 8[5] 'are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth, just as there are gods many and lords many,' yet (Gal 4[8]) 'by nature not gods' like the 'one God' and the 'one Lord' (1 Co 8[6]). Thus there was common ground for heathen nature-worship and for Jewish legalism, for the law had been 'administered by angels' Gal 3[19], He 2[2], Ac 7[38. 53] (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XV. v. 3; II. i. 3), and was thus on a level lower than the new dispensation; He 2[5] 'For not to *angels* did he subject the world to come, whereof we speak.' Angels were the media of God's government; and, having 'a certain independence in the discharge of their functions, could stand (to use Ritschl's phrase) in "relative opposition to God," so that, in some cases, their service was an imperfect representation of God, in other cases an actual misrepresentation of Him, and consequently a veiling rather than an unveiling of Him. In this light we can more easily understand how St. Paul can attribute to angels the imperfect and transitory dispensation of the law; and the perplexing passage Col 2[15], where Christ is said to have "stripped off from himself the principalities and the powers, and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in [his cross],"—or, as it may be otherwise worded, "exhibited them in their real nature, leading them in his triumphal train,"—may possibly find its elucidation in the idea that these ἀρχαὶ and ἐξουσίαι (cf. ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων Rev 11[6]) had hidden His personal activity, and even attracted worship to themselves.' * This relative opposition may become absolute, the relative independence may become absolute insubordination, as in the case of the Prince of Persia (Dn 10[13]), and Satan and his angels (2 P 2[4], Jude [6]), yet never in the dualistic sense. Accordingly, Christ can speak of 'the prince of this world' (Jn 12[31]), and St. Paul of the 'god of this age' (2 Co 4[4]): both can attribute evils and hindrances to Satan (Lk 13[16], Mk 8[33], 2 Co 12[7], 1 Th 2[18]), and St. Paul can see the δαιμόνια in the dark background of idolatry (1 Co 10[20f.]). Over all these powers Christ is to triumph (1 Co 15[24]), either by crushing insubordination and destroying the insubordinate (Rev 19[20f.]), or by displaying His real headship, which by the 'tradition of men' has been concealed (Ph 2[10], Eph 1[20f.], Col 2[15. 19]), and delivering the 'heirs' from the tutelage of the ἐπίτροποι, the 'governors,' the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, under whom they had been enslaved (Gal 4[1-4]) (cf. Everling, *Angelologie*, 74 n., for Michael as called ἐπίτροπος of Israel in later Jewish literature, the word being transliterated into Hebrew).

The suggestion by St. Paul in his τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσι θεοῖς (Gal 4[8]), that by his στοιχεῖα he means angelic powers, is not illustrated by any actual use of the word in this sense in the extant literature of the 1st cent.; but Everling (p. 70) quotes the following passage from the *Testament of Solomon* (date uncertain, probably not very early; Harnack, *Gesch. Alt. Christ. Lit.* i. 2, 858), where the spirits that appear to Solomon say, 'We are the so-called στοιχεῖα, the world rulers of this world.'

For the 'Stoicheiolatry' of the modern Greeks and their belief that there is a στοιχεῖον everywhere to be propitiated, see Kean in *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) 514.

LITERATURE.—Klöpper, *Brief an die Kol.* 1882; Spitta, *Zweite Brief des Petrus*, 1885; Meyer-Haupt, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, 1897; Everling, *Die Paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, 1888; Hincks, *Journal of Bib. Lit.*, Boston, 1896, pp. 183–192; and Kean, as above quoted. J. MASSIE.

ELEPH (הָאֶלְף), Jos 18[28] only.—A town of Benjamin, probably the present village *Lifta* W. of Jerus., which has often been wrongly identified with Nephtoah. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

C. R. CONDER.

ELEPHANT ('Ελέφας, *elephas*).—This animal is mentioned in 1 and 2 Mac as employed in war. It is not found in AV of OT, except in the marg. for *behemoth* (Job 40[15]), and *elephants' teeth* for *ivory* (1 K 10[22], 2 Ch 9[21]). The word is שֵׁנְהַבִּים *shen-*

* Quoted from an article by the present writer in the *Thinker*, May 1895, on 'St. Paul's view of the Greek gods.'

ḥabbîm. The word *shēn* is the ordinary word for ivory in OT, and *ḥabbîm* seems to be the same as the modern vernacular word for *elephant* in the languages of Malabar and Ceylon. See IVORY.

G. E. POST.

ELEUTHERUS (Ἐλεύθερος), 1 Mac 11^7 12^{30}.—A river which separated Syria and Phœnicia (Strabo, xvi.), and appears to be the mod. *Nahr el-Kebîr* or 'Great River,' which divides the Lebanon in two north of Tripoli. C. R. CONDER.

ELHANAN (אֶלְחָנָן).—**1.** In 2 S 21^{19} we read: 'and Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam'; in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 20^5, by a slight change in the Heb. this becomes 'and Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, etc.' The *ductus litterarum* in each case is so similar that most moderns agree that the two passages represent but one original text. It is evident that the superfluous 'oregim' in 2 S has merely crept into the text from the following line ('oregim' = weavers); for the rest, it can hardly be disputed that 'Lahmi the brother of' (אֶת־לַחְמִי אֲחִי, 1 Ch) is a corruption or harmonistic correction of 'the Bethlehemite' (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי אֵת, 2 S), whilst 'Jaare' (יַעֲרֵי, 2 S) is merely a transposition of the letters of 'Jair' (יָעִיר, 1 Ch). It is impossible that any one who had a similar text to that of 1 Ch before him, and who knew the story of 1 S 17, should have altered it into direct contradiction with the earlier narrative, whilst the correction of 2 S by the Chronicler is clearly due to harmonistic motives. It is admitted by most modern critics that the story of David and Goliath in 1 S 17^1–18^5 embodies a later tradition as to the introduction of David to Saul (as opposed to the earlier account, 16^{14-23}), in which the exploit of the warrior Elhanan was transferred to his royal master. The reading of 1 Ch, then, is merely an attempt to harmonize the two independent narratives. **2.** Son of Dodo the Bethlehemite, one of David's 'Thirty' (2 S 23^{24}=1 Ch 11^{26}). See DODO (2). J. F. STENNING.

ELI (עֵלִי) belonged to the house of Ithamar, the fourth son of Aaron, and was apparently the first high priest of that line; cf. 1 Ch 24^3, where Ahimelech the son of Abiathar (2 S 8^{17}), who escaped from the massacre at Nob (1 S 22^{20}), is expressly stated to be one 'of the sons of Ithamar.' It is owing to this fact that neither E. nor his immediate successors in the high priestly office, up to and including Abiathar, are mentioned in the genealogy of the high priests from Aaron and Eleazar down to the destruction of the temple (1 Ch 6^{3-15}). The last high priest mentioned before E., Phinehas, belonged to the house of Eleazar (Jg 20^{28}); but no account is given of how or when this change in the priestly succession took place, though it would seem to have had the divine sanction (1 S 2^{28}). The high priesthood returned to the descendants of the house of Eleazar in the reign of Solomon, when Abiathar was deprived of his office and banished from Jerus. because of his participation in the revolt of Adonijah; his place was filled by Zadok, of the house of Eleazar (1 K $2^{26ff.}$), 'the faithful priest' of 1 S 2^{35}.

In the person of E. were united for the first time in the history of Israel the two offices of high priest and judge. He is stated to have judged Israel 40 years (1 S 4^{18} LXX ἐἴκοσι ἔτη); but this chronological notice, as also the statement of his age (4^{15}), is prob. due to a later deuteronomic redactor. We learn little of the life and character of E. from 1 S, the first eight chapters of which are mainly concerned with the history of Samuel. We gather, however, that he was a man of kindly disposition, and, setting aside the treatment of his sons, sincere and upright in the performance of his twofold office; while his ready submission to the divine sentence pronounced against his house, proves the reality of his belief in the God of Israel. Thus while officiating, by virtue of his priestly office, at Shiloh, he first reproves Hannah, and then, on discovering his error, gives her his blessing; whilst the kindliness of his disposition shows itself in his treatment of the youthful Samuel. It was, however, the kindliness, not of a strong but of a weak character, and as such was destined to come into conflict with the stern dictates of duty. His two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, were, in the language of Scripture, 'men of Belial' (or worthlessness); they 'knew not the Lord,' and profaned their sacred calling by their greed and licentiousness. Nevertheless, their father shrank from the distasteful task of punishing their conduct in the way that it deserved, and contented himself with administering a mild rebuke. Their punishment, therefore, must be left to a higher tribunal, and on two occasions was the aged priest warned of the fate that would befall his sons in consequence of their neglect of duty. At the first an anonymous prophet is sent to show him his sin in honouring his sons above God, and to announce the downfall of his house ('there shall not be an old man in thy house for ever'). In token of the certainty of this impending doom, E. is given a sign, viz. the death of his two sons in one day (1 S 2^{27-36}). The text of this section is apparently in disorder, and would seem to have been expanded by a later deuteronomic author. On the second occasion, the Lord Himself appears to the child Samuel and confirms the sentence which had previously been announced. His faith unshaken, E. submits without a murmur to the divine decree (1 S $3^{18ff.}$). The end is not far off; the Philistines once more swarm across the Shephelah, and at the first attack defeat the Israelites. In vain is the ark of the covenant brought from Shiloh by Hophni and Phinehas. The Philistines renew the battle, and inflict a further crushing defeat on the Israelites; the ark is captured, and Eli's two sons are slain. Overcome by the terrible news, the aged E. fell from his seat by the gate of the city; 'his neck brake, and he died' (1 S 4^{18}). J. F. STENNING.

ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI and **ELOI, ELOI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.**—Slightly different forms of the exclamation uttered by Jesus, according to the evangelists Matt. (27^{46}) and Mark (15^{34}) respectively, shortly before his death. Both evangelists follow it with the translation, in slightly varying terms: 'My God, my God (in Gospel of St. Peter ἡ δύναμίς μου 'my power') why hast thou forsaken me' (*or* 'why didst thou forsake me')—which shows the cry to be a reminiscence of Ps 22^1. But the Heb. of the psalm (אֵלִי אֵלִי לָמָה עֲזַבְתָּנִי, *i.e.* eli, eli, lama azabhtani) agrees with neither form of the saying as given by the evangelists. Indeed the MSS of the Gospels exhibit considerable variety of spelling in the case of nearly every word (see Tischendorf, *Nov. Test. Gr. ed. octava crit. maior, ll.cc.*). These variations start interesting inquiries, which this is not the place to follow out. Suffice it to say, that there is in the words a singular and somewhat perplexing combination of Heb. and Aramaic. Whether, for instance, the *Eloi* (Ἐλωί) represents a provincial (Galilean?) pronunciation of the Heb. *Eli* (אֵלִי), or the (poetic) sing. *Eloah* (even the reading ἐλωείμ occurs; cf. too, ἐλωεί, Jg 5^5 Sept.), or is intended for a transliteration of the Aram. *alohi* (*elahi*), has been questioned. Either form, we must suppose, could be so perverted as to serve the mocking pretence that the sufferer was invoking Elijah. For the form

lama or *lamma* (so in Mark the Geneva version of 1557, and Rheims), representing the Heb. (?), even some modern translators read *lema*, after the Aramaic. The Aram. *shebaḳtani* reappears in *σαβακτανεί* or *σαβακθανί* (so Lachmann in Matt.):—the substitution in the majority of texts of χ for κ being due, perhaps, simply to the ordinary law of Greek euphony; or, should the spelling with χ be equally ancient, it may indicate a variant pronunciation; for the Heb. ק is transliterated by χ in other words also (as ἀχελδαμάχ Tdf. Treg., ῥαχά Tdf.; see Dalman, *Gram. d. jüdisch-pal. Aramäisch*, p. 304). The curious readings *ζαφθανεί* and *ζαβαφθανεί* (see Tischendorf, *u.s.*) show the influence of the Hebrew. This mixture of tongues points, perhaps, to independent traditions; see the ed. of the Vulg. by Wordsworth and White, esp. the note on Matt. *l.c.* It seems, however, to afford but equivocal support to the theory that an Aram. version was current in our Lord's day, as the ecclesiastical or popular Bible [cf. Gesenius, *Gesch. d. Hebr. Sprache u. Schrift.*, Leip. 1815, p. 73; De Wette, *Einl. ins A.T.* § 57 (ed. Schrader, 1869, § 68); E. Böhl, *Forsch. nach ein. Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu*, Wien, 1873]. J. H. THAYER.

ELIAB (אֱלִיאָב 'God is father,' A Ἐλιάβ, except in 1 Ch 15^{18}, B $\aleph^1$ Ἐλιαβά, $\aleph^*$ Ἐλιβά, 2 Ch 11^{18} B Ἐλιάν, Jth 8^1 B Ἐλειάβ, $\aleph$ Ἐνδβ).—**1.** According to P, son of Helon, and prince of Zebulun, who represented his tribe at the census and on certain other occasions, Nu 1^9 2^7 $7^{24.\ 29}$ 10^{16} (P). **2.** A Reubenite, father of Dathan and Abiram, Nu $16^{1b.\ 12}$ (JE), Dt 11^6. P gives, as further details, Eliab's father's name, Pallu, and the name of another son, Nemuel (Nu $26^{8f.}$). The father's name, Pallu, probably stood in the original text of Nu 16^{1b}. See Dillmann, *ad loc.*, and art. KORAH. **3.** Eldest son of Jesse, and brother of David. His appearance led Samuel to suppose that he must be the chosen of J" to succeed Saul. With his two brothers, Abinadab and Shammah, he joined Saul's army at the time that Goliath was insulting Israel; during this time David visited his brother in the camp, and was addressed by E. in insulting terms. E. had a daughter named Abihail (see art.), 1 S $16^{6f.}$ 17^{13-28}, 1 Ch 2^{13}, 2 Ch 11^{18}: on 1 Ch 27^{18} see ELIHU. **4.** According to the reading of 1 Ch 6^{27} (Heb. ^{12}) the name of an ancestor of Samuel—an Ephraimite. Variants are Eliel, 1 Ch 6^{34} (Heb. ^{19}), and Elihu, 1 S 1^1. See ELIHU. **5.** One of the Gadite warriors who joined David during his wanderings, 1 Ch 12^9. These warriors and their doings are described in 1 Ch $12^{8.\ 14f.}$. **6.** A Levite who, according to the Chronicler, was a musician appointed in the time of David to play the psaltery (נֵבֶל), in the first instance in connexion with the bringing up of the ark to Jerus., 1 Ch $15^{20ff.}$. Perhaps the name was that of a (post-exilic) family of singers. Cf. references in AMMIEL (No. 3). **7.** According to the genealogy in Jth 8^1, a remote ancestor of Judith, and consequently a Simeonite, cf. 9^2; and with 'Salamiel, the son of Salasadai' (8^1), cf. Nu 1^6 (Heb. and LXX). G. B. GRAY.

ELIADA (אֶלְיָדָע 'whom God takes notice of,' *or* 'cares for'; *lit.* 'knows.' For this *nuance* of the verb, cf. Gn 18^{19}, Ex 2^{25}, Ps 1^6 RV).—**1.** Ἐπιδαέ, repeated as Βααλειμάθ B, Ἐλιδαέ A, Βααλιλάθ Luc. A son of David (2 S 5^{16}), called בְּעַלְיָדָע Beeliada (which see) in 1 Ch 14^7. **2.** (Ἐλιαδαέ A, om. B Luc.) Father of Rezon, a Syrian, captain of a marauding band which resisted Solomon's authority (1 K 11^{23}). **3.** (Ἐλειδά B, Ἐλιαδά A Luc.) A warrior of Benjamin (2 Ch 17^{17}). C. F. BURNEY.

ELIADAS (Ἐλιαδάς), 1 Es 9^{28}.—In Ezr 10^{27} ELIOENAI.

ELIAHBA (אֶלְיַחְבָּא 'God hideth'), one of David's 'Thirty,' 2 S 23^{32}, 1 Ch 11^{33}; הַשַּׁעַלְבֹנִי 'the Shaalbonite' of the Heb. text, should be more correctly pointed הַשַּׁעַלַבִּנִי 'the Shaalabbinnite' (cf. Jos 19^{42}). J. F. STENNING.

ELIAKIM (אֶלְיָקִים 'whom God sets up'; cf. Sabæan יקמאל, הקמאל; Ἐλιακείμ (Ἐλιακίμ A Q^a in Is 22^{20})).—**1.** Son of Hilkiah, and prefect of the palace in succession to Shebna during the latter or middle portion of Hezekiah's reign (Is $22^{20ff.}$, 2 K $18^{18ff.}$ = Is $36^{3ff.}$). This prefecture, described as עַל־הַבַּיִת 'over the household,' seems to have embraced the discharge of all the domestic affairs of the king, and was a position of the highest rank, being held by Jotham the heir to the throne, after his father king Azariah had been smitten with leprosy (2 K 15^5). First mention of the office occurs during Solomon's reign (1 K 4^6), and it existed, apparently with similar powers and dignity, in the kingdom of Israel as in Judah (1 K 16^8 18^3, 2 K 10^5). Delitzsch and others compare the Merovingian office of *major domus* (*maire du palais*). The prefect appears to have also been known as סֹכֵן *ṣōkēn*, rendered by RV 'treasurer,' m 'steward.' This title is connected by Cheyne (*Is.* ii. 153) with the Assyr. *šaknu* 'a high officer,' from *šakin* 'to set up, place'; but the fact that the fem. סֹכֶנֶת *ṣōkēneth* is used of Abishag in 1 K 1^2 seems rather to connect the word with the verb הָסְכִּין *hiṣkīn*, 'deal familiarly with,' from which was derived the general meaning of *caretaker* or *attendant* (see the writer's note on 1 K 1^2). The title occurs in a Phœn. inscription from Lebanon belonging probably to the 8th cent. B.C.: 'Sōkēn of the New City, servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians' (*CIS* I. i. 5).

E. appears to have been a disciple or political ally of the prophet Isaiah, who predicts in glowing terms his succession to the office of prefect in place of his unworthy predecessor (Is $22^{20ff.}$). At his institution he is to be invested with long tunic and girdle, the insignia proper to his office, and is to receive as prime minister the title of 'Father' of the kingdom (v.^{21}, cf. Gn 45^8, 1 Mac 11^{32}). In figure, if not literally, as part of the ceremony of institution, the key of the house of David is said to be laid on his back, *i.e.* he is to act with full powers as the king's vizier or representative (v.^{22}, quoted as a Messianic type Rev 3^7; cf. Mt 16^{19}). At Sennacherib's invasion of Judæa, B.C. 701, Isaiah's prediction has come to fulfilment, and E. appears as prefect, while Shebna holds merely the lower office of scribe.

The last two vv. of the prophecy (Is $22^{24.\ 25}$) are involved in considerable obscurity.

(*a*) Most obviously 'the nail that was fastened in a sure place,' v.^{25}, must refer, as in v.^{23}, to E., whose fall will result from the abuse of his high position by the undue exercise of nepotism (v.^{24}, the vessels large and small denote the various members of his family of greater or less importance. כָּל כָּבוֹד, RV 'all the glory,' is rendered by Delitzsch '*the whole heavy lot*'). Such a prediction, however, is scarcely consistent with the enthusiasm of vv.$^{20-23}$, supposing the whole prophecy to have been written down by Isaiah at one sitting, either prior to E.'s elevation (Orelli), or 'after the fate of both dignitaries, revealed to him at two different times, had found its fulfilment' (Delitzsch). If, therefore, vv.$^{24.\ 25}$ refer to E., we must conclude (Hitzig, Cheyne) that they were penned subsequently to the former part of the prophecy, whether by Isaiah himself, or by some other hand.

(*b*) Gesenius, Ewald, Driver, Dillmann consider the 'nail' of v.^{25} to be different from that of v.^{23}, and to refer back to Shebna, whose fall is to take place 'in that day,' *i.e.* simultaneously with the rise of E.

2. The orig. name of Jehoiakim, king of Judah,

which see (2 K 23^{34}=2 Ch 36^{4}). **3.** A priest who took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerus. under Nehemiah (Neh 12^{41}). **4. 5.** In Mt 1^{13} and in Lk $3^{30, 31}$; ancestors of our Lord (see GENEALOGY).

C. F. BURNEY.

ELIALI (A 'Ελιαλεί, B 'Εδιαλείς), 1 Es 9^{34}.—The name either corresponds to Binnui in Ezr 10^{38} or is unrepresented there.

ELIAM (אֲלִיעָם 'God is kinsman'; 'Ελιάβ, BA in 2 S 11^{3}, and B in 2 S 23^{34}, where A has Ουελιαφ).*—**1.** Father of Bath-sheba, whose first husband was a Hittite, 1 S 11^{3} (=1 Ch 3^{5}, where Eliam is called Ammiel; see below). Eliam himself, therefore, may have been a foreigner. **2.** Son of Ahithophel the Gilonite, and one of David's heroes. It is not impossible that this Eliam is the same as the preceding, but there is no evidence that such was the case (2 S 23^{34}). The omission of the name from the parallel list in 1 Ch 11 is probably due to textual corruption. See Driver, *Samuel*, note on 2 S 23^{34}.

G. B. GRAY.

ELIAONIAS (A 'Ελιαωνίας, B 'Ελιαλωνίας), 1 Es 8^{31}.—A descendant of Phaath-moab, who returned from Babylon with Esdras. In Ezr 8^{4} ELIEHOENAI.

ELIAS.—See ELIJAH.

ELIASAPH (אֶלְיָסָף 'God has added,' 'Ελισάφ).—**1.** Son of Deuel, and prince of Gad at the first census (Nu 1^{14} 2^{14} $7^{42, 47}$ 10^{20} P). **2.** Son of Lael, and prince of the Gershonites (Nu 3^{24} P).

ELIASHIB [אֶלְיָשִׁיב 'God will (or, does) bring back (or, restore).' In LXX the most frequent forms are 'Ελεισούβ (B), 'Ελισούβ (א A), 'Ελειασείβ (א B), 'Ελιασείβ (AB)].—A popular name after the Exile; perhaps, in spite of 1 Ch 24^{12}, it was not in use in pre-exilic times. The persons of this name mentioned in OT are—**1.** The high priest who was contemporary with Nehemiah. He was son of Joiakim, grandson of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, the contemporary of Zerubbabel (Neh 12^{10}, Ezr 3^{1}), and father of Joiada (Neh 12^{10} 13^{28}). He assisted in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerus. during Nehemiah's governorship (Neh 3^{1}). He can have had no sympathy with the exclusive policy of Ezra and Nehemiah, for both he himself and members of his family allied themselves with the leading foreign opponents of Nehemiah (Neh 2^{10}). The exact nature of Eliashib's own alliance with Tobiah the Ammonite is not stated (Neh 13^{4}), but a son of his son Joiada, during the period of Nehemiah's recall to the Pers. court, married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, and was in consequence driven away by Nehemiah on his return (Neh 13^{28}). This, combined with the expulsion of Tobiah from the temple-chamber provided for him by E. (Neh $13^{4ff.}$), must have created, even if it had not existed before, an open schism between E. and Nehemiah. Cf. further below (No. 7), and Ryle's notes on the passages cited above in the Cam. Bible ed. of Ezr-Neh. **2.** A singer of the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{24}), called in 1 Es 9^{24} Eliasibus. **3.** An Isr. of the family of Zattu (Ezr 10^{27}, in 1 Es 9^{28} Eliasimus); and **4.** another of the family of Bani (Ezr 10^{36}), who had married foreign wives. **5.** A son of Elioenai and descendant of David. From the position of the name in the genealogy this E. must have lived after the Exile, and possibly as late as the middle of the 4th cent. (1 Ch 3^{24}). **6.** According to the Chronicler (1 Ch 24^{12}), E. was the name of a priestly house in the time of David. But see the references and the literature cited in AMMIEL 3. **7.** Father of Jehohanan, to whose chamber in the temple Ezra resorted (Ezr 10^{6}). But the suggestion (see, *e.g.*, Ryle on Ezr 10^{6}) that this E. is identical with No. 1 is not improbable. See art. JOHANAN.

G. B. GRAY.

* *Note on the genuineness of the name.*—The name occurs but twice in MT; in one case (2 S 11^{3}) all VSS except the Vulg., and in the other the LXX, show a different name. In spite of this a close comparison of the VSS confirms the correctness of the Massoretic tradition of the rare name Eliam, which certainly occurs in Phœn. (*CIS* 147, אלעם, on a Sardinian inscription) as against the commoner names which appear in the VSS. Ammiel (1 Ch 3^{5}) may be an actual alternative name of the same man (cf. Jehoiachin and Coniah), or may be the alteration of an offensive, because misunderstood, name (Eliam being regarded as='God of the people') into a less exceptional form (Ammiel regarded as='People of God'); see further, Gray, *Stud. in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 45.

ELIASIB (A 'Ελιάσιβος, B Νάσειβος), 1 Es 9^{1}.—A high priest in the time of Neh. Ezr 10^{6}, ELIASHIB.

ELIASIBUS (A 'Ελιάσιβος, B -σεβος, AV **Eleazurus**, perhaps from the Aldine 'Ελιάζουφος, ρ being read for φ), 1 Es 9^{24}.—One of the 'holy singers,' who put away his strange wife. In Ezr 10^{24} ELIASHIB.

ELIASIMUS (A 'Ελιάσιμος, B -ει-ει-, AV **Elisimus**), 1 Es 9^{28}.—In Ezr 10^{27} ELIASHIB.

ELIASIS ('Ελιασείς), 1 Es 9^{34}.—This name and Enasibus may be duplicate forms answering to Eliashib in Ezr 10^{36} (Speaker's *Comm.*).

ELIATHAH (אֶלְיָתָה or אֶלְיָתָ 'God hath come').—A Hemanite, whose family formed the twentieth division of the temple service (1 Ch $25^{4, 27}$).

ELIDAD (אֶלְיָדָד 'God has loved,' 'Ελδάδ).—Son of Chislon, and Benjamin's representative for dividing the land, Nu 34^{21} P (perh.=Eldad, one of the elders, Nu $11^{26f.}$ E).

ELIEHOENAI (אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי 'to J" are mine eyes').—**1.** A Korahite (1 Ch 26^{3}, AV **Elioenai**). **2.** The head of a family of exiles that returned (Ezr 8^{4}, AV **Elihoenai**), called in 1 Es 8^{31} Eliaonias.

ELIEL (אֶלִיאֵל, prob. 'El is God').—**1.** A Korahite (1 Ch 6^{34}), prob.=**Eliab** of v.^{27} and **Elihu** of 1 S 1^{1}. **2. 3. 4.** Mighty men in the service of David (1 Ch $11^{46, 47}$ 12^{11}. **5.** A chief of eastern Manasseh (1 Ch 5^{24}). **6. 7.** Two Benjamite chiefs (1 Ch $8^{20, 22}$). **8.** A Levite mentioned in connexion with the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch $15^{9, 11}$). **9.** A Levite in time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31^{13}).

ELIENAI (אֶלְיֵעֵנַי, textual error for אֶלְיוֹעֵינַי **Elioenai**).—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{20}). See GENEALOGY.

ELIEZER (אֱלִיעֶזֶר 'God is help').—See ELEAZAR. **1.** Abraham's chief servant, a Damascene (Gn 15^{2}, AV, RVm). (The construction here is difficult, but the words can hardly be rendered as a double proper name as RV, 'Dammesek Eliezer.' Whatever the exact construction, the words, unless there is a corruption in the text, must be intended to suggest that E. was in some way connected with Damascus. See Delitzsch, *New Com. on Gen.* ii. 4). This same E. is prob. the servant referred to in Gn 24. **2.** A son of Moses by Zipporah; so named to commemorate the deliverance of Moses from Pharaoh (Ex 18^{4}, 1 Ch $23^{15, 17}$). **3.** The son of Becher a Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{8}). **4.** The son of Zichri, captain of the tribe of Reuben in David's reign (1 Ch 27^{16}). **5.** The son of Dodavahu of Mareshah, who prophesied the destruction of the fleet of ships which Jehoshaphat built in co-operation with Ahaziah (2 Ch 20^{37}). **6.** An E. is

mentioned among the 'chief men' whom Ezra sent from Ahava to Casiphia to find Levites and Nethinim willing to join the expedition to Jerusalem (Ezr $8^{16f.}$). **7. 8. 9.** A priest, a Levite, and a son of Harim, who had married 'strange women,' *i.e.* wives of non-Israelitish descent, in the time of Ezra (Ezr $10^{18. 23. 31}$). **10.** One of the priests appointed to blow with the trumpets before the ark of God when David brought it from the house of Obed-edom to Jerus. (1 Ch 15^{24}). **11.** A Levite mentioned in 1 Ch 26^{25}. **12.** An E. is mentioned in the genealogy of our Lord given by St. Luke (3^{29}).

W. C. ALLEN.

ELIHOREPH (אֱלִיחֹרֶף, possibly 'God of autumn,' *or* 'of ripe age'; cf. Job 29^4 RV. 'Ελιάφ B, 'Εναρέφ A, 'Ελιάβ Luc.).—One of Solomon's scribes (1 K 4^3).

ELIHU (אֱלִיהוּא).—**1.** An ancestor of Samuel, 1 S 1^1, called in 1 Ch 6^{34} Eliel and in 1 Ch 6^{27} Eliab (wh. see). **2.** A variation in 1 Ch 27^{18} for Eliab, David's eldest son, 1 S 16^6. Kittel (in Haupt's *OT*) emends the text of Ch to אֱלִיאָב. **3.** A Manassite who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch 12^{20}. **4.** A Korahite porter, 1 Ch 26^7. **5.** See next article. **6.** ('Ηλειού) an ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^1.

ELIHU (אֱלִיהוּא, LXX 'Ελιοῦς, 'my God is He,' cf. Elijah, 'my God is J"').—Described in Job 32^2 as 'son of Barachel the Buzite, of the family of Ram'; he would therefore be descended from Nahor, brother of Abraham (Gn 22^{21}, J). E. is introduced as an interlocutor in the Book of Job, speaking after the three friends Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar have failed to convince Job by their arguments. He is described as younger than the three; he undertakes, however, to act as moderator between the disputants, and speaks at length in chs. 32–37. But the fact that E. is mentioned neither in the prologue nor in the epilogue of the book; that his arguments do not add substantially to the discussion; that the transition from ch. 38 to ch. 39 is abrupt and awkward; together with certain features of style in the speeches assigned to E.,—have led most critics to the conclusion that chs. 32–37 represent a later addition to the book. Lightfoot, Rosenmüller, Derenbourg, and others support the strange conjecture that E. is the name of the author himself (see JOB, BOOK OF).

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ELIJAH (אֵלִיָּה; אֵלִיָּהוּ in 2 K $1^{3. 8. 12}$, Mal 3^{23} [Eng. 4^5] 'J" is God'; LXX 'Ηλειού; NT 'Ηλείας, AV Elias).—**1.** The loftiest prophet of the OT, raised up by J" at a crisis in the history of Israel to save the nation from lapsing into heathenism. His public life is sketched in a few narratives wonderful for their vivid representations and graphic details. His personal history is full of human interest, and presents lessons of the highest ethical and spiritual value. His first appearance is surrounded with an element of mystery which is in keeping with his whole history. There is but a single brief reference (1 K 17^1) to his origin, and even that is not without ambiguity. The words are tr. by AV, in accordance with the MT, 'E. the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead.' If this rendering is correct, it signifies that a certain place called Tishbeh or Tishbi of Gilead, not named elsewhere, had the distinction of giving birth to the prophet. Some have sought to identify it with Thisbe of Naphtali, mentioned in To 1^2. They point out that the correct rendering of מתשבי (on the assumption that it is a common, not a proper name) is not 'of the inhabitants,' but 'of the sojourners' (so RV), which would imply that E. came from another or foreign district. But the LXX makes the disputed word a proper name, and reads 'E. the Tishbite from Thesbon of Gilead.' This reading seems to be followed by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xiii. 2). It is supported by the fact that, whenever the word is a common noun, it is written תושב. There seems therefore little reason to doubt that E. was a native of the wild but beautiful mountain district of Gilead, the highlands of Palestine, on the eastern side of the Jordan, bordering on the great desert. There he had a prophet's nurture in solitude. He always loved the wild defiles and rushing torrents of his native land. Lonely mountains and bleak deserts were congenial to his spirit. He learned to dwell familiarly on the sterner aspects of religion and morality. He had the austere, ascetic, monotheistic spirit of the desert. He learned the fear of J" which knew no other fear.

Nothing is said of his parentage, and the omission is in striking contrast to the wealth of detail with which the descent of some other prophets is stated. E. occupied from the first a unique and exalted position in the goodly fellowship. He seemed to be like Melchizedek 'without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life.' Strange traditions arose in later times among the Rabbis, as that he was Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, returned to life, or an angel in human form.

E.'s whole manner of life is meant to be a protest against a corrupt civilisation. He has some of the habits of the ancient Nazirite, and not a few of the characteristics of the modern Bedawin. His unshorn locks streaming down his shoulders and his rough mantle of camel's hair (2 K 1^8) alone make him a remarkable figure in Israel. He has the fleet foot of a true son of the desert (1 K 18^{46}), and an iron frame which enables him to endure a forty days' fast (19^8). He dwells in the clefts of the Cherith (17^3), sleeps under a desert broom (19^5), lodges in the cave of Horeb (19^9), and haunts the slopes of Carmel. If he enters a city, it is only to deliver the message of J" and be gone. His startling appearances, abrupt speeches, and sudden disappearances create around his personality a profound air of mystery. He is believed to be borne hither and thither by the Spirit of J" (1 K 18^{12}, 2 K 2^{16}). He comes down from the hills of Gilead as the champion and prophet of J" in the dark days of Israel's apostasy. He comes to bear witness to truths which ought never to have been denied in Israel. Like every true reformer, he takes his stand upon old principles. He is the personified conscience of the nation. He comes, a prophet of heroic mould, to witness by deeds rather than by words.

The spiritual danger which E. was called to avert arose out of a political alliance formed between Israel and Phœnicia, and cemented by the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel, the son and the daughter of the allied kings. A covenant between two Semitic peoples was always supposed to imply a friendship between their gods. Its natural sequel was a syncretism of faith and worship. That Ahab did not at first think of denying J" is proved by the names he gave his sons—Ahaziah (J" holds) and Jehoram (J" is high). But his religious instincts were as dull as his political instincts were keen. Brave enough in battle, and on the whole a successful ruler, he was morally weak, and came completely under the baneful influence of his strong-minded Tyrian wife, a fanatic in her own faith. It was to please her that he not only erected a temple to Baal at Samaria (1 K 16^{32}) and introduced a multitude of foreign priests (18^{19}), but allowed a religious persecution, in which many of the prophets of J" are said to have been slain ($18^{4. 13}$). The effect of these events on the religious life of Israel could not be small. The people had hitherto been ensnared only by the gods of the hostile tribes of Canaan

whom they had subdued. They were now tempted to adopt the cultus of a great allied nation, and the temptation proved too strong to be resisted. Baal-worship became the court religion, and, if its progress had not been effectually checked, would soon have become the national religion.

To prevent this disastrous consummation is E.'s life-task. His fiery zeal against the Tyrian cultus springs from moral at least as much as religious considerations. That superstition had such accompaniments as would soon sap the moral vigour of any nation. A patriot as well as a prophet, E. comes to save his country. His ruling passion is jealousy for the Lord God of hosts (1 K 19[10]). He knows the God of Israel as a moral and spiritual being, and all his demands on behalf of J″ are moral and spiritual. The details of ritual do not trammel a man of his spiritual force. He knows nothing of the Deuteronomic law which condemns local altars (1 K 18[32]). It is not recorded that he ever visits Jerusalem. But Gilgal, Bethel, Carmel, and other ancient sanctuaries of the true religion, are dear to him. Sinai is, from its associations, the holiest ground. He believes in a covenant in virtue of which J″ became the God of Israel, and Israel the people of J″. And the conviction is burned into his mind that there can be no alliance between the God of Israel and any other divinity. His jealousy for J″ is the counterpart of J″'s jealousy for Israel. It is to E. an intuitive truth that J″ can brook no rival in His kingdom, and he is amazed that any can doubt it: his spirit blazes with contempt against all 'weak-kneed' persons (1 K 18[21]) who halt between two opinions.

It is contended by some critics (Wellhausen, Stade, etc.) that E. was not a monotheist, like Amos, Hosea, and the other literary prophets: that he was like the mass of the people of his time in regarding J″ as only the God of Israel—a local god—and believing that every other nation had its own deity. It is affirmed that E. was a 'henotheist.' Now, it is sufficiently clear that the faith of many of his contemporaries is of this rudimentary order: the contest between J″ and Baal is to them a real struggle between rival deities. But E.'s lofty conception of J″ virtually excludes all other objects of worship—makes all the gods idols. It is difficult to believe that the Baal whom he treats with such irony and contempt (1 K 18[27]) has to his mind any reality. At any rate, it is but a short step from E.'s 'henotheism' to absolute monotheism.

The memoirs of E. seem to be derived from several sources. The narratives in 1 K 17–19. 21, 2 K 2, form a unity. They took shape in Northern Israel, as is indicated by the remark that Beersheba 'belongeth to Judah' (1 K 19[3]). They were probably written under the influence of the literary prophets of the Northern Kingdom, about the beginning of the 7th cent. B.C. These narratives are composed in the highest style of literary art. Their distinctly popular character is apparent, and it has been noted by W. R. Smith that they read like a transcript of a vivid oral tradition (*Prophets of Israel*, 116). Like other historical parts of the OT, they may have lived in the mouths of the people for generations, forming a powerful means of religious education, before they were committed to writing.

E. comes on the stage of history with the same startling abruptness with which he makes his first appearance before Ahab. He is sent to announce that J″ is about to avenge the apostasy of Israel by bringing a long drought on the land. This message delivered, he vanishes into solitude. He is guided by the Spirit of J″ to the brook Cherith 'that is before,' *i.e.* to the east of, 'Jordan' (1 K 17[3]), probably in his native Gilead. See CHERITH. There his life is miraculously sustained by ravens, which bring him flesh every morning and evening (vv.[4-6]). Prosaic critics have tried to eliminate the marvellous element from the story. They call attention to the fact that the word ערבים, which is so pointed in the MT as to mean 'ravens,' signifies with another set of vowel-points 'Arabs,' with another 'merchants,' or 'inhabitants of Oreb.' But, not to emphasize the fact that ravens eat flesh, which Arabs generally avoid, it is to be noted that the marvellous element is quite in keeping with other parts of E.'s story. In the oral tradition the prophet's friends were doubtless 'ravens': the narrative would not have been thought worth preserving but for the miraculous feature, which is reproduced in all the ancient versions.

When the brook Cherith dries up in the long drought, the prophet goes, under divine direction, to Zarephath, a city of heathen Tyre (17[8]), where he is hospitably received by a poor widow whom the famine has reduced to her last meal (v.[12]). The prophet finds a well-spring of kindness in the heart of a heathen country. He learns to sympathize with one of another race and a strange religion, and his stern nature is in some degree softened by contact with human suffering. He rewards the widow's charity first by miraculously increasing her small store of meal and oil, and later by restoring her child to life (vv.[14-24]). His experience begins to prepare him for a higher revelation, which he is in due time to receive.

Meanwhile the king, in his rage against the prophet of evil, sends messengers into all nations (1 K 18[10]) to search for E., but they report that their quest has been fruitless. For three years there falls no rain or dew in Israel. The famine is so severe that the king and his chamberlain, Obadiah, have to scour the country in search of provender for the royal stables (v.[5f.]). While they are engaged in this quest, E. suddenly appears before Obadiah and bids him summon his master (v.[7ff.]). The meeting of the prophet and the king is very dramatic. Ahab has never been able to stifle the conscience of an Israelite, and cannot withhold his respect from the prophet of J″. He bitterly accuses E. of being the troubler of Israel; but when the prophet flings back the charge, the king is silenced (v.[17ff.]). E. challenges, or rather commands, him to summon the prophets of Baal to a contest between J″ and Baal on Mount Carmel. The worshippers of Baal shall sacrifice to their God; E. himself will sacrifice to J″: the god who answers by fire, he shall be the God. The king consents (v.[19f.]). The narrative of the contest (1 K 18[21ff.]) is one of the grandest in the OT. Apart from its historical value, it is precious as an ideal representation of the conflict which is always being waged between true and false religion, and of combatants who are always meeting. On the appointed day the king and the 400 prophets of Baal, E. and 'all the people,' assemble on Carmel. The prophets of Baal, having built an altar and laid their sacrifice, pray to their god from morning till evening, and are excited to a frenzy by their fruitless efforts and the biting sarcasm of E. In the evening E. rebuilds the ancient altar of J″—thrown down in these times of persecution—and utters a few calm words of prayer to J″. The lightning falls and consumes not only the sacrifice, but the altar and the water poured into trenches around it. The people fall on their faces, and with loud voices acknowledge that J″ is God. Then, in an access of irrepressible zeal, they fall upon the 400 prophets who have deceived the nation, and put them all to the sword. E. prays that the drought may cease, and before nightfall there is a tempest

of rain, in the midst of which the strange prophet, seized by a sudden impulse, carried away by the emotion of triumph, rolls his mantle together and runs like an *avant-courier* in front of the royal chariot all the sixteen miles from Carmel to the gates of Jezreel (vv.[42-46]).

E. imagines that the battle for truth has been fought and won, and that his task is virtually accomplished. But his triumph is brief. When he receives a message that Jezebel has sworn to have his life (19[2]), his sanguine hope for the restoration of the true religion is changed in a moment into blank despair. He feels with a sinking heart that he has laboured for naught and in vain. God Himself has contended in vain with human folly. Nothing can be made of a king whom miracles will not convince, but who is turned round the finger of a woman. The apostate nation will remain apostate. Seeing all this (the LXX and other ancient versions, instead of 'and he saw it,' read 'and he was afraid,' 19[3]), E. flees for his life to Judæa, and, leaving his servant at Beersheba, plunges into the desert, where he is alone with J″. Weary, famished, and heavy of heart, he lies down under a desert broom [so RVm; see JUNIPER], and is willing to die. He feels that his life has been a failure. He has been worsted in the battle of life, and something tells him that he has deserved to be. He is no better than his fathers. He has now nothing more to live for. It is vain to continue the unequal struggle. All men have forsaken him. He has no friend but J″, and he prays that He would release him from his fruitless task (vv.[3. 4]).

God is very kind to his servant, first satisfying his bodily wants, and then giving him a new revelation such as his soul needs. As the prophet sleeps under the desert bush, he is awakened by the touch of an angel, who sets meat and drink before him, and on the strength of that food he goes a forty days' journey (forty being, as usual, a round number) to Horeb (vv.[5-9]). It is not difficult to understand what the prophet seeks at that mountain sanctuary. He desires to meet J″. Men have failed him: he wants to make sure of God. He goes to Horeb to stand where Moses stood. His heart cries out for the vindication of the moral law. Finding a cave, he lodges there (v.[9]). (In the Heb. it is *the* cave, either as already a place to which pilgrims resorted, or from the fame of this single visit: the traditional cave is in a secluded plain under the highest peak of Jebel Mûsa; see SINAI.) The narrative which follows (vv.[11-18]) is spiritually one of the profoundest in the OT. J″ represents to E., by a magnificent acted parable, the contrast between law and grace, judgment and mercy. As the prophet of J″, E. has been using the weapon of force. He has never conceived it possible to defeat the enemies of God by any other weapon. He has magnified God's strictness with a zeal He will not own. And he has failed. Force has left men hard and indifferent. J″ here makes experiment upon E. with his own weapon. He visits the mountain with a hurricane, with an earthquake, and with a fire. The prophet's wounded spirit is not moved by any of these. J″ is not in them. But in the calm which follows the tumult he hears a still small voice (RVm 'a sound of gentle stillness') which thrills his inmost being; he feels that God is there; self-abased, he wraps his face in his mantle and waits to receive the divine communications. He is thus taught the meaning of his failure. He is shown in a parable 'a more excellent way.' In the heart of Sinai he learns the gentleness of God. Others like himself may be won by grace, whom might and wrath have failed to move. The kingdom of God comes not so much by startling miracles, but through quiet human agencies and in the slow movements of history. E. is therefore shown that J″ has still a great work for him to do: he must shape the destinies of two great nations, and provide for the continuance of the prophetic succession. Three commands are laid upon him: to anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha to be his own successor. And he is comforted with the assurance that the work in which he has been engaged has not been a failure: J″ reserves for Himself seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal.

With faith restored E. returns to his task (vv.[19-21]). On his way to Damascus he finds Elisha at the plough, and throws his mantle over him—a symbolic action by which he claims him as his son and invests him with the prophetic office. Elisha leaves all, and ministers unto him. From this time E. is never alone: he has a companion to whom he becomes a true spiritual father (2 K 2[12]), winning his filial affection as well as profound veneration.

Here there is a break in the narrative. It is nowhere stated by what means E. sought to fulfil the other two parts of the commission which he received at Horeb. The account of the actual completion of his task by Elisha in 2 K 9. 10 is apparently by another narrator. Nor is it directly recorded what means E. afterwards used for the advancement of the true religion. But there are deeply interesting hints in the memoirs. Cheyne's singular statements (*Hallowing of Criticism*, p. 143), that E. was weak in spiritual intuition, and that the lesson of Horeb was lost upon him, do not seem to be warranted. On the contrary, there are not wanting indications that from the day on which E. heard the still small voice there was another spirit in him. He does not again attempt to suppress Ahab's idolatry by force. He leaves the apostate king alone, and waits the course of events. If he does not entirely abandon his lonely desert life, he at least becomes a familiar figure in the schools of the prophets at Gilgal, Bethel, and Jericho (2 K 2[1-4]). His personality, and probably his teaching, make a profound impression upon the young prophets. He kindles in their minds his own zeal for J″; he transfuses his spirit into them; the homage which they pay to Elisha (2 K 2[15]) is entirely due to the fact that they perceive in him the spirit of the greater prophet.

When E.'s moral indignation once more flashes out against the house of Ahab (1 K 21), it is not now for the destruction of idolatry but in the cause of justice and humanity that he appears. He has become the champion of the civil and moral rights of the people. Ahab violates the ancient laws of property, which are the charter of the people's liberties, by forcibly alienating the vineyard of Naboth. He deepens his guilt by allowing his wife to compass the innocent man's ruin by peculiarly nefarious means (1 K 21[8]). This crime is the signal for E.'s reappearance at Jezreel. On the day after Naboth's murder, the king is proceeding in state to take possession of the coveted gardens, when he is confronted by the prophet, and quails once more before his moral indignation. His enemy has found him (v.[20]). His own sin finds him out. His conscience condemns him. He stands speechless while the prophet's words of doom smite him like thunderbolts: Ahab's house shall fall; dogs shall eat the carcase of Jezebel; the king's whole posterity shall perish, and their bodies be given to the dogs of the city or the fowls of the air (so D[2] in vv.[20b-26]). In the chariot behind Ahab on that memorable day was an officer named Jehu, on whose mind the words of E. left an indelible impression (2 K 9[25]); and though the execution of the sentence was deferred in consideration of the

king's penitence, this man was the instrument chosen by J″ for the overthrow of the house of Ahab.

The episode of Naboth's vineyard produced a great change in the popular sentiment. It revealed the true character of the issues in E.'s conflict against idolatry. It showed the people, that while idolatry went hand in hand with injustice and crime, the religion of J″ was the bulwark of righteousness and liberty. At the same time, it opened their eyes to the real grandeur of the prophet in their midst, and doubtless we are to date from this event a great increase in his power as the prophet of J″.

It is impossible to determine the extent and duration of E.'s subsequent labours. There are two other narratives, one of which brings him into contact with Ahaziah, son of Ahab (B.C. *c.* 853), while the other implies that he lived on till the reign of Jehoram of Judah (*c.* 849–844). It is difficult to harmonize this chronology with that of 2 K 3, which makes it clear that E.'s career ended and Elisha's began before the death of Jehoshaphat (*c.* 874–849). It is possible, however, that Jehoram reigned for a time during the life of his father Jehoshaphat (2 K 8^{16}; the text is doubtful).

According to the narrative in 2 K 1, Ahaziah, son of Ahab, having injured himself by falling from a balcony of his palace, sends messengers to the shrine of Baal-zebub, god of Ekron, to inquire if he shall recover. On their way they are intercepted by Elijah, who indignantly asks them if there is not a God in Israel of whom they might inquire, and commands them to go back and tell the king that his injuries will certainly prove fatal. When the messengers describe to the king the person who waylaid them, he immediately recognizes in him the old enemy of his house, and in the true spirit of Jezebel, his mother, sends out a band of fifty men to capture him. They find the prophet seated 'on the top of the hill' (name not given: Carmel, say some critics, but it is not on the way to Ekron). At his word, fire comes down from heaven and consumes them all. Another band of the same number meet the same fate. A third company is sent out, but their leader takes warning, adopts a humble tone, and he and his men are spared. E. then goes in person to the king, and repeats the declaration that his doom is sealed.

This narrative differs widely in language, style, and spirit from those of the preceding group. The prophet's personal appearance has altered (1^{8}); his name has changed from אליהו to the later form אליה; and instead of being directly inspired and guided by J″ as hitherto, he receives the word of prophecy from an angel ($1^{3.\ 15}$). 'The representation of the prophet assumes gigantic proportions, but at the same time becomes rigid and lifeless: it ceases to be available as a pattern of human action' (Ewald). The narrator tells the story, without apology, for the glorification of his hero; but no narrative in the OT presents greater moral difficulties. If it is regarded as literal history, one's moral sense is shocked at the destruction of a great number of men whose only fault is obedience to the orders of their captain and their king. One cannot conceive the story to have been penned by the historian who related the parable of the still small voice at Horeb. The best comment on the story was supplied by Christ. He condemned with unmistakable plainness the vindictive spirit which His disciples, by citing the example of Elijah, sought to justify (Lk $9^{51ff.}$). Others besides the disciples have used the story as an argument for persecution. E. was the patron of the Inquisitors. Even Calvin and Beza argued from this narrative that fire was the proper instrument of punishment for heretics. But the story itself can hardly be regarded as history. It is rather one of those imaginative apologues—abundant in the schools of the scribes — which borrowed the names of ancient heroes to lend vividness and concreteness to abstract doctrines.

The other narrative (2 Ch $21^{12ff.}$) is given only by the Chronicler, and bears distinct marks of lateness. Jehoram, king of Judah, son-in-law of Ahab and Jezebel, having fallen under the spell of sensuous Baal-worship, E. is represented as sending him a letter warning him that J″ will bring a plague upon Judah, by which all the king's house will be afflicted, and to which the king himself will early fall a victim. This is the only narrative which brings E. into connexion with the kingdom of Judah, and the only one which represents him as carrying on his work by means of writing. The style and language of the letter correspond very closely with those of the Chronicler.

The narrative of E.'s translation (2 K 2^{1-18}) returns to the lofty style of the writer of 1 K 17–19. 21. Ewald, indeed, regarded it as the work of the same great narrator; more recent critics consider that from a literary point of view it is more closely connected with the history of Elisha (2 K $2^{19ff.}$). E.'s end is still more mysterious than his beginning. He alone shares with Enoch the glory of being 'translated,' so that he should not taste death (He 11^{5}). Of him alone is it recorded, as of Christ (Lk 24^{51}), that he was carried up into heaven. He is residing at the ancient sanctuary of Gilgal (now Jiljilia, between Shechem and Bethel, not the town of the same name on the Jordan), where a prophetic guild is established, when he is warned that the time of his departure is come. His invisible Guide calls him for the last time into solitude. The appointed place is beyond Jordan, not now in the ravines of his native Gilead, but southward in the wild region of Nebo, where his greatest forerunner fell asleep. As he went to Horeb for inspiration in his time of spiritual storm and stress, so he is drawn in the final crisis of his life to the mountain region in which Moses was summoned to die, away from the face of man. But he begins his last journey by visiting the prophetic guilds at Bethel and Jericho, probably for the purpose of confirming the young prophets in the faith. Wishing to spare Elisha the pain of witnessing the last fiery ordeal, he tenderly entreats him to remain at Gilgal. His faithful companion cannot brook the idea of separation: he solemnly vows that he will never leave his master. At Bethel the sons of the prophets, foreboding E.'s coming removal, ask Elisha if he knows that his master is to be taken away from him. He knows it well, but is too straitened in spirit to speak of it, and entreats them to hold their peace. From Bethel E. proceeds to Jericho, where he again endeavours to persuade his disciple to let him go on this journey alone; but Elisha repeats his vow. At Jericho some of the prophetic guild wish to question Elisha about the impending event, but he begs them to be silent. Fifty sons of the prophets ascend the heights above the city to watch the prophet as he descends with his disciple to the Jordan. They see him strike the river with his mantle; the waters part; the two men cross by the bed of the river and pass out of sight. As they approach their destination, E. asks his disciple if he has any last request to make. Elisha seeks 'a double portion' of his master's spirit—not twice E.'s inspiration, but the portion of an eldest son, who received twice as much as the younger sons (Dt 21^{17}). E. replies that it is a hard request. Spiritual gifts are the most difficult of all to transmit. Nevertheless, he assures his follower that if he prove his fitness for prophetic gifts by remain-

ing with his master to the end, and looking without fear on the dread messengers of the invisible world, his request will not be denied. They now enter the dark mountains of Moab. Somewhere here J″ Himself laid His servant Moses to rest. No man knew the exact place. 'The whole region is a sepulchre.' As they still advance and talk together, black clouds gather, a tempest descends, the air is filled with fire, and, 'behold, there appear chariots of fire and horses of fire, and E. is taken up to heaven in a whirlwind.' Elisha sees him no more. He rends his clothes, and mourns for his master as one mourns for the dead. He is bereft of the prophet who has been to him a father, and to Israel a power as great as its chariots and horsemen. But he has stood the severe test imposed upon him, and receives the reward—the spirit of E. rests upon him. Taking up the mantle which has fallen from his master, he returns from the scene of the translation to the Jordan, and puts his new power to the proof by striking the waters with the mantle and calling upon the God of Elijah. The waters divide as before, and he passes over on dry land. When the sons of the prophets at Jericho hear of what has happened, and perceive that the spirit of E. rests upon his disciple, they bow themselves to the earth and acknowledge Elisha as their new master. But the story of the translation awakens their scepticism, and they send out fifty strong men to make search for the missing prophet, Elisha trying in vain to dissuade them. For three days they prosecute the search among the mountains of Moab, expecting to find E. on some lonely peak or in some dark valley, cast away as at other times by the Spirit of J″. When they return and confess that the search has been vain, Elisha gently chides their unbelief (2 K 2^{18}).

E. is thus removed from the scene of his labours before the whole task laid upon him (1 K 19^{15}) is finished. But Elisha and others enter into his labours, sons of the prophets animated by his spirit are raised up in hundreds, his teaching spreads, his spirit penetrates the nation. Then the harvest is reaped. After two short reigns the idolatrous house of Ahab falls (2 K 9). The enemies of J″ and of E. perish. Superstition dies hard, but there is never again any question of rivalry between J″ and Baal. There is no more danger of Baal-worship becoming the national religion. It sinks into the superstition of a sect, known to later prophets as the *remnant* of Baal (Zeph 1^{4}).

The weapons by which this reformation was accomplished were mainly spiritual. It cannot be denied that some of E.'s own actions may have furnished an excuse for certain deeds of violence. It is like a Nemesis that the finishing touch has to be given to the work by a man of blood like Jehu. Yet it was not the fire and sword of Carmel, but the still small voice speaking in the schools of the prophets and the hearts of the faithful that again made Israel a people prepared for J″.

E.'s moral power lies in the simplicity of his faith. He realizes the belief in J″ intensely, and lives a heroic life in the strength of it. 'J″ before whom I stand' is his favourite formula (1 K 17^{1} 18^{15}). He stands erect and haughty before kings; but in the presence of J″ he wraps his head in his mantle, or crouches to the ground with his face between his knees (1 K 18^{42} 19^{13}). Stern and rugged by nature, a prophet moulded for heroic work in evil days, he is led through an experience which awakens in him the tenderness that is only to be found in union with strength. His personal history, especially the narrative of the breakdown and restoration of his faith, brings him into touch with human beings in all ages. He is so great that readers of his story are not unthankful for his failings. 'E. was a man of like passions with us' (Ja 5^{17}).

Critics differ widely in their estimates of the historical importance of E. Wellhausen thinks that his influence is appraised too highly in the biblical narratives. His struggle with Baal cannot have possessed the importance attributed to it from the point of view of a later time. Israel was never torn asunder by such a religious commotion as that described in 1 K 18. It was not Baal that brought about the fall of the house of Ahab, but common treason on the part of Jehu (*Proleg.* 291). Wellhausen is given to depreciating the part played by prophecy in the history of Israel. 'In the eyes of their contemporaries,' he says, 'the prophets were completely overshadowed by the kings; only to later times did they become the principal personages.' E. must hide his diminished head before Ahab. 'He effected nothing against the king, and quite failed to draw the people over to his side.' Wellhausen states no convincing reasons for this interesting view. There is probably more truth in the opinion of those who say that the history of Israel is essentially the history of prophecy. And Kuenen's estimate of E. appears much fairer: 'The consequences of the struggle with the Syrian Baal and the victory of Jahvism were most important. Had the issue of the conflict been different, the existence of J″-worship would have been at stake; the averting of this danger was an important result. From this period onward the belief in "J″ the God of Israel" is assailed no longer. The prophets of the eighth century are able to start from it as a universal conviction. For this foundation for their preaching they have to thank Elijah and his school' (*Religion of Israel*, i. 360).

No OT hero fills a larger place in Jewish tradition than Elijah. How he impressed the minds of his own people in after-ages is shown by the striking eulogium pronounced upon him by the son of Sirach (Sir $48^{1ff.}$). It became a fixed belief that E. would appear again for the deliverance and restoration of Israel. This is expressed in the very last words of the OT (Mal 4^{5-6}). Jesus teaches that this expectation was fulfilled by the appearance of John the Baptist (Mt 17^{11-12}). Jesus' cry on the cross, 'Eli, Eli,' was mistaken for a call to Elijah to come for His deliverance (Mt 27^{47}, Mk 15^{35}). No prophet is mentioned so frequently in the NT as Elijah. The priests and Levites (Jn 1^{25}) cannot understand John's right to baptize, if he is neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor that prophet (like unto Moses, Dt 18^{15}). As E. was with Moses in spirit at Sinai and Nebo, so these two prophets appear together conversing with Jesus on the Mount of the Transfiguration (Mt 17^{3}, Mk 9^{4}, Lk 9^{30}).

It only remains to be said that E. occupies a conspicuous place in the legends and rites of many peoples. Among the Jews he is the expected guest at every passover, for whom a vacant seat is reserved. Among the Greeks he is the patron saint of mountains, and many summits in Greece are now called by his name. In the Roman Catholic Church he is revered as the founder of the Order of the Barefooted Carmelites. By the Mohammedans he is often confounded with the great and mysterious El-Khudr, the Eternal Wanderer, who having drunk the water of life retains everlasting youth, and appears ever and anon to right the wrongs of men. E. is canonized both in the Greek and the Latin Church, his festival being on the 20th July.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT* 184 ff.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 281 ff., *Proleg.* 290 ff., *Hist. of Isr. and Judah*, 64 ff.; Stade, *Ges. d V. Isr.* i. 524 ff.; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2} 236 f., *Proph. of*

Isr. 76 ff., 116 ff.; Cornill, *Isr. Proph.* 12, 15, 20, 29-36, 157; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 213, 266 ff., 275, 279; Ewald, *HI* iv. 63 ff.; Graetz, *Hist. of Jews* (tr. by B. Löwy), i. 204 ff.; Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 126 ff.; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 156 f. iii. 129 ff.; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* i. 354 ff.; Renan, *Hist. of People of Isr.* (Eng. tr.) ii. 229-242; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 91 f.; Liddon, *Sermons on OT Subjects*, 185, 209; Milligan, *Elijah* ('Men of Bible'); Cheyne, *Hallowing of Criticism*; Farrar, *Books of Kings*, *ll.cit.*; Walker and Paterson in *Expos. Times*, iv. 252 ff., 321.

2. (אֵלִיָּה, AV Eliah) A Benjamite chief, 1 Ch 8^{27}. **3. 4.** A priest and a layman who had married foreign wives, Ezr $10^{21.\ 26}$. J. STRACHAN.

ELIJAH, APOCALYPSE OF.—This is the title of a lost pseudepigr. work which stands eighth in the stichometrical list of Nicephorus and tenth in an anonymous early list. In the first of these it is called Ἠλία *προφήτου*, and said to consist of 316 verses. In the other its title is Ἠλίου *ἀποκάλυψις*. The *Constitut. Apost.* vi. 16 also contain a reference to a writing bearing the name of Elijah. Origen (*Comm.* Mt 27^{9}) informs us that this work was the source of the quotation in 1 Co 2^{9} 'Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not,' etc. Similar testimony is borne by Euthalius and others, and it is probable that the statement is correct, although Jerome (*Comm.* Is 64^{3}, *Ep.* 57 *ad Pamm.*) denies it for apologetic reasons. On the other hand, there seems to be less probability in the statement of Epiphanius (*Hær.* ch. 43), that Eph 5^{14} 'Awake thou that sleepest,' etc., was quoted from the same Apoc. of Elijah. Origen makes no mention of this where he might be expected to do so, and Euthalius alleges that the words of Eph 5^{14} are derived from a lost apocryphon which bore the name of *Jeremiah*. For further information and for the patristic quotations in full, see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 1070-1086; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 129 ff. J. A. SELBIE.

ELIKA (אֶלִיקָא), the Harodite, one of David's 'Thirty' (2 S 23^{25}).—The name is omitted in B, and in the parallel passage 1 Ch 11, possibly owing to the repetition of the gentilic 'the Harodite.'
J. F. STENNING.

ELIM (אֵילִם).—One of the stations in the wanderings of the children of Israel (Ex 15^{27}, Nu 33^{9}); apparently the fourth station after the passage of the Red Sea, and the first place where the Israelites met with fresh water. It was also marked by an abundant growth of palm trees (cf. Ex 15^{27}, twelve wells and seventy palms).

If the traditional site of Mt. Sinai be correct, the likeliest place for Elim is the Wady Ghurundel, where there is a good deal of vegetation, especially stunted palms, and a number of water-holes in the sand; but some travellers have pushed the site of Elim farther on, and placed it almost a day's journey nearer to Sinai, in the Wady Tayibeh, where there are again palm trees and a scanty supply of brackish water. The Greek monks who have located Elim at *Tôr* were probably guided thereto by the luxuriant palms and a special taste for the extravagant in miracle. The biblical account takes the Israelites from Elim to a camp by the sea; and this accords very well with the experience of travellers who go to Mt. Sinai by the southern route, camping one night in the Wady Ghurundel, and the next night by the shore of the Red Sea.

It should be remembered, however, that grave doubts have been cast upon the popular identification of Mt. Sinai (see SINAI); and as these doubts turn, in part, upon the identification of Elim and of the encampment by the sea, we must be careful not to fall into a topographical reasoning in a circle, so as to identify Sinai by means of Elim, and then Elim by means of Sinai.

It has been suggested that the Elim of Ex 15, Nu 33, is only a variant form of the plural name **Eloth** which we find in 1 K 9^{26}, 2 Ch 8^{17}, a place which was certainly situated near the head of the gulf of Akabah, and whose name still survives in the Arabic *Aileh* (cf. the suggestive doublet of Hazeroth, Nu 11^{35}, and Hazerim, Dt 2^{23}). If this be so, then the camp by the sea is to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Akabah, the position of Mt. Sinai is unknown, and the earlier stages of the journey of the children of Israel are to be sought in the line of the present *Haj* route from Egypt to Mecca. See Beke, *Origines Biblicæ*, 1839; Baker Greene, *The Hebrew Migration from Egypt*, 1879; Sayce, *HCM*, 1894; and the art. EXODUS (ROUTE). J. RENDEL HARRIS.

ELIMELECH (אֱלִימֶלֶךְ 'God is king,'* so the name Malchiel).—The husband of Naomi and father of Mahlon and Chilion, Ephrathites of Beth-lehem-judah (cf. 1 S 17^{12}). He was driven by a famine into the country of Moab, where, after a residence of undefined length, he died. He is spoken of as if he were the head of a clan in the tribe of Judah (cf. Ru $2^{1.\ 3}$). This would be the Hezronites (1 Ch 2^{9}, cf. Gn 46^{12}).
H. A. REDPATH.

ELIOENAI (אֶלְיוֹעֵנַי 'to J" are mine eyes').—**1.** A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{36}). **2.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{8}). **3.** A descendant of David who lived after the Exile (1 Ch $3^{23.\ 24}$). **4.** A son of Pashhur who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{22}), called in 1 Es 9^{22} Elionas. **5.** A son of Zattu who had committed the same offence (Ezr 10^{27}), called in 1 Es 9^{28} Eliadas. **6.** A priest (Neh 12^{41}).

ELIONAS.—**1.** (A Ἐλιωνάς, B Ἐλιωναΐς), 1 Es 9^{22}.—In Ezr 10^{22}, ELIOENAI. **2.** (A Ἐλιωνάς, B -δᾶς), 1 Es 9^{32} = Ezr 10^{31} ELIEZER.

ELIPHAL (אֱלִיפָל 'God hath judged').—One of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{35}), called in 2 S 23^{34} **Eliphelet** (wh. see).

ELIPHALAT.—**1.** (A Ἐλιφάλατος, B Ἐλειφάλα, AV **Eliphalet**), 1 Es 8^{39}.—In Ezr 8^{13} ELIPHELET. **2.** (Ἐλειφαλάτ), 1 Es 9^{33} = Ezr 10^{33} ELIPHELET.

ELIPHAZ [אֱלִיפַז, possibly 'God is fine gold'; but in the absence of analogous meanings this must be considered very doubtful. LXX generally Ἐλιφάς (so A in Gn) or Ἐλειφάς (so B in Ch and Job, except 2^{11}) or Ἐλιφάζ (so A in Ch and Job, and D in Gn 36^{15})] is the name of two foreigners (Arabs) mentioned in OT. **1.** E. appears in the Edomite genealogy of Gn 36 (and hence 1 Ch $1^{35f.}$) as son of Esau by Adah (vv.$^{4.\ 10}$), and father of Amalek by his Horite concubine Timnah (vv.$^{12.\ 22}$). In v.$^{15f.}$ various other sons are mentioned, as 'the dukes that came of E. in the land of Edom,' noticeable among them being 'Duke Teman,' and another is the well-known *tribal* name Kenaz. See further, art. EDOM. **2.** See next article. G. B. GRAY.

ELIPHAZ (אֱלִיפַז, LXX Ἐλιφάς, an Idumæan name, transposed = Phasael?).—Described as the first, and apparently the oldest and most important, friend of Job. He is called 'the Temanite.' Teman was a son of Eliphaz, the eldest son of Esau (Gn $36^{10.\ 15}$); and תֵּימָן was a district of Idumæa, proverbially known for its wisdom (Jer 49^{7}). It is mentioned in close connexion with Edom in Jer 49^{20}. E. speaks at greater length than either Bildad or Zophar; his speeches are recorded in Job 4. 5. 15. and 22. He is also more moderate in tone than the others; his first speech, especially, is gravely tender towards what he holds

* Or acc. to others, 'My god is Melek' (the god-king).

to be Job's errors. Many of his utterances, taken by themselves, contain important truth; but his orthodox statements and maxims fail to cover the facts of Job's case. In his later speeches E. speaks more directly and sharply, but he never becomes violent or cruel. For an outline of his arguments, see JOB, BOOK OF. W. T. DAVISON.

ELIPHELEHU (אֱלִיפְלֵהוּ 'may God distinguish him,' AV **Elipheleh**).—A doorkeeper (1 Ch $15^{18.\ 21}$).

ELIPHELET (אֱלִיפֶלֶט 'God is deliverance').—**1.** One of David's sons (2 S 5^{16}, 1 Ch 14^{7} (AV **Eliphalet**), 1 Ch $3^{6.\ 8}$=**Elpelet** of 1 Ch 14^{5}). The double occurrence of the name in Chronicles, as if David had had two sons named E., is probably due to a scribal error. **2.** One of David's mighty men (2 S 23^{34}=**Eliphal** of 1 Ch 11^{35}). **3.** A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{39}). **4.** One of the sons of Adonikam who returned from exile (Ezr 8^{13}=**Eliphalat** of 1 Es 8^{39}). **5.** A son of Hashum who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{33}=**Eliphalat** of 1 Es 9^{33}).

ELISABETH (Ἐλισάβετ [WH Ἐλει.]; Heb. אֱלִישֶׁבַע 'God is an oath,' Ex 6^{23}).—The wife of Zacharias, and the mother of John the Baptist (Lk $1^{5ff.}$). E. herself belonged to the priestly family of Aaron, and was a kinswoman (*συγγενίς*) of the Virgin Mary, though we do not know what the actual relationship was. She is described, along with Zacharias, as 'righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.' Upon her, however, had fallen what to a Jewish woman was the heaviest of misfortunes, the reproach of barrenness. And not till she and her husband were 'well stricken in years' was the promise of a son given them. Five months later Elisabeth was visited in her home in the hill-country of Judah by her kinswoman Mary, and the degree of illumination which she had reached is proved by her addressing Mary as 'the mother of my Lord' (Lk 1^{43}). See ZACHARIAS. G. MILLIGAN.

ELISEUS.—See ELISHA.

ELISHA (אֱלִישָׁע 'God is salvation'; LXX Ἐλεισαῖε; NT Ἐλισαῖος, AV Eliseus).—The son of Shaphat, of the tribe of Issachar, the disciple and successor of the prophet Elijah. He is first mentioned in the threefold commission with which Elijah is charged by J″ at Horeb (1 K 19^{16}). Obeying the divine voice, Elijah goes to Abel-meholah ('meadow of the dance,' probably *'Ain Ḥelweh*) in the N. part of the Jordan Valley, not far from his native Gilead, where he finds E. ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen in one of the rich level fields of his father's heritage, eleven yoke being with his servants, and he last with the twelfth (19^{19}). Leaving the highway, Elijah passes over to him, and throws his mantle over his shoulders—a symbolic act of double significance: he adopts E. as his son, and invests him with the prophetic office. No word is spoken, but the symbol is understood. Elijah, probably resuming his mantle, strides on, leaving E. amazed at the sudden call, and bewildered by the necessity of making so tremendous a decision. But the young man's natural shrinking from so high a calling—a hesitation similar to that of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah—is quickly overcome by the consciousness that this is a call from God. Running after Elijah, he declares his readiness to follow him, only begging permission to return and give the kiss of farewell to his father and mother. The mention of domestic ties opens Elijah's eyes to the greatness of the sacrifice he is calling E. to make: perhaps it is too great for the youth; at any rate his choice must be voluntary and deliberate; the casting of the mantle over him was in itself nothing. There is no accent of rebuke, but tender consideration for E.'s natural feelings, in the austere prophet's testing words: 'Go back again, for what have I done unto thee?' E. however, has made his choice. He is ready to leave father and mother, and houses and lands, and marks his act of self-renunciation by a sacrifice which has sacramental significance. Unyoking the oxen from his plough, he slays them, and taking the plough, the goad and the yokes for fuel, roasts the flesh of the oxen, and invites his people to a farewell feast. Then, having kissed his parents, he follows Elijah, and ministers unto him. One graphic touch indicates his relation to the greater prophet: he is referred to as 'E. the son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah' (2 K 3^{11}). They seem to have been together some six or seven years (1 K 22^{1}, 2 K 1^{17}). How and where this time was spent is not definitely stated. There is no evidence that Elijah ever called E. to be a dweller in desert solitudes. There are rather indications that during these years they lived in familiar intercourse with the sons of the prophets (2 K 2). The narrative of Elijah's last journey shows the deep filial affection, as well as reverence, which he had awakened in his disciple. See ELIJAH. From the scene of the translation, Elisha returns bearing Elijah's mantle, and endued with a 'double portion' of his spirit. Thus began a prophetic career in N. Israel which lasted for more than half a century, during the reigns of Jehoram, Jehu, Jehoahaz, and Joash.

E. is Elijah's spiritual successor, but he presents in many respects a striking contrast to his teacher. Only metaphorically does he wear Elijah's mantle: after its first display it appears no more. He wears the common garments (בְּגָדִים 2 K 2^{12}), and carries the walking-staff of 'ordinary grave citizens,' sometimes using it for working miracles (2 K 4^{29}). With his bald head, he does not escape unfavourable comparison with the prophet of the flowing locks (2 K 2^{23}). E. is no son of the desert. Brought up at a peaceful farm in the Jordan Valley, amid the sweet charities of home (1 K 19^{20}), he always prefers human companionship. He is generally found in cities, sojourning at Jericho among the sons of the prophets, or dwelling in his own house at Samaria or at Dothan (2 K $6^{14.\ 32}$). A prophet's chamber is built for him by a lady of Shunem (4^{10}). Elijah's power was derived from communion with J″ in lonely mountains and valleys; E. is helped by the strains of music—'the hand of J″' is upon him when the minstrel plays (2 K 3^{15}).

Elijah's short career was memorable for a few grand and impressive scenes, E.'s long career is marked by innumerable deeds of mercy. Both in public and in private life his activity is incessant. He enters palaces not as an enemy, but as a friend and counsellor. Kings reverently address him as 'father' (2 K 6^{21} 13^{14}). The kings of Israel, Judah, and Moab come to seek his advice in war ($3^{11\text{-}19}$). The king of Syria consults him in sickness, and offers him costly presents ($8^{7.\ 8}$). The king of Israel comes to receive his parting counsels ($13^{14\text{-}19}$). His influence at court and in the army would immediately secure a boon for a friend from the king or the captain of the host (4^{13}). He is expert in camp-life, ambush, and scouting, and more than once is the means of saving the life of the king (6^{10}). Even more than in palaces is he welcome in the homes of the people. He is 'the holy man of God who passeth by us continually' (4^{9}). Most of his miracles are deeds of gracious and homely beneficence. Elijah began his career by predicting a famine in the land; E. begins his by healing a spring, that there might not be 'from thence any more death or barren land' (2^{21}).

Several of E.'s recorded words and deeds seem to show how much he profited by the chastening experience—and it may be by the direct teaching—of Elijah. He has learned the lesson of toleration: when Naaman inquires if it is possible to reconcile the homage due to Rimmon with loyalty to J", E. sends him away with a word of peace (5^{18}). He knows how to temper justice with mercy; he forgives his own and his country's fierce enemies when he has them entirely in his hands (6^{22}). Yet he has his master's sternness when it is needed. He refuses to speak to Jehoram king of Israel, that 'son of a murderer' (3^{13} 6^{32}). Not in vain was it prophesied at Horeb, 'him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall E. slay.' It is E. who devises the plot that leads to the overthrow of the house of Ahab (9^{1-3}). And though he weeps for his country when he foresees the evil which the ferocious Hazael will bring upon Israel, yet he does not shrink from anointing him king of Syria ($8^{12.\ 13}$).

As a prophet E. had no new truth to proclaim. But he exercised a wide and lasting influence as the head of the prophetic guilds for more than half a century. The sons of the prophets regard him with profound reverence (2^{15}), and obey him implicitly (9^{1}). E.'s single aim is to complete the reforms begun by Elijah—to re-establish the ancient truth, and repel heathen superstition. He is a statesman as well as a prophet. Among all the prophets, none intervene in the highest national affairs more boldly than E., and none so successfully. For many years he eagerly watches every turn of events. When the nation is ripe for revolution, he summons the destined man at an opportune moment, puts an end to the Tyrian domination, and extirpates the base Tyrian superstition. After the fall of the Omrite dynasty, he is the trusted friend and sagacious adviser of the house of Jehu, and the strength and inspiration of Israel in all its trials. Even to old age his zeal burns unquenchable: in the closing scene of his life the patriot is as evident as the seer; and his bequest to Israel is hope (13^{15-19}). E. has no stormy spiritual experience like his master, and does not hold such immediate converse with J", yet he too has visions. He sees Elijah borne away to heaven by chariots and horses of fire; and at Dothan, when the town is surrounded by enemies, and his servant cries out to him in fear, he bids the young man look to the mountains, and see that they are full of chariots and horses of fire round about Elisha (6^{17}).

It is impossible to arrange the events of E.'s life in chronological sequence. While the topography of the narrative is often precise, there is a singular want of definiteness as to personal names and dates. The only indication of time afforded by several of the anecdotes is the mention of the 'king of Israel'; but as no name is specified, the reader is left to conjecture which of the four kings who were the prophet's contemporaries may be referred to. It is impossible to say in whose reign the cure of Naaman, or the attempt of the Syrians to capture E., took place. In some cases occurrences are obviously grouped together, according to the connexion of their contents (2 K 2. 4). In others no principle of arrangement is apparent, and the loose connexion of the narratives becomes very awkward. For instance, the siege of Samaria by the Syrians is described immediately after it has been stated that 'the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel' ($6^{23f.}$). Gehazi appears in familiar intercourse with 'the king of Israel' after the account of his punishment with leprosy (5^{27} 8^{4}); and the visit of Joash to E. during the prophet's last illness is related just after the mention of the death of Joash ($13^{13f.}$). Most of E.'s deeds and experiences are set down before the account of Jehu's revolution; but the prophet lived 45 years after that event, and his influence in the nation was certainly greater, and his deeds of beneficence probably more numerous, after than before the overthrow of his enemies.

The narratives are for the most part a record of E.'s activity as a seer, diviner, and worker of miracles, rather than as a prophet in the usual sense of the word. The ordinary prophet is a revealer of spiritual truth, and a preacher of righteousness. If he is represented as working miracles at all, they are entirely subsidiary to his teaching functions. But the reminiscences and traditions of E. represent him chiefly as a wonder-worker. He suspends the laws of nature (6^{6}), foresees future events (8^{12}), divines the secret thoughts of men (5^{26} 6^{12}), and knows what events are happening out of sight or at a distance (6^{32}).

It will be convenient (A) to group together E.'s deeds in his more private capacity, and afterwards (B) refer to his achievements as the friend and adviser of kings.

A. (1) Recrossing the Jordan after Elijah's translation, E. either dwells or sojourns (יָשַׁב) at Jericho, lately rebuilt (1 K 16^{34}) in a 'pleasant situation' (2 K 2^{19}), the fertility of whose groves and gardens was due then, as always, to its perennial springs. At the time of E.'s visit one of these springs has noxious properties, which make it unfit for drinking, and injurious to the land (2^{19}). The citizens represent the facts to E., who, taking salt in a new vessel, casts it into the spring, and in the name of J" declares the water healed (2^{21}). (2) From Jericho E. goes to Bethel, which he had lately visited with Elijah ($2^{23ff.}$). Passing through the wooded gorge (now called the Wady Suweinit), which leads up to the town, he is met by a noisy troop of boys, who, though they were probably very respectful to the great and awful Elijah, stand in no fear of his youthful successor, and rudely greet him with shouts of 'Go up, thou bald head!' E. turns and curses them in the name of J", and two she-bears come out of the wood and rend forty-two of them in pieces. One naturally asks if this narrative is literal history. The extreme severity of the punishment is evidently out of all proportion to the offence. The deed is strikingly in contrast to E.'s conduct on other occasions (see especially 2 K 6^{20-22}). One MS of the Sept. inserts the word ἐλίθαζον ('they pelted him with stones'), the transcriber evidently feeling the moral difficulty. Some of the Rabbis say that E. was punished with sickness for the deed. The story probably had some basis in fact, but in its present form it reads like a folklore tale, of the kind familiar in all lands, intended for the admonition of rude and naughty children. (3) The widow of one of the sons of the prophets—the name and place are wanting—is in debt, and her sons are about to be taken away by her creditor and sold as slaves. She has nothing left in her house but a pot of oil, but E. causes the oil to multiply till it fills all the vessels she can borrow from her neighbours. Having sold the oil, she pays her debt, and lives with her sons on the surplus (2 K $4^{1.\ 7}$). (4) The next reminiscence (2 K 4^{8-37}) gives a charming picture of private life in Israel. As E. chances to pass the village of Shunem (now Sôlam, three miles from Jezreel, on the slopes of little Hermon), he is pressed to accept hospitality by a lady of substance. Whenever he passes that way again, he turns in to eat bread. The lady is so impressed by the character of the man of God that she persuades her husband to build a chamber on the roof of the house, to which the prophet may have free access at all times. As a recompense for her kindness, E. grants her fondest wish: a child is born to her. After some years—

the narrative goes on without break—her son dies of sunstroke. The lady rides to Carmel, and summons E., who comes and restores the boy to life. (5) E. is next found residing at Gilgal, with the sons of the prophets, during a famine (4^{38-41}). People are subsisting on any roots that can be found. One of the young prophets brings home some wild gourds (פַּקֻּעוֹת, Vulg. *colocynthidas agri*), and shreds them into the caldron. But when they begin to eat, the taste reveals the presence of poison, and they cry out, 'O man of God, there is death in the pot.' 'Bring meal,' answers the wonder-worker, and forthwith the dish is rendered harmless and wholesome. (6) Apparently during the same famine, while E. is still living at Gilgal, he is visited by a farmer from Baal-shalishah ($4^{42ff.}$), who brings him a present of first-fruits—twenty loaves of new barley and a sack full of fresh ears of corn (Lv 2^{14} 23^{14}). E. bids his servant set them before a hundred men. The servant hesitates, but the small supply is miraculously rendered sufficient for the whole company. (7) The next narrative (2 K 5) gives an account of the healing of Naaman—the only miracle of E. which is referred to in the NT (Lk 4^{27}). Naaman, commander-in-chief of the army of Syria, being afflicted with the most malignant kind of leprosy (the white variety, v.^{25}), hears of the prophet in Samaria through a Hebrew maid, kidnapped in a border foray and taken into his household. He resolves to visit the great healer. When he arrives at the prophet's door, attended by his train of horses and chariots, E. sends a servant to direct him to go and bathe seven times in the Jordan. Naaman, who has expected a deferential reception and a striking ceremonial, is enraged by the seeming want of courtesy, and even more by the nature of the prescription. But his servants calm his ruffled temper; and when he obeys the prophet's command, his flesh comes again as the flesh of a little child. He returns to thank and reward his benefactor, but E. refuses to touch any of the presents which are pressed on his acceptance. Naaman, made to feel by E.'s self-denial that the glory is due to E.'s God, resolves to become a worshipper of J″. He asks permission to take earth from Israel, that he may erect an altar to the God of Israel; his idea being the popular one, that J″ was a local deity, and could only be worshipped on his own soil. E. does not seek to correct his mistake. He even gives the proselyte permission to continue to pay outward homage to Rimmon, the god worshipped by the king of Syria ($5^{18.19}$). Naaman having departed in peace, E.'s servant Gehazi follows him, and by dint of lying obtains the treasure which E. refused. But E. divines his dishonesty, and dooms him and his house to be afflicted with the leprosy of Naaman for ever (5^{27}). (8) The sons of the prophets, who are increasing in numbers, resolve to build a larger dwelling-place by the Jordan, While they are engaged in felling trees, the head of a borrowed axe flies off and falls into the water. It would be vain to search for it in the deep and turbid river. But a cry brings the man of God to the spot. He breaks off a stick and casts it into the stream, and forthwith the iron comes to the surface, and is restored to its possessor.

B. The remaining narratives exhibit E. in his relation to kings and rulers, and recount some of his services to his country as an inspired seer and wise counsellor. (1) E. is with the confederate armies of Israel, Judah, and Edom, in a campaign against Mesha, king of Moab (2 K 3^{11-20}). His presence is not discovered till the armies are perishing for lack of water. When the three kings, in their extremity, come to him for counsel, he refuses to have anything to do with the king of Israel, bidding him go to the prophets of his father Ahab and his mother Jezebel. But out of respect for Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, he consents to give his advice. When a minstrel plays before him and the hand of J″ is upon him, he commands that deep trenches be dug, and prophesies that though they shall see no rain, yet the valley will be filled with water. His orders are obeyed, and next morning, owing to a plentiful fall of rain high among the mountains of Moab, the torrents swell, and all the country is filled with water. (2) The next narrative (2 K 6^{8-23}) presents the prophet in a very pleasing light, fearless though an host encamps against him, confident though war rises against him, and magnanimous in his treatment of his baffled enemies. Marauding bands of Syrians have made numerous incursions into the north country, but all their movements have been mysteriously checkmated. Whenever they have laid an ambush in 'such and such a place,' E. has warned the king of Israel to avoid the spot, thereby saving the king's life 'not once nor twice.' Benhadad, finding all his designs frustrated, begins to suspect treachery in his camp. When he hears the true explanation, he sends a strong force of horses and chariots to Dothan to capture Elisha. After comforting his alarmed servant with a vision of the spiritual hosts that always surround the dwellings of the just, the prophet goes down to meet the Syrians, and in answer to his prayer they are struck with blindness (סַנְוֵרִים, a word found only here and in Gn 19^{11}, probably meaning illusion, *ἀβλεψία*). Then telling them, evidently not without a relish of the ludicrous aspect of the situation, that they have lost their way and come to the wrong city, he offers to conduct them to the person whom they are seeking. He leads them into the heart of Samaria. When their eyes are opened in answer to E.'s prayer, they find themselves at the mercy of the enemy. The king would have destroyed them, but E. enjoins him to set food before them, and send them back to their master. An enemy at once so powerful and so merciful makes such an impression upon the Syrians that their marauding expeditions entirely cease. (3) The next incident ($6^{24ff.}$), though introduced without remark immediately after the last, evidently occurred at a different time. The king of Syria gathers a great army to besiege Samaria. E. encourages the men of Israel to defend their city to the last. When the besieged are reduced to famine, he still counsels no surrender, and heartens the people with the prophecy of coming deliverance. The king of Israel—who is not named—wishes to capitulate. He vents his helpless rage upon E., and vows to take his life, because the prophet will not swerve from his purpose even when the people of the city are eating the flesh of their own children. While E. is in his house giving counsel to the elders of Israel, he divines that a messenger of the king is on his way to take his life, and that the king is following close behind. When the king enters, the prophet declares that on the morrow there will be abundance of food at the gate of the city. One of the king's officers sneers at the sanguine prediction: 'Yes, no doubt, J″ will open windows in heaven! And yet can this thing be?' E. retorts that the officer will see the abundance, but shall not eat of it. During the night there is a panic in the Syrian host, the camp is deserted, and every part of the prophecy fulfilled. (4) We next find E. at Damascus. Having heard of the mortal sickness of Benhadad, he realizes that the time has come to execute the commission which Elijah received at Sinai, by anointing Hazael to be king of Syria. No sooner does E., whose fame as a prophet has now spread far beyond Israel, enter the city of Damascus, than the tidings are carried to the palace. King Ben-

hadad immediately sends Hazael, his commander-in-chief, laden with presents, to inquire of the seer if he may recover of his sickness. E.'s reply is uncertain: according to one reading, he bids Hazael return and tell the king that he shall surely recover; according to another reading (the *kĕthîbh*, and therefore probably authentic), Hazael is to reply that Benhadad shall surely die. At any rate, E. leaves Hazael in no doubt that the king is not to recover, and that his successor is none other than Hazael himself. But it is a hard task which J″ has laid upon E.—to anoint the man whom he knows as the destined scourge of Israel. E., as he looks steadfastly in the fierce captain's face and foresees the coming evil, bursts into tears. When Hazael inquires what this weeping means, E. shows him his future. The Syrian, who has no ear for the tale of Israel's sufferings, and thinks only of the promise of personal distinction, replies ironically that the task is too great for a dog like him. But E. assures him in plain words that J″ has chosen him to be king of Syria. (5) The chief business of E.'s life is to avenge the crimes and apostasy of the house of Ahab. The mission to anoint Jehu king over Israel, which Elijah did not live to fulfil, must be carried out by his successor. During a war between Israel and Syria for the possession of Ramoth-gilead, Ahab's son Jehoram is wounded, and goes home to Samaria to be cured. His ally the king of Judah leaves the army, and goes to visit him (8$^{28f.}$). During their absence E. calls one of the sons of the prophets, and sends him to Ramoth-gilead, with instructions to seek out Jehu, and secretly anoint him king. As soon as Jehu divulges the secret to his brother officers, they proclaim him king, and the whole army at once espouses his cause. The nation has long been ready for a change, and the house of Omri falls without being able to strike a blow in self-defence (9$^{1ff.}$). (6) E. lives to extreme old age, and his last thoughts are given to his country. It is sad to reflect that, in spite of all his labours, Israel has become feeble and dependent. During the reigns of the pusillanimous sons of Jehu, the Syrians have done to Israel according to their will, and the nation has more than once been brought to the verge of extinction. But Jehu's grandson Joash is a youth of great promise, and E. sees in him one capable of making Israel once more independent and prosperous. The young king comes down to visit the aged prophet as he lies on his peaceful death-bed (13$^{14ff.}$). The king is moved to tears. No words could be more appropriate than those in which he addresses the prophet: 'My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof.' E. has still the spirit of the master to whom he first applied these words (2 K 2^{12}). To impress on the young king's mind a sense of his duty, he uses a fine piece of symbolism. The window is opened eastward, toward the country of the enemy, the king's bow is pointed in that direction, the prophet's consecrating hand is laid on the king's right hand, and 'the arrow of J″'s deliverance, of deliverance from Syria,' is discharged. The king is then commanded to take up a sheaf of arrows and smite the ground. He smites only three times, and halts. This does not please the zealous old prophet: before closing his eyes he would fain have foreseen that the enemies of the people of J″ would be defeated five or six times; as it is, the king has only energy enough to smite them thrice.

There is one other tradition regarding E., and that the most marvellous of all. His wonder-working power does not terminate with his life. In the spring of the year after his decease a burial is taking place in the cemetery which contains his sepulchre, when it chances that a band of marauding Moabites comes in sight. The mourners, in their eagerness either to attack or to escape from the invaders, hastily place the corpse in the tomb of Elisha. No sooner does the body touch the bones of the prophet than the dead man revives and stands upon his feet (13$^{20f.}$).

The foundation of E.'s character is laid in the strong affections of his home-life (1 K 19^{20}). He learns to call the great ascetic prophet his 'father,' but he never ceases to be attached to his fellow-men. While his career is less impressive than that of Elijah, his achievement is to make a common life illustrious. It cannot be said that all the narratives show him in an equally favourable light, but on the whole he is represented as humane, large-minded, tender-hearted, a prophet called to comfort, heal, and reconcile. Interesting side-lights are thrown on his character. His quick perception of the fitness of things is evidenced by his choice of beasts for a burnt-offering and fuel for his sacrifice (1 K 19^{21}), his sense of humour by his treatment of the Syrian emissaries (2 K 6^{19}), and his tenderness of heart by his tears over Israel's coming misfortunes (2 K 8^{11}). He is constantly (29 times in all) called the man of God, and he proves his love of God by loving men. His religion is to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction (2 K 4^{1}). And amid all the seductions of court favour he retains the true prophetic simplicity of character and contempt for worldly wealth (5^{16}). Like his great master Elijah, he is eulogized by the son of Sirach (Sir 48$^{12-14}$).

Some of E.'s miracles—the dividing of the Jordan, the increase of the widow's oil, the restoration of the Shunammite's son—are almost identical with the recorded miracles of Elijah. The healing of the leper and the multiplying of the barley loaves bring to mind some of the miracles of Jesus. But it has often been remarked that to find parallels to the miracles of the iron axe-head made to swim, the noxious well healed with salt, the poisoned pot rendered harmless with meal, and the dead man quickened by the touch of the prophet's bones, we must go outside the Scriptures. Stanley says that 'E.'s works stand alone in their likeness to the acts of the mediæval saints. There alone in the sacred history the gulf between biblical and ecclesiastical miracles almost disappears.' And Farrar compares the stories of E. to 'other Jewish haggadoth, written for edification in the schools of the prophets, but no more intended for perfectly literal acceptance in all their details than the life of St. Anthony or St. Francis.'

Elisha is canonized in the Greek Church, his festival being on the 14th of June.

Literature.—Driver, *LOT* 185 f.; Wellhausen, *Comp.* 286 ff.; W. R. Smith, *Proph. of Isr.* 85 ff., 116, 208 f.; Cornill, *Isr. Proph.* 14 f., 33 ff.; Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* ii. 214 f., 268, 278, 280 ff., 290, 292 f.; Farrar, *Bks. of Kings, ll. cit.*; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* i. 360 ff.; Graetz, *Hist. of Jews* (tr. by B. Löwy), i. 213; Renan, *Hist. of People of Isr.* (Eng. tr.), ii. 229 ff.; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 94 f.; Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, 142; Liddon, *Sermons on OT Subjects*, 195–234.

J. Strachan.

ELISHAH (אֱלִישָׁה, Ἐλισά, Ἐλεισαί, *Elisa*).—The eldest son of Javan according to Gn 10^{4}. In Ezk 27^{7} the Tyrians are said to have procured their purple dye from the 'isles' or 'coastlands' of E., which shows that we must look for the locality in the Greek seas. Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) identified E. with the Æolians; phonetically, however, this is impossible; moreover, Greek ethnology made Æolus the brother, and not the son, of Ion, the Heb. Javan. Many modern writers have seen Elis in E.; but the name of Elis properly began with digamma, and is probably the same as the Lat. *vallis*. Dillmann proposed to identify E. with Southern Italy, and Movers with Carthage; both identifications, however, are inconsistent with the

statement that it was the source of the purple dye, and it is difficult to find any name on either the Italian or the African coast which can be compared with that of Elishah.

The Tel el-Amarna tablets have thrown a new light on the question. Several of them are letters to the Pharaoh from 'the king of Alasia,' a country which a hieratic docket attached to one of them identifies with the Egyptian Alsa. Alsa, sometimes read Arosa, was overrun by Thothmes III., and is mentioned in the list of his Syrian conquests engraved on the walls of Karnak (Nos. 213 and 236). Maspero (*Recueil de Travaux*, x. p. 210) makes Alsa or Alasia the northern part of Cœle-Syria. An unpublished hieratic papyrus, however, now in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, which describes an embassy sent by sea to the king of Gebal in the time of the high priest Hir-Hor, states that the Egyptian envoys were wrecked on the coast of Alsa, where they were afterwards hospitably entertained by the queen of the country. Alsa or Alasia therefore must have adjoined the Mediterranean, and Winckler and W. Max Müller accordingly propose to see in it the island of Cyprus. Conder had already suggested that Alasia and E. are one and the same. The two chief objections to the identification with Cyprus are that the ordinary Egyptian name of that island was Asi, and that Thothmes III. includes the country among his Syrian conquests.

It is tempting to identify E., on the phonetic side, with the Greek Hellas. We might assume that the Egyptian form of the name, Alsa, was taken from the cuneiform Alasia, in which the initial aspirate of the Greek would not be expressed. But the Homeric poems seem to show that the name of Hellas could not have migrated from its original home in northern Greece to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean so early as the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Moreover, as late as the reign of the Assyrian Sargon, Cyprus was still known to the inhabitants of Asia as 'the country of the Ionians,' not of the Hellenes, while a *Yivana* or 'Ionian' is mentioned in two of the Tel el-Amarna letters. The termination of Alasia implies a Greek adjective in *-σιος*, and it is possible that Crete, rather than Cyprus, is intended by the name.

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *HCM* 130; Conder, *Bible and the East*.

A. H. SAYCE.

ELISHAMA (אֱלִישָׁמָע 'God has heard').—**1.** A prince of the tribe of Ephraim at the census in the wilderness, son of Ammihud, and grandfather of Joshua (Nu 1^{10} 2^{18}, 1 Ch 7^{26}). **2.** One of David's sons, born in Jerusalem (2 S 5^{16}, 1 Ch 3^{8} 14^{7}). **3.** In 1 Ch 3^{6} by mistake for **Elishua** (which see) of 2 S 5^{15}, 1 Ch 14^{5}. **4.** A descendant of Judah, son of Jekamiah (1 Ch 2^{41}). **5.** The father of Nethaniah, and grandfather of Ishmael, 'of the seed royal,' who killed Gedaliah at the time of the Exile (2 K 25^{25}, Jer 41^{1}). Jerome, following Jewish tradition, identifies him with No. 4. See Sayce *HCM* 380 f. **6.** A scribe or secretary to Jehoiakim (Jer $36^{12.\ 20.\ 21}$). **7.** A priest sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the law in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{8}).

R. M. BOYD.

ELISHAPHAT (אֱלִישָׁפָט 'God hath judged').—One of the captains who helped Jehoiada to instal king Joash (2 Ch 23^{1}).

ELISHEBA (אֱלִישֶׁבַע 'God is an oath'), LXX, Ἐλεισάβεθ B, Ἐλισάβετ A^{1} (cf. Lk 1^{7}), daughter of Amminadab, sister of Nahshon, a prince of the tribe of Judah, and wife of Aaron. The name occurs only in Ex 6^{23} (P).

W. C. ALLEN.

ELISHUA (אֱלִישׁוּעַ, 2 S 5^{15}, 1 Ch 14^{5}).—A son of David born at Jerusalem. The variant in 1 Ch 3^{6}, אֱלִישָׁמָע, is due to the similar name occurring in the next line.

J. F. STENNING.

ELIUD (Ἐλιούδ).—An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1^{15}). See GENEALOGY.

ELIZAPHAN (אֱלִיצָפָן 'God has protected'; cf. Phœn. צפנבעל, Ἐλεισαφάν).—**1.** Prince of the Kohathites, son of Uzziel, Nu 3^{30}, 1 Ch 15^{8} (Ἐλισαφάτ), 2 Ch 29^{13} = **Elzaphan** (אֶלְצָפָן, Ἐλεισαφάν), Ex 6^{22}, Lv 10^{4} P. **2.** Zebulun's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34^{25} P).

G. H. BATTERSBY.

ELIZUR (אֱלִיצוּר 'God is a Rock,' cf. ZURIEL, Ἐλεισούρ).—Prince of Reuben at the first census (Nu 1^{5} 2^{10} $7^{30.\ 35}$ 10^{18} P). A similar name occurs in the Zinjerli inscriptions (8th cent. B.C.), Bir-tsûr, 'the god Bir is a rock' (Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, 320), or Bar-tsûr, 'son of a rock' (D. H. Müller).

G. H. BATTERSBY.

ELKANAH (אֶלְקָנָה 'God has possessed').—**1.** The second son of Korah, brother to Assir and Abiasaph, one of the clans of the Korahites (Ex 6^{24}). We are told that 'the children of Korah died not' in the overthrow of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Nu 26^{11}). **2.** The son of Jeroham, the son of Elihu, the son of Tohu, the son of Zuph, an Ephraimite of Ramathaim-zophim,* of the hill country of Ephraim, the husband of Hannah, his favourite wife, and Peninnah. Hannah felt her childlessness very much, especially as Peninnah mocked her for it; but E. endeavoured to comfort her. At length, after several yearly visits to the temple at Shiloh, Hannah was promised a son. This son was called Samuel, and Hannah and her husband offered him to the Lord when he was but an infant, and left him with Eli on their return to Ramah (1 S 1^{1}–2^{11}). **3.** The son of Assir, the son of Korah (1 Ch 6^{23}), apparently identical with (1), and an ancestor of (2). **4.** The father of Zuph or Zophai (1 Ch $6^{26.\ 35}$). **5.** An ancestor of Berechiah, the son of Asa, 'that dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites' (1 Ch 9^{16}). **6.** One of David's mighty men, a Korahite (1 Ch 12^{6}). **7.** One of the two door-keepers for the ark (1 Ch 15^{23}), perhaps identical with (6). **8.** 'That was next to the king,' slain in the reign of Ahaz with 'Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam the ruler of the house,' by Zichri, 'a mighty man of Ephraim' (2 Ch 28^{7}).

H. A. REDPATH.

ELKIAH (Ἐλκειά). — An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8^{1}.

ELKOSHITE (הָאֶלְקֹשִׁי, LXX Ἐλκεσαῖος).—A gentilic adjective employed to describe the prophet Nahum (1^{1}), implying that a place named Elkosh was his birthplace. Three identifications have been proposed for the latter. (1) Jerome (in his *Comm.*) locates Elkosh at a village in Galilee named *Elcesi* (cf. also Capernaum = כְּפַר נָחוּם (?), 'village of Nahum'). (2) In a work ascribed to Epiphanius, *On the Prophets, how they died and where they were buried*, we are told that 'Nahum was of Elkosh, beyond Bêt Gabrê, of the tribe of Simeon.' This Bêt Gabrê is *Beit Jibrin*, the ancient Eleutheropolis, N.E. of Lachish. (3) Mediæval tradition connected Nahum with *Elkush* on a tributary of the Tigris, 2 days' journey N. of Mosul (Nineveh). We must be content to leave the prophet's birthplace uncertain, although weighty considerations plead

* For this name see art. RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM. In 1 Ch 6^{26-28} and $33-35$ Samuel is represented as a Levite, and the three names, Elihu, Tohu, Zuph, appear as Eliab, Nahath, Zophai (6^{26-28}); Eliel, Toah, Zuph (*Kethibh* Ziph) (6^{33-35}). It is noticeable that in the first of these places there is no connecting link between the Elkanah mentioned and Samuel. The usual explanation given of this apparent discrepancy is that the Levites in any particular city were counted as part of the tribe amongst whom they were dwelling; but this does not seem very satisfactory.

in favour of the second of the above identifications.

LITERATURE.—A. B. Davidson, *Nahum*, Introd. § 1; Nestle, *Zeitsch. d. deutsch. Pal. Vereins*, i. 222 ff. (transl. in *PEFSt* (1879), p. 136 ff.); G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 231 n.

J. A. SELBIE.

ELLASAR (אֶלָּסַר, Ἐλλασάρ, *Pontus*).—Arioch, king of Ellasar, was one of the vassal Babylonian kings who took part along with their suzerain, Chedor-laomer of Elam, in his campaign against Canaan (Gn 14[1]). In the early days of Assyriology (see F. Lenormant, *La Langue primitive de la Chaldée* (1875), pp. 377–379) he was already identified by the decipherers of the cuneiform inscriptions with Eri-Aku, king of Larsa, who was called Rim-Sin (or Rim-Agu) by his Semitic subjects. The identification has now been verified by further discoveries, which have shown that Eri-Aku was a contemporary of Kudur-Lagamar (Chedor-laomer) of Elam, Tudghula or Tid'al, and Khammurabi or Ammi-rabi, whom recent research has proved to be the Am-raphel of Genesis. Larsa is now represented by the mounds of Senkereh, in Lower Babylonia, on the east bank of the Euphrates and about midway between the sites of Erech (*Warka*) and Ur (*Muḳayyar*). One of its early names was Ararma, and it was celebrated for its temple and worship of the Sun-god (see Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 166, 167). The temple, called Bil-Uri by the Semites, was of very ancient date, and had been restored by Ur-Bau (?), B.C. 2700, by Khammurabi, by Nebuchadrezzar, and by Nabonidus. Among the ruins of its library and tombs Loftus found fragments of a mathematical work (*Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 255, 256). The biblical form of the name probably represents *âl Larsa*, 'the city of Larsa' (but see Ball's note on Gn 14[1] in Haupt's *OT*).

LITERATURE.—Sayce, *HCM* 165 ff.; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 240 ff.; Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 223 f.; Tiele, *Gesch.* i. 86; Schrader, *COT* on Gn 14. See also Hommel's art. BABYLONIA, p. 226[b] in present vol., and his *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 148 f.

A. H. SAYCE.

ELM.—A mistranslation of AV for *terebinth* (Hos 4[13]).

ELMADAM (Ἐλμαδάμ, AV **Elmodam**, perh. = אֶלְמוֹדָד Gn 10[26]).—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3[28]). See GENEALOGY.

ELNAAM (אֶלְנָעָם 'God is pleasantness').—The father of two of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11[46]).

ELNATHAN (אֶלְנָתָן 'God has given'; cf. יוֹנָתָן), 2 K 24[8], Jer 26[22] 36[12. 25], Ezr 8[16].—**1.** The father of Nehushta, the mother of Jehoiachin. **2.** The son of Achbor. A person of influence in Jehoiakim's court. He was the chief of those sent to Egypt to fetch Uriah, who had offended Jehoiakim by his prophecy, and one of those who had entreated Jehoiakim not to burn the roll. It is possible that (1) and (2) are the same person, but by no means certain when we consider the commonness of the name. **3.** The name occurs no fewer than three times in the list of those sent for by Ezra when he encamped near Ahava in the course of his journey to Jerus., twice among the chief men, and also as one of the teachers. But it is extremely probable that the second occurrence of the name is a corrupt reading, arising out of the following name Nathan.

F. H. WOODS.

ELOHIM.—See GOD. **ELOHIST.**—See HEXATEUCH.

ELOI.—See ELI.

ELON (אֵלֹן 'a terebinth').—**1.** Of the tribe of Zebulun, one of the minor judges (Jg 12[11. 12]). All that is told of him is simply that he judged Israel for ten years, that he died, and was buried in Elon (אַיָּלוֹן) in Zebulun. The MT points אַיָּלוֹן Aijalon; but the distinction thus made between the name of the judge and his burying-place is quite arbitrary. Baer, *Libri Jos. et Jud.* p. 98, reads אֵלֹן Elon, in both verses. **2.** A son of Zebulun (Gn 46[14], Nu 26[26], where gentilic name **Elonites** occurs). **3.** A Hittite, the father-in-law of Esau (Gn 26[34] 36[2]).

G. A. COOKE.

ELON (אֵילוֹן), Jos 19[43].—A town of Dan, perhaps the same as **Elon-beth-hanan** (1 K 4[9]), which was in Solomon's province corresponding to the territory of Dan. The site of Ananiah seems too far E., being in Benjamin. In some MSS Elon and Beth-hanan are made distinct places, in which case the latter may be Ananiah, and the former is unknown unless Aijalon was the original reading.

C. R. CONDER.

ELON-BETH-HANAN.—See ELON. **ELOTH.**—See ELATH.

ELPAAL (אֶלְפַּעַל 'God of doing' (?)).—The head of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 8[11. 12. 18]). See GENEALOGY.

ELPARAN (Gn 14[6]).—See PARAN.

ELPELET (אֶלְפֶּלֶט, AV **Elpalet**).—One of David's sons = ELIPHELET No. 1.

EL-SHADDAI.—See GOD.

ELTEKEH (Jos 19[44] אֶלְתֶּקֶה, 21[23] אֶלְתְּקֹא).—A town of the territory of Dan, mentioned in connexion with Ekron and Gibbethon. It is probably the same as Altaḳu (Al-ta-ḳu-u), a town mentioned in the Prism Inscription of Sennacherib as the scene of the defeat of the Philistines and their Egyp. allies by the Assyrians in the days of Hezekiah. G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geog.* p. 236) urges that Altaḳu (Eltekeh) cannot have been situated up the valley of Aijalon, where it is marked on the *PEF* map, for such a site is unsuitable as the meeting-place of the main Assyr. and Egyp. armies. The *PEF* identification may, however, be correct, and the fight may have been between detachments. Yet a site near Ekron suits Sennacherib's narrative, for after taking Altaḳu he tells us next that he took Ekron (Am-ḳar-ru-na). In any case it is improbable that the retreat of Sennacherib was the result of the encounter.

W. E. BARNES.

ELTEKON (אֶלְתְּקוֹן), Jos 15[59].—A town of Judah, noticed with Maarath and Beth-anoth. It was in the mountains. The site is unknown. Possibly Tekoa.

ELTOLAD (אֶלְתּוֹלַד), Jos 15[30].—A town in the extreme S. of Judah, given to Simeon (19[4]); probably **Tolad** (1 Ch 4[29]). The site is unknown.

ELUL (אֱלוּל, Ἐλούλ, *Elul*, Neh 6[15], 1 Mac 14[27]).—See TIME.

ELUZAI (אֶלְעוּזַי 'God is my strength').—One of the mighty men who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[5]).

ELYMAEANS.—See ELAMITES.

ELYMAIS (Ἐλύμαις).—This name, which represents the OT ELAM, was given to a district of Persia, lying, according to Strabo (xvi. p. 744), along the southern spurs of Mt. Zagros, S of Media and N of Susiana. In 1 Mac 6[1], according to the common reading, which is adopted by the AV,

Elymais is named as a rich city in Persia. No such city, however, is mentioned elsewhere, except by Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ix. 1), who is simply following 1 Mac. There can be no doubt, therefore, that we should correct the text with A (ἐν Ἐλύμες), ℵ (ἐν Λύμαις), and most cursives, and read 'in Elymais in Persia there was a city'; so Fritzsche and RV. In the year B.C. 164 Antiochus Epiphanes made an unsuccessful attack upon the rich treasures of a temple of Artemis in this province, but the name of the place is unknown. Polybius (xxxi. 11), like 1 Mac, merely speaks of the temple as being in Elymais; while Persepolis, which is mentioned by the later account in 2 Mac 9^2, was not situated in this district. Comp. Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comment.*), and Strack and Zöckler on 1 Mac 6^1. H. A. WHITE.

ELYMAS.—See BARJESUS.

ELYON.—See EL ELYON, GOD.

ELZABAD (אֶלְזָבָד 'God hath given').—**1.** A Gadite chief who joined David (1 Ch 12^{12}). **2.** A Korahite doorkeeper (1 Ch 26^7).

EMADABUN (Ἡμαδαβούν, AV **Madiabun**, after the Aldine text Μαδιαβοῦν), 1 Es 5^{58} (^{56} LXX).—E., of the sons of Jesus (AV 'the sons of Madiabun'), is mentioned among the Levites who superintended the restoration of the temple. There is no corresponding name in the parallel Ezr 3^9, and it is omitted in the Vulg.: it is probably due to a repetition of the name which follows, Ελιαδούν.
H. St. J. THACKERAY.

EMATHEIS (B Ἐμαθθίς, A Ἐμαθείς, AV **Amatheis**), 1 Es 9^{29}.—Called ATHLAI, Ezr 10^{28}.

EMBALMING.—See MEDICINE.

EMBROIDERY was the ornamentation of cloth, usually linen, by means of variegated colour and artistic design.

(1) תַּשְׁבֵּץ *tashbēẓ* (the verb in *Pi.* and *Pu.* occurs Ex $28^{20.\ 39}$ [all], the noun מִשְׁבְּצֹת 8 times in Ex 28. 39, and in Ps 45^{13}) is used (only) of the high priest's coat (כְּתֹנֶת). AV has 'broidered,' RV 'chequer-work,' Ex 28^4. This was simply a surface device of lustre upon one colour giving an effect of broken light, like the sparkle of jet-bead ornament. Work of this kind is still done by hand by the Jewish women of Damascus, and by the people around Iconium. The coat is cut in two kinds of material, the outer one often of silk or of shining linen, the inner of white or coloured cotton. Then threads of cotton-twist are inserted between the two, and are carefully and patiently stitched in according to pattern. This has been copied in modern manufacture in such articles as the white honeycomb bedcover, except that the hand-wrought article is the same on both sides. This ornamental effect of light upon a uniform surface seems to be the origin of damask in all its beautiful varieties. The 'coat' of the high priest would be of this description, either sewn by hand or woven in squares and lines, so as to give the effect of chequer and lustre.

(2) רִקְמָה *rikmâh*, needle-work, broidered-work, Jg 5^{30}, Ezk $16^{10.\ 13.\ 18}$ 26^{16} $27^{7.\ 16.\ 24}$ (cf. Ex 26^{36} 35^{35}, Ps 45^{14}). The same word is used in 1 Ch 29^2 of stones, and in Ezk 17^3 of feathers. In both instances AV and RV tr. 'of divers colours.' מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם 'work of the variegator' (*QPB* uses this term consistently) occurs 6 times in Ex, and רֹקֵם 'the variegator' by itself twice (cf. Ps 139^{15} רֻקַּמְתִּי 'I was curiously wrought,' AV, RV).

(3) מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב 'work of the designer' (of artistic designs in weaving; *QPB* 'pattern weaver'), Ex $26^{1.\ 31}$ $28^{6.\ 15}$ $36^{8.\ 35}$ $39^{3.\ 8}$, cf. חֹשֵׁב Ex 38^{23} and (somewhat more generally) חָשַׁב מַחֲשָׁבָה Ex 31^4 ('to devise designs') $35^{32.\ 35}$, 2 Ch 2^{13}, cf. Ex 35^{33} ('designed work').

Where the process was that of needlework, the cloth was stretched and held in a frame, and the sewn work in coloured thread was added; or it might be introduced during the weaving.

Anything in nature or art that was variegated by spots, lines, squares, etc., was *rikmâh*, something embroidered. Where a principal part of the charm was due to originality of decorative design, or successful drawing of resemblances, the intellectual distinction would give it the name *cunning-work* ('work of the designer').

Oriental broidered cloth, whether hand-wrought or woven, is usually the same on both sides. In Damascus, prayer-cloths are made in stripes of crimson, sky-blue, white, purple, etc., with gold thread interwoven, after the manner of the tabernacle fabrics.

LITERATURE.—Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 81; Moore on Jg 5^{30}; Hartmann, *Hebräerin*, i. 401 ff., iii. 138 ff.; Schroeder, *De vestitu mulierum*, 221 f.; Braun, *De vestitu sacerdotum*, 301 ff.; Knob.-Dillm. on Ex $26^{1.\ 31}$ 28^{11}. G. M. MACKIE.

EMEK-KEZIZ (עֵמֶק קְצִיץ), Jos 18^{21}, AV 'Valley of Keziz,' mentioned among the towns of Benjamin. —A place apparently in the Jordan Valley near Jericho. The site is unknown. See Dillmann, *ad loc.* C. R. CONDER.

EMERALD.—See STONES (PRECIOUS).

EMERODS (that is, hæmorrhoids).—The word used in AV to denote the disease brought upon the Philistines when they had captured the ark (1 S 5). Two Heb. words are used for this disease. One of these is *'ōphel* (עֹפֶל). It is supposed to mean something swollen. It is the name of a portion of the fortifications of Jerus. (2 Ch 27^3 33^{14}, Neh $3^{26.\ 27}$ 11^{21}). The verb of the stem is used twice, in the sense of being puffed up, presumptuous (Hab 2^4, Nu 14^{44}). This exhausts the use of the stem, except in the six places where *'ōphel*, in the plural, is used for the disease in question (Dt 28^{27}, 1 S $5^{6.\ 9.\ 12}$ $6^{4.\ 5}$). So far, the disease seems to be something tumid, a swelling of some sort.

The other word, *ṭĕḥōrîm* (טְחוֹרִים), is the only word of its stem in the language. It is used in the six places last mentioned, as the *ḳerê*, or marginal reading, to be substituted for *'ōphel*, and is also used in 1 S $6^{11.\ 17}$. Cognate words in Syr. and Arab. convey the idea of breathing hard, of easing the belly with violent effort, of tenesmus with flow of blood. It is said that the Massoretes directed this word to be substituted for the other as being a less indelicate term.

As to the nature of the disease, not much can be inferred from 1 S 5^9, where AV tr. 'They had emerods in their secret parts,' and RV 'tumours brake out upon them,' for the verb there used appears nowhere else. That the disease was externally loathsome is evident from Dt 28^{27}, where it is classed with the boil of Egypt, the scurvy and the itch. That it was terribly fatal seems to be implied in 1 S 5^{10-12}. That it had some particularly noteworthy symptom appears from the fact that they made golden images of it.

The traditions handed down in Josephus, and in the added specifications in the Sept. and Vulg., are sufficiently specific and horrible. According to the Vulg. 'computrescebant prominentes extales eorum.' Josephus says, 'They died of the dysentery, a sore distemper that brought death upon them very suddenly; for . . . they brought up their entrails, which were eaten through, and vomited them up entirely rotted away by the disease' (*Ant.* VI. i. 1). Josephus is imaginative, but the evidence

indicates some form of dysenteric or typhoid disease, in which a loathsome rectal protrusion was a prominent symptom. See MEDICINE.

LITERATURE.—Driver and Dillm. on Dt 2[27]; Thenius, Wellhausen, and Driver on 1 S 5[6. 9] 6[4]; Hitzig, *Urgesch. d. Philistäer* (1845), p. 201; Geiger, *Urschrift*, 408 f.; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* and Siegfried-Stade, *s.vv.* W. J. BEECHER.

EMIM (אֵימִים, Ὀμμαείν, Ὀομείν; AV **Emims**).—The name is that of a body of Rephaim or giant people, living E. of the Jordan, in the S. half of the territory between Bashan and Seir (Dt 2[10. 11]). The name signifies 'formidable ones,' and we are told that it was given them by the Moabites. The Emim were in this region in Abraham's time, and were attacked by the four invading kings during their march S. (Gn 14[5]). They are said to have been 'a people great and numerous, and tall as the Anakim.' We are not told what became of them, but the natural suggestions of the narrative are to the effect that the Moabites destroyed and superseded them. See GIANT. W. J. BEECHER.

EMINENT is now only metaphorical, 'exalted,' but in AV it is always literal: an 'eminent place,' Ezk 16[24. 31. 39] (גָּבַב, RVm 'a vaulted chamber,' see Davidson on Ezk 16[24]), 2 Es 15[40] (*locus eminens*); 'an high mountain and eminent,' Ezk 17[22] (תְּלוּל). Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, i. 4, 'he made not only herbes to garnisshe the erthe, but also trees of a more eminent stature than herbes.' **Eminence** occurs in AV only in the compound 'pre-eminence' (Ec 3[19], Sir 33[22], 1 Mac 11[27], Col 1[18], 3 Jn [9]). RV gives 'eminency' in Ezk 7[11] 'neither shall there be eminency among them' (וְלֹא־נֹגַהּ בָּהֶם, AV 'wailing for them,' so RVm), using the word in its modern sense, and following the Arab. for the translation. See Davidson, *ad loc.* J. HASTINGS.

EMMANUEL.—See IMMANUEL.

EMMAUS (Ἐμμαούς).—**1.** Lk 24[13] only. This place was 60 furlongs from Jerusalem. Some MSS follow ℵ in reading 'an hundred and sixty'; but this is probably a corruption, to suit the views held as to the site in the 4th cent. A.D.; for a journey of 320 furlongs, or 40 miles, in one day (see vv.[13. 28. 29. 33]), would have been improbable. In the *Onomasticon* (*s.v.*) it is placed at Emmaus Nicopolis—now *'Amwâs*, 20 miles from Jerus., near Aijalon. Josephus, however, speaks of an Emmaus 60 furlongs from Jerusalem (*Wars*, VII. vi. 6), the habitation of a colony of Titus' soldiers. The direction is unknown. The name *Kulônieh* or 'Colony,' and the distance from Jerus. (which, however, is not exact), have suggested the village so named in the valley W. of the Holy City. In the twelfth cent. Emmaus was shown at another village, *Kubeibeh*, to the N.W., at about the required distance. To the S.W. of Jerus., near the main road to the plain, is a ruin called *Khamasah*, which recalls the name of Emmaus. The distance is more than 60 furlongs, but perhaps not too great for a rough estimate. The site, however, remains uncertain. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

2. Emmaus Nicopolis is not mentioned in OT, but appears as a place of importance in the time of the Maccabees. It was in the neighbouring plain that the Syrian army was defeated by Judas (1 Mac 3[40. 57] 4[3-25]). Emmaus was one of the towns fortified by Bacchides in order to 'vex' Israel (1 Mac 9[50f.], Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 3).

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* iii. 147 f.; Guérin, *Judée*, i. 29 f., 301 f.; Reland, *Pal.* 427, 758; Thomson, *Land and Book*, i. 116, 123 ff., 132, ii. 59; Schwarz, *Das heil. Land*, p. 98; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 101 f., 152 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Hdbk. to Pal.* 141; Sepp, *Das heil. Land*, i. 42; *PEFSt*, 1876, 172, 174; 1879, 105; 1881, 46, 237, 274; 1882, 24, 59; 1883, 53, 55; 1884, 83, 189, 243; 1885, 116, 156; 1886, 17; Smith, *HGHL* 214; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 215, 236, ii. 231, 253, 386 ff., II. i. 157 ff.; Conder, *Tent Work in Pal.* 8, 140; *Bible Places*, 73, 103; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. 306; Caspari, *Chronol.-Geog. Leben Jesu*; Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, 617–619. C. R. CONDER.

EMMER (A Ἐμμήρ, B Ἐμήρ), 1 Es 9[21].—In Ezr 10[20] IMMER.

EMMERUTH (A Ἐμμηρούθ, B Ἔρμηρος, AV **Meruth**), 1 Es 5[24].—A corruption of Immer in Ezr 2[37]. Probably Ἔμμηρ was first Grecized into Ἔμμηρος, and the form in A arose from mistaking Ἐμμήρου for a nominative. The AV is due to the Aldine text, which has υἱοὶ ἐκ Μηρούθ for υ. Ἐμμ.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

EMULATION is now used only in a good sense, healthy rivalry. But about 1611 it wavered between that and a distinctly bad meaning, 'ambitious strife,' or 'malicious envy.' Shakespeare uses it in both ways, and of the three occurrences in AV, two are bad (1 Mac 8[16], Gal 5[20], both ζῆλος) and one good (Ro 11[14] 'If by any means I may provoke to e.', εἴ πως παραζηλώσω, RV 'to jealousy'). The Douay Bible uses 'emulation' of God, after Vulg. *æmulatio*, in Ps 78[58] 'in their grauens they provoked him to emulation,' where AV has 'jealousy' ('moved him to jealousy with their graven images'). For the sense of 'malicious envy' take the Rheims tr. of Ac 7[9] 'the Patriarches through emulation, sold Joseph into Ægypt.' Emulation and envy are distinguished and discussed by Trench, *NT Synonyms*, p. 83 ff., in his article on the Gr. words ζῆλος and φθόνος.

J. HASTINGS.

ENABLE occurs only 1 Ti 1[12], and it is used, without an infinitive following, in the obsolete or at least archaic sense of 'strengthen.' Cf. Mulcaster (1581), *Positions*, xli. 232, 'Exercise to enable the body'; and Melvill, *Diary* (Wodrow, p. 280), 'obteining of God's mercie that night's repose, quhilk I luiked nocht for, to inable me for the morne's action.' J. HASTINGS.

ENAIM (עֵינַיִם), probably the same as **Enam** (עֵינָם) which is mentioned among the towns of lowland Judah in Jos 15[34]. From the reference to Enaim in Gn 38[14. 21] we gather that it was the name of a village on the road to Timnah; and, as the incident recorded in this chapter is prefaced by the mention of the sojourn of Judah with his friend Hirah the Adullamite, the village possibly stood on the road between Timnah and Adullam. In Jos 15[34] Enam stands in the same group of towns with Tappuah and Adullam and Azekah.

The AV in its rendering Gn 38[14] 'in an open place' (RV 'in the gate of Enaim'), and Gn 38[21] 'openly by the way side' (RV 'at Enaim by the way side'), has followed the explanation adopted by the Targums, the Pesh. Syriac, and the Latin Vulgate (*in bivio itineris*), on the supposition that *'ênayim* had its usual meaning 'eyes,' and was not a proper name. Cf. Jerome, who, commenting on the words 'Et sedit ad portam Enam,' remarks 'Sermo Hebraicus Enaim transfertur in oculos. Non est igitur nomen loci; sed est sensus: sedit in bivio, sive in compito, ubi diligentius debet viator aspicere, quod iter gradiendi capiat.' The Old Latin (Lyons Pent.) and the LXX (Αἰνάν) rightly rendered the word as a proper name. The double form Enaim and Enam may be compared with Dothain and Dothan (Gn 37[17] and 2 K 6[13]). The meaning of the name was presumably 'the two springs.' Conder has identified it with *Kh. Wady Alin*, which is close to Beth-shemesh and En-gannim. H. E. RYLE.

ENAN (עֵינָן 'having fountains,' or 'eyes' *i.e.* 'keen-eyed,' Αἰνάν).—Prince of Naphtali at the first census (Nu 1[15] 2[29] 7[78. 83] 10[27] P).

ENASIBUS (A 'Ενάσιβος, B -ει-), 1 Es 9^{34}.—In Ezr 10^{36} ELIASHIB. The form is probably due to reading AI as N.

ENCAMPMENT BY THE SEA.—One of the stations in the itinerary of the children of Israel, where they encamp after leaving Elim, Nu 33^{10} [see ELIM]. If the position of Elim be in the Wady Ghurundel, then the camp by the sea is on the shore of the Gulf of Suez, somewhere south of the point where the Wady Tayibeh opens to the coast. The curious return of the line of march to the seashore is a phenomenon that has always arrested the attention of travellers to Mt. Sinai: and if Mt. Sinai be really in the so-called Sinaitic peninsula, the camp can be located within a half-mile. [But it is within the bounds of a reasonable probability that the 'Encampment by the Sea' may mean the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, and Sinai be out of the peninsula.] St. Silvia of Aquitaine [? in the year 388] returned from the traditional Sinai, and especially notices the approach of the line of march to the seashore ('pervenimus ad mansionem, quæ erat jam super mare, id est in eo loco, ubi iam de inter montes exitur, et incipitur denuo totum iam iuxta mare ambulari; sic tamen iuxta mare, ut subito fluctus animalibus pedes cedat'). Her identification is that of an accepted tradition which must be many years older than herself. It is very valuable evidence for a Christian tradition which is sensibly constant in her time, and shows no signs of having undergone any revision at the hands of ecclesiastics.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

ENCHANTMENT.—See DIVINATION.

END.—The uses of this word are not so often obsolete as *biblical*, and demand attention from their very familiarity.

1. The end as opposed to the beginning. To the Heb. mind, especially in the later and more rigorous days of the history of Israel, the most perplexing problem was the prosperity of the wicked; and the conclusion which gave the most satisfying shelter, was the thought of the *end*. Ps $37^{37.38}$ 'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end (RV 'latter end') of that man is peace. But the transgressors shall be destroyed together; the end (RV 'latter end') of the wicked shall be cut off.' So even the author of Ps 73, who, though a true worshipper, felt the perplexity so keenly that he said, 'Surely in vain have I cleansed my heart' (v.^{13}), found rest when he went into the sanctuary of God and 'considered their latter end' (v.^{17}). Moreover, this is the solution of the Book of Job, if (apart from the Elihu chapters) that book may be accepted as a unity. It is Bildad who utters the prophecy (Job 8^{7}), unconsciously as Caiaphas; but it is fulfilled to the letter (42^{12}), for the word used of Job's 'latter end' is the same in both places. And it is a truly religious solution, since it is God that declares the end from the beginning (Is 46^{10}). Nor was it so precarious as we may suppose, for the word (*'aḥărîth*) had a certain elasticity of meaning, and did not absolutely restrict the thought to the end of this present life. Its sense varied with the context, but it was capable of standing for even the great Messianic future. Still, we must observe that this source of encouragement, while frequent in the Apocr. (Wis 2^{16} 54, Sir 1^{13} 7^{36} 9^{11} 11^{27} [16^{22}] 18^{12} $21^{9.10}$), is scarcely found in NT; cf. (doubtfully) He 13^{7} 'considering the end of their conversation' (*τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς*, Wyc. 'the goynge out of lyuynge'; but Rendall takes it in another sense, 'the issue, *sc.* of the word which they had preached, presented to the observer by their daily course of life'); and 2 P 2^{20} 'the latter end is worse with them than the beginning' (*τὰ ἔσχατα*, RV 'the last state').

2. The 'end' is used to denote the extremity. The Heb. words are (1) *gabhlâth*, only Ex 28^{22} 39^{15} (AV 'at the ends,' RV 'like cords,' fr. [*gâbhal*] to twist). (2) *peh*, lit. 'mouth,' 2 K 10^{21} 21^{16}, Ezr 9^{11} 'full from one end to another' (AVm 'full from mouth to mouth,' but Ryle thinks the metaphor has been taken from a drinking vessel). (3) *pê'âh*, Ezk 41^{12} (usually 'side,' as RV here). (4) *rô'sh*, 'head,' 1 K 8^{8}=2 Ch 5^{9} 'the ends of the staves' of the ark. (5) *sôph* (a late word, 2 Ch 20^{16}, Ec 3^{11} 7^{2} 12^{13}, Jl 2^{20}, and in Dn). But the most freq. is (6) *'epheṣ*, only in the phrase *'aphṣê 'erez*, 'ends of the earth'; which is also the tr. of (7) *kanĕphôth hâ'âreṣ*, lit. 'wings of the earth' in Job 37^{3} 38^{13}. On the last passage Davidson says, 'The figure is beautiful; the dawn as it pours forth along the whole horizon, on both sides of the beholder, lays hold of the borders of the earth, over which night lay like a covering; and seizing this covering by its extremities it shakes the wicked out of it. The wicked flee from the light. The dawn is not a physical phenomenon merely, it is a moral agent.' In NT cf. Mt 24^{31} 'from one end of heaven to the other' (*ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως ἄκρων αὐτῶν*), Ro 10^{18} 'the ends of the world' (*τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης*). See EARTH, WORLD.

3. The end may also be the *conclusion*, as Is 24^{8} 'the noise of them that rejoice endeth' (*hâdhal*). The Heb. is nearly always *ḥâzâḥ* and its derivatives; but once we find *yâzâḥ*, 'to go out,' Ex 23^{16} 'in the end of the year'; and twice the subst. *tĕḳûphâh*, 'the circuit' (of the sun, Ps 19^{6}), used of the year, Ex 34^{22}, 2 Ch 24^{23} (AVm and RVm 'revolution'). In NT the chief word is *τέλος*, but the more precise *συντέλεια* is found in Mt $13^{39.40.49}$ 24^{3} 28^{20}, always followed by *τοῦ αἰῶνος*, EV 'end of the world,' RVm 'consummation of the age') and in He 9^{26} (*σ. τῶν αἰώνων*, AV 'end of the world,' RV 'end of the ages,' RVm 'consummation of the ages'). See ESCHATOLOGY; also MILLENNIUM, PAROUSIA, WORLD, and B. W. Bacon in *Old and New Test. Student*, xiii. 225–233. 'End' in the sense of conclusion is common in Apocr., as 1 Es 9^{17} 'their cause . . . was brought to an end' (*ἤχθη ἐπὶ πέρας*); with which cf. He 6^{16} 'an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife' (*πέρας εἰς βεβαίωσιν*, RV 'is final for confirmation'). 'In the end of the Sabbath' (Mt 28^{1}) is lit. 'late of the Sabbath' (*ὀψὲ σαββάτων*).

4. A work may be ended, not merely because it is concluded or terminated, but because it is *completed* or *perfected*. In this sense 'end' occurs both as vb. and subst. The Heb. is mostly either *kâlâh* or *tâmam* in some of their parts; and the meaning is either completeness, as of the end of sin (Dn 9^{24}), or perfection, as of the end of God's creative work (Gn 2^{2}). The subst. *kâlâh* is tr. 'a full end' in Jer 4^{27} $5^{10.18}$ 30^{11} *bis* 46^{28} *bis*, Ezk 11^{13}, and 'an utter end' in Nah $1^{8.9}$ (RV 'a full end'). The phrase *εἰς τέλος* carries the sense both of termination and of completeness, so that in Jn 13^{1} it is difficult to decide between 'he loved them to the end' and 'he loved them to the uttermost.' In 1 Th 2^{16} 'to the uttermost' is clear; in Lk 18^{5} 'to the end' is most natural. In 1 P 1^{13} the adv. *τελείως*, which occurs in bibl. Gr. only here, is tr^{d} in AV 'to the end,' in RV more probably 'perfectly.' These meanings easily pass into that of *perpetuity*, which is manifest in Ps $119^{33.112}$, EV 'unto the end' (Heb. *'ĕḳebh*); Job 34^{36} (*'adh-neṣaḥ*); Jer 3^{5} (*lâneṣaḥ*); and 'world without end' Is 45^{17} (עַד־עוֹלְמֵי עַד), Eph 3^{21} (*τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων*, RV 'for ever and ever').

Like Lat. *finis* (and probably owing to it), 'end' is used in Eng. for the *purpose*, as in Tomson's NT (1576) Heading of Ep. to He, 'The drift and end of this Epistle is.' In AV this meaning is found only in the phrase 'to the end . . . ' or 'to this end . . . ,' and once 'to what end'? (Am 5^{18}). In old Eng. this phrase is sometimes followed by the infin., as Bacon's *Essays*, p. 201, 'Some undertake Sutes . . . to the end to gratify the adverse partie.' But in AV it is followed by 'that,' or the conj. is omitted. The constructions in the orig. are: 1. לְמַעַן 'in order that,' Ex 8^{22} 'to the end thou mayest know'; Lv 17^{5}, Dt $17^{16.20}$, Ps 30^{12}, Ezk 20^{26} 31^{14}, Ob ^{9}. 2. עַל־דִּבְרַת 'for the sake of' (see Ec 3^{18} 8^{2}), Ec 7^{14} 'to the end that man should find nothing after him.' 3. *τοῦ* with infin., 1 Mac 13^{34} 14^{23}. 4. *ὅπως*, 1 Mac 14^{49}. 5. *εἰς τό* with infin., Ac 7^{19}, Ro 1^{11} 4^{16}, 1 Th 3^{13}. 6. *εἰς τοῦτο*, 'to this end,' Jn 18^{37}, Ro 14^{9}, 2 Co 2^{9}. 7. *πρὸς τό*, Lk 18^{1} 'to this end that men ought always to pray' (RV 'to the end that'). RV has shown much fondness for this phrase, introducing 'to the end that' in place of the simple 'that' of AV, for לְמַעַן in Gn 18^{19} *bis*, Ex 33^{13}, Nu 16^{40}; for *εἰς τό* with infin. (on which see Votaw, *The Use of the Infin. in Bibl. Gr.*, 1896, p. 21) in Ro 4^{18}, Eph 1^{12}, 2 Th 1^{5} $2^{2.6}$, 1 P 3^{7}; and for *ἵνα* in Eph 3^{17}, 2 Th 3^{14}, Tit 3^{8}. RV also introduces 'to this end' for *εἰς τοῦτο* in Mk 1^{38}, 1 Ti 4^{10} (AV 'therefore'), Ac 26^{16}, 1 Jn 3^{8} (AV 'for this purpose'), and Jn 18^{37} (AV 'for this cause'); 'unto this end' in 1 P 4^{6} (Gr. *εἰς τοῦτο*, AV 'for this cause'); and 'to which end' in 2 Th 1^{11} (Gr. *εἰς ὅ*, AV 'wherefore').

J. HASTINGS.

ENDAMAGE.—Ezr 4^{13} 'thou shalt e. the revenue of the kings' (תְּהַנּוּךְ), and 1 Es 6^{33} 'that stretcheth out his hand to hinder or e. that house of the Lord in Jerusalem' (*κακοποιῆσαι*). The word is still used, but is somewhat old-fashioned. Cf. Quarles, *Emblems*, I. xi. 47, 'The Devil smileth that he may endamage'; and H. Vaughan, *Silex*, i. Pref., 'No loss is so doleful as that gain that will endamage the soul.'

J. HASTINGS.

ENDEAVOUR.—'Endeavour' seems a very in-

adequate tr. of σπουδάζω, which in 2 Ti $4^{9.21}$ is rendered 'do thy diligence,' in Tit 3^{12} 'be diligent,' (RV 'give diligence'), and in Gal 2^{10} 'was forward' (RV 'was zealous'). But 'endeavour once denoted all possible tension, the highest energy that could be directed to an object. With us it means the last feeble hopeless attempt of a person who knows that he cannot accomplish his aim, but makes a conscience of going through some formalities for the purpose of showing that the failure is not his fault' (Maurice, *Lincoln's Inn Ser.* quoted by Trench, *On the AV*, p. 43). One of the places where in AV σπουδάζω is tr. 'endeavour' is Eph 4^3 'endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' and in his comment on that passage, Abp. Laud (*Sermons*, i. 155) shows the force of 'endeavour' in his day: 'If you will keep it you must endeavour to keep it. For it is not so easy a thing to keep unity in great bodies as it is thought; there goes much labour and endeavour to it.' Cf. also Act 7, Henry VII. c. 22, 'Endevoir youre self and put to your hand and spare no cost.' The subst. occurs only Ps 28^4 'according to the wickedness of their endeavours' (מַעַלְלֵיהֶם, RV 'doings'). The vb. is found for Gr. ζητέω Ad. Est 16^3, Ac 16^{10} (RV 'seek'); for πειράζω 2 Mac 11^{19}; for σπουδάζω Eph 4^3 (RV 'give diligence'), 1 Th 2^{17}, 2 P 1^{15} (RV 'give diligence').

To 'endeavour' is 'to do one's *devoir*' or duty: *en* having a verbal and active force as in 'encumber,' 'enforce,' etc., it is the expression in one word of Chaucer's 'Doth now your devoir' (*Cant. Tales*, 1600). 'Devoir' is the Fr. form of Lat. *debere*, to owe, and 'en' is the Fr. form of Lat. *in*. The spelling in AV 1611 is always 'endeuour' (except 2 Th 2^{17}, by accident 'endeuor'). But about this time it was customary to affect the Latin form, so in Pref. we find 'that hath bene our indeauour, that our marke.'

J. HASTINGS.

ENDIRONS.—Ezk 40^{43m} (text 'hooks' [which see] m. 'or endirons, or the two hearth-stones').

The spelling of 1611 is 'andirons.' The change into 'endirons' was first made in 1638, under the impression, no doubt, as Wright says, that being the *iron* standards, one at each *end* of the fireplace, to support the log of wood that was burning, this was the derivation, and should be the spelling. But this is not the derivation. It cannot be traced farther back than old Fr. *andier* and late Lat. *anderia*; and the form *-iron* is an Eng. corruption as much as *end-*. Another false spelling is 'hand-iron,' as Florio (1591), *Sec. Frutes*, 159, 'Set that firebrand upon the handiron.'

J. HASTINGS.

EN-DOR (עֵין דֹּר Jos 17^{11}, ע׳ דּוֹר 1 S 28^7, ע׳ דּאֹר Ps 83^{10}.—A town in Issachar belonging to Manasseh, mentioned with Dor as one of 'three countries' (AV; the text נָפָת is undoubtedly corrupt) which appear to have been in the Jordan Valley (Bethshean and Ibleam), in the Esdraelon plateau (Dor and En-dor), and in the low hills to the W. (Taanach); but for 'countries' we may read 'heights' (RV), as referring only to Dor, En-dor, and Taanach. It was not far from Shunem and Gilboa, and near the Kishon and Tabor, where Sisera is said in the last passage (Ps 83^{10}) to have perished. In the fourth cent. A.D. it was known as a large village 4 Roman miles south of Tabor—now the hamlet *Endûr* in this position, on the N. slope of the conical hill of *Nebi Dhahy*. Possibly the site of Dor should be placed near En-dor, which means the 'spring of Dor'; but it may be objected that both are noticed in a single passage (cf., however, Sheba and Beersheba in Jos 19^2).* En-dor was one of the places conquered by Tahutmes III. about 1600 B.C. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii. See DOR.

LITERATURE.—Lagarde, *Onom.* 96, 121, 226; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 460, 468 f.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 460 f.; Van de Velde, ii. 383; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 127; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 63; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 247, 250.

C. R. CONDER.

ENDOW, ENDUE.—These words are distinct in origin. Endow is fr. Lat. *in-dotere* (fr. *dotem*, a dowry), through the Fr. *en-douer*. Its proper meaning is, therefore, to provide with a dowry. Endue is fr. Lat. *inducere*, through the old Fr. *induire*, and properly means 'to lead on,' 'introduce.' But a supposed derivation from Lat. *induere*, 'to put on (clothing),' helped to give the word its meanings of 'clothe,' and then 'invest' with some quality or spiritual gift. Then this was so close to the meaning of 'endow,' and the spelling was so uncertain, that the two words were often confounded. When the spelling is 'endow' the meaning is rarely wrong; but 'endue' (often spelt 'indue' from the influence of Lat. *induere*) took on all the meanings of both words.

In AV they occur Gn 30^{20} 'God hath endued me with a good dowry' (זָבַד, RV 'endowed'); Ex 22^{16} 'he shall surely endow her to be his wife' (מָהֹר יְמַהֲרֶנָּה, RV 'pay a dowry for her'); 2 Ch $2^{12.13}$ 'endued (1611 'indued') with prudence . . . understanding' (יוֹדֵעַ); Sir 17^3 'he endued them with strength' (ἐνέδυσεν); Lk 24^{49} 'till ye be endued (1611 'indued') with power from on high' (ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε, RV 'be clothed'); and Ja 3^{13} 'endued (1611 'indued') with knowledge' (ἐπιστήμων, RV 'understanding'). That the distinction between the words was not always forgotten about 1611 is shown by this quot. from Hieron (1616), *Works*, ii. 37, 'Was it with what religion is the woman endewed, or with what portion is shee endowed?'

J. HASTINGS.

EN-EGLAIM (עֵין עֶגְלַיִם).—A locality on the Dead Sea, mentioned along with En-gedi, Ezk 47^{10}. It has not been identified, but is not improbably '*Ain Feshkah* (Robinson, *BRP* ii. 489). Tristram (*Bible Places*, 93) would make it '*Ain Hajlah* (Beth-hoglah). In any case, it probably lay to the N. towards the mouth of the Jordan. Eglaim of Is 15^8 is a different place, its initial letter being א, not ע, and its situation apparently to the *south* of the Dead Sea (cf. Davidson on Ezk 47^{10}).

J. A. SELBIE.

ENEMESSAR (Ἐνεμεσσάρ).—The name of a king of Assyria, found in Gr. codd. of To 1^2, where Heb., Aram., and Lat. codd. all read Shalmaneser. Shalmaneser is explained by recent Assyriologists to mean 'Salman (the god) is chief'; but, in accounting for the form Enemessar, it is possible that the Hebrews interpreted the name to mean 'Esar (or Assur) is peaceful' (cf. Esarhaddon); then the Gr. translator capriciously altered שלמן אסר 'Esar is peaceful' to חנן אסר 'Esar is gracious,' toning down the final ן to מ as in Hanamel (Jer 32^7) for חנן אל 'El is gracious.'

Other explanations are: 1. That Enemessar is for Senemessar (*sh* changed to *s*, and then to the light breathing, as in Arkeanos for Sargon), *l* being dropped, and the *m* and *n* transposed (so Pinches). 2. That Shalmaneser drops the שׁל (which was possibly mistaken for the genitive) and then transposes *m* and *n* (so Rawlinson). 3. It is an unrecorded private name of Sargon, for Anumasir = 'the god Anu is gracious' (so Oppert). 4. It is a corruption of Sarru-kiṇu = Sargon reversed (so Bickell).

J. T. MARSHALL.

ENENEUS (Ἐνήνιος, AV **Enenius**), 1 Es 5^8.—One of the twelve leaders of the return from Babylon under Zerubbabel. The name is omitted in the parallel list in Ezr 2, which gives only eleven leaders; but answers to NAHAMANI, Neh 7^7.

ENFLAME.—This is the spelling of mod. edd. of AV in Is 57^5, though that of 1611 was 'inflame.'

* W. H. Bennett in Haupt's *OT* remarks on Jos 17^{11} 'As the Endor clause does not occur in Jg 1^{27}, and Endor is about 25 miles E. of Dor, the clause is probably due to accidental repetition of the Dor clause.' In Jos 19^2 in like manner Sheba, which is wanting in 1 Ch 4^{28} and in some Heb. MSS, may be an accidental repetition of the שבע in באר שבע.

In Is 5^{11} 1611 had 'enflame,' mod. edd. 'inflame.' The word also occurs Sir 28^{10}, Sus ^{8}, 1 Mac 2^{24} (1611 and mod. edd. 'inflame'). The meaning is always 'excite,' and the ref. is to lust in Is 57^{5}, Sus ^{8}; to wine Is 5^{11}; to anger Sir 28^{10}; while the sense is good in 1 Mac 2^{24} 'Mattathias . . . was inflamed with zeal' (ἐζ ήλωσε). Wyclif uses the word in Ja 3^{6} of the tongue, 'it is enflawmed of helle, and enflawmeth the wheel of oure birthe.' J. HASTINGS.

ENGAGE.—Jer 30^{21} only, 'who is this that engageth his heart to approach unto me?' (עָרַב אֶת־לִבּוֹ; Vulg. 'applicet cor suum'). Engage is used in the sense of 'pledge,' though to 'engage one's heart' seems to be a unique expression. Shaks. has 'I do engage my life,' and 'I will engage my words,' where the meaning is nearly the same. The older VSS vary: Cov. 'what is he, that geveth over his herte'; Gen. 'that directeth his heart'; Dou. 'that applieth his hart.' RV tr. 'that hath had boldness to approach unto them,' with marg. 'Heb. *hath been surety for his heart.*' J. HASTINGS.

EN-GANNIM (עֵין גַּנִּים).—Two places so named are noticed in the Book of Joshua, the name signifying 'the spring of gardens.' **1.** Jos 15^{34}. A town of Judah noticed with Zanoah and Eshtaol. It is supposed by Clermont-Ganneau to be the ruin *Umm Jîna* in the valley near Zanoah—a suitable site. See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. **2.** Jos 19^{21} 21^{29} (in 1 Ch 6^{58} Anem). A town of Issachar given to the Levites, now *Jenîn*, a town on the S. border of Esdraelon, with a fine spring, gardens and palms. It marked the S. limit of Galilee, and appears to have been always a flourishing town. The 'garden house,' *Beth-hag-gan*, in 2 K 9^{27} has been thought to be En-gannim, but it is more probably *Beit Jenn* E. of Tabor. See IBLEAM. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii.

LITERATURE.—Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 327; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 116, 337; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 237; Van de Velde, p. 359; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 65, 130; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 58; *Bible Places* (ed. 1897), 67, 180, 265.

C. R. CONDER.

EN-GEDI (עֵין גֶּדִי, Arab. *'Ain Jidi*, 'fountain of the kid'), the name of a spring of warm water which bursts forth from the cliffs overlooking the W. shore of the Dead Sea near its centre, and 2 miles S. of Râs Mersed. The ancient name of the spot was Hazazon-tamar (2 Ch 20^{2}), by which it was known in the days of Abraham (Gn 14^{7}); and it has been suggested by Tristram that a group of ruins below the cascade near the shore of the Dead Sea may mark the site of a town through which marched the Assyrian host of Chedorlaomer (Gn 14^{7}). The place was included in the wide skirts of the tribe of Judah (Jos 15^{62}), and is associated with the City of Salt, which probably lay a few miles farther S. on the shore of the lake near Khashm Usdum (the Salt-mountain). The name 'Wilderness of En-gedi' applies to the wild rocky district forming the E. part of the Wilderness of Judah; and here amongst the deep ravines, rocky gorges, and the caves, which nature or art have hewn out in their sides, David found a safe hiding-place from the vengeance of Saul (1 S 24^{1}). At a later period it was the scene of the slaughter of the hordes of Ammon, Moab, and Edom, who had invaded the kingdom of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20^{2}). The limestone cliffs of En-gedi are deeply intersected by numerous river channels which descend from the table-land of Judah towards the Dead Sea. At the place itself two streams, the Wady Sudeir and Wady el-'Areyeh, enclose a small plateau, nearly 2000 ft. above the waters and bounded by nearly vertical walls of rock. Terraces of shingle and white calcareous marl envelop their bases to a height of several hundred feet, and mark the level at which the waters of the lake formerly stood. Only a few bushes of acacia, tamarisk, *Solanum*, and *Calotropis procera* (Apple of Sodom) decorate the spot where palms and vines were formerly cultivated (Ca 1^{14}). The district is tenanted by a few Arabs of the Jâhalîn and Rashâybeh tribes, and is the safe retreat of the *Ibex* ('wild goat,' 1 S 24^{2}), the coney (*Hyrax syriacus*), and numerous birds of prey. The spot is amongst the wildest and most desolate in the whole of Palestine.

LITERATURE.—Lagarde, *Onom.* 119, 254; Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 227 ff.; Robinson, *BRP* ii. 439 ff.; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{2} 175; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 280 ff., 296; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 160; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 160; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 269 ff.; Conder, *Tent-Work in Pal.* 266; *Bible Places* (1897), 8, 113; Sayce, *Patriarchal Pal.* 40. E. HULL.

ENGINE.—Besides the battering-ram, 'forts' *dāyēḳ*, דָּיֵק (LXX προμαχῶνες, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'bulwark,' 'siege-wall'), are mentioned as used in sieges in the Chaldæan era (2 K 25^{1} = Jer 52^{4}, Ezk 4^{2} 17^{17} $21^{22\,(27)}$ 26^{8} [all]). These forts were prob. towers on wheels manned with archers, and pushed forward by degrees against the wall to be attacked (cf. 1 Mac $13^{43\text{-}45}$). Such a tower might be combined with a battering-ram, or at least used to cover the attack of the ram. See BATTERING-RAM.

In 1 Ch 26^{15} Uzziah is said to have 'made in Jerusalem engines invented by cunning men (lit. 'contrivances, the invention of inventive men,' חִשְּׁבֹנוֹת מְחֻשָּׁבֶת חוֹשֵׁב, see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.* חֶשְׁבּוֹן) to be on the towers and upon the battlements, to shoot arrows and great stones withal.' These 'engines' were probably similar to the Roman *catapulta* and *balista*. The only other occurrence of the word חֶשְׁבּוֹן is in Ec 7^{29} 'God made man upright, but they have sought out many *inventions.*'

In Maccabæan times several different kinds of engines were in use. 'He encamped,' writes the author of 1 Mac, 'against the sanctuary many days, and set there artillery, and engines, and instruments to cast fire (*or* 'fiery darts'), and others to cast stones, and *tormenta* (σκορπίδια) to cast darts, and slings' (6^{51}). W. E. BARNES.

ENGRAFTED.—Ja 1^{21} only, 'the e. word.' This tr^{n} may be traced from Tind. 'grafted' (which would be the mod. form), through Gen. 'graffed,' Rhem. 'engraffed.' * J. HASTINGS.

ENGRAVING.—**1.** חָרֹשֶׁת *ḥărôsheth*, Ex 31^{5} $35^{33.\ 35}$ [חָרוּת in Ex 32^{16} is prob. text. error for חָרוּשׁ, cf. Jer 17^{1}]. **2.** פִּתּוּחַ *pittûaḥ*, Ex $28^{11.\ 21.\ 36}$ $39^{14.\ 30}$, Zec 3^{9} (cf. 2 Ch $2^{6.\ 13}$), 1 K 6^{29}, Ps 74^{6}. **3.** מִקְלַעַת *miḳla'ath*, 1 K $6^{18.\ 29.\ 32}$ 7^{31}. **4.** מְחֻקֶּה *mĕḥuḳḳeh*, 1 K 6^{35} (cf. Is 49^{16}, Ezk 8^{10} 23^{14}, Job 13^{27}). **5.** χάραγμα, Ac 17^{29}.

Of these terms, the first possibly refers to the artistic skill of the worker, and the others to indicate the process or result of etching, punching, gouging, relief, etc. The material used was stone, wood (2 S 5^{11} = 1 Ch 14^{1}), metal (1 S 13^{19}), and jewels (Ex 28^{11}). The effect sought was either that of engraving into the surface, as in the signet-ring, and the jewels of the high priest's dress, or that of relief by the removal of the surrounding material, as in the cherubim carvings on the temple doors.

The incisions made by the graving-tool (חֶרֶט, Ex 32^{4}) gradually led to ornamental inlaying in

* The Gr. (ἔμφυτος), which occurs only here in NT, gave the late Lat. *impotus*, whence our Eng. word 'imp.' An 'imp' is orig. a graft, as *Piers Plouman*, v. 137—

'I was sum-tyme a frere,
And the Couentes [Convent's] Gardyner, for to graffe ympes.'

So 'an imp of Satan' is a graft, scion, child of the devil.

metal, and to mosaic of marble, ivory, and mother-of-pearl in palaces (Ps 45[8]).

WOOD, IVORY, AND METAL 'ENGRAVING.'

The final form of engraving, amounting to complete separation, was that of the פֶּסֶל (Arab. *faṣl*) graven image (see CARVING).

LITERATURE.—Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 255 ff.; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 337; Herod. vii. 69; Müller, *Hdb. d. Archäol. der Kunst*, § 311. G. M. MACKIE.

EN-HADDAH (עֵין חַדָּה), Jos 19[21]. — A city of Issachar noticed with En-gannim and Remeth. It is perhaps the present village *Kefr Adhân* on the edge of the Dothan plain, W. of En-gannim. See *SWP* vol. ii. sheet viii. C. R. CONDER.

EN-HAKKORE (עֵין הַקּוֹרֵא 'spring of the partridge'; cf. 1 S 26[20], Jer 17[11]). — The name of a fountain at Lehi (Jg 15[19]). The narrator (J (?)) of the story characteristically connects *haḳḳōrē* with the word *yiḳrā* ('he called') of v.[18], and evidently interprets *'Ēn-haḳḳōrē* as 'the spring of him that called.' The whole narrative is rather obscure, and the tr. in some instances doubtful, but probably the story is something to the following effect. After his exertions in slaughtering the Philistines, Samson was very thirsty, and, finding no water, he cried to J", who clave the *maktēsh* ('mortar' or 'hollow place') which is in Lehi, and from a cleft in one of its sides water flowed (so Moore). This certainly seems preferable to the interpretation represented by AV, which understands the water to have sprung from a hollow place in the jaw (*lehi*).

There is much difference of opinion regarding the situation of 'En-haḳḳōrē. In Jerome's time it was shown at Eleutheropolis; Conder identifies it with 'Ayūn Ḳāra, N.W. of Zorah; Van de Velde with a large spring between Tell el-Lekîyeh (4 miles N. of Beersheba) and Khuweilfeh.

LITERATURE.—Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 277, *Bible Places*, 67; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 318 f., 396 ff.; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 343; Moore, *Judges*, 346 ff.; Reuss, *AT* i. 158; *PEFSt*, 1869, 182. J. A. SELBIE.

EN-HAZOR (עֵין חָצוֹר), 'spring of Hazor,' Jos 19[37]. —A town of Naphtali, noticed between Kedesh, Edrei, and Iron. There were three Hazors in Upper Galilee, and the site is uncertain; but the most probable place for En-hazor seems to be *Ḥazîreh*, on the W. slopes of the mountains of Upper Galilee, W. of Kedesh. See *SWP* vol. i. sheet iii. C. R. CONDER.

ENJOIN.—To enjoin is first to 'join together' (Lat. *in-jungere*), as Mt 19[6] Wyc. (1380), 'therefore a man departe nat that thing that God enjoyngde, or knytte to gidre.' But it early came to mean to 'impose' something on some one. Generally it is a duty or penalty; but in Job 36[23] it is used in the rare sense of commanding or directing one's way, 'Who hath enjoyned him his way?' (פָּקַד). The later and mod. sense of 'command' is found in Est 9[31], He 9[20] ('enjoined unto you'; RV 'commanded to youward'), and Philem [8] 'I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee.' J. HASTINGS.

ENLARGE, ENLARGEMENT.—To 'enlarge' is to 'cause to be large' that which is narrow or confined. It also signifies 'to make larger' that which may be considered large already, as Mt 23[5] 'they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments' (μεγαλύνω); but the prefix *en-* (=Lat. *in*) has properly a strong causative force, as in 'enable,' 'enfeeble,' 'enrich.' Hence arises the meaning of 'set at large,' 'liberate,' as in Sidney, *Arcadia* (1622), 329, 'Like a Lionesse lately enlarged.' This is undoubtedly the meaning of **enlargement** in its only occurrence Est 4[14] 'For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there e. and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place' (רֶוַח, AVm 'respiration,' RV 'relief'). Cf. Act 32, Henry VIII. c. 2, § 9 (1540), 'After his enlargement and commyng out of prison.' And that 'enlarge' is used in this sense in AV is evident, as Ps 4[1] 'thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress' (RV 'hast set me at large'); prob. also 2 S 22[37]=Ps 18[36] 'thou hast enlarged my steps under me.' So when applied to the heart, Ps 119[32] (הַרְחִיב), Is 60[5] (רָחַב), 2 Co 6[11] (πλατύνω), the sense is first of all freedom, and then the joy that flows from it (cf. 2 Co 6[13] πλατύνω, and 10[15] μεγαλύνω), the opp. being 'to be straitened,' as in La 1[20] (cf. Jer 4[19] 'I am pained at my very heart,' lit., as RVm 'the walls of my heart!'), and 2 Co 6[12]. J. HASTINGS.

EN-MISHPAT (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט), 'spring of judgment,' or 'decision' (by oracle), Gn 14[7].—A name for Kadesh—probably Kadesh-barnea. See KADESH.

ENNATAN ('Εννατάν, AV **Eunatan**), 1 Es 8[44] ([43] LXX).—See ELNATHAN.

ENOCH (חֲנוֹךְ).—**1.** The eldest son of Cain (Gn 4[17. 18]). His father is said to have built a city and called it after his son's name. Its identity is quite uncertain (cf. Dillm. and Del. *ad loc.*, also Budde, *Urgesch.* 120 ff.). **2.** The son of Jared, and father of Methuselah, seventh in descent from Adam in the line of Seth. His life is described by the remarkable expression, 'Enoch walked with God' (Gn 5[24]). Not less remarkable is the brief account given of his death. After 365 years 'he was not, for God took him.' This is under-

stood by the writer to the Hebrews to mean, 'By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and he was not found, because God translated him' (He 11^5). In Jewish tradition many fabulous legends gathered around Enoch. He was represented as the inventor of letters, arithmetic, and astronomy, and as the first author. A book containing his visions and prophecies was said to have been preserved by Noah in the ark, and handed down through successive generations. (See Ryle in *Expos. Times*, iii. (1892), 355, and *Early Narratives of Genesis*, p. 90 f.; and the next three articles.) R. M. BOYD.

ENOCH IN NT.—Enoch, the son of Jared (Gn $5^{18ff.}$), is mentioned in three passages of the NT; traditional exegesis has found an allusion to him in a fourth.

1. In Lk 3^{37} he has a place among the ancestors of our Lord.

2. In He 11^5 it is said that 'by faith Enoch was translated.' His faith is inferred (v.^{6}) from the LXX word *εὑηρέστησεν* (Gn $5^{22.\ 24}$; this verb is used in translating the Heb. 'to walk with [before]' in Genesis *ll.cc.* 6^9 17^1 24^{40} 48^{15}, Ps 114^9, Sir 44^{16}, cf. Ps 25^3 34^{14}). Nothing is added in He 11^5 to the record of Gen. *l.c.* (LXX), except the explanatory phrase *τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον*. With this exposition in the Alexandrian Epistle to the Hebrews it is interesting to compare the allegorical interpretation of Philo *de Abr.* §§ 3, 4. The name Ἐνώχ is explained by him as meaning (*ὡς ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν*) *κεχαρισμένος* (*i.e.* חָנוֹךְ is connected with חֵן). The *μετάθεσις* is explained as *πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή*; the *οὐχ ηὑρίσκετο* as signifying *either* that after repentance the old evil life is blotted out as though it had never been, *or* that the good man (*ὁ ἀστεῖος*) *ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ μόνωσιν ἀγαπᾷ*. Though in the original Hebrew of Sir 44^{16} Enoch is described as 'an example (*lit.* sign) of knowledge' (cf. *σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ*, Wis 4^{11}), yet in the Greek and Old Latin (Cod. Am. 'ut det gentibus pœnitentiam'), as in Philo, he is represented as 'an example of repentance.' In Sir 49^{14} (*ἀνελήμφθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*; cf. Cod. Am. in 44^{16} 'translatus est in paradiso') his translation is interpreted literally. Josephus (*Ant.* I. iii. 4) uses an ambiguous classical phrase, 'He went unto the Deity (*ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον*); hence neither is his death recorded.' For Jewish and Christian legends about Enoch, see the references in Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 342, II. iii. 70.

3. In Jude ^{14} the description *ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ* is taken from the Book of Enoch (60^8 93^3), and a passage from that book ($1^{1.\ 9}$) is quoted as a warning actually uttered by the patriarch, dealing prophetically (*ἐπροφ. καὶ τούτοις*) with the false teachers of the apostolic age. The text of the passage in Enoch comes to us in three forms. (*a*) The Akhmîm fragment: *ὅτι ἔρχεται σὺν τοῖς* [*sic*] *μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων, καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἐλέγξει* (MS *λένξει*) *πᾶσαν σάρκα περὶ πάντων ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.* (*b*) *Ad Novatianum* 16 (Hartel, *Cyprian*, iii. p. 67; Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuch.* xiii. 1, assigns the treatise to Sixtus II. of Rome, cf. Benson, *Cyprian*, p. 557 ff.): 'Sicut scriptum est: Ecce venit cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum facere judicium de omnibus et perdere omnes impios et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum quæ fecerunt impie et de omnibus verbis impiis quæ de Deo locuti sunt peccatores.' (*c*) The Ethiopic version (ed. Charles, p. 59): 'And lo! He comes with ten thousands of (His) holy ones to execute judgment upon them, and He will destroy the ungodly, and will convict all flesh of all that the sinners and ungodly have wrought and ungodly committed against Him.' It is clear that Jude * quotes loosely and abbreviates, but it will be noticed that (1) in *ἰδού* Jude agrees with *Novat.* Eth. against Gr.; (2) in *ἐλέγξαι* he coincides with *Novat.* alone, as possibly (for the tense of *venit* is ambiguous) in *ἦλθε*. On the importance of the citation in *ad Novat.* and its independence of Jude (contrast Westcott, *Canon*, p. 374), see Harnack, *op. cit.* p. 57, and especially Zahn, *Gesch. des Neut. Kanons*, ii. p. 797 ff. It may be added that Jude's quotation from Enoch was regarded (*α*) by Tertullian, *De Cult. Fem.* i. 3, as upholding Enoch; (*β*) by some referred to by Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* 4, as condemning Jude.

4. A very common Patristic opinion, found as early as Tert. *De Anima*, 50; Hippol. *De Antichr.* 43 (cf. Bonwetsch, *Texte u. Untersuch.* xvi. 2, p. 48), identified 'the two witnesses' of Rev 11 with Enoch and Elijah (see the references in *Speaker's Commentary*, p. 651). F. H. CHASE.

ENOCH, (ETHIOPIC) BOOK OF—

I. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.—In Gn 5^{24} it is said of Enoch that he walked with God. This expression was taken in later times to mean that he enjoyed superhuman privileges, by means of which he received special revelations as to the origin of evil, the relations of men and angels in the past, their future destinies, and particularly the ultimate triumph of righteousness. It was not unnatural, therefore, that an apocalyptic literature began to circulate under his name in the centuries when such literature became current. In the *Book of Enoch*, translated from the Ethiopic, we have large fragments of such a literature proceeding from a variety of Pharisaic writers in Palestine, and in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (see next art.), translated from the Slavonic, we have additional portions of this literature. The latter book was written for the most part by Hellenistic Jews in Egypt.

The Ethiopic Book of Enoch was written in the second and first centuries B.C. It was well known to the writers of NT, and to some extent influenced alike their thought and diction. Thus it is quoted as a genuine work of Enoch by Jude ($^{14ff.}$). Phrases, and at times entire clauses, belonging to it are reproduced in NT, but without acknowledgment of their source. Barnabas (*Ep.* iv. 3, xvi. 5) quotes it as Scripture. It was much used by the Jewish authors of the *Book of the Secrets of E.* and of the *Book of Jubilees*; in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* its citations are treated as Scripture, and in the later apocalypses of Baruch and 4 Ezra there are many tokens of its influence. Thus during the 1st cent. of the Christian era it possessed, alike with Jew and Christian, the authority of a deutero-canonical book. In the 2nd cent. of our era it was rejected by the Jews, as were also many other Jewish Messianic writings that had been tr^{d} into Greek and well received in the Christian Church. But with the earlier Fathers and apologists of Christianity it preserved its high position till about the close of the 3rd cent. Henceforth it gradually fell into discredit, and finally was banned by the chief teachers of the Church. Thus the book ceased to circulate in all but the Church of Abyssinia, where it was rediscovered in 1773 by Bruce. This traveller brought home two MSS of this book, and from one of these Lawrence made the first modern translation of Enoch in 1821.

II. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—Apocalyptic scholars

* In the text of Jude there are some important variants, the chief being these: (1) in v.^{14} ℵ cur.^{3} sah. arm. read *ἐν μυριάσιν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων* (cf. *Novat.*); (2) in v.^{15} ℵ sah. for *π. τοὺς ἀσεβῆς* read *πᾶσαν ψυχήν*.

are now practically agreed that E. was derived from a Sem. original. The only question at issue now is: Was the original in Heb. or Aramaic? Halévy, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1867, pp. 352–395, decides in favour of the former; and, so far as our present materials go, this view may be regarded as valid. Some Dutch and German scholars, it is true, think that it is possible to prove an Aram. original by means of the Aram. forms preserved in the Gizeh Greek fragment, *i.e.* φουκα in 18^{8}, μανδοβαρα in 28^{1}, and βαβδηρα in 29^{1}. The first is undoubtedly an Aram. form of פּוּק, and the two latter of קִרְקַר. But it is over-hasty to conclude from the presence of these two Aramaisms upon an Aram. original; for exactly on the same grounds we should be obliged to conclude to an Aram. original of Neh 2^{14}, where the Aram. form Αἰνά is found in the LXX as a transliteration of עֵין. In the Eth. VS also of Jos 5^{6}, 1 K 5^{25} [Eng. ^{11}], and Ezk 1^{14} there are transliterations of Heb. words in Aram. forms.

III. VERSIONS.—*Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic.*—The Heb. original was translated into Greek, and the Greek in turn into Ethiopic and Latin. Of the Gr. VS chs. $6–9^{4}$ $8^{4}–10^{14}$ $15–16^{1}$ have been preserved in the Chronography of George Syncellus (*c.* A.D. 800); 89^{42-49} in a Vatican MS published by Mai in the *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, vol. ii.; and 1–32 in the Gizeh MS discovered only a few years ago, and published in 1892. A critical edition of this last fragment by M. Lods appeared shortly afterwards, and in 1893 it was edited by the present writer with an exhaustive comparison of the Eth. and Gr. VSS of 1–32 as an appendix to his work on Enoch. This study led to the following conclusions:—'The Eth. VS preserves a more ancient and trustworthy form of text than the Gizeh Greek MS; it has fewer additions, fewer omissions, and fewer and less serious corruptions of the text' (Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 324). The other two Gr. fragments will be found in the same work.

The Lat. VS is wholly lost with the exception of two small fragments: of these the first is 1^{9}, and is found in the pseudo-Cyprian treatise, *Ad Novatianum* (see Zahn's *Gesch. des Neutest. Kanons*, ii. 797–801). The second, which embraces 106^{1-18}, was found by James in an 8th cent. MS in the British Museum, and published in his *Apocrypha Anecdota*, vol. i. A critical ed. of its text will be found in Charles, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 372–375. To these we might also add Tertullian's *De Cult. Fem.* i. 2, and *De Idol.* iv., which may point to a Latin text of 8^{1} and 99^{7}.

The Eth. VS alone preserves the entire text, and that in a most trustworthy condition. (*a*) *The Ethiopic MSS.*—There are twenty or more of these in the different libraries of Europe. Of these about half are in the British Museum alone, which happily also possesses the most valuable of all the MSS—that designated Orient. 485 in its catalogue of Eth. MSS. (*b*) *Editions of the Eth. Text.*—Only two edd. have appeared—that of Lawrence in 1838 from one MS, and that of Dillmann in 1851 from five MSS. Unhappily, these MSS were late and corrupt. The present writer hopes to issue later a text based on the incomparably better MSS now accessible to scholars. Such a text is actually presupposed in his translation and commentary of 1893. (*c*) *Translations and Commentaries.*—Translations accompanied by commentaries have been edited by Lawrence (1821), Hofmann (1833–1838), Dillmann (1853), Schodde (1882), and Charles (1893). Of Dillmann's and Schodde's translations the reader will find a short review in Charles (pp. 6–9). (*d*) *Critical Inquiries.*—Some account of these will be found in Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 70–73, and in Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 9–21, 309–311.

Of the many scholars who have written on this book, the works of the following deserve special mention here:—Lücke, *Einleit. in d. Offenb. d. Johannes*^{2}, 1852; Ewald, *Abhandl. über d. äthiop. B. Henokh Entsteh., Sinn, und Zusammensetzung*, 1855; Köstlin, 'Ueber d. Entsteh. d. B. Henoch' (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, pp. 240–279, 370–386); Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüd. Apokalyptik*, 1857, pp. 91–184; Gebhardt, *Die 70 Hirten d. B. Henoch u. ihre Deutungen* (Merx' *Archiv*, 1872, vol. ii. Heft ii. pp. 163–246); Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, 1887, 17–73; Lipsius in Smith and Wace's *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* 1880, ii. 124–128; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 54–73; Lawlor in *Journ. of Philology*, xxv. (1897) 164–225.

IV. THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE BOOK, WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS AND DATES.—The Bk. of E. is a fragmentary survival of an entire literature that once circulated under his name. To this fact the plurality of books assigned to E. from the first may in some degree point; as, for instance, the expression 'books' in 104^{12}; *Test. XII Patriarch. Jud.* 18; Origen, *c. Celsum*, v. 54, *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2, and elsewhere. Of this literature five distinct fragments have been preserved in the five books into which the Bk. of E. is divided (*i.e.* 1–37. 37–71. 72–82. 83–90. 91–108). These books were originally separate treatises; in later times they were collected and edited, but were much mutilated in the course of redaction and incorporation into a single work. In addition to this E. literature, the final editor of the book made use of a lost Apocalypse, the Bk. of Noah, from which, as well as from other sources, he drew $6^{3}–8^{3}$ 9^{7} $10^{1-3.\ 11}$ 17–20 $39^{1.\ 2a}$ 41^{3-8} 43–44. 50. $54^{7}–55^{2}$ $56^{5}–57^{3a}$ 59–60. 65–69^{25} 71. 80–81. 105–107. This Bk. of Noah is mentioned in the Bk. of Jubilees 10^{13} 21^{10}. Another large fragment of the Bk. of Noah is to be found in the latter.

We have already remarked that in the five books into which the whole work is divided we have the writings of five different authors. Before we proceed to give some of the grounds for this statement, we shall give in merest outline the different constituents which the chief scholars on this subject have found in this work. Lücke in his *Einl. in die Offenb. d. Johannes* regards the book as consisting of two parts. The first part embraces 1–36. 72–105, written at the beg. of the Maccab. revolt, or, according to his later view, in the reign of John Hyrcanus; the second consists of the Similitudes, 36–71, and was written in the early days of Herod the Great. In the latter, however, there are some interpolations. Hofmann (J. Chr. K.) ascribes the entire work to a Christian author of the 2nd cent. In this view he was followed later by Weisse and Philippi. Hofmann deserves mention in this connexion on the ground of his having been the first to give the correct interpretation of the seventy shepherds in 89–90. Ewald (*Abhandl.* 1855) gives the following scheme:—Bk. I. 37–71, *c.* B.C. 144; Bk. II. 1–16. 81^{1-4} 84. 91–105, *c.* B.C. 135; Bk. III. 20–36. 72–90. 106–107, *c.* B.C. 128; 108 later. Bk. IV., the Bk. of Noah, 6^{3-8} 81^{3} 97 $10^{1-3.\ 11.\ 22b}$ 17–19. $547–55^{2}$ $60^{1-10.\ 24.\ 25}$ 64–69^{16}, somewhat later than the preceding. Köstlin in his essay, 'Ueber d. Entsteh. d. B. Henoch' (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856), a contribution of great worth, arrives at the following analysis:—The groundwork, 1–16. 21–34. 72–105, *c.* B.C. 110. The Similitudes, 37–71 and 17–19, before B.C. 64. Noachic fragments, $547–55^{2}$ 60. 65–69^{25}, possibly also 20. 82^{9-20} 106–107. 108 is an Essene addition. Hilgenfeld (*Jüd. Apok.* 1857) regards the groundwork, consisting of 1–16. 20–36. 72–105, as written before B.C. 98; and the remaining chapters as coming from the hand of a Christian Gnostic after the time of Saturninus. We should mention also the interesting studies of Tideman, *ThT.* 1875, pp. 261–296; Lipsius, art. 'Enoch' in Smith's *Dict. Chr. Biog.*; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 54–73; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 17–23; and Schodde, *The Book of Enoch*, 1882. As Dillmann changed his mind three times, and in each instance for the better, it will be enough to give his final analysis. The groundwork, 1–36. 72–105, in the time of John Hyrcanus; the Similitudes and 17–19, before B.C. 64; the Noachic fragments, 6^{3-8} 81^{3} 97 $10^{1.\ 11}$ 20. $39^{1.\ 2a}$ $547–55^{2}$ 60. 65–69^{25} 106–107. 108, from a later hand.

We shall now proceed to discuss this question directly, and try to carry the criticism of the book one stage further towards finality. Disregarding the interpolations from the Bk. of Noah already mentioned, as well as the closing chapter, we shall adduce a few of the grounds on which the compositeness of the rest of the book is determined.

First of all, critics are agreed in ascribing the Similitudes (37–71) to a different authorship from the rest. This is done on the following grounds:—(*a*) Certain names of God are found frequently in 37–71, but not elsewhere in the book. (*b*) The angelology differs. (*c*) The demonology differs. (*d*) The Messianic doctrine not only differs from

that of the rest of the book, but is unique in apocalyptic literature.

As for the remaining chs. 1–36, 72–104, all critics but Ewald and Lipsius have regarded them as the work of one and the same author. But these scholars have differed much from each other on the determination of the different elements present in these chapters, and have failed to gain the suffrage of other scholars as to the justness of their views. In one respect they are undoubtedly right. These chapters are of a composite nature; the more closely they are examined, the more clearly they exhibit conflicting characteristics. When submitted to a searching criticism they fall naturally into four distinct parts, *i.e.* 1–36. 72–82, 83–90, 91–104, differing from each other in authorship, system of thought, and date.

For the grounds for these conclusions the reader must refer to Charles' *Book of Enoch*, pp. 55–56, 187–189, 220–221, 260–263. It will be sufficient here to give some of the reasons for differentiating 83–90 and 91–104, as an illustration of the method there pursued in the criticism of the earlier sections. (*a*) The Messianic kingdom in 91–104 is finite in duration, whereas in 83–90 it is eternal. (*b*) In the former the Messianic judgment takes place at the close of the Messianic kingdom, in the latter at its beginning. (*c*) In the former there is a resurrection of the righteous only, in the latter a resurrection of apostate Jews also. (*d*) In the former the building of the temple precedes the final judgment, in the latter it is subsequent to the final judgment. (*e*) In the former the scene of the Messianic kingdom is apparently heaven, in the latter a purified earth. Now, our conclusion as to the distinct authorship of these two sections on the grounds just given is strikingly confirmed when we observe the forcible dislocations that 91–104 have undergone at the hands of the final editor in order to adapt them to the chapters that precede. Former critics have remarked that 93 must originally have preceded 91^{12-17}, because we have in 93 an account of the first seven weeks of the ten into which the world's history is divided, and in 91^{12-17} the account of the remaining three weeks. They failed, however, to observe that 92^{1}, 'Written by Enoch the scribe, this complete doctrine of wisdom,' etc., formed originally the real beginning of this section. Next, on 92 follows 91^{1-10} as a natural sequel, where E. summons his children to receive his parting words. Then comes the short Apocalypse of ten weeks, 93^{1-10} 91^{12-17}, while $91^{18.19}$ form a natural transition to 94. This section underwent these derangements in the process of its incorporation into a larger work.

As our space does not admit dealing further with the actual criticism of the book, we shall confine ourselves to the statement of results, and to a brief sketch of the various independent writings contained in the entire work, with their probable dates.

Part I., consisting of chs. 1–36 (for the Noachic interpolations see above), was written at latest B.C. 170, and mainly from the prophetic standpoint of such chs. as Is 65–66. This is, undoubtedly, the oldest part of the book, being anterior to 72–82. 83–90. 91–104, as it is used by the writers of these sections. As 83–90 was written not later than B.C. 161, 1–36 must be some years earlier; and as there is no allusion to the massacres of Antiochus Epiphanes, the above date (170) is the latest reasonable limit for its composition. This book, *i.e.* 1–36, is the oldest piece of Jewish literature that teaches the general resurrection of Israel, that describes Sheol according to the conception that prevails in NT as opposed to that of OT, and that represents Gehenna as a final place of punishment. The problem of the author is to justify the ways of God to men. The righteous will not always suffer (1^{1}). Sin is the cause of this suffering, and the sin of man is due, not to Adam, but to the lust of the angels—the watchers ($9^{6.9.10}$ 10^{8}). Hence the watchers, their companions, and their children will be destroyed ($10^{4-10.12}$), and their destruction will form the prelude to the first world-judgment, of which the Deluge will form the completion (10^{1-3}). But sin still prevails after the Deluge, through the influence of the evil spirits that go forth from the slaughtered children of the watchers and the daughters of men (16^{1}). These act with impunity till the final judgment. In the meantime, character finds its recompense, in some measure, immediately after death (22). In the last judgment the watchers, the demons, and all classes of Isr., with one exception, will receive their final award (1^{9} 22^{13}). This judgment is preceded by a general resur. of Israel (22). The wicked are cast into Gehenna (27^{2}), the earth is cleansed from sin (10^{20-22}), the Mess. kingdom is established with Jerus. as its centre (25^{5}), and God abides with men (25^{3}). The Gentiles become righteous and worship God (10^{21}). The righteous eat of the tree of life (25^{4-6}), and thereby enjoy patriarchal lives (5^{9}). As to what befalls the righteous after the second death, there is no hint in this fragmentary section.

Part II., consisting of 83–90, was written between B.C. 166–161 by a Ḥasid in support of the Maccab. movement, and mainly from the same standpoint as Daniel. On a variety of grounds we are obliged to discriminate this section from the preceding. It will be enough to mention that, whereas there is a Messiah in the latter, there is none in the former; in the latter the life of the righteous is apparently unending, in the former it is finite; in the latter the scene of the kingdom is the New Jerus. set up by God Himself, in the former it is Jerus. and the entire earth unchanged though purified. Finally, the picture in 83–90 is developed and spiritual, while that in 1–36 is naïve, primitive, and sensuous.

The date assigned above is not difficult to fix. The Ḥasidim, symbolized by the lambs that are born to the white sheep (90^{6}), are already an organized party in the Maccab. revolt. The lambs that become horned are the Maccab. family, and the great horn who is still warring while the author of the section is writing, is Judas the Maccabee (90^{9}), who died B.C. 161. Chs. 83–90 recount two visions, 83–84 deal with the first world-judgment, 85–90 with the entire history of the world till the final judgment. In the second vision the interest centres mainly in the calamities that befall Isr. from the exile onwards. Why has Isr. become a byword among the nations, and the servant of one Gentile power after another? Is there no recompense for the righteous nation and the righteous individual? Isr. has indeed sinned, but the punishment immeasurably transcends the guilt. But these undue severities, according to the author, have not come upon Isr. from God's hand, but from the seventy shepherds into whose care God committed Isr. (89^{59}). These shepherds or angels have proved faithless to their trust, but not with impunity. An account has been taken of all their deeds and of all whom they have wickedly destroyed (89^{61-64}). Moreover, when the outlook is darkest, a righteous league will be established in Isr. (90^{6}), and from a family belonging to it will come forth the deliverer, *i.e.* Judas Maccabæus (90^{9-16}). Every effort of the Gentiles to destroy him will prove vain, and God's intervention personally will be the signal for their destruction (90^{19}). The wicked shepherds and fallen watchers will be cast into the abyss of fire (Tartarus), and the apostates into Gehenna (90^{20-25}). Then God Himself will set up the New Jerus. ($90^{28.29}$), the dispersion will be brought back to Jerus., the righteous dead raised to take part in the kingdom, and the surviving Gentiles will be converted and serve Isr. (90^{30}). Finally, the Messiah will appear amongst them (90^{37}), and His kingdom will endure for ever. It should be observed that we have here the earliest appearance of the Messiah in non-canonical literature.

Part III., consisting of 91–104, was written between B.C. 134–95. The clearly defined opposition between the righteous and their Sadducean opponents which appears so frequently in this section cannot have been earlier than the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees, hence not earlier than B.C. 134, and not subsequent to B.C. 95; for it is not reasonable to suppose that the savage cruelties that won for Jannæus the title 'slayer of the pious' could have been referred to only once, and that incidentally, in the general terms of 103^{15}. On the derangements which this section has sustained at the hands of the final editor we have already touched above.

The internal difference that subsists between this section and Part II. is very remarkable. As we pass from 83–90 to 91–104 we feel we are entering into a world of new conceptions. In all previous apocalyptic writings the resur. and the final judgment have been the prelude to an everlasting Mess. kingdom, and not till then, in fact, do the righteous enter on their reward. But the Mess. kingdom to which this writer looks forward is only of temporary duration (91^{12-15}). In this kingdom no place is found for a Messiah; the righteous, with God's help, vindicate their just cause and destroy their oppressors. On the close of this kingdom follow the final judgment and the risen spiritual life of blessedness in a new heaven (91^{10} 92^{3}). From such a view of the future it is obvious that, for the writer, the centre of interest has passed from the material world to the spiritual, and the Mess. kingdom is no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Their faith finds its satisfaction only in a blessed immortality in heaven itself. The righteous, it is true, who are living on the advent of the Mess. kingdom will indeed be recompensed with all good things, but the departed righteous will not rise thereto, but to the everlasting spiritual life which will follow the final judgment. This blessed immortality after the final judgment is an immortality of the soul only ($103^{3.4}$), a view that is implied also in the later books, the Ps-Sol and the Book of Jubilees. As for the wicked, they shall descend into the Sheol of darkness and flame, and abide there everlastingly ($98^{3.10}$ $104^{7.8}$). In this section Sheol appears as hell, possibly for the first time in literature (103^{7}).

Part IV. The Similitudes, consisting of 37–70, were written between B.C. 94–79 or B.C. 70–64. With some of the characteristics which distinguish these chapters from the rest of the book we have already dealt above. We are here concerned mainly with the determination of the date. 'The kings and the mighty,' so often denounced in the Similitudes, are the *later* Maccab. princes and their Sadducean supporters; for the blood of the righteous was not shed, as the writer complains, before B.C. 95:—the later *Maccab.* princes and not the Herods; for the Sadducees were not allies of the latter, and Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers. This last fact necessitates an earlier date than B.C. 64, when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judæa. If the reader will turn to the list of Noachic interpolations he will find that many of them are to be found in this section. These have, as a rule, been drawn from an already existing Apoc. of Noah and adapted by their editor to their adjoining contexts in Enoch. This he does by borrowing characteristic terms, such as 'Lord of Spirits,' 'Head of Days,' 'Son of Man,' to which, either through ignorance or of set intention, he generally gives a new connotation.

In his attempt to solve the problem of the suffering of the

righteous, this author has no interest save in the moral and spiritual worlds. His view, too, is strongly apocalyptic, and follows closely in the wake of Daniel. The origin of sin is traced one stage farther back than in 1–36. The first authors of sin were the Satans (40^{7}). The watchers fell through becoming subject to these, and leading mankind astray (54^{6}). Though the watchers were forthwith confined in a deep abyss, sin still flourishes in the world, and sinners deny the name of the Lord of spirits (38^{2}) and of His Anointed (48^{10}), and the kings and the mighty oppress the children of God (62^{11}). But suddenly there will appear the Head of Days, and with Him the Son of Man (46$^{2.\ 3.\ 4}$ 48^{2}), to execute judgment upon all alike. And to this end there will be a resur. of all Isr. (51^{1} 61^{5}), and all judgment will be committed to the Son of Man (41^{9}, 69^{27}), who will judge all according to their deeds (41^{1}). Sin and wrong-doing will be banished from the earth (49^{2}), and heaven and earth will be transformed (45$^{4.\ 5}$), and the righteous will have their mansions therein (39^{6} 41^{2}). The Elect One will dwell amongst them (45^{4}); they will be clad in garments of life (62$^{15.\ 16}$), and become angels in heaven (51^{4}), and continue to grow in knowledge and righteousness (58^{3}).

It will be observed that the Messianic doctrine in this section is unique, not only as regards the other sections of E., but also in Jewish literature as a whole. The Messiah pre-exists from the beginning (48^{2}); He sits on the throne of God (45^{3} 47^{3}), and possesses universal dominion (62^{6}), and all judgment is committed unto Him (69^{27}). If we turn to the other sections we find that in 1–36 and 91–104 there is no Messiah at all, while in 83–90 the Messiah is evidently human, and has no real rôle to play in the doctrine of the last things.

Before we pass to Part V. it will be advantageous to observe that the varying relations in which the Maccabees stood to the Hasid or Pharisaic party are faithfully reflected in the Books of E., *i.e.* Parts II., III., and IV. In Part II., *i.e.* 83–90, the Maccabees are the leaders of the righteous, and their efforts form the prelude to the Mess. kingdom. In Part III., *i.e.* 91–104, they are no longer at the head of the Hasids, but as yet they have not become their declared foes: they are the secret abettors of their Sadducean oppressors. But when we come to Part IV., *i.e.* the Similitudes, the Maccab. princes have ceased to disguise their enmity, and now take the lead in every act of oppression and murder practised on the Pharisees.

Part V. The Book of Celestial Physics consists of 72–78. 82. 79. Here, as in Part III., the order of the chapters has been changed by the final editor; 79, which forms the true conclusion of this work, has been placed immediately after 78, and two chapters, 80–81, which are quite alien in spirit and statement, have been interpolated.

The chronological system of this book, which is most perplexing, constitutes an attempt to establish an essentially Heb. calendar over-against the heathen calendars in vogue around. Though quite valueless in itself, it gives us some knowledge of the chronological systems that were known to Pal. Jews. Thus the writer is acquainted with the signs of the zodiac, the spring and autumn equinoxes, the summer and winter solstices, and the synodic months. He is familiar also with the Gr. eight-year cycle, and the seventy-six years' cycle of Calippus.

Part VI. The interpolations from the Book of Noah. These have been enumerated above. By means of these fragments, and of the large section of this lost book preserved in the Book of Jubilees, and of others still surviving in later Heb. literature, it would be possible to restore the Book of Noah in some of its main outlines.

V. Influence on Later Literature.—The influence of E. on Jewish literature, to exclude for the moment the NT, is seen in the Bk. of Jubilees (written about the beginning of the Christian era), the Slavonic Enoch (A.D. 1–50), the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra. It is important to observe that, in the last two books just enumerated, E. is not mentioned by name, although their writers laid the Enochic books not infrequently under contribution. This silence, however, was intentional. E.'s acceptance among Christians as a Messianic prophet was the ground of his rejection among the Jews; and although, prior to A.D. 40, he was the chief figure, next to Daniel, in Jewish apocalyptic, in subsequent Jewish literature his functions and achievements are assigned to others, such as Moses, Ezra, Baruch. This opposition to E. is unswervingly pursued in the Talm., and his name and works are always studiously ignored (see Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. 21–22, 101). On these facts we might found an Enochic canon. *No early Jewish book which extols E. could have been written after* A.D. 50, *and the attribution of E.'s words and achievements in early Jewish works to some other OT hero is a sign that they were written subsequent to the Pauline preaching of Christianity.*

In Patristic literature Enoch is twice cited as Scripture in the Ep. of Barnabas (4^{3} 16^{5}). It is also quoted with approval, though not always by name, by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Clement Alex., Origen, Anatolius. Thenceforward it is mentioned with disapproval by Hilary, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, and finally condemned in explicit terms in the *Const. Ap.* vi. 16.

Far surpassing in importance the preceding was its influence on NT (*a*) diction and (*b*) doctrine.

(*a*) We shall here draw attention only to the indubitable instances. It is quoted directly in Jude$^{14.\ 15}$. Phrases, clauses, or thoughts derived from it are found also in Jude^{4}, Rev 2^{7} 3^{10} 4^{6} 6^{10} 9^{1} 14^{20} 20^{13}, Ro 8^{38} 9^{5}, Eph 1^{21}, He 11^{5}, Ac 3^{14}, Jn 5$^{22.\ 27}$, Lk 9^{35} 16^{9} 23^{35}, Mt 19^{28} 25^{41} 26^{24}.

(*b*) The doctrines in E. that had a share in moulding the corresponding NT doctrines, or formed a necessary link in the development of doctrine from OT to NT, are those concerning the Messianic kingdom and the Messiah, Sheol and the Resurrection, and demonology. As we cannot here enter into a discussion of these questions, we shall confine our remarks to the doctrine of the Messiah in Enoch. First, we should observe that four titles, applied, for the first time in literature, to the personal Messiah in the Similitudes, are afterwards reproduced in NT. These are 'Christ' (or 'the Anointed One'), 'the Righteous One,' 'the Elect One,' and 'the Son of Man.' The first title, found repeatedly in earlier writings, but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time (48^{10} 52^{4}) applied to the Messianic king that is to come. It is here associated with supernatural attributes. In Ps-Sol, written a few years later, it is applied to a merely human Messiah. The second and third titles, 'the Righteous One,' 'the Elect One,' which are found first in E., have passed over into NT, the former occurring in Ac 3^{14} 7^{52} 22^{14}, the latter in Lk 9^{35} 23^{35}. The last title, 'the Son of Man,' appears for the first time in Jewish literature in E., and is historically the source of the NT designation. To the latter it contributes some of its most characteristic contents, particularly those relating to judgment and universal authority. Thus statements in E. respecting the Son of Man are quoted by the evangelists respecting the NT Son of Man. Jn 5$^{22.\ 27}$ 'He hath committed all judgment unto the Son . . . because he is the Son of Man,' is a quotation from Enoch 69^{27} 'The sum of judgment was committed unto him, the Son of Man.' It should be here observed that in E. the Messiah is represented for the first time as Judge of mankind. Again, Mt 19^{28} 'When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory' is from Enoch 62^{3} 'When they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory.' It is well known that the use of this phrase as a Mess. title is confined in NT, with two exceptions, to the Gospels, and in them it is used only by our Lord in speaking of Himself. Its survival, however, as a Mess. designation among the Jews, is attested by a passage in the Talm. Jer., *Taanith* ii. 1: 'Abbahu said: "If a man says to thee—I am God, he lies; I am the Son of Man—he will at last repent it: I ascend to heaven—if he said it, he will not prove it."' See further, Eschat. of Apocr.

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Enoch, Book of the Secrets of.—In Origen's *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 we find the following statement in reference to the Bk. of Enoch:—'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui . . . esse fecit omnia . . . sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' Now, as a matter of fact, this statement cannot be justified from the Ethiopic Enoch. Accordingly, till the discovery of the present book it was necessary to assume either

that we had here a mistake of Origen, or else that he had before him a portion of the Enoch literature unknown to later generations. That the latter assumption was the true one we are now able to see; for in the 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch' we have an elaborate account of the creation, 24–29[3], and an insistence on the unity of God, 33[3] 36[1]. Further, in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* there are several direct references to the Bk. of Enoch. Some of them have clearly to do with the Ethiopic Enoch, but others have as clearly no connexion with it. Now, the bulk of the latter may be traced to the book with which we are at present dealing. This book, as it has been preserved only in Slavonic, it will be convenient to call 'the Slavonic Enoch' in contradistinction to the older book, which we may fitly designate 'the Ethiopic Enoch,' seeing that it has come down to us in its entirety only in that language.

This new fragment of the Enoch literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS which were found in Russia and Servia. Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably 1200 years, it was nevertheless much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgment, in the Book of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (A.D. 400–500), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Ep. of Barnabas (A.D. 70–90). It is quoted by name in the apocalyptic portions of the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* (*c.* A.D. 1). It was referred to by Origen, and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and was used by Irenæus. Some phrases of NT may be derived from it.

The Slavonic MSS.—There are five Slav. MSS. The first (*i.e.* A) belongs to the 17th cent., and contains the complete text. It was edited by Popov in 1880, and forms the basis of the text which appears in the Morfill-Charles ed. of 1896. The second MS—a 16th cent. one—was discovered by Sokolov in 1886. This also preserves the complete text. The remaining three MSS are very incomplete. The most important of these (*i.e.* B) is preserved in the Public Library of Belgrade.

Editions and Translations.—The present writer, learning through a German review in 1892 of the existence of a Slav. VS of the Ethiopic Bk. of Enoch, at once proceeded by Mr. Morfill's help to make himself acquainted with two distinct recensions of this work. This speedily led to the discovery that it was not a Slav. VS of the Ethiopic Enoch, but of a hitherto unknown and extremely valuable pseudepigraph. By means of Mr. Morfill's tr. of the MSS A and B and of Sokolov's texts, an Eng. VS and ed. of this book was issued in the beginning of 1896. Six months later Bonwetsch's *Das Slav. Henochbuch* appeared, in which German tr[s]. of the MSS A and B are given side by side, preceded by a short introduction, founded professedly in the main on Charles' edition. This is a serviceable work.

II. Language and Place of Writing.—The main part of this book was written at the first in Greek. This is clear from such statements as (1) 30[13] 'And I gave him a name (*i.e.* Adam) from the four substances: the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is thus derived from the initial letters of the Gr. names of the four quarters, *i.e.* *ἀνατολή*, *δύσις*, *ἄρκτος*, *μεσημβρία*. This fanciful derivation was first elaborated in Greek, as it is impossible in the Sem. languages; but the idea that Adam was created from dust belonging to the four quarters of the earth is Jewish. (2) The writer follows the chronology of the LXX. (3) In 50[4] he reproduces the LXX text of Dt 32[35] against the Hebrew. (4) He constantly uses Sir, which was chiefly current in Egypt. But though the main part of the book was written originally in Greek, certain portions of it were based on Heb. originals. Such an hypothesis is necessary to account for the quotations from or references to it which appear in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. The fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its authors drew upon Heb. originals in their references to and quotations from the Slavonic Enoch.

The book was written in Egypt. This is deducible from the following facts:—(1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and other Hellenistic writers: thus souls were created before the foundation of the world, 23[5]; cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; Wis 8[19. 20]. Again, man has seven natures, 30[9]; cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of OT finds not a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with most of its books. (3) The Phœnixes and Chalkydries of ch. 12 are natural products of the Egyp. imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the creation narrative in 25–26 betrays Egyp. elements.

III. Relation to Jewish and Christian Literature.

Materials originally derived from this book are discoverable in Cedrenus and Joel (A.D. 1050–1200), though in these authors these materials are assigned to other names. Two passages of the Book of Adam and Eve in I. vi. and viii. are all but quotations from 29[4. 5] and 31[2] of our book. Again, in the Apoc. of Moses (ed. Tisch. 1866), p. 19, we have a further development of 14[2-4] of our text, just as in the Apoc. of Paul, p. 64, *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἔνθα . . . δένδρον . . . ἐν ᾧ ἐπαναπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, is a Christian adaptation of 8[3] 'And in the midst (of Paradise is) the tree of life . . . on which God rests when he comes unto Paradise.' Again, the words, p. 64, *ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα*, and p. 52, *ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον*, are verbal reproductions of 8[5] 'From its root in the garden there go forth four streams which pour honey and milk, oil and wine, and are separated in four directions.' The passage in the anonymous *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, is ultimately derived from 30[13], and Augustine's peculiar speculation on the eighth eternal day (*De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5) from 33[2].

Still earlier we find almost a verbal reproduction of 50[5]–51[1] in the Sibylline Oracles, ii. 75. In Irenæus, *Contra Hær.* v. 28. 3, the Jewish speculation of 33[1-2] is reproduced, and possibly in Origen (see Lommatzsch, ed. xxi. 59). However this may be, there is no doubt as to the direct reference to 24–30. 33[3], in the *De Princip.* i. 3. 2, as we have already shown above. In a still earlier period, A.D. 50–100, the writer of the Ascension of Isaiah 8[16] was most probably acquainted with 19[1], and the writer of the Apoc. Bar 59[5. 8. 10. 11] with various passages of this book. In the Ep. of Barnabas 15[5-8], and probably in 18[1], the thought and diction are dependent on 32[2–33] and 30[15].

In NT the similarity of matter and language is sufficiently great to establish a close connexion, if not a literary dependence. With Mt 5[9] 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' cf. 52[11] 'Blessed is he who establishes peace'; with Mt 5[34. 35. 37] 'Swear not at all,' etc., cf. 49[1] 'I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. . . . If there is no truth in man, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay.' Again, with Mt 7[20] and 25[34] cf. 42[14] and 9[1]; with Jn 14[2] cf. 61[2]; with Eph 4[25] cf. 42[12]; with Rev 9[1] and 10[5-6] cf. 42[1] and 65[7].

Still earlier we find this book not only used, but quoted by name in the *Test. Dan.* 5, where the statement, *τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης· ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἀρχων ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Σατανᾶς*, is drawn from 18[3] 'These are the Grigori (*i.e.* 'Ἐγρηγοροί) who with their prince Satanail rejected the holy Lord.' Finally, the references to Enoch in *Test. Naph.* 4, *ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἁγίᾳ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καίγε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ Κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν Σοδόμων· καὶ ἐπάξει ὑμῖν Κύριος αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἂν ἀναλώσῃ Κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς*, are an adaptation of 34[1-3] 'I know the wickedness of men . . . that they will cast off my yoke . . . and fill all the world with . . . sodomy and all other impure practices . . . and on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth, and I will destroy all.' In the *Test. Sim.* 5, *Test. Benj.* 9, we find additional references to this prophecy, in which Enoch foretold the impure practices of men. *Test. Jud.* 18 may be derived from the same source.

IV. Date and Authorship.—The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The portions which have a Heb. background are at latest pre-Christian. This follows from the fact of their quotation in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. Turning to the rest of the book, the *terminus a quo* is determined by the fact that it frequently uses Sir, cf. 43[2-3] 47[5] 52[8] 61[2. 4] etc. The Ethiopic Enoch, further, is continu-

ally presupposed in the background. Its phraseology and conceptions are reproduced, $7^{4.5}$ $33^{4.9-10}$ 35^{2} etc. At times its views are put forward in a developed form, $8^{1.5-6}$ 40^{13} 64^{5}; and occasionally divergent conceptions are enunciated, 16^{7} 18^{4}. Finally, explanations are claimed to have been given by this writer which, as a matter of fact, are not to be found in his writings, but in the Ethiopic Enoch, see $40^{5.6.8.9}$. It is possible that Wis was also used by our author, see 65^{4}. Since, therefore, Sir, Eth. Enoch, and Wis (?) were used by this author, his work cannot have been earlier than B.C. 30.

The *terminus ad quem* must be set down as earlier than 70 A.D. For (1) the temple is still standing. (2) This book was known and used by the writers of the Ep. of Barnabas and the Ascension of Isaiah, and probably by some of the writers of NT. We may therefore with reasonable certainty assign the composition of this book in Greek to the period A.D. 1–50, to an author who is thus a contemporary of Philo, and who holds many speculations in common with him.

The author was an orthodox Hellenistic Jew who lived in Egypt. He believed in the value of sacrifices, 42^{6} $59^{1.2}$ 66^{2} (but he is careful to enforce enlightened views with regard to them, $45^{3.4}$ $61^{4.5}$), in the law, $52^{8.9}$, and in a blessed immortality, 50^{2} $65^{6.8-10}$, in which the righteous will wear 'the raiment of God's glory,' 22^{8}. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom, and borrows from every quarter. Thus Platonic 30^{16}, Egyptian 25^{2}, and Zend 58^{4-6} elements are incorporated in this system. The result is highly syncretistic.

V. Analysis of Contents.—The book opens with a short account of Enoch as 'a very wise man' whom 'God loved and received, so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the wise, great, and never-changing God.' In ch. 1 two angels appear to E., and bid him to make ready to ascend with them unto heaven. In ch. 2 E. admonishes his sons 'not to worship vain gods; not to turn aside from God, but to walk before the face of the Lord and keep his judgments,' and directs them not to seek for him till he is brought back to them. Thereupon (3–6) the angels carry E. aloft through the air to the first heaven, where he sees a very great sea, greater than the earthly sea; likewise the elders and the rulers of the stars, and the treasuries of the snow and ice and the dread angels that guard them, and the treasuries of the clouds and of the dew and their guardian angels. Thence (7) he is carried to the second heaven, where he sees 'the prisoners suspended, reserved for, and awaiting the eternal judgment.' And these angels, who together with their prince had rebelled against God, besought E. (just as in Eth. Enoch 13[4]) to intercede for them. And E. answered, 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows whither I go, or what awaits me?' Next E. is carried up to the third heaven (8), and placed 'in the midst of a garden.' And he sees there 'all the trees of beautiful colours, and their fruits ripe and fragrant . . . and the tree of life . . . on which God rests when he comes into Paradise,' and the four streams which go forth from its root, 'pouring honey and milk, oil and wine. . . . And these go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. . . .' And the angels inform E. that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance' for those 'who turn their eyes from unrighteousness and accomplish a righteous judgment, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, . . . and walk without blame before the face of the Lord.' E. is then taken to the northern region of this heaven (10), and shown 'a very terrible place' of 'savage darkness and impenetrable gloom,' with 'fire on all sides, and on all sides cold and ice.' He is then told that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance' for those 'who commit evil deeds on earth, sodomy, witchcraft,' . . . who oppress the poor, who are guilty of 'stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder,' who 'worship gods without life.' Thence E. is conducted to the fourth heaven, where he is shown the courses of the sun and moon (11), and the phœnixes and the chalkadri (12), 'with the feet and tails of lions and the heads of crocodiles; their appearance was of purple colour like the rainbow; their size nine hundred measures. Their wings were like those of angels, each with twelve, and they attend the chariot of the sun.' And the angels show him also the eastern and western gates of the sun (13–16), and 'an armed host serving the Lord with cymbals and organs' (17). In 18 E. is taken up to the fifth heaven, where he sees the watchers who had rebelled, and whose brethren were already confined in torment in the second heaven. Then he passes to the sixth heaven (19), where are the angels who regulate all the powers of nature and the courses of the stars, and write down the deeds of men. Finally, E. is raised to the seventh heaven (20–21), where he sees God sitting on His throne, and the heavenly hosts in their ten orders on the steps of the throne, and the seraphim singing the trisagion. And E. (22) fell down and worshipped; and Michael, at God's command, took from him his earthly robe and anointed him with the holy oil from the *arbor misericordiæ*, the olive tree that stood in the garden, and clothed him with the 'raiment of God's glory.' And thus E. became like one of the glorious ones. And E. (23), under the instruction of Vretil, wrote 366 books in thirty days and thirty nights about things in heaven and earth, and about the souls of men created from eternity, and their future dwelling-places. In 24–26 God makes known to E. how He created the invisible out of the visible: how He commanded Adoil (possibly a corruption of Uriel=light of God) and Arkhas to come forth and burst asunder, and so the light on high and the world below were produced. And God divided the light and the darkness (27), and made the seven heavens. And God caused the waters which are under the heavens to be gathered into one place, and out of the waters He made the earth and an abyss in its midst (28). Such was the work of the first day. And on the second day God 'fashioned for all the heavenly hosts a nature like that of fire' (29^{1-3}), and one of the archangels, Satanail, rebelled, and God cast him down from the heights ($29^{4.5}$). And on the third day God ($30^{1.2}$) caused the earth to produce trees and herbs and every seed that is sown, and planted Paradise. And on the fourth (30^{3-6}) God ordered great lights to be in the various circles of the heavens, *i.e.* Kruno, Aphrodite, Ares, the Sun, Zeus, Hermes, the Moon. And God appointed the sun and moon to give light to the earth, and to proceed through the twelve signs of the zodiac. And on the fifth (30^{7-18}) God created the fish of the sea and the fowl of heaven, and everything that moveth on the earth. And on the sixth He made man from seven substances, and called him Adam, from the four quarters of the world, and showed to him the two ways of light and darkness. And while Adam was in Paradise the heavens were open so that he could see the angels in heaven (31); but Satan envied him, and deceived Eve. And God established the eighth day ($33^{1.2}$), at the beginning of which time should be no more. And God announced Himself to E. as 'the eternal One, and the One not made with hands.' 'My wisdom is my counsellor, and my word is reality.' The corruption of the earth and the Deluge are then foretold, and the preservation of Noah, ch. 35. God bids E. to return to the earth for thirty days and teach his sons during that time (36–38). E. admonishes and instructs his sons, and tells them what he has seen, the courses of the sun and moon, the seasons, the winds, the thunder and lightning, Hades and hell and Paradise, and gives utterance to nine beatitudes (39–42). He impresses on them the incomparable dignity of goodness—'none is greater than he who fears God' (43). They are not to revile the person of man, for he who reviles man in reality reviles God: they are to make their offerings, and yet not to value them unduly, but consider the motive rather from which they spring (44–46). E. gives his books to his sons (47); instructs them not to swear, neither by heaven nor by earth nor by any other creature which God made (49); bids them in meekness to accomplish the number of their days, to refrain from avenging themselves, and to be open-handed to those in need (50–51). Again he enunciates seven beatitudes and their corresponding woes (52). The departed saints do not intercede for the living (53). At the close of the appointed time (55–59) E. again addresses his sons. He announces to them his coming departure to the highest heavens. He declares that no soul shall perish till the final judgment, and that the souls of beasts will then bring charges against the men who ill-treated them. He gives further instruction as to sacrifice, and their duty to the needy, and warns against unnatural sins, contempt and lying (60–63). The people assemble in Achuzan to take leave of E. He addresses them on various topics, and exhorts them to faithfulness. He announces the great judgment, after which 'the times shall perish, and there shall be no year, nor month, nor day, and there shall be no hours.' 'Moreover, there shall be no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, anxiety, nor need, nor night, nor darkness, but a great light.' He is then carried off to the highest heaven. And his sons thereupon build an altar in Achuzan and hold high festival, rejoicing and praising God (64–68).

VI. The Author's Views on Anthropology.—All the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, 23^{5}, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, 49^{2} 58^{5} 61^{2}. Man's body was made of seven substances, 30^{8}, and his name, as we have already seen, was given to him by God from the four quarters. Man was created originally good; free will was bestowed upon him, with the knowledge of good and evil. He was instructed in the two ways of light and darkness, and then permitted to mould his own destiny, 30^{15}. But his connexion with the body biassed his preferences in the direction of evil, and death ensued as the wages of sin, 30^{16}. All men will be judged finally, $40^{12.13}$; the righteous will escape the last judgment, 65^{8} 66^{7}, and be gathered to eternal life; but hell will be the eternal abode of the wicked, $10^{4.6}$, and there is no place of repentance after death, 42^{2}.

VII. VALUE OF THE BOOK IN ELUCIDATING CONTEMPORARY AND SUBSEQUENT THOUGHT.—Fresh evidence on the following beliefs is contributed by this book. i. *The millennium.*—This Jewish conception is first found in 32^{2}–33^{2}. From this its origin is clear. The account in Gn of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded, not only as a history of the past, but as a forecast of the future history of the world so created. Thus, as the world was created in six days, its history was to last 6000; for 1000 years with God are as one day (Ps 90^{4}, *Jub.* 4^{30}, 2 P 3^{8}); and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of 6000 years there should be a rest of 1000 years, *i.e.* the millennium. Thereupon followed the future world of eternal bliss, designated as the *eighth eternal day.* ii. *The seven heavens.*—The detailed account of the seven heavens in this book has served to explain difficulties in OT conceptions of the heavens, and has shown beyond the reach of controversy that the sevenfold division of the heavens was accepted by St. Paul and the author of Hebrews, and probably in Rev. From this book, further, it is clear that a feature impossible in modern conceptions of heaven shows itself from time to time in pre-Christian and also in early Christian conceptions, *i.e.* the belief in the presence of evil, or in the possibility of its appearance in the heavens. For a discussion of this question the reader should consult *Expository Times* (art. 'The Seven Heavens'), Nov. and Dec. 1895, and Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, pp. xxx–xlvii.

R. H. CHARLES.

ENOCH (City).—See ENOCH 1 (p. 704[b]).

ENOS (so RV in Lk 3^{38}), the same as **Enosh** (אֱנוֹשׁ), the name of the son of Seth (Gn 4^{26}). He was the father of Kenan; and the length of his life is stated as 905 years (Gn 5^{9}). It is said in connexion with the mention of his birth, 'then began men to call upon the name of J″' (4^{26}). 'Enosh' denotes 'man in his frailty and weakness.' The fact of prayer being made to J″ first when Enosh was born, perhaps indicates allegorically the belief that men were then first driven by sickness, and by a sense of frailty and dependence, to cry for help to the invisible Creator. The LXX, which translates the second clause of 4^{26} *οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι* κ.τ.λ., associates Enosh himself with this step in the spiritual life of the human race (cf. parallels 4^{20} and 10^{8}). The advance thus made by the generation of Enosh the son of Seth is evidently intended to stand as the counterpart to the advance in another aspect of life represented by Enoch—the parallel generation in the line of Cain (4^{17}). It has been suggested that this mention of Enosh and of the first recourse to prayer to J″ must have been derived from a source of J tradition distinct from that which records the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, inasmuch as sacrifice would imply supplication to the Deity.

H. E. RYLE.

EN-RIMMON (עֵין רִמּוֹן 'spring of [the] pomegranate').—One of the settlements of Judahites after the return from the Exile, Neh 11^{29}. In Jos 15^{32} amongst the towns assigned to Judah we find 'Ain and Rimmon,' and in 19^{7} (cf. 1 Ch 4^{32}) amongst those assigned to Simon are 'Ain, Rimmon.' In all these instances there can be little doubt that we ought to read neither עַיִן וְרִמּוֹן nor עַיִן רִמּוֹן, but עֵין רִמּוֹן (En-rimmon). This reading is accepted by Bennett and Kittel in *Joshua* and *Chronicles* in Haupt's *OT*. En-rimmon is probably to be identified with the modern *Umm-er-Rumâmîn*, about 9 miles N. of Beersheba.

LITERATURE.—Lagarde, *Onom.* 120, 256; Robinson, *BRP* iii. 233; Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 344; *PEF Mem.* iii. 392, 398.

J. A. SELBIE.

EN-ROGEL (עֵין רֹגֵל 'spring of the fuller'), a spring in the immediate vicinity of Jerus., on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Jos 15^{7} 18^{16}). Owing to its position close to but yet out of view of the city, Jonathan and Ahimaaz, the sons of the priests, were stationed there during the rebellion of Absalom, in order that they might secretly receive and carry news from Hushai in Jerus. to David in his camp by the Jordan (2 S 17^{17}). At a later period of history it was the scene of a great feast given by Adonijah, the eldest son of David, presumably with a view to forcibly seizing the crown (1 K 1^{9} 'by the stone of Zoheleth, which is beside E.'). Jos. (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 4) describes it as being 'without the city, in the royal gardens'; and again (*Ant.* IX. x. 4) speaks of a place called Eroge (clearly, as Mr. Grove has pointed out, a mistake for En-rogel), at which the earthquake consequent on the sacrilegious act of Uzziah dislodged a portion of the eastern hill, 'so as to obstruct the roads and the royal gardens.' Modern authorities are somewhat divided as to the exact site of the spring; but the bulk of the evidence is certainly in favour of the identification of E. with 'the Fountain of the Virgin.' This spring, now called *'Ain Umm ed-Deraj*='the spring of the steps,' lies in the Kidron valley, close to the village of Siloam, and is, in fact, the source from which the Upper Pool of Siloam derives its supply of water; the latter flows through a rock-hewn tunnel 'dating from the time of the Kings' (Sir C. Wilson). The latter authority further considers that originally this supply of water was carried as far as the Lower Pool (*Birket el-Hamra*), and that it was stored there for irrigating the king's gardens. The arguments brought forward in support of this identification are, briefly, as follows:—(1) The 'Fountain of the Virgin' is the only real spring near to Jerusalem. (2) Immediately fronting it, on the farther side of the valley, there is a rude flight of steps, cut out of the precipitous face of the cliff, which leads to the village of Siloam; this place is called at the present time *ez-Zehweleh*, and is identified by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFSt*, 1869–70, p. 253) with the stone of Zoheleth. (3) The spring must have always been well known, and so would naturally form a landmark on the boundary-line between Judah and Benjamin. (4) In the account of St. James' martyrdom, he is said to have been cast from the temple wall into the valley of Kidron, and finally slain by a fuller with his stick. From this it has been inferred that St. James was cast down near the spot where the fullers were working. (5) This spring is still the great resort of the women of Jerus. for washing and treading their clothes.

Others, however, identify E. with *Bîr Eyûb*='the well of Job,' or 'the well of Nehemiah' (acc. to a later tradition). Three points are urged in favour of this view: (1) that in the Arab. VS of Jos 15^{7} E. is translated by 'Ain Eyûb; (2) that in an early Jewish itinerary (Uri of Biel in Hottinger's *Cippi Hebraici*) it is called 'the well of Joab,' as if referring to Joab's connexion with Adonijah; and (3) that its situation agrees better with the common boundary of Judah and Benjamin. But these arguments are not sufficiently weighty to counterbalance the following objections: (1) The *Bîr Eyûb* is a well, not a spring, its waters, as a rule, being 70 to 80 ft. below the level of the ground. (2) Its situation does not suit the narrative of 2 S 17. Lying below the junction of the valleys of Kidron and Hinnom, it is at once too far from the city and from the direct road over the Mt. of Olives to the Jordan; and if *ez-Zehweleh* is the same as Zoheleth, it would also be too far from this latter spot. (3) Its date is uncertain; but it

is hardly probable that it goes back to the time of Joshua.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities cited above, see Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*[2] 113; Robinson, *BRP* i. 331 f.; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 489 ff.; *PEF Mem.* 'Jerusalem,' p. 365 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 42; W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] 172, 489; *PEFSt*, 1874, 70; 1884, 185; 1885, 20, 184, 228; 1886, 56; 1889, 45 ff.; 1890, 125. J. F. STENNING.

ENROLMENT.—See QUIRINIUS.

ENSAMPLE.—This is the tr. in AV of *τύπος*, 1 Co 10[11], Ph 3[17], 1 Th 1[7], 2 Th 3[9], 1 P 5[3]; and of *ὑπόδειγμα*, 2 P 2[6]; while 'example' is the tr. of *τύπος*, 1 Co 10[6], 1 Ti 4[12]; of *ὑπόδειγμα*, Jn 13[15], He 4[11] 8[5], Ja 5[10]; of *δεῖγμα*, Jude[7]; of the vb. *παραδειγματίζω* ('make a publick example'), Mt 1[19]; and of *ὑπογραμμός*, 1 P 2[21]. Both forms have the same meaning, and in AV they are always synonymous with 'pattern' or 'model.' Thus in He 8[5] *ὑπόδειγμα* is tr[d] 'example,' and *τύπος* 'pattern,' after Tindale's 'ensample' and 'patrone,' though in both places Wyclif has 'saumpler,' Gen. (1560) 'paterne,' Rhem. 'exampler.' But the pattern may be either for imitation or avoidance. In mod. Eng. wherever 'ensample' is used, it has a biblical flavour, and suggests a *good* example. Hence RV retains 'ensample' in Ph 3[17], 1 Th 1[7], 2 Th 3[9], 1 P 5[3], but gives 'example' in 1 Co 10[11], 2 P 2[6].

'Ensample' seems to be an Eng. spelling. The Lat. *exemplum* appears in old Fr. as *essample*; this becomes in Eng. 'asaumple,' of which *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quotes a single instance (but it may be noticed that Wyc. has the *u* always, 'ensaumple'). Then 'asaumple' becomes 'ensample.' Skeat quotes an old Fr. tr. of Ru 4[11] 'que ele soit ensample de vertu,' evidently after Vulg. 'ut sit exemplum virtutis' (cf. Cov. 'that she maye be an ensample of vertue'). But *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* rejects this French spelling, and reckons 'ensample' only English. The earliest instance of 'example' that has been found is dated 1447 (though there is a various reading 'exsaumple' in the Wyclifite version of 1382 at Jude[7]), while 'ensample' is found as early as 1250. And 'ensample' is most common by far till it began to be fashionable to spell Eng. words after their Lat. originals. Tindale has 'ensample' (though he spells it thrice 'insample') in all the passages given above; and he is followed by all the Eng. VSS till the Rhemish. J. HASTINGS.

EN-SHEMESH (עֵין שֶׁמֶשׁ), 'sun-spring,' Jos 15[7] 18[17].—A spring E. of En-rogel, on the way to Jericho. It is believed to be the spring on the Jericho road, E. of Olivet, generally known as the 'apostles' fountain' (*'Ain Hôd*). See *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.; also Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 196; *PEFSt*, 1874, 70; and Dillmann on Jos 15[7]. C. R. CONDER.

ENSIGN.—See BANNER.

ENSUE.—Coverdale's tr. of Ps 34[14] is 'Let him seke peace and ensue it'; and this was retained in the Bishops' Bible, and is now read in the Pr. Bk. But AV adopted the Douay word 'pursue.' In 1 P 3[11], however, which is a quot. of Ps 34[14], AV accepted 'ensue,' which had come from Tindale, the Rhemish having here 'follow.' 'Ensue' is thus used with the unusual force of 'strive after' or 'pursue' (Gr. *διωξάτω*), as Caxton, *Cato*, 2*b*, 'Eschewe alle vyces and ensiewe vertue.' RV gives 'pursue.' As intrans. vb. 'ensue' is found in Jth 9[5] 'the things . . . which ensued after' (so RV; Gr. *τὰ μετέπειτα*). We still use the word in dates, as 'the ensuing year.' J. HASTINGS.

EN-TAPPUAH (עֵין תַּפּוּחַ 'the spring of citron or apple').—A place on the boundary of Manasseh (Jos 17[7]). It is mentioned between 'Michmethath, which is before (east of) Shechem,' and the 'brook of Ḳanah.' Michmethath is generally (but see Dillm. *ad loc.*) identified with *Mukhna*, E. of *Nâblus*, and the brook Ḳanah is *Wâdy Ḳânah*. Conder's identification of En-tappuah with a spring, near *Yâsûf*, in a valley to the S. of Mukhna, which drains into Wâdy Ḳânah, is accepted by most authorities. The place is probably the Tappuah (which see) of Jos 16[8] 17[8]. C. W. WILSON.

ENTREAT.—See INTREAT.

ENVY is a feeling of uneasiness or displeasure occasioned by beholding the prosperity or advantages enjoyed by others. Butler, in a note to the first of his *Sermons on Human Nature*, indicates it as the vice of that quality of soul of which Emulation is the corresponding virtue. The latter is that 'desire and hope of equality with, or superiority over, others, with whom we compare ourselves,' which not only may be free from any unworthy feeling towards them, but is obviously the very spring of human progress. The characteristic of Envy, on the other hand, is 'to desire the attainment of this equality or superiority by the particular means of others being brought down to our own level or below it.'

The scriptural use of the term is quite in accordance with this description of it, and of its relation to the emotion of which it is a perversion. Of the three words, one in OT and two in NT, of which it appears as a translation, only one, *φθόνος* (with its cognate verb *φθονέω*), has uniformly the evil signification. The difficult verse Ja 4[5] 'Do you think that the Scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy?' is scarcely an exception. If, as seems probable, having regard to the context, the rendering of the second clause given in RVm is correct—'That spirit which he made to dwell in us yearneth for us even unto jealous envy'—the phrase must be held as merely illustrating the intensity of the divine affection, which requires the exclusive devotion of its object, by a reference to the human passion of jealousy or envy. (See *Expos. Times*, viii. [1896] p. 76 f.)

The other two words, of which mention has been made, are קִנְאָה (noun קָנָא) in OT, and *ζῆλος* (verb *ζηλόω*) in NT; and of each of these words both meanings, the worthy and the unworthy, often appear. קִנְאָה, the original force of which is, apparently, *burning, glowing*, naturally denotes, in the first instance, intense emotion. It is used to express the indignation of Joshua (Nu 11[29]), the zeal of Phinehas (Nu 25[13]), and the jealousy of Elijah (1 K 19[10. 14]), as well as the envy of Rachel for her sister (Gn 30[1]), of his brethren for Joseph (Gn 37[11]), of the people for Moses (Ps 106[16]), or the mutual envy of Judah and Ephraim (Is 11[13]). In the Book of Proverbs the evil sense alone appears. Contrasted with 'a sound heart,' which is 'the life of the flesh,' Envy is 'the rottenness of the bones' (Pr 14[30]); it is more formidable than wrath or anger, for 'who is able to stand before envy?'

The corresponding NT term is *ζῆλος*, in which the same variation of sense is found. In 1 Co 14[1] (RV) we read 'Desire earnestly spiritual gifts'; in Gal 4[18] 'it is good to be zealously affected (RV 'sought') always in a good thing'; and in Rev 3[19] the command 'Be zealous' is coupled with an admonition to repent. In like manner the 'zeal' of Jn 2[17], Ro 10[2], 2 Co 7[11] 9[2], Ph 3[6], Col 4[13], the 'fervent mind' of 2 Co 7[7], and the 'jealousy' of 2 Co 11[2], illustrate the commendable aspect of the emotion indicated. In lists of vices, on the other hand, such as those in Ro 1[29], 1 Ti 6[4], envy has a conspicuous place. Trench, in *New Testament Synonyms*, points out that in the list given in Mk 7[21. 22] the place of *φθόνος* is taken by the circumlocution *ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός*, 'an evil eye' (compare Mt 20[15], also 1 S 18[9] 'Saul *eyed* David'), which reminds us of the derivation of the Lat. *invidia*, Eng. 'envy,' from *invideo* 'to look closely at,' so 'to look maliciously.'

It may be noted that in the following passages, Job 5[2], Pr 27[4], Ac 7[9] 13[45] 17[5], Ro 13[13], 1 Co 3[3], 2 Co

12^{20}, Ja $3^{14.16}$ RV substitutes 'jealousy,' or its cognates, for 'envy.'

For the difference between ζῆλος and φθόνος see Trench, *Synon. of NT*, p. 83 ff., and art. ZEAL.

A. STEWART.

EPAENETUS (Ἐπαίνετος).—One of the Christians greeted by St. Paul at the end of the Ep. to the Romans (16^{5}). He is mentioned at the beginning of the list immediately after Prisca and Aquila, is described as 'my beloved' (τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου), and as the 'first fruits (ἀπαρχή) of Asia unto Christ' (the reading Achaia of TR is clearly wrong, being derived from 1 Co 16^{15}). The name, which is Greek, is not uncommon, occurring in inscriptions both of Rome and Asia. One from the former place mentions an E. who was a native of Ephesus (*CIL* vi. 17171).

The mention of Prisca, Aquila, and E. forms the basis of the theory that Ro 16^{3-16} was addressed to the Church at Ephesus; but three names—two of them belonging to persons originally resident at Rome—out of a total of more than twenty, are not sufficient evidence for it. It was natural that the Christian body in the capital should consist largely at first of foreigners; and even one hundred years later, in the time of Justin Martyr, out of a body of seven Christians condemned to death in Rome, three are foreigners (*Acta Justini*, § 4).

LITERATURE.—Renan, *St. Paul*, p. lxv; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 301; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 421.

A. C. HEADLAM.

EPAPHRAS (Ἐπαφρᾶς, a shortened form of Ἐπαφρόδιτος; see EPAPHRODITUS) was a native of Colossæ (ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν Col 4^{12}), and as we learn from the correct reading of Col 1^{7} the founder of the Col. Church (καθὼς ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ, 'even as ye learned of Epaphras,' where the omission of καί (also) of TR makes Epaphras more than an accessory teacher). It is prob. that he was also the evangelist of the neighbouring towns of Laodicea and Hierapolis (Col $4^{12.13}$). He visited St. Paul during his first Rom. imprisonment, bringing him an encouraging report of the state of the Colossian Church (Col 1^{4-8}), and for his zeal would seem to have been condemned to share the apostle's imprisonment (ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου Philem ^{23}), though the reference may be to spiritual rather than physical captivity (cf. Ro 16^{7}, Col 4^{10}). To him alone (except once Timothy, Ph 1^{1}) does St. Paul apply the designation he uses several times of himself, 'a bond-servant of Jesus Christ' (δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ Col 4^{12}); while the extent of his services is further proved by the description 'a faithful minister of Christ' (πιστὸς διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Col 1^{7}).

G. MILLIGAN.

EPAPHRODITUS (Ἐπαφρόδιτος 'handsome' = Lat. 'venustus,' a common name in the Rom. period; see, *e.g.* Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 55; Suet. *Domit.* 14; Jos. *Life*, § 76), to be distinguished from Epaphras [which see], and known to us only from one or two allusions in the Ep. to the Philippians. From these we learn that he visited St. Paul during his first Roman imprisonment, bringing pecuniary aid to him from the Church at Philippi, and that instead of at once returning home he remained with the apostle in Rome, devoting himself to the ministry under his guidance (Ph 2^{25-30} 4^{10-18}). The strain, however, was too great for him. He lost his health, and 'was sick nigh unto death'; but the danger passed. 'God had mercy on him,' says St. Paul, 'and not on him only, but on me also, that I might not have sorrow upon sorrow' (Ph 2^{27}). On his recovery E. was anxious to return to Philippi to quiet his friends' alarm on his behalf (Ph 2^{26}); and this St. Paul approved, making him at the same time the bearer of the Ep. to the Philippians. St. Paul's sense of E.'s services is marked by his description of him as 'my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier,' the three words being arranged in an ascending scale to denote 'common sympathy, common work, common danger and toil and suffering' (Lightfoot on Ph 2^{25}).

LITERATURE.—The *Comm.* on Ph 2^{25}, esp. Lightfoot, p. 61 ff., 122; Ellicott, p. 60; Moule, p. 79; and Vincent, pp. xxiii, 75. Also Thayer, *NT Lex. s.* 'Επαφρᾶς; Winer, *RWB*, *s.* 'Epaphras'; and Beet in *Expositor*, 3rd Ser. ix. (1889) 64–75, 'Epaphroditus and the gift from Philippi.'

G. MILLIGAN.

EPHAH (עֵיפָה).—**1.** A son of Midian, descended from Abraham and Keturah (Gn 25^{4}=1 Ch 1^{33}), the eponymous ancestor of an Arabian tribe whose identity is uncertain. This tribe appears in Is 60^{6} as engaged in the transport of gold and frankincense from Sheba. According to Frd. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 304), and Schrader (*KAT*^{2} 146 f., 613), followed by Hommel (*Anc. Heb. Trad.* 238 n.), *'Ephah* is properly *'Ayappa*, the Khayappa Arabs of the time of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon (see further, Dillmann on Gn 25^{4}). **2.** A concubine of Caleb, 1 Ch 2^{46}. **3.** A Judahite, son of Jahdai, 1 Ch 2^{47}. See GENEALOGY.

J. A. SELBIE.

EPHAH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

EPHAI, עֵיפַי (*Ḳerê*), but **Ophai**, עוֹפַי (*Kethîbh*), Sept. Ἰωφέ, Ὠφή, described in Jer 40 (Gr. 47)^{8} as 'the Netophatite,' whose sons were amongst the 'captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah, and were murdered along with him by Ishmael (Jer 41^{3}).

J. A. SELBIE.

EPHER (עֵפֶר 'a [deer] calf').—**1.** The name of the second of the sons of Midian mentioned in Gn 25^{4}, 1 Ch 1^{33}, and recorded as one of the descendants of Abraham by his wife Keturah (Gn 25^{1}). For precarious attempts to identify this Epher with 'Ofr in Arabia (Wetzstein), with Appar-u mentioned in Assurbanipal's Inscriptions (Glaser), see the references in Dillmann. **2.** The name of one of the sons of Ezrah, a branch of the family of Judah (1 Ch 4^{17}). **3.** The first of a group of five heads of fathers' houses belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh, who dwelt in the land between Bashan and Mt. Hermon (1 Ch 5^{24}).

H. E. RYLE.

EPHES-DAMMIM (אֶפֶס דַּמִּים, Ἐφερμέν, Ἀφεσδομμείν).—The place in Judah where the Philistines were encamped at the time when David slew Goliath (1 S 17^{1}). The same name appears in 1 Ch 11^{13} as **Pas-Dammim**. The form אֶפֶס דַּמִּים is strange and probably corrupt (see Driver, *Sam.* 292).

W. J. BEECHER.

EPHESIAN (Ἐφέσιος), an inhabitant of the city of Ephesus (which see), is a term used in Ac $19^{28.34.35}$ 21^{29}. The usage of St. Luke is more correct than that of Stephanus Byzant.; the latter gives Ἐφεσεύς as the ethnic; but the coins and inscriptions show that in the local and universal usage Ἐφέσιος meant an inhabitant of the city, while Ἐφεσεύς denoted a member of the tribe Ἐφεσεῖς, the first of the six tribes into which the E. population was divided (the other five were called Σεβαστή, Τῆϊοι, Καρηναῖοι, Εὐώνυμοι, Βεμβιναῖοι, of which Σεβαστή was added in compliment to Augustus, the total number having previously been five). The term Ἐφέσιοι is also applied in the Bezan and Philoxenian Syr. texts of Ac 20^{4} to Tychicus and Trophimus, where the true reading is 'Asians' (Ἀσιανοί, men of the province Asia). Trophimus was an E. (Ac 21^{29}); but we may fairly understand that St. Luke refrained from using that term about both Tychicus and Trophimus, on the ground that it was not strictly applicable to the former. The reason can hardly be that Tychicus belonged to some other city of Asia, for the usage in this verse leads the writer to state the city where each delegate was

a citizen; and we should expect that he would have mentioned Tychicus by the ethnic of his own city. Moreover, Tychicus probably inhabited Ephesus.* We may, then, perhaps conclude that Tychicus, though a resident (*incola*), did not possess the citizenship of Ephesus; and hence Ἐφέσιος, which strictly is restricted to citizens of Ephesus, could not properly be used about him. There were many families of residents who, for various reasons, were not enrolled in any of the tribes, and were therefore not entitled to be called citizens of Ephesus. The entry Ἀσία ἡ Ἔφεσος in a late Byzantine list of cities which had changed their names (published by Parthey, *Hieroclis Synecd. et Notitiæ*, p. 316; Burckhardt, *Hieroclis Synecd.* p. 68) cannot be relied on to justify the taking of Ἀσιανός in 20^4 as a mere synonym for Ἐφέσιος: the document is not earlier than the 12th cent. (cf. the entries Κιλικία, Κολωνία, etc.), and affords no trustworthy evidence for the usage of the time of St. Luke. W. M. RAMSAY.

EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO—

i. Substance and purpose, as gathered
  (*a*) From internal evidence.
  (*b*) From a comparison with Colossians.
ii. Authorship and Date, as gathered from
  (*a*) Internal evidence.
  (*b*) External tradition.
iii. Destination.
iv. Place of Composition.
v. Doctrinal Importance.
vi. Literature.

i. Substance and Purpose.—The questions of the authorship, date, and destination of this Epistle have been, and are still, so much disputed that it will be well to deal first with the subject-matter and the purpose which reveals itself on a close examination of that. The Ep. might be summed up in the words of the Angelic song (Lk 2^{14})—

δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·
εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.

Or, again, it might be described as an expression of thanksgiving that the Lord's prayer for His Church as embodied in Jn 17 was in process of fulfilment. For the writer's tone is eucharistic and his main theme is unity: he does not argue, he makes dogmatic statements; he blesses God for the great truths revealed in the Gospel; and calls upon his readers to rise to the high dignity of their calling; and, as he does so, there emerges a picture of the Church as the body predestined before the ages to unite Jew and Gentile together, which through ages yet to come has to exhibit before the universe the fulness of the Divine life, living the life of God, imitating God's character, wearing God's panoply, fighting God's battles, forgiving as God forgives, educating as God educates; and all this that it may fulfil the wider work whereby Christ is to be the centre of the universe. Two dangers seem to threaten it when the writer writes, —the danger lest it should slip back into the lower moral standard of the surrounding heathendom, and the danger of a want of unity between the Jewish and Gentile Christians. To meet these, the writer presents the ideal of a body predestined before all ages and to last to all ages, whose aim it is to make men holy and without blemish, and to unite all mankind in peace and love.

A fuller analysis will bear out these outlines.
1–3 Doctrinal.
$1^{1.2}$ greeting.
(*a*) 1^{3-14}. Thanksgiving to God for the blessings given to the whole Chr. Church. These blessings are represented as corresponding in spiritual form to the material blessings granted to the Jewish nation, especially as summed up in the year of Jubilee, and they are described in what may be called a hymn of three stanzas, ending with the same refrain; the three stanzas expressing the work of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. For these blessings were (1) predestined by the Father, who chose us to be sons, holy and without blemish, before the foundation of the world, *for the praise of the glory of His grace* ($1^{4.5}$).
(2) Communicated in Christ at the right moment, conveying redemption, forgiveness, knowledge of God's universal purpose for all creation, and inheritance among the saints—*to the praise of His glory* (1^{6-11}).
(3) Sealed first to the Jews (ἡμᾶς), then to the Gentiles (καὶ ὑμεῖς), by the Holy Spirit, as an earnest of the complete redemption which lies in the future—*for the praise of His glory* ($1^{12.13}$).
(*b*) 1^{15-19}. Thanksgiving to God for the spiritual state of the readers, and a prayer to the Father of this glory that they may have a yet fuller knowledge of their privileges and of the power of God.
(*c*) 1^{20-22}. A dogmatic statement of this power of God, which has shown itself in a threefold way.
(1) As exerted upon Christ Himself, granting Him
  Resurrection from death (^{20}).
  Ascension to God's right hand (^{21}).
  Supremacy over the whole universe and Headship over the Church ($^{22.23}$).
(2) As exerted upon individuals, whether Gentile ($2^{1.2}$) or Jew ($^{2.3}$), granting them a similar threefold gift, viz. Resurrection from spiritual death ($^{2.4}$).
  Ascension with Christ to a spiritual sphere above the world ($^{2.5}$).
  The power to do good works and manifest God's grace through the coming ages ($^{2.6-10}$).
(3) As exerted upon the whole of Humanity.
The Gentiles who formerly were alienated from God have been brought nigh by the Cross; so that both Gentile and Jew have peace with God and peace with each other: they form one city, one family, one temple, built on the foundation of apostles and prophets, and the Gentiles are now being built into that (2^{11-22}).
(*d*) 3^{1-19}. Personal relations between the writer and his readers.
The writer, who emphasizes his authority to preach this great truth of God's choice of a universal Church intended to exhibit his richly-variegated wisdom to the universe (3^{1-12}), begs his readers not to be faint-hearted owing to his imprisonment (3^{13}), and once more prays for them to the Father, that they may have spiritual strength so that Christ may dwell in them in love and knowledge to understand the greatness of their privileges, so that the fulness of the Divine life may be exhibited through them (3^{14-19}).
(*e*) $3^{20.21}$. This section of the Ep. ends with a doxology, emphasizing the power of God manifested in man, and the eternal duty of praise to Him both in heaven and on earth.
4–6 Hortatory.
A. An appeal to the whole Church
(1) To live a life worthy of the members of a Society whose essential characteristic is unity (4^{1-16}). (This is based on $1^{12.13}$ 2^{11-22}; cf. also $4^{25-5.2}$.)
An appeal for the moral qualities which preserve unity (4^{1-3})
is followed by a fuller description of the unity, as one of both form and spirit, and resting upon the unity of God (4^{4-6});
and a recognition of the variety of gifts, especially the ministry, given to the Church by the Risen Christ, the Lord of the whole universe, in order to produce unity and spiritual perfection and steadfastness in truth; so that the body may ever grow into closer union with its Head (4^{7-16}).
(2) To live a life different from the old evil Gentile life (4^{17-24}). (This is based on $^{17-9}$ 2^{1-10}, cf. 5^{3-21}.)
A description of the old Gentile life as one of aimlessness, ignorance, impurity (4^{17-19}) is contrasted with
A description of the Christian life as implying renewal of intellect, righteousness, and holiness in conformity with God's standard (4^{20-24}).
(3) To cultivate certain particular virtues and avoid particular vices (4^{25}–5^{21}). The choice of these rises out of the two preceding paragraphs; they are either such virtues as make for unity and such vices as destroy it (so mainly 4^{25}–5^2, cf. the motives appealed to in $^{25.27.28.29.32}$), *or* such virtues as form the antithesis to the old Gentile life, either on the side of morality or of knowledge (so mainly 5^{3-22}; cf. the motives in 4^{30} 5^3 καθὼς πρέπει ἁγίοις, $^{5.6.15.16.18}$).
These virtues are—1. Truthfulness: based upon our close union with each other (4^{25}).
2. A right use of anger: based upon the harm which the devil may do (4^{26}).
3. Honest toil: based on the duty of helping others (4^{27}).
4. Pure conversation: based on the duty of helping those who hear (4^{28}), and the danger of grieving the indwelling Spirit (4^{29}).
5. Gentleness and forgiveness: based on God's forgiveness of us (4^{31-32}).
6. Love: based on Christ's love and self-sacrifice ($5^{1.2}$).
7. Avoidance of all impurity and covetousness as unworthy of our consecration (5^3), and of all foolish jesting and talk, as excluding from the kingdom of Christ and of God (5^{4-6}), as sure to incur God's wrath (5^7), as inconsistent with the Christian life, which is one of light (5^{8-14}).
8. Wise use of opportunities: based upon the evil of the time ($5^{15.16}$).

* We regard the Bezan and Syr. reading as founded on a good tradition (cf. 2 Ti 4^{12}; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 154); while Blass and others consider it to originate from St. Luke himself.

9. An intelligent understanding of God's will (5^{17}).
10. Temperance in wine—perhaps especially at the Love-feasts (5^{18}).
11. Fulness of spiritual joy and thankful praise of God—perhaps especially at the meetings for common worship (5$^{19-21}$).

This leads back through the thought of the common worship of the Church to the ideal of unity and subjection, and so forms a transition to

B. 5^{23}–6^{9}. An appeal to various classes in the Church.

Wives exhorted to submission to their husbands (5^{22})
Because of the relation of man to woman (5^{23}),
And the analogy of the Church's submission to Christ (5^{24}).
Husbands exhorted to love their wives (5^{25})
Because of the analogy of Christ's love for His Church (5$^{25-27\ 30-33}$),
And the closeness of the union between man and wife (5$^{28.\ 29}$).
Children exhorted to obey their parents
Because of the natural sense of right (6^{1})
And God's commandment and promise (6$^{2-4}$).
Parents exhorted to train their children patiently
Because of the analogy of God's training of His sons (6^{4}).
Slaves exhorted to loyal obedience to their masters (6$^{5-7}$)
Because of the impartiality of God's judgment (6^{8}).
Masters to avoid threatening
Because of the thought of their own Master in heaven (6^{9}).

(*N.B.*—This is no accidental digression, nor is it merely an attempt to lay down a new decalogue or moral code for Gentile Christians (Ewald), which should draw them nearer to the Jewish Christians by removing one of the great stumbling-blocks (Ac 15^{20}); but the writer takes a Christian household with all its members, and treats it as a type of the Church, in which the duties of subjection, love, obedience, forbearance, which are needed for the unity of the Church, may be first learned. Cf. 5$^{24.\ 25-27}$ 6$^{1.\ 4.\ 7.\ 9}$, 1 Ti 3^{5}. The thought of 3^{15} *πᾶσα πατριά* is the link between the two.

C. Addressed to the whole Church.

An exhortation to be true soldiers, to put on the full armour of God, that they may realize His strength and fight His battles (6$^{10.\ 11}$, cf. 1^{19} 2^{2}).

Description of the seriousness of the conflict (6^{12}).

Description of the armour, as complete (6^{13}), as consisting of truth and righteousness (cf. 4^{24}), of peace (cf. 2^{15}), and faith (cf. 1^{13}), of God's saving grace (cf. 1$^{13\ 28}$), of God's word of truth (cf. 4^{21} 5^{26}), of prayer and watchfulness (6$^{13-18}$). The choice of the weapons is partly motived by the description of J"'s armour in Isaiah (59, etc.), partly by the virtues already emphasized in this Epistle, partly perhaps by the armour of the soldier to whom the writer is chained (6^{20}).

A request for their prayer for himself (6$^{19.\ 20}$).

An account of the purpose of the mission of Titus (6$^{21.\ 22}$).

Final salutation, with prayer for peace, love, and faith, to those who have love for the Lord (6$^{23.\ 24}$).

The Ep. is thus marked by extraordinary unity of structure and interlacing of paragraph with paragraph, and the analysis shows that there is no sense of controversy on the surface of it; 2^{11} hints at the controversial nicknames of the Jewish and Gentile struggle (*οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς*); 4^{14} and perhaps 4^{21} point to the danger of false teaching, but the allusions are vague. The purpose is to emphasize the moral and spiritual fulness of the Christian life (cf. *πληροῦν* and *πλήρωμα*, 1$^{10.\ 23}$ 3^{19} 4$^{10.\ 13}$ 5^{18}), and the closeness of the union which binds Christians to Christ and to each other: cf. *ἐν Κυρίῳ* or *ἐν Χριστῷ* (Eph 30 times, Col 11); *ἑνότης* (4$^{3.\ 13}$ here only); *ἀγάπη* and *ἀγαπᾶν* (19 times in Eph as compared with 16 in Ro and 1 Co); *εἰρήνη* (8 times Eph, 11 Ro, in no other Ep. oftener than 3); and the many compounds of *σύν*, emphasizing the 'with'-ness of Christians with Christ *συγκαθίζειν* (2^{6} only), *συζωοποιεῖν* (2^{5} and Col 2^{13}), *συνεγείρειν* (2^{6}, Col 2^{12} 3^{1}); or with each other, *συγκληρόνομος* (3^{6}, Ro 7^{9}), *συμβιβάζειν* (4^{16}, Col 2$^{2.\ 19}$), *συμμέτοχος* (3^{6} 5^{7} only), *συμπολίτης* (2^{19} only), *συναρμολογεῖν* (2^{21} 4^{16} only), *σύνδεσμος* (4^{3}, Col 2^{19} 3^{14}), *συνοικοδομεῖν* (2^{22} only), *σύσσωμος* (3^{6} only). The purpose of all this, too, lies beyond itself. The Church must be one, because a great conflict lies before it; the spiritual forces of evil are gathering, and it must be on its guard.

A comparison with Colossians will partly confirm, partly supplement this result. Whoever may be the author of this Ep., it is clear that there is a close relation between it and that. The salutations are almost identical: the structure of the Epistles is the same: the subjects are mainly the same, the need of knowledge is emphasized, and the relation of Christ to the universe and to the Church: the same moral virtues are inculcated; the laws of family life are laid down in each; the same phrases and words recur; they are both conveyed by Tychicus (cf. Holtzmann, *Einleitung*^{2} p. 291, for exact details). But there are important differences; the personal element is strongly marked in Col (2$^{1-4}$ 4$^{10-17}$) and almost absent here; the controversial tone (Col 2$^{4-23}$) is dropped; the stress there was on Christ's relation to the universe, here on His relation to the Church; there Christ was spoken of as the *πλήρωμα* of God, here the Church as the *πλήρωμα* of Christ and of God. Again, there are new points emphasized in this Ep.; the sense of the continuity of the Church throughout the ages (Eph 1$^{3-14}$), the work of the Holy Spirit (12 times in Eph, 1 in Col), the unity of the Church (2$^{11-22}$ 4$^{4-6}$), the analogy between family life and the Church (5^{22}–6^{9}), the simile of the Christian armour (6$^{10-18}$), are all additions in this Ep., or at best are expansions of very slight references there.

The points of similarity justify us in finding below the surface allusions to the Col. controversy. That arose from teaching which either grew simply out of Jewish soil, or perhaps was influenced by extraneous Oriental speculation (cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*: 'The Colossian Heresy'; and Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 116–129), laying great stress on a system of elaborate rules, termed a philosophy, and separating God from the material world by the introduction of the worship of angels. In answer to this the Ep. to the Col emphasized the cosmic work of Christ, and the need of a truer and higher wisdom, and of faith as the means of approach to God. This controversy is now in the background; but it is justifiable to fill out the vague allusions in such passages as 1$^{9.\ 10.\ 21}$ 2$^{2.\ 8}$ 3$^{10.\ 15.\ 19}$ 4$^{10.\ 14.\ 21}$ 6^{12}, by the more detailed parallels in Col (cf. esp. Findlay in *Expositor's Bible*).

On the other hand, the points of dissimilarity which cover the larger part of the Ep. show that the stress of that controversy is absent here, and that other motives are prominent.

The purpose, then, is *primarily* to stir up the readers to a higher activity and a closer unity by reminding them of the ideal of the Church in God's eternal purposes; *secondarily*, to guard them against false teaching that was current at the time, tending to take a low view of the created world.

ii. Authorship and Date.—Three possible alternatives are open to us: either the author is St. Paul, or some friend writing for him and with his knowledge, or some later writer assuming after St. Paul's death that he is justified in writing in his name. The second of these alternatives may be put aside; it is only another form of the first, as the Ep. would practically be St. Paul's and have all his authority. Now, as the third alternative is possible, we must eliminate at first from the discussion all that speaks of the exact situation in St. Paul's life; for on that alternative, that will be part of an imaginary situation. But, apart from this, we have a few indications of date and writer.

Date.—The *terminus a quo* is A.D. 58 or 59, the earliest date at which St. Paul could be described as having suffered a long imprisonment (3$^{1-13}$ 4^{1}) as the champion of the Gentiles.

The *terminus ad quem* is more doubtful. The Church organization implied is very slight; there is a ministry, both of apostles and prophets for the first foundation of Churches (2^{20} 3^{5} 4^{11}), and of evangelists, shepherds and teachers for the building up of Churches once founded (4^{11}). There is stress laid on Baptism, perhaps an allusion to the profession at Baptism of faith in God, the Lord, and the Spirit (4$^{4-6}$ 5^{26}), perhaps also an allusion to a formula or hymn used at Baptism (5^{14}). There is evidence of the growth of Christian hymnody (5$^{14.\ 19}$ 3^{20}?), and apparently of its use in the Love-feasts

(cf. $5^{18.19}$ with 1 Co 10^{21}. Tert. *Apol.* 39). But this evidence is indeterminate; it might all be illustrated from 1 Co (6^{11} $12^{4-7.28}$ 14^{26}); while the absence of mention of *ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβύτεροι,* and *διάκονοι* is against a late date. The absence of the freer *χαρίσματα* of 1 Co 12 is no objection, as they were esp. characteristic of the Corinthian Church, and as, even there, St. Paul discouraged them in comparison with the more fixed ministry.

The controversies referred to are again undecisive. The attempt to see allusions to a developed 2nd cent. Gnosticism are now abandoned, for its technical words *αἰῶνες, πλήρωμα, γενεαί* are clearly used here in a less technical sense; again, possible allusions to a false Docetism in 4^{9} 5^{21} are too uncertain to build upon. On the doctrinal side there is nothing which may not be explained as falling within the 1st century. So with the struggle of parties within the Church. There is still a certain friction between the Jewish and Gentile Christians, and the danger is that the Gentiles may despise the Jewish Christians; they need reminding that they have been brought into a commonwealth which existed before (1^{12} 2^{11}). Such a condition would have been possible even in the 2nd cent. (cf. Justin Martyr, *Trypho,* ch. 47); but it would also have been possible at any date after St. Paul's missionary work (cf. Ro 11^{13-24}), and the language used seems to imply that the readers belonged to the first generation of converts, who had themselves come over from paganism to Christianity (1^{13} $2^{2.12}$ 4^{20}).

Again, the absence of any mention of the destruction of Jerus. possibly points to a date earlier than A.D. 70, and the absence of any clear allusion to any danger of persecution by the state (though that may be included in the dangers against which the Christian has to arm himself, 6^{12}) is, when compared with 1 P, a strong indication of a date before A.D. 70 if St. Peter refers to the Neronian, before A.D. 80 if to the Flavian persecution. On internal grounds, therefore, A.D. 70 forms the most probable limit, though a date even in the 2nd cent. would be conceivable.

The use of the letter in other Christian literature supports an early date. By A.D. 150 it was known widely by Catholics and heretics, and treated by both as Scripture; for it was included in the Lat. and Syr. versions; its destination was discussed by Marcion (see below); it was used by the Ophites, Valentinians, and Basilideans, prob. by Basilides and Valentinus themselves, perhaps even commented upon by them (Westcott, *Canon,* 291, 295). It was included with the title 'to the Laodiceans' in Marcion's Canon (*c.* 140): a canon the existence of which implies a Church Canon, to which it was placed in opposition (Sanday, *BL* p. 19). In the years 95–150 we have probable reminiscences of its language in Clement, cf. xxxvi. with Eph 1^{18}, xxxviii., *σωζέσθω οὖν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὑποτασσέσθω ἕκαστος τῷ πλήσιον αὐτοῦ,* with 5^{21-23}, xlvi. with 4^{4-6}, lxiv. with 1^{4}(?); in Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* i. 1 with Eph 1^{3} ff.; ix. and xv. with Eph 2^{21}; xii. with 3^{4}, *Παύλου συμμύσται . . . ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν,* possibly a direct reference to the letter (Smith, *DB*[2] p. 952 n; but see Lightfoot, *ad loc.,* and Hort, *Ro and Eph,* p. 113); *ad Polyc.* v. with 5^{25}.

In *The Two Ways*—the document which underlies the Didaché (iv.10) and Ep. Barnabas (xix.) there seems a reminiscence of Eph 6^{9}.

In Polycarp, *ad Phil.* ch. i. may be compared with Eph $2^{5.8.9}$, and xii. with Eph 4^{26}. In Hermas, cf. *Mand.* iii. 4 and x. 2–5 with 4^{30}, and v. and xii. 5 with 4^{26}; *Similitude* ix. 13 with $4^{4.5}$.

Moreover, in nearly all these sub-apost. writings there is an advance in thought or church life. The stress on episcopacy, the development of Docetism, the elaboration of the metaphor of the Church as a temple in the Ignatian letters; the stress on the threefold ministry and the more marked use of liturgical language in Clement of Rome; above all, the fuller working out into detail of the many similes in this Ep. in the Shepherd of Hermas, all seem to imply a later date. In this latter treatise, the phrase 'giving place to the devil' is elaborately drawn out in *Mand.* v. and xii. 5. The conception of the Church as existing through all ages is expanded in *Vis.* ii. 4; of the Church as a bride without spot or wrinkle in *Vis.* iii. 10–13; as a building in *Vis.* iii. 2, *Sim.* ix. 9; as resting upon the apostles as foundation in *Sim.* ix. 15. In each case the simile is at a later stage of development.

'It is all but certain on this evidence that the Epistle was in existence by A.D. 95, quite certain that it was in existence by about 15 years later, or conceivably a little more' (Hort, p. 118). But there is possibly other evidence to be drawn from NT. The points of comparison with the Synoptic Gospels (*e.g.* Lk 21^{36} with Eph 6^{18}, Mk 4^{11} with Eph 3^{4}, Mk 12^{10} with Eph 2^{20}, Mt 16^{18} with Eph 2^{20} 4^{9}), or with the Acts (2^{39} with Eph 2^{13}, 2^{33} with Eph 4^{8}, 10^{36} with Eph 2^{17}), do not prove literary dependence nor go beyond parallels found in the earlier Epistles. [For details cf. Holtzmann, *Kritik,* pp. 248–255, but his analogies are often fanciful. For possible allusions to Agrapha of our Lord in $2^{16.17}$ 3^{13} $4^{26.27.36}$ cf. Resch, *Agrapha,* p. 109.] There are striking similarities between the Ep. and the Fourth Gospel; *e.g.* the stress on *χάρις,* the use of *πλήρωμα,* the contrast between light and darkness, the continuity of the work of the Logos, the predestination of the disciples, the activities of the Holy Spirit, the purifying power of baptism and of the word. The most striking similarity in thought is with Jn 17, where almost every verse offers a parallel to this Ep.; *e.g.* [1] the stress on God's fatherhood, [2] the power over all flesh, [3] life identified with knowledge, [5] the pre-existent glory of Christ, [6] the revelation to a few, [10] Christ glorified in His disciples, [11] the prayer for unity based on God's unity, [12] Christ's joy fulfilled in His disciples, [14] the antagonism of the world, [15] the protection from the evil one, [17] sanctification by truth, [21] the unity of Christians as a means of promoting Christ's work, [23] God's love for Christians like His love for Christ, [24] God's love for Christ before the foundation of the world. So again between the Ep. and the Apoc. [*e.g.* the city with foundations, which are the twelve apostles (21^{14}), the Church as a bride (21^{2}), the prominence of the prophets (10^{7} 11^{18} 18^{20})]: even more frequent are the points of contact with 1 P; *e.g.* 1 P 1^{2} with Eph 1^{3-14}, 1^{12} with Eph 3^{10}, 2^{4} with Eph 2^{20}, $2^{18-3.7}$ with Eph $5^{22-6.9}$, 3^{19} with Eph 4^{9}, 3^{22} with Eph 1^{20}.

It is doubtful whether in any case the amount of similarity is sufficient to prove literary dependence. The similarity with St. John is one mainly of thought. It is possible that the language of St. John was influenced by this Ep., but it is more probable that this Ep. was written by one who had heard of that great prayer of our Lord. May not St. Paul have heard it direct from St. John's lips, possibly at Jerus., when they met to discuss the terms of unity between Jew and Gentile in the one Church; or possibly at Rome, if, as Renan suggests, St. John had been there, or even was there when St. Paul was writing? In the case of 1 Peter there is a stronger probability of literary dependence; if so, and if we assume the priority of 1 Peter (but see Weiss, *Introd.* i. p. 355), we should have indication that our Ep. was in existence before A.D. 70 or 80—at least it proves that the tone of thought and phraseology is such as was possible and natural before that date.

Author.—The author must have been a Jewish Christian, proud of his Jewish privileges, steeped

in OT symbolism (1$^{3-14}$ 6$^{14-18}$). Further, he must have been an original thinker, able to trace out a philosophy of history through the ages, able to move in the mystical sphere of heavenly places, and yet able to pass thence into the lower region of simple daily duties and of family life. Lastly, he was one who cared that his writing should appear under the name and with all the authority of St. Paul. There is, then, a *primâ facie* probability that it was St. Paul himself; and a detailed examination will bear this out.

(*a*) The structure of the Ep. is clearly Pauline. The commencement with words of thanksgiving (cf. Ro 1^{8}, 1 Co 1^{4}, 2 Co 1^{3}); the great statement of doctrine as the basis for moral exhortation (cf. Ro 1^{18}-8); the moral exhortation, introduced by οὖν (cf. Ro 12^{1}, Gal 5^{1}), and passing from the general to the particular (cf. Ro 12–15); the apparent digression on family life, which really proves to be an important illustration of the whole subject (cf. 1 Co 7$^{17-24}$ 9^{1}–10^{13}, Ro 9–11), all find parallels in St. Paul.

(*b*) The main thoughts often show an advance on the earlier Epp., but it is an advance on a line already marked out. Thus the continuity of the Christian Church with the Jewish, as a part of God's eternal plan (1$^{3-14}$), finds parallels in Ro 9–11. 16$^{25-27}$, Gal 4$^{1-4}$; the conception of Christ as the original source of creation and the restorer of its unity (1^{10}), in 1 Co 8^{6}, 2 Co 5$^{18, 19}$, Ro 8$^{18-23}$; the conception of the Church as the body of Christ, which receives His life and shows it forth to the universe, is an expansion of the germs in 1 Co 4^{9} 12^{27}; the unity of the Church is presupposed in the whole argument of 1 Co, where St. Paul is anxious to keep the customs and doctrines of the Corinthian Church in a line with those of all the Churches of the Saints (1 Co 1^{2} 4^{17} 7^{17} 11^{16} 15$^{3-11}$)—even the use of ἐκκλησία for the Church universal is probable in 1 Co 1^{2} 10^{32}(?) 12^{28}; the stress laid on the Holy Spirit as the inspirer of the Church's life is analogous to 1 Co 12; the identification of the events of Christ's death and resurrection with those of the life of each Christian (2$^{1-10}$), to Ro 6 and 1 Co 15; the residence of sin in the σάρξ (2^{3}), and its effect on intellect as well as will, to Ro 7; the universal sinfulness of Jew and Gentile alike as the basis of a universal redemption (2$^{1-4}$) is a summary of Ro 1^{18}–2^{29}, cf. Gal 2$^{15-21}$; the destruction of the barrier between Jew and Gentile (2$^{11-22}$) is St. Paul's most favourite doctrine.

But it is urged that here the parts are changed: elsewhere St. Paul is the champion of the Gentile against Jewish narrowness; here he reminds Gentiles of the privileges of the Jews, and appears as the champion of Jewish Christians against Gentile exclusiveness. This is true, but the balance between the preponderance of Jew and Gentile might differ in each Church, or even at different moments in the history of one Church; and St. Paul was bent always, not on upholding one side, but on securing the rights of both within the Church. Further, this attitude on his part towards the Gentile Christians finds an exact parallel in Ro 11$^{17-24}$. Indeed the strongest argument for the Pauline authorship lies in the undesigned coincidences between Eph and the Ep. to the Romans. Both are of the nature of a general treatise; both are an attempt to show that Jew and Gentile are united by the work of Christ; both base this on the sinfulness of Jew and Gentile alike; both emphasize the privileges of the Jews; both build up a new morality, centring in love and made possible by the gift of the Spirit; both hint at the extension of Christ's work beyond man to the whole creation; both emphasize the eternal plan of God, hidden for ages, hinted at in prophetic writings and revealed at the due moment; both express the writer's amazement at the depths of the wisdom of God, and in each case the style rises into the beauty and cadence of a poem (Ro 8$^{31-39}$).

There are two points indeed which present a rather striking difference from the earlier Epistles. The thought of the quick return of the Lord is absent, and in its stead we have a vista of generations yet to come, through which the Church is to glorify God (3^{21}). But it is conceivable that these generations are thought of by the writer as following the Lord's return; it is conceivable, in accord with this, that the struggle which lies before the Church (6^{12}) is that which is to precede the coming of the Lord (cf. 2 Th 2$^{8-12}$); and further, it is clear that St. Paul, when he wrote the Ep. to the Romans, had contemplated the possibility of some long period of Church history before the Lord's coming (Ro 11^{25}).

Once more, the high conception of family life is at first sight inconsistent with the preference for celibacy and discouragement of marriage in 1 Co 7. But that was written in the presence of a pressing necessity: even there St. Paul recognizes that both the celibate and the married have a gift from God; and as time went on and the Lord did not return, it became necessary to build up a true conception of marriage in the face of heathen laxity. It is as likely that St. Paul should organize family life as that he should organize church order, and this he had done from the first.

(*c*) The style is again admittedly Pauline up to a point. There are some twenty words peculiar to St. Paul in his earlier Epp.; others common to Eph with the Pastoral Epp. (cf. Holtzmann, *Kritik*, p. 257); there is the love of paradoxical antithesis (cf. 6$^{15, 20}$); the play upon cognate words (4$^{8-10}$ 5$^{13, 14}$); the same free paraphrasing of OT (4$^{8-11}$, cf. Ro 10$^{6-8}$); the same unacknowledged adaptation of OT language (1^{22} 2$^{13-17}$ 4$^{25, 26}$ 5^{2} 6$^{1-4}$ 6$^{14-18}$, cf. 1 Co 3$^{10-15}$, 2 Co 3$^{12-18}$). On the other hand the sentences are less broken, rather more elaborate and complicated by parentheses;* but this applies mainly to the earlier part of the Ep., where we have great statements of doctrine rather than controversial arguments, so that it may be adequately explained as due to the quieter tone in which St. Paul was writing. So, too, of verbal differences; there is a large number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα (76), but not proportionately larger than in the other Epp. (for details cf. Von Soden, p. 87; Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, p. 289). Some of them occur in quotations; the majority of them rise naturally out of the subject-matter of the Ep.; even where the application is different from that in the earlier Epp., *e.g.* in οἰκονομία, πλήρωμα, κεφάλη, θεμέλιον, this, too, grows naturally out of the change of subject; and certainly there is no one word which St. Paul could not have used. The two that have been most objected to are the use of ὁ διάβολος (4^{27} 6^{11}) and οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι (3^{5}). To the first it is objected that St. Paul elsewhere uses ὁ σατανᾶς or ὁ πειράζων; but St. Mt, St. Lk, St. Jn (Gosp. and Apoc.), the writer of 1 Ti, and St. Paul himself as reported by St. Luke in the Acts (13^{10} 26^{18}), use both ὁ διάβολος and ὁ σατανᾶς; and the stress on unity in this Ep. makes the use of διάβολος, *i.e.* the slanderer, more appropriate than σατανᾶς. Possibly, too, the word means here 'any human slanderer' (Zahn, *Einl.* 367). Again, the phrase 'the holy apostles' sounds like the ecclesiastical formula of a later generation looking back on its canonized founders; but, apart from the consideration that the reading is a little doubtful (cf. Smith, *DB*^{2} pp. 956 and 964), the context shows that ἅγιοι refers to special consecration of the apostles and prophets as recipients of the new revelation, in contrast to the sons of men (cf. Rev 21^{14} and Lk 1^{70}).

(*d*) The relation of the Ep. to that to the Col adds to the complexity of the problem. The extent of this has been brought out already, and the fuller details may be seen in Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosser-briefe*, cap. ii., or in Von Soden, pp. 94, 95. There is nothing exactly like the problem elsewhere in NT. The nearest parallels are the relation of the Synoptic Gospels to each other, or the relation of 2 Peter and Jude: in those cases the similarity is due partly to the use of common documents, partly to the deliberate use of the earlier writer by the later. In this case a somewhat similar theory has been propounded by Holtzmann; he holds that St. Paul himself wrote a short letter to the Col., that some later writer elaborated this into the Ep. to the Eph, and that the same writer, or another, subsequently composed our present Ep. to the Col, based upon the two preceding letters. Such a theory rests upon the fact that in some resemblances priority seems to be on the side of Eph, in others on the side of Col; but such an argument is very subjective and precarious; it has not met with any acceptance, and may safely be set aside as too artificial (see Smith, *DB*^{2} pp. 959, 960, for a fuller examination of it).

The more probable theory, then, is that of simultaneous authorship by one writer; and that such a similarity is not unworthy of St. Paul may be seen by comparing instances of similar though less marked resemblance between Ro and Gal (cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, Introd. cap. iii.), and between 1 Ti and Titus.

(*e*) The indications of the personal character of the writer are naturally few in so general an Ep.; yet such as they are, they are quite true to the character of St. Paul as revealed in the earlier letters. The spirit of thankfulness bursting out into doxologies (1^{3} 3^{21}), the courteous recognition of good in his converts (1^{15}), the prayerfulness for them (1^{16} 3$^{13, 14}$), the longing for their intercession (6^{18}), the fondness for applying great principles to the details of daily life (5$^{23ff.}$), the sense of his own personal unworthiness (a sense which has grown stronger with advancing years, but yet was destined to grow stronger still, 3^{8}, cf. 1 Co 15^{9}, 1 Ti 1^{15}), combined with the bold appeal to his authority as based upon revelation and upon his sufferings for the truth (3^{1} 4^{1}),—all these may indeed be the accidental outcome of borrowing from the early letters, but far more probably are they the natural outcome of the work of the same man.

There can, then, be little doubt that the writer is St. Paul. The alternative is a Jewish-Christian Paulinist, steeped in St. Paul's language, doctrine, and character, composing 'a mosaic out of the material of the Pauline Epistles' (Von Soden), giving a slightly wider scope to his conceptions of Christ and of the Church, emphasizing the universal character of the Church as a part of God's eternal purpose, 'in the spirit of the Fourth Gospel' (Hort, p. 126). It would be a tenable view that the writer was the author of the Fourth Gospel, writing in the name of St. Paul. But if our alternatives are limited so narrowly as this, the witness of the early Church may be regarded as absolutely decisive. We have seen how early the evidence is of the existence of the Ep., and evidence of existence is in this case evidence of

* There are scarcely any interrogatory sentences; one only in Eph, as compared with 88 in Ro 1–11, and 4 in Ro 12–16. (Sanday and Headlam, *International Commentary on the Romans*, the best discussion in English of the difference of style between Ro and Eph.)

belief in the Pauline authorship. The work is not anonymous (like the Fourth Gospel or the Ep. to the Hebrews); it has not merely a salutation easily separable from the Ep.; the claim to Pauline authorship is knit into the very fabric of the letter, and some of the earliest reminiscences of its language are of the parts which imply the authorship. It was, then, written by St. Paul himself.

iii. DESTINATION.—The readers to whom the letter was addressed were mainly Gentiles (1^{13} 2^{13} 3^{1} 4^{17} 5^{8}); but this does not, any more than Ro 11^{13}, exclude the presence of some Jewish Christians. Indeed, 2^{11} seems to require the presence of Jewish Christians as forming a minority in the Church. St. Paul is laying down guidance to the Gentiles in their treatment of the Jewish Christians. Hence some commentators have treated the Ep. as a general encyclical to all Gentile converts throughout the world.

But there are personal bonds between him and them; he has had recent news of their faith and love (1^{15}); they have heard of his imprisonment and are sad at heart about it (3^{13}), and are anxious as to the issue of it (6^{21}); they seem acquainted with Tychicus ($6^{21.\ 22}$); and they are distinguished from other Christians (1^{15} 3^{18} 6^{18}). There is little doubt, then, that the destination must be localized. But in 1^{1} the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* are of very doubtful authority. They are absent in the first hand of ℵ and B, and are marked as an interpolation in 67; but found in all other MSS. Further, Basil (*c. Eunom.* ii. 19) says that there was a tradition of their absence, and that he found them omitted in the *old* copies known to him. Again, the interpretation of *τοῖς οὖσι* as 'those who have true life,' 'those who really are,'—an interpretation which presupposes the omission of the words,—is quoted by Basil as a traditional interpretation, and is found in Origen (Cramer, *Cat. ad loc.*), and is repeated by Victorinus Afer, Jerome, and Hilary. Further, Tertullian, in arguing against Marcion that the Ep. was addressed to the Eph., does not appeal to the salutation. It is, then, a fair inference that the words were absent from some copies in the 2nd cent., as it is a certainty that they were absent from many in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

The title *πρὸς Ἐφεσίους* gives us surer ground, and yet not quite sure. It is universally found in all MSS and versions, and all Church tradition has connected the Epistle with Ephesus. But Tertullian tells us that some heretics, and notably Marcion (*adv. Marc.* v. 11 and 17, cf. Epiphanius, *Hær.* 42), had a different title 'ad Laodicenos': now this may have been a mere critical conjecture by Marcion, based upon the obvious likeness of this Ep. with the Col, and the indication of Col 4^{16} that there was a letter written to Laodicea at this time. If so, this at least implies the absence of *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* from the copies: but it is equally probable that the alternative title is a real fact, and that the Ep. was originally sent to Laodicea.

Tradition, then, points to two Churches of Proconsular Asia, Ephesus and Laodicea, and internal evidence is consistent with this. As long as it was regarded as addressed only to Ephesus, the language of 1^{15} 3^{2} 4^{21} and the absence of any special ref. to the circumstances of a Church in which St. Paul had spent three years, and on which he had been on the intimate terms implied in Ac 20, was a stumbling-block; but this difficulty entirely disappears on the theory that the letter was intended for several Churches.

That Ephesus was one of these Churches is practically certain; the unanimity of Church tradition in its favour is conclusive itself; but besides this the points of similarity with the speech to the elders of Ephesus (Ac 20^{19} *ταπεινοφροσύνη* (=4^{2}), 24^{33} the stress on *χάρις*; 27 *δεσμά* (cf. 3^{1}), 27 *βουλήν* (cf. 1^{11}), 28 *περιεποιήσατο* (cf. 1^{14}), *ποιμαίνειν* (cf. *ποιμένας* 4^{11}), *κληρονομίαν* (cf. $1^{14.\ 18}$)); with the Gospel of St. John and esp. with the Prologue (see above), with the letter of Ignatius to the Eph. (see above); in a less marked degree with 1 Ti (*e.g.* $2^{5\text{-}7}$ 4^{4} the stress on the universality of creation and redemption; 3^{16} 5^{21} the appeal to the angels as witnessing the Christian life; 3^{5} the treatment of the family as a type of the Church),—all strongly confirm the tradition.

It may be added that the mention of Tychicus (cf. Ac 20^{4}, 2 Ti 4^{12}), the ref. to the power of the spirits of evil (cf Ac $20^{13\text{-}19}$), the stress on the unity of Baptism (cf. Ac $20^{1\text{-}7}$), all fall in with the same tradition, though too indeterminate in themselves to prove the destination.

The address to Laodicea is borne out by Col 2^{1} $4^{13\text{-}16}$, which witness to St. Paul's anxiety for Laodicea at this moment, and show that he was writing at the same time a general letter—not necessarily addressed to Laodicea only, but one which could be obtained from Laodicea (*τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας*), and is quite consistent with Rev $3^{14\text{-}22}$, where the Church at Laodicea is rebuked for lukewarmness.

Nor is there any reason why the destination should be limited to these two Churches. Col 4^{13} suggests that it may also have been sent to Hierapolis, while the analogy of Rev 1–3 and 1 P 1^{1} might lead us to infer that it was intended for all the Gentile converts of Proconsular Asia (cf. Ac 19^{10}).

iv. PLACE OF COMPOSITION.—St. Paul was at the time a prisoner, suffering imprisonment on behalf of the Gentiles (3^{1} 4^{1}), and an imprisonment lasting long enough to have caused anxiety to his converts (3^{13} 6^{22}). Hence the place must be either Cæsarea (Ac 24^{27}) or Rome (*ib.* 28^{30}). As between these two places this Ep. gives no guidance, save that the points of similarity with the Pastoral Epp. (cf. Salmon, *Introd.* cap. xx.) indicate the later date, and the tone of imperialism (see below) suits Rome better. But owing to the great similarity with Col we may certainly use any indications of date found there; and this is linked on by the personal allusions in it to the Ep. to Philemon (Col $4^{9.\ 17}$ with Philem ^{22}), so that indications there too may be used; again, the allusions to the imprisonment in Ph $1^{12ff.}$ make it probable that that too was written at the same place. Some commentators would place Ph at Cæsarea, the other three at Rome, but more probably all are to be placed at Rome; for the phrase *ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ* (Ph 1^{13}), though applicable to Herod's prætorium at Cæsarea (Ac 23^{35}), is equally applicable to the prætorian soldiers or the Supreme Court at Rome; the phrase *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας* (Ph 4^{22}) is more applicable to Rome; the state of feeling between Jewish and Gentile Christians as reflected in Ph $1^{15\text{-}20}$ corresponds well with that implied in the Ep. to the Romans: the freedom for preaching which St. Paul enjoys, and the importance which he attaches to it (Ph 1^{12}, Eph 6^{23}), are more natural at Rome: the expectation of a speedy release (Philem ^{22}) points the same way; and, although Cæsarea was nearer for a runaway slave from Colossæ, yet there were more frequent opportunities of communication with Rome, a greater chance of hiding, and an easier access there to St. Paul. Finally, the points of contact between all four Epp. and the Pastoral Epp. in phraseology, in stress on organized church and family life, and in Christology, all favour the later date. We place, then, all four Epp. at Rome. Of their relative order it is again impossible to speak with certainty; but most probably (so Lightfoot, *Phil.*; Hort, *Rom. and Eph.* p. 102; but see on the other side, Ramsay, *St. Paul the*

Traveller, p. 357) the Ep. to the Phil. stands by itself comparatively early in the Rom. imprisonment; for it offers more points of comparison in phraseology and doctrinal discussion with the earlier group; there is more discussion of the doctrine of justification by faith, more protest against the Judaizing Christians. On the other hand, Eph Col Philem form a group by themselves, written comparatively late in the imprisonment—with fewer points of contact with the earlier group, and with more agreement with the Pastoral Epistles. They may, then, be all placed about A.D. 63 at Rome.*

By that time St. Paul had been in prison for three or four years. That imprisonment had been incurred at Jerus. just at the moment when he had taken up the alms of the Gentile Churches to the Churches of Judæa; his anxiety about his reception by the brethren there (Ro 15^{32}) had been removed; he had been welcomed, misunderstandings had been smoothed over, he had shown his willingness to work with them (Ac 21^{17-26}). The unity between Jewish and Gentile Christians was assured. But an outburst of Jewish fanaticism, on the false charge that he had taken a Gentile Christian, *an Ephesian*, within the centre wall of partition in the temple precincts (cf. Eph 2^{14} *τὸ μεσότοιχον*), had led to his arrest; he had been kept two years at Cæsarea, thence on his own appeal had been transferred to Rome; on his way he had been marvellously protected from danger of shipwreck; he had been welcomed once more by the brethren at Rome on his arrival (Ac 28^{15}), and since he had been in prison he had had freedom to preach and wonderful success in preaching. Naturally, then, one of his main thoughts was of God's overruling power, which could bring good out of apparent evil, and turn even imprisonment into the means of furthering His work (Ph 1^{12}, Eph 3^{13}).

Further, he was now in Rome, the great centre of the empire, which he had for many years longed to see. He would look, with the eyes of a provincial, upon the centre of the world's administration; he would see a power, small at first, confined to one Italian town, growing by steady growth till it launched itself forth on the whole world, brought all nations under its subjection, opened its franchise freely to all, and allowed them to enjoy its privileges, yet still requiring its prætorian soldiers ready to defend its emperor or to move out against any enemies that might attack its borders; while as ultimate source of authority stood the one man, the Emperor, the head, the ruler, the court of appeal for the oppressed, set forward more and more even as an object of worship. At the same time St. Paul would hear more of the teaching of Seneca and of the great Stoic conception of a universal city, of which all men were citizens, and in which each true citizen rose above the limitations of place and of environment, and became independent, self-centred (*αὐτάρκης*), the master and not the slave of circumstances (cf. Lightfoot, *Phil.*, 'St. Paul and Seneca').

Naturally, then, his thoughts would dwell upon the new brotherhood of the Church, 'the kingdom of Christ and of God' (Eph 5^{5}), 'the citizenship in the heavens' (Ph 1^{27} 3^{20}, Eph 2^{19}). That, too, had grown out of a small centre, and by a longer growth, for it had begun before the foundation of the world; that, too, had at the right moment launched itself on the world, and all divisions of race had been broken down in it; that, too, centred in its king, who had won his triumphs and given gifts to his followers (4^{8}, cf. 2 Co 2^{14}), who himself was the source of peace (Eph 2^{14}), who was the head of the body; that, too, had its enemies to conquer, and therefore needed its soldiers ever prepared to fight (Eph 2^{2} 6^{10-17}); but its citizenship was in heaven, its enemies were spiritual, the scene of battle was in the heavenly places; its aim was wider, for it had once more to bring to a unity (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*, 'recapitulare,' Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 18; 'instaurare,' Vulg.; 'ad initium reciprocare, Tertul. *Monog.* c. 5) the whole universe; as it was founded on all past history, so its rule was to embrace all future time (Eph 3^{21}). Dead as well as living were its subjects (4^{9} (?)).

Such thoughts might of themselves almost account for the genesis of this Ep.; but a new turn was given to them by the arrival of Epaphras from Colossæ. He brought news of the development of teaching there tending to degrade the dignity of Christ, to substitute the worship of angels, to take low views of the material world, to lay an undue stress upon knowledge as the one method of access to Christ. At the same time he brought news of the neighbouring Churches of Proconsular Asia; their faith was sound, their love strong; but they were disheartened by the apostle's imprisonment, and, as in all Churches in Gentile cities, there was the danger lest the surrounding heathenism should draw them back, lest 'empty arguments' (*κένοι λόγοι*, Eph 5^{6}) should lead them to treat immorality lightly and indifferently; and, as in all mixed Churches of Jews and Gentiles, there was the danger lest racial jealousy should destroy unity. With the special danger at Colossæ, St. Paul dealt in the Ep. to the Col; then he turned to the wider condition of the Asiatic Churches, with his thoughts perhaps mainly fixed on Ephesus, his favourite abode, the centre of Gentile Christendom in that neighbourhood. No longer associating Timothy with him (contrast Col 1^{1}, Ph 1^{1}), but speaking only in his own name, he writes what is rather an encyclical treatise, a Cath. Ep., than a mere letter (cf. Ro and 1 P). Dropping all tone of controversy, and with only side allusions to false teaching, he tries to win them to a higher standard by a picture of the ideal Church which had been growing in his mind. He had done something of the kind to the Romans before; but that was an elaborate argument trying to convince them that all needed redemption, and that it had been brought to all by the power of Christ. This is a statement that the redemption has come, and that it has come—for here he is writing to Orientals—as part of a divine wisdom, and leading men to a fuller knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσις*, cf. 1 Co 1^{24} *αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἕλλησι, Χριστὸν Θεοῦ δύναμιν* [the theme of Romans] *καὶ Θεοῦ σοφίαν* [the theme of Ephesians]). He is anxious that they too (*καὶ ὑμεῖς*, 'you in the recesses of Provincial Asia as well as the brethren at Rome,' Hort) should know what is happening in his imprisonment, that it is bringing fresh glory to the Gentile Christians (3^{13}); they need not be out of heart, for God is watching his fortunes with that same overruling power which has ordered all history. He it was—thanks be to Him—who eternally planned our redemption; who chose the Jews for special privileges and promises; who at the right moment revealed His Son and broke down the division between Jew and Gentile; who has now drawn both Jew and Gentile into one body; who raised Christ and made Him Head of the Church; who enabled individuals to do good works; who is now building up His Church and watching over His apostle. Therefore, you must lift up your hearts and minds; you must keep the unity which He has given; you must not be drawn back into the old impure aimless life; you must build up family life; and you must remember that

* Von Soden, while rejecting the Pauline authorship of Eph, hesitates between Rome and Asia Minor as the place of its composition.

round about you, as about the Jews of old or about the Rom. Empire now, there are enemies, spiritual enemies; you must be ready both for defence and for attack, for you have to fight God's battles, and to represent His cause and to illustrate His wisdom in the eyes of the angels. Peace, Love, and Faith: these are the graces which I ask for you.

Such was the substance of the letter: whether St. Paul inserted any address must be uncertain. Either he inserted *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, but as Tychicus was intended to leave it at other Churches too, other names were inserted by these Churches in their own copies, or more probably a blank was left from the first that Tychicus might fill it up with the name of each Church to which he read the letter; possibly, again, several copies may have been made at Rome for the different Churches, and carried by Tychicus. It is a legacy of peace left to the Church by Paul the aged, 'das Testament des greisen Apostels' (Jülicher); 'one of the divinest compositions of man' (Coleridge, *Table Talk*); *νοημάτων μεστὴ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ὑψηλῶν καὶ δογμάτων* (S. Chrys. *Comm.*); truth expressed 'sub specie gratiarum actionis' (Theod. Mops. on 1^{2}). 'Though the vehement moods of the earlier contests have subsided, many parts of the Ep. glow with a steady white heat' (Hort, p. 153). It is a letter rising at times to the level of a poem, 'the Christian's 68th Psalm'* (Dr. Kay); 'ipso verborum tenore et quasi rhythmo canticum imitatur' (Bengel on 2^{14-18}); 'der ganze erste Haupttheil (1–3) hat liturgischen Charakter und erscheint in seinen Höhepunkten wie einer jener *ὕμνοι* durch welche nach Col 3^{16}, Eph 5^{19}, die Christen sie belehren sollen' (Von Soden). When St. Paul wrote this letter, he was, as at Philippi, singing hymns in prison.

v. Doctrinal Importance. — The doctrines implied in the whole group of the Epp. of the Captivity are well analyzed, and their relation to that of the previous Epp. drawn out, in B. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* part iii. § iii. Those which are most prominent in this particular Ep. are—

(*a*) *The Universal Fatherhood of God* (*πατήρ* applied to God eight times; in Ro only four times). While the unity of God's nature is the starting-point of the whole argument (4^{5}), yet He is represented as the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ (1^{3}), *i.e.* there is within the Godhead a relationship of Father and Son, there is a giving forth of life and love (1^{6} *τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ*), there is a social bond, so that every community, whether of angels or of men, is named after and reflects the fatherhood of God (3^{15} *πατριά* here only in St. Paul). He is in the widest and most absolute sense 'the Father' (2^{18} 3^{14} 5^{20} 6^{23}); the Father of the glory manifested in men (1^{17}); the Father of all (4^{6}); the Father of us Christians (1^{2}).

(*b*) *The Pre-existence of Christ* — and this not merely in relation to God, as elsewhere, but in relation to man, so that before the foundation of the world He contains within Himself ideal Humanity (1^{4}), and men have only to grow up into that which He already is ($4^{15.16}$): and also in relation to the whole universe which centred originally in Him, and is re-centred in Him by the Incarnation (1^{10} *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*, 2^{12} 4^{18} *ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι*).

(*c*) *The Dignity of Human Nature*, as redeemed within the Church, lifted above this earthly sphere into the heavenlies, showing forth the attributes of God Himself to the world, and becoming a link for the whole creation (1^{23} 2^{5} $3^{18.19}$ 4^{8} [*τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ*] 4^{32} 5^{1} *μιμηταὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, 6^{4} 6^{13}).

(*d*) *The Continuity of all History* in the past and in the future. Each *καιρός* is regarded as contributing its quota to the whole, until the whole complement of *καιροί* shall be complete (1^{10} *τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν* [cf. Mk 1^{15}, Lk 21^{24}] and 3^{11}).

(*e*) *The Essential Unity of the Church*, as based upon the unity of God, as an ideal already realized, yet needing to be secured (4^{3}), and in a sense still future (4^{15}); as practically begun by baptism (4^{5}), and as secured by the gift of an organized ministry, whose purpose is to fit all Christians for the work of service (*πρὸς καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἔργον διακονίας*), to build up Church life until the complete unity is secured ($4^{12.13}$).

(*f*) *The Insistence on Wisdom and Knowledge*, as an integral and necessary part of the true religious life. This truth, which St. Paul had first proclaimed in the centre of Gr. philosophy at Athens (Ac 17^{23}, cf. Hort, *Hulsean Lect.* p. 62), is here more explicitly laid down in an epistle to Gentiles. The value of this insistence is all the more striking as addressed to converts who were inclined to give an apparently undue value to knowledge. The remedy for a little knowledge is more knowledge.

(*g*) *The Consecration of Family Life.* Family life is regulated in Col (3^{18}–4^{1}): it is dignified in 1 P (2^{18}–3^{7}) as a means whereby Christians may hope to attract heathens to the faith; but here it is lifted to a higher level still, as a type and nursery of Church life.

(*h*) *The Picture of the Christian as a Soldier*, and his life as a warfare, which finds its fullest expression here, has had a wonderful influence both on Christian history and on Christian literature, enriching the latter with poems and allegories such as the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Taking of Mansoul* by Bunyan, and nerving many a Christian hero and martyr for his task.

vi. Literature.—If we may see a literary dependence of 1 P and of the Apoc. upon our Ep., its importance must have been recognized at once, and it must have been at once known in Rome; the reminiscences found in the sub-apos. writers show a knowledge of it at least in Asia Minor and Italy. There is some evidence that it was commented upon by the Gnostics in the 2nd cent. Origen wrote three books upon it, large fragments of which are preserved in Cramer's *Catena*, vol. vi.; probably a much larger part is embodied in Jerome's *Commentary*. In the next cent. Ephraem the Syrian, Victorinus the African, Ambrosiaster, St. Chrysostom, and Severianus, and rather later Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Jerome, treated it in their general comm. on St. Paul's Epp. For an account of these comm. see Lightfoot, *Gal.* (pp. 217 ff.), and Swete's ed. of Theodore of Mopsuestia (vol. i. pp. lix–lxxix). For later comm. cf. Meyer's *Comm.* (Introd.), or Macpherson, pp. 96–106.

St. Chrysostom remains still the best comm. for his combination of exegetical, doctrinal, and spiritual power, and for sympathy with the writer's mind and character. He wants exact treatment of exegetical difficulties, and is at times fanciful; but he seizes well the whole drift of a passage; he never avoids discussing a difficulty; he has a firm hold on doctrine, and is especially strong in the spiritual application of truth, dwelling on the contrast between virtue and vice; on the strength of the will, on the beauty of the Christian character in contrast to the unnaturalness and impotence of sin. Theodore of Mopsuestia is acute as an exegete, but has less spiritual insight; *e.g.* he explains all the blessings spoken of in the Ep. as referring to a future life.

Of mod. comm. Macpherson (Edinr. 1892) is full and useful, but not very stimulating; Ellicott, Alford, Moule (Camb. Bible), Beet, are all good; Bishop Lightfoot's notes on 1^{1-12} have been published posthumously (*Notes on the Epp. of St. Paul*, 1895). W. Schmidt in Meyer's *Comm. on NT*, and Von Soden in the *Handkommentar zum NT* (Freiburg, 1891), are excellent in exegesis.

For the doctrinal treatment of the Ep., Dale, *Lectures on Eph.*, and Findlay in *The Expos. Bible*, are equally good, though both fail to rise to the writer's conception of the Church. For devotional use, Bernardine of Picquigny, in Lat. or in Eng. (tr. by A. H. Pritchard, 1888), is most useful. The introductory questions are best dealt with by Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, ii. pp. 162–193; Von Soden, *ubi supra*; and Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosser-briefe*, Leipzig, 1882, as against the Pauline authorship: on behalf of it, by Lightfoot, *Bibl. Essays*; Hort, *Prolegomena to the Ro. and Eph.* 1895; A. Robertson in Smith's *DB*^{2}; Weiss, *Introd. to NT*; Zahn, *Einl.* i.

W. Lock.

EPHESUS (*Ἔφεσος*) was the metropolis of the

* Ps 68^{18} is quoted in 4^{8}; there are other possible reminiscences of it; *e.g.* cf. Ps ^{5} with 5^{19}; ^{10} with 1^{18}; ^{17} with 2^{22}; ^{20} and ^{36} with 1^{3}; ^{27} and ^{35} with $3^{21.22}$; ^{28} and ^{36} with 3^{16} 6^{10}.

Roman province of Asia (wh. see), and one of the three great cities of the East Mediterranean lands (along with Antioch in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt), a rank to which geographical and historical causes conspired to raise it. It was situated within 3 miles of the sea, on the river Cayster, which was navigable as far up as the city in the Rom. period. It stood at the entrance to one of the four river valleys that extend upwards and eastwards like long narrow clefts in the high plateau forming the main mass of Asia Minor; these valleys are separated by chains of mountains, which are really prolongations, like fingers, stretching out towards the W. from the main plateau. The roads connecting the western sea, the Ægean, with the central and eastern lands, must necessarily follow the lines of these four valleys; and near the mouth of each of them stood a Gr. city, in which the importance of the valley was centred. The four valleys are those of the river Caicus with the city Pergamus, of the Hermus with Smyrna, of the Cayster with E., and of the Mæander with Miletus. The four cities played a prominent part in the early history of Christianity in Asia Minor. The shorter courses of the Caicus and Cayster make their valleys unsuited for routes of communication with the far East; and natural circumstances make the road that leads up from the Hermus valley to the plateau too difficult. Hence the route up the Mæander to its junction with the Lycus, and thence up the Lycus by Laodicea (wh. see) towards Apamea, has been the great road of history, and was one of the chief avenues of intercourse, of commerce, and of advancing civilization and thought under the Rom. Empire. Now E., from the beginning, competed with Miletus as the seaport towards which the trade of that great road was attracted; for, owing to the configuration of the coast and of the valley, the line from the Lycus down the Mæander, and across the mountains by a pass only about 600 ft. high to E., is shorter by many miles than the line down the Mæander to Miletus. The superior energy and more thoroughly Gr. character of the people of Miletus, combined with their more advantageous harbour, gave them the advantage in earlier times; but under the later Gr. kings, and still more decisively under the Roman rule, E. had established itself in undisputed supremacy as the sea-end of the great eastern highway, while the silting up of the Mæander seems to have been permitted to interfere with the excellence of the harbour of Miletus. Thus E. became the great commercial centre for the whole country within, *i.e.* on the Roman side of, Mt. Taurus, as Strabo mentions (p. 641, cf. pp. 540, 663).

On the great line of communication between Rome and the East in general, E. was one of the knots where many side roads converged to feed the main route. From the N. and the S. coasting ships and land roads (Ac 19^{21} $20^{1.17}$, 1 Ti 1^{3}, 2 Ti 4^{12}) brought travellers to the city on their way to Rome, or carried away travellers and officials who were going from Rome to other parts of the province. Thus it was a regulation that the Rom. governors under the empire must land at E.; and the system of roads was such as to make the city the most easily accessible from all quarters of Asia. Hence it was naturally marked out as the centre where St. Paul should station himself in order to affect that great province; and from thence the new religion radiated over the whole of the province (Ac 19^{10}), partly through the fact that great numbers of the provincials came to E. for various purposes (*e.g.* to trade, to see the great Rom. festivals and shows, to worship the great goddess, etc.), and heard the word, and carried it back to their homes, partly through special missions on which, doubtless, St. Paul's helpers, like Timothy and others, were sent by him. Corinth was the next great knot on the way to Rome, and communication between E. and Corinth must have been very frequent. The ship that conveyed St. Paul to Jerus. from Corinth, doubtless a pilgrim ship carrying Jews to Jerus. expressly for the Passover, crossed first to E. (Ac 18^{19}), and thence coasted round Asia Minor, and crossed, doubtless by the W. side of Cyprus, to the Syrian coast (as in Ac 21^{3}). The same character, as a pilgrim ship, doubtless belonged to the ship by which St. Paul intended to sail from Corinth for the Passover four years later (Ac 20^{3}); on board of such a ship Jewish fanaticism would have been specially strong, and the conspiracy which was dreaded by St. Paul's friends would have had every chance of being successful.

After St. Paul's work in Asia was ended, Timothy seems to have been stationed in E. for a time (1 Ti 1^{3}), with general authority, extending probably over the whole province, as is implied throughout the first Epistle; and he was summoned thence by St. Paul to join him in Rome during his second imprisonment (2 Ti 4^{9}); and John Mark must have been in Asia, perhaps in or at least near E., at that time, as Timothy was charged (4^{11}) to bring Mark with him to Rome. A wide acquaintance of Mark with the Asian Churches is implied in Col 4^{10}, 1 P 5^{13}; and on each of the journeys between Rome and Asia which are implied in these passages, he must have passed through Ephesus. The rank of the Ephesian Church in the province is attested further by its being named first in Rev 1^{11} 2^{1}. It became the home of St. John in the latter part of the century; and a few incidents of his residence in E. are preserved by Eusebius. According to tradition, not merely Timothy and John, but also the Virgin Mary, were buried at Ephesus.*

The connexion of the Ephesian city harbour with the sea depended on the proper maintenance of the channel of the Cayster; but this was difficult, for the river, which drains a valley of fertile alluvial soil, carried much silt in its water, and deposited this toward its mouth, as the current became weak. According to Strabo (p. 641), an ill-advised engineering scheme under the Pergamenian king Attalus Philadelphus (B.C. 159–138), when a breakwater was built to narrow the entrance from the river, increased the tendency to silt up the mouth of the city harbour; and in A.D. 65 measures had to be taken by the governor of Asia to improve the connexion between the harbour and the sea (Tacit. *Ann.* xvi. 23). Either then or at some other time, an embankment, which can still be seen as one rides down from E. to the sea (see Weber, p. 52), was built along the lower course of the river, to help the action of the stream in sweeping the silt out towards the sea. The harbour of E. was maintained, apparently, under the Rom. Empire; but in later centuries the care and energy needed for so great a task failed, the harbour became a mere marsh, and with it E. necessarily decayed, as its qualifications for being the sea-end of the great highway had ceased. Even in the time of St. Paul,

* As to the supposed connexion of St. Luke with E., no ancient evidence for it exists (but rather only contrary evidence); in Ac there is nothing to suggest personal knowledge of the city on the part of the author; and the so-called 'Tomb of St. Luke' is the creation of a mere error on the part of Mr. J. T. Wood, who mistook a rude cross, incised in later times on the marble door of an old Gr. *polyandrion* or family tomb, for a proof of the Christian origin of the monument, imagining that the figure of a bull (a Gr. ornament) which was sculptured on it was the symbol of St. Luke, and completing his delusion by the false belief that the modern name Ayassaluk (on which see below) was derived from "Αγιος Λουκᾶς. Yet from his idea there has been developed a modern legend; and in recent years there has been some attempt to institute a ceremonial at this false 'tomb of St. Luke.'

it was somewhat troublesome to ascend the channel to the harbour; and ships which were trading between the N. Ægean ports and Syria, avoided E., unless the exigencies of loading or discharging freight required them to enter the harbour (Ac 20^{16}).

While the road up the Cayster valley towards the East was too difficult to be a commercial route, it afforded decidedly the shorter path from E. to Pisidian Antioch and the East in general; and naturally foot-passengers, to whom precipitous descents caused no difficulty, would prefer that road to the longer but more level route by Apamea and Laodicea. The Cayster route leads over higher ground than the other, and does not descend into the low coast valley till it comes nearer E.; and this also would make it preferable in the summer. Hence St. Paul, journeying from Pisidian Antioch to E., preferred the Cayster route, and traversed the higher-lying districts (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*, Ac 19^{1});* and the statement of Ac on this point is confirmed by Col 2^{1}, which shows that the apostle had never visited Colossæ or Laodicea (which were situated on the great highway). He had doubtless entered on the same path in his second journey, when, after revisiting Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, he advanced into Asia, but found himself 'forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia' (Ac 16^{6}).

The lower end of the Cayster valley is divided from the middle valley (called the Caystrian plain) by the projection of the bounding mountain ranges, for Mt. Gallesus on the N. stretches down towards the S., as if trying to reach across the valley to Mt. Messogis (the part of which overlooking E. was called Pactyas), and forces the Cayster to wind southward, when it is coming near the sea-level. Below this narrow pass, the valley opens again to form a low marshy plain, raised very little above the sea, from which the hills spring very sharply, as Mt. Coressus, the outermost peak of Pactyas, overhanging the site of E., extends in a long sharp ridge westward towards the sea; and the Cayster turns again sharply to the W. through this 13 miles long plain to the sea. In the open plain, about 5 miles from the sea, on the S. side of the river, stands a little hill, close on the W., above the modern railway station; this hill has always been the religious centre of the valley; below its S.W. slope stood the sacred precinct of the Asian goddess, who was identified by the Greeks with their own Artemis (see DIANA); on the hill Justinian built one of his greatest ecclesiastical foundations,† the church (whose ruins, projecting out of the hill, can still be traced) dedicated to St. John the Evangelist (*ὁ ἅγιος θεολόγος*, from whom the hill and the little village beside is still called Ayo-solúk or Ayas-salúk, *i.e.* Ayo-thológ); and between the two was built a fine mosque, formerly one of the most exquisite monuments of late Arab.-Pers. art, now seriously dilapidated (founded probably by one of the Seljuk princes, who reigned and coined money with Lat. inscription‡ at Ayo-solúk). Round this religious centre the earliest and the latest inhabitants have congregated; whereas, in opposition to the religious foundation, the Gr. colonists built the city of E., at a distance of 1 to 2 miles S.-W., partly on the slope of Coressus, partly on the low ground at its foot, and partly on a low isolated hill, called Pion or Prion (about 500 ft.), which rises in the plain.

The history of E. turns, to a great extent, on the opposition between the Greeks, the party of progress and freedom and maritime enterprise, and the non-Gr. population, centred at the temple, and championed by the priesthood, the party of stagnation and ignorance and Asiatic submission. The Lydian conquest by Crœsus for a time enslaved the city to the temple; the new foundation of E. by Lysimachus in B.C. 295 again redressed the balance;* but the proximity of the temple gave it always an immense power in the city. The city owed its pre-eminence in the province in part to the temple, for the temple was the greatest and most influential in Asia, and the city boasted of the title 'warden of the temple of Artemis' *νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*, Ac 19^{35}, lit. 'temple-sweeper,' in RV 'temple-keeper,' in AV 'worshipper.' The title 'Temple-Warden' is more commonly applied to E., and to many other Asian cities, as warden of a temple of the imperial cultus; in the time of St. Paul, E. was warden of one such temple, and later she became warden of two temples, and finally of three temples of the imperial religion (*δὶς, τρὶς, νεωκόρος*); and when the Eph. Neocorate simply is mentioned, that is the sense in which it is ordinarily to be understood.† But the ref. to the Eph. Neocorate of Artemis in Ac 19^{35} is justified by an inscription of the 2nd cent., in which E. is said to be 'doubly temple-warden of the Emperors, and warden of Artemis' (*δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*, Wood, *Appendix Inscr.* vi. 6, p. 50); and coins of the 3rd cent. have the legend *Ἐφεσίων τρὶς νεωκόρων καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, i.e.* 'triply temple-warden (of the emperors), and (temple-warden)‡ of Artemis.' The festivals of the goddess were thronged by pilgrims and devotees from the Cayster valley and from the whole of Asia. The crowds which attended these festivals contributed greatly to the wealth of the city; many trades were mainly dependent on the pilgrims, who required entertainment, food, amusement, victims to sacrifice, offerings to dedicate, curiosities and images for worship to carry home.§ The order of events during St. Paul's long residence in E. of 2 years and 3 months (Ac $19^{8.\ 10}$, called 3 years by the apostle himself, Ac 20^{31}, in the usual ancient style of reckoning an intermediate period by the superior round number) illustrates in a striking way the relation of the priestly centre to the preaching of Christianity. At first there was no opposition; for new religions, which were often brought in from the east, had never been found prejudicial to the influence of Artemis and her priests. Then the missionaries were brought into collision with the practisers and votaries of magic; E. was one of the great centres of magical art, and a kind of magic formulæ,

* In this sentence we speak only on the 'South Galatian' theory (Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 93 f., esp. ed. 2 or later editions); those who hold the 'North Galatian' view may omit this one sentence.

† It is briefly described by Procopius, *Ædific.* v. 1, as equalling in size and magnificence Justinian's great foundation in Constantinople, the Church of the Holy Apostles. Justinian built it in place of an earlier church on the same site, dedicated to St. John.

‡ *Moneta quæ fit in theologo.* Several of these coins were among a find made in the soil, a little to the north of the temple, by Mr. Wood. The coins had been buried about 1370.

* Even under the Delian confederacy it seems clear that the Eph. contribution of 6 to 7½ talents was paid only under compulsion (Head, p. 18), and the Gr. spirit was nearly dead. Lysimachus called his new city Arsinoe, after his wife, but this name lasted only a few years.

† The Eph. Neocorate in the imperial cultus is first mentioned on coins of Nero; probably the ref. is to the *Augusteum*, a temple built in the precinct of Artemis to Rome and Augustus by the city E. (not by the *Commune Asiæ*, see ASIA, ASIARCH) before B.C. 6 (Wood, *Appendix*, i. 1); Buchner, *de Neocoria*, p. 38, indeed considers that the reference is to a temple of Claudius, which he supposes to have been dedicated by the *Commune Asiæ*, on account of aid given to the city by the emperor, Malalas, p. 246, ed. Bonn; but there is no evidence that such a temple ever existed. The second imperial neocorate was granted under Hadrian, and the third under Caracalla. A decree of the Senate was required to grant this distinction (as Asia was a senatorial province).

‡ The phrase *τετράκις νεωκόρος* on the later coins refers to this same fact.

§ Artemis Ephesia was worshipped more widely by private persons than any other deity known to Pausanias (iv. 31. 8; cf. also Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 4).

called Ephesian Letters (Ἐφέσια γράμματα), became famous;* the magicians were naturally soon arrayed in opposition to the religion which freed the human mind from such superstitions; but their discomfiture (Ac 19[13-19]) would not directly and immediately affect the priests and the temple. As time passed and the new religion became more powerful, it began to affect the worshippers, who did not need so many articles for dedication (ἀναθήματα), and ceased to purchase the small representations of the goddess in her shrine, which were produced in vast numbers and in various materials—silver, marble, and terra-cotta (see DIANA). Thus several trades were seriously affected, and the associated trades (τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας, Ac 19[25]), under the leadership of one of their wealthy merchants (who dealt in silver 'shrines,' and therefore needed more capital for his business in the precious metal), Demetrius, probably master of the guild for the year,† eager to defend their interests, raised a demonstration against the Christian preachers. It is clear that in the riot the Christians ran serious risk (19[31]), and that, even after (and also before) the riot, the passions and superstitions of the vulgar mob, having once been roused against the puritanic tendencies of the Christians, continued to be a serious danger to St. Paul (1 Co 15[32] 16[9], 2 Co 1[8-10]).

The early stages of the riot involve some reference to the topography of Ephesus. It is obvious that the inflammatory speech of Demetrius was delivered at a meeting of the associated trades, doubtless held in a building belonging to the guild (19[25]). The text of the Bezan Codex explicitly states (what obviously must have occurred) that the assembled tradesmen and craftsmen then rushed out into the street (εἰς τὸ ἀμφοδον), and at last congregated in the theatre. The ruins of the theatre are on a large scale; and it has been calculated that the building could hold 24,000 people. It was situated on the western slope of Mount Pion, overlooking the city harbour (which is now a marsh).

It is an interesting and important point that the Asiarchs were friendly to St. Paul, and intervened to save him from adventuring himself in the crowd. They doubtless pointed out to him that his presence would still further enrage the excited crowd; that if the mob once proceeded to violence, they were more likely to extend their violence to his companions; and that the best course therefore was for St. Paul not to show himself at the moment. The attitude of the Asiarchs may be taken as a fair indication of the feeling entertained towards St. Paul by the educated and influential class in the city, and also of the attitude of the imperial administration, for they were officials of the province, not of the city; they were part of the Rom. imperial machinery. It is perhaps implied in Ac 19[31] that they were present as a body or council in the city: this may be accounted for either by a festival which was in progress about the same time, or by the natural appropriateness of a provincial body or council meeting in the capital of the province. A council of the Asiarchs is probably referred to in an Apamean inscription (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. No. 299).

In the narrative (Ac 19[23-41]) allusions occur to the government of E., and also of the whole province of Asia. The **Town-Clerk**, or 'Secretary of the City' (γραμματεύς), appears as an official of great authority; the assembly of the citizens (ἐκκλησία) is mentioned as the highest municipal authority; and the Roman courts (*conventus*, αἱ ἀγοραῖοι, i.e. ἀγοραὶ δικῶν) and proconsuls are declared to be the final judicial authority in case of any complaint against individuals. The government of the municipality of E., like that of the other great Asian cities, was lodged in the hands of two deliberative bodies, the **Senate** (βουλή) and the **Assembly** (ἐκκλησία), and of certain boards of magistrates, notably the Strategoi (στρατηγοί). All power ultimately resided in the Assembly of the citizens; and in the old free Gr. city-constitution the Assembly had really held the reins of power, and exercised the final control over all the other departments of the government. But its meetings under the Rom. system tended to become mere formalities, at which the Bills sent to it by the Senate were merely approved; for the imperial government, which had abolished the powers of the popular assembly in Rome, naturally discouraged popular assemblies in the cities of the empire; when St. Paul, however, was at E., the Assembly was still, in name at least, the supreme and final authority in the city (Ac 19[39]), where the last decision lay on matters that did not properly fall within the cognizance of the Rom. courts and officers; and it is also regularly mentioned in the preamble to decrees, along with the Senate, as giving validity and authority to decrees which had been prepared by the Senate and submitted to it for its approval.* The Senate (βουλή) in the Asian cities was transformed by gradual steps from the old Gr. form of a body elected annually by the citizens, to the Rom. form of a body filled up by distinguished citizens (esp. all who had held any of the higher magistracies), retaining their seats for life. Concurrently with this change in its constitution, it encroached more and more on the powers of the Assembly. But at the same time another transforming process went on simultaneously, as the Rom. imperial authority encroached on the municipal privilege of self-administration; and in this transformation the Senate was made by slow steps a mere instrument of the Rom. imperial government.

The Secretary of the city (γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως, called also ὁ Ἐφεσίων γραμματεύς, or γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου) was perhaps the most influential individual in the city. Mr. Hicks well says that 'as the real vigour of the Assembly declined in the atmosphere of imperial rule, it was more and more left to the Secretary to arrange the business of the Assembly. Together with the Strategoi he drafted the decrees to be proposed.† He had the decrees engraved. He took charge of money left to the people of Ephesus.' Further, it is clear that he acted as a channel of communication between the Rom. provincial administration and the municipality (*e.g.* in the inscription, Hicks, p. 154); and thus, as the Rom. central authority encroached on the municipality, the Secretary became more and more important. These facts explain the part played by this official in Ac 19[35-41], an incident which throws a clear light on this obscure subject, and is in perfect accord with all that we learn about it from other sources. He came forward as the agent of the municipal government, and calmed the mob by a skilful speech; he spoke of the close relation between the city and the temple, and the sacredness of the goddess, as universally acknowledged; he mentioned, as an obvious and familiar fact, that Paul and his associates had not been guilty of acts or words disrespectful to the goddess (see CHURCHES, ROBBERS OF); he pointed out that there was an established method of legal procedure, whereby they should seek redress for any injury of which they complained, but that persistence in their riotous conduct was criminal, and likely to call down severe punishment; and then he dismissed the assembly. His recognition of the meeting as an ἐκκλησία was important: he did so in order to shield it, so far as he could, from Roman censure.

The Secretary advised the concourse to disperse, and wait until the lawful Ecclesia (so AV, regular assembly RV) should meet, and settle anything further which they wished to bring before it. The old Gr. distinction between regular ordinary meetings on days agreed beforehand (νόμιμοι ἐκκλησίαι, Hicks, No. 481, l. 340) and extraordinary meetings, specially summoned, had been modified by the Rom. government in such a way that permission of the Rom. officials was required before a meeting of the Ecclesia could be legally held; and from this it resulted that no extraordinary Assembly could be summoned except by the Rom. officials themselves, who had the right to call the people together at any time.‡ Hence this suddenly convened meeting was not legal, and could not carry any business through; and, moreover, it might provoke inquiry from the Romans (who were always jealous of the right of free meeting), and even result in punishment (such as the prohibition for a time of all right of holding the Ecclesia); for, as the Secretary pointed out, the city could not justify it by pleading any cause for it.

In the city of E., then, there were three distinct powers, which were brought into contact or conflict in the 1st and 2nd cent.: the hierarchy of the temple, the government of the city, and the new religion preached by St. Paul. At first it is clear that there was no opposition on the part of the municipal government to Christianity. The Secretary of the city speaks for the government, and points out that the Christians have not been guilty of disrespect in act or word towards the established system, while the rioters have brought the city into danger of reprimand and punishment from the imperial rule. The whole tone is one of superiority to, and almost of contempt for, the superstitious vulgar, together with recognition of the right of St. Paul to preach, so long as he showed proper respect to the laws and institutions of the city. A convinced Christian, who was at the same time a man of affairs, could not have taken a line that was better calculated to put St. Paul in the right and the rioters in the wrong; and we shall probably not err in believing that the general tone of the educated officials and the priests of high rank at this time was one of perfect

* Perhaps an example of these *Ephesia Grammata* occurs on a coin of the imperial time, as Mr. Head suggests in his *Cat. Brit. Mus.* (*Ionia*), p. 70.

† At E. the guilds of the Woolworkers (λωνάριοι), the Surveyors (προμέτραι), and the Workmen before the Gate (ἐργάται προπυλείται πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι) are mentioned in inscriptions. A list of trade-guilds in the Asian cities is given by Oehler in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 276 f.; cf. Liebenam, *Römisches Vereinswesen*, p. 157.

* It is best described by M. Lévy, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, p. 203 ff.

† This implies that he sat on the board of the Strategoi as an assessor (or perhaps as a chairman).

‡ Lévy in *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, p 216.

equanimity and general philosophic interest in the preaching of St. Paul, whereas the superstitious and vulgar mob were strongly opposed to him. This state of opinion lasted till near the end of the 1st century. But the violent feelings roused during the persecution of Domitian, combined with the realization on the part of the officials and the higher priesthood that the growing power of Christianity threatened the existing order of things, and would, if successful, sweep it away, led to a union among all the classes which were not opposed to the existing order, *i.e.* among all who were not Christians. We may confidently assume, also, that at first Christianity spread with great rapidity, and produced a neglect of the Eph. ritual similar to that which Pliny describes as having existed in Bithynia, until the measures carried out by him in A.D. 112 caused a revival of the pagan worship (*Epist. ad Trajan.* 95). A similar revival of paganism in E. about the same period is attested by ancient documents, as Canon Hicks was the first to recognize clearly. A great inscription, dating A.D. 104 (Hicks, No. 481, p. 135), contains a series of decrees honouring C. Vibius Salutaris, a Rom. citizen resident in E., who had presented to the goddess and the city government a number of statues, images, and moneys, and arranging for the acceptance and use of the gifts and for the institution of a new festival and procession which should unite and bind more closely together the sanctuary and the city of Artemis. From this time onwards the city began to boast more than before of its title of 'temple-guardian of Artemis' (*νεωκόρος Ἀρτέμιδος*); and the imperial government also allied itself with the religion of Artemis, for under Hadrian imperial silver coins bear the type and legend of DIANA EPHESIA, showing that the vindication of the goddess was accepted as a duty by the emperor as Pontifex Maximus (for Rom. coins could not bear the effigy and title of any but a Rom. deity). This agreement of the imperial government, the municipal authorities, the temple-hierarchy, and the superstitious mob of the city, lasted unbroken until Christianity triumphed. It is true that the text of a decree, passed by the Senate and Assembly of E. in A.D. 161, is commonly quoted 'as an involuntary confession of the decline of the Artemis-worship under the growing influence of the new faith,' and as an indication that the reaction visible in A.D. 104 had ceased. The text (Hicks, No. 482, p. 145), according to the usually accepted interpretation, states that 'the Eph. goddess, whose worship had hitherto been universally recognized, was now being dishonoured, not only in her own city (*ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς πατρίδι ἀτιμᾶται*), but also among Greeks and barbarians.' But, as has been urged in *Classical Rev.* 1893, p. 100, it is impossible to accept the idea that a decree in honour of the goddess had such an ill-omened introduction (for to ancient feeling it was profane and impious and dangerous to use such words); and probably there has been a slight error of the engraver, who wrote *δι* once instead of twice, thus reversing the meaning; the true text, then, states that Artemis is honoured in her own city and everywhere (*πατρίδι διατιμᾶται*).*

The temple of Artemis at E. was one of the greatest and most famous architectural works known to the ancient world. The building which existed when St. Paul lived in E. was not the oldest temple. An earlier temple, containing columns dedicated by Crœsus, king of Lydia, B.C. 560–539 (fragments of which are now exhibited in the Brit. Mus. containing parts of the king's dedicatory inscriptions—Hicks, p. 173, No. 518), but not finally completed until about B.C. 400, was burnt to the ground in B.C. 356, on the same night that Alexander the Great was born; and a vast temple, measuring, according to Pliny, 425 ft. by 220,* was built in its place with the help of contributions from the whole of Asia (*tota Asia exstruente*, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 40, 213; cf. Hicks, p. 174)—a fact which attests the veneration paid to the goddess by the whole province (Ac 19^{27}, see also *CIG*, No. 2954, and Hicks, p. 144, No. 482, on the reading of which see above). Owing to the marshy soil on which it stood, it required much care and contrivance to lay the foundations firmly (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 95). Possibly, the impressiveness of this great temple suggested to St. Paul the allegory in 1 Co 3^{10-17} (written from E.), and gave point to his words addressed to the Ephesians (2^{20-22}); but it is unnecessary to suppose that on each occasion, when he refers to the ideas of foundation or building, as in 1 Ti 3^{15} 6^{19}, 2 Ti 2^{19-20}, Ac 20^{32}, he was thinking of this temple. The site of this temple was discovered by Mr. J. T. Wood in 1870, after many years' patient and laborious search; but, unfortunately, he has given no sufficient indications as to what remains of the building he found actually *in situ*, and has left no plan of the site as it was when he uncovered it. He merely gives his own restorations, and his own theories as to what the temple must have been when it was perfect; but his knowledge of Gr. architecture was not so thorough as to make his views trustworthy; and it is hardly possible now to acquire sufficient knowledge of the facts to form a clear conception of the building. Officials called *νεωποῖαι* or *νεοποιοί* were charged 'to take care of the fabric and repairs of the temple, and to superintend any additions such as the setting up of inscriptions' (Hicks, p. 80).

There can be no doubt that the Temple of Ephesian Artemis was used as a place of deposit for treasure both by the city and by private individuals (as, *e.g.*, by Xenophon, *Anab.* v. 3. 4). This function strengthened the bonds that united the city and the temple. It is uncertain how the treasure deposited in the temple by the city was managed, but, as Canon Hicks says (p. 82), 'it is remarkable how little is said in the Ephesian inscriptions about any financial officers.' The temple and its precinct were inviolable: no arms might be borne within the sacred precinct (implying that in primitive times, when arms were commonly carried, the goddess provided that her worship should be a peaceful influence). The Rom. government, in A.D. 22, recognized the right of asylum that belonged to the soil of Artemis (Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 63); but the local limits of asylum varied widely at different periods.

The twelve disciples of the baptism of John whom St. Paul found at E. (Ac 19^{3}) had possibly been converted by Apollos during his recent visit; though it is more probable that a small sect of Jews had emigrated to E., as a great centre of commerce and intercourse, soon after the coming of St. John. St. Paul, on his first brief visit, seems to have found the Jews in E. very well disposed towards the new teaching; and, though a rupture between him and them is recorded (Ac 19^{9}), it is hardly described in such terms as to suggest that it was so serious as those that occurred in Corinth or Thessalonica. The existence of a Jewish colony at E. in B.C. 44 is vouched for by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. x. 12 (cf. xiv. x. 25, xvi. vi. 2 and 7), when Dolabella granted them religious freedom (esp. from engagements inconsistent with proper observance of the Sabbath) and exemption from military service. When Augustus afterwards confirmed the privileges of the Asian Jews, esp. guaranteeing them safe-conduct for transmission of their offerings to Jerus., he doubtless had E. prominent in his mind (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. vi. 2, cf. Ac. 2^{9} 6^{9}). Jewish inscriptions at Eph. are published, Hicks, Nos. 676, 677. Some of these Jews appear to have made a practice of exorcism and magic, Ac 19^{14-16}, like Bar-jesus at Paphos, Ac 13^{6} (see SCEVA). Similar practices were engaged in by the Jewish settlers at Thyatira (wh. see).

* In his *addenda*, Canon Hicks also is disposed to recognize an engraver's blunder.

* According to Mr. Wood's measurements the temple itself measured 343 ft. by 164, and the stylobate or basement 418 ft. by 239.

When St. Paul broke with the Jews, he passed forth beyond the narrower circle which had come within the influence of the synagogue, and addressed the entire Eph. population. He was understood by the Ephesians to be the teacher of a new school of philosophy; and, agreeably to this view, he lectured daily in the school of Tyrannus (wh. see), just as other philosophers gave public lectures. In the Bezan Text there is added the statement that he taught from the 5th to the 10th hour. It is probable that this is correct, showing that St. Paul employed the hours when the building would no longer be in use; for the business in the Asian cities seems to have ended at the 5th hour (one hour before midday).* We may, then, picture Paul's life in Eph. as spent thus: he wrought 'night and day' with his hands, *i.e.* he started his craft before sunrise and continued at work through the earlier hours of the day (Ac 20[34], 1 Co 4[12],† 1 Th 2[9]); then, after the ordinary day's work was finished, he began to teach publicly in this building, and expounded his philosophy to all comers freely. These public lectures were, as we might naturally expect, supplemented by teaching in private houses (Ac 20[20]).

The name *St. Paul's Prison*, which is applied to a Gr. tower forming part of the line of fortification along the ridge of Coressus, near its W. end, is purely fanciful. There is no record that St. Paul was imprisoned in E.; and, if he had been imprisoned, this tower is not the kind of place where he would have been immured. 'It is a two-storeyed fort with eight chambers, and the upper storey is reached by an external staircase' (Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 99). There are some important Christian remains in the city, notably the double church near the gymnasium adjoining the theatre. This church is older than the great Basilica of St. John the Evangelist on the hill at Ayo-Solúk; and may well be the very church where the Council was held in A.D. 431.‡ On the E. side of Mount Pion, overhanging the road that leads from the temple of Diana to the Magnesian Gate of the city, is a rock-hewn church, close to a cave in which the 'Seven Sleepers of E.' were, according to the legend, saved from the Rom. persecution by a slumber of some centuries' duration.

The actual foundation of a Christian community in E. may be ascribed to Priscilla and Aquila (wh. see), whom St. Paul left there at his first hurried visit (Ac 18[19]), and whom he found there on his return.

LITERATURE.—The vast mass of lit. about E. is to a great extent antiquated by recent works. The inscriptions, with the commentaries of Boeckh and Hicks, must form the foundation of all methodical study. On the topography, see esp. Weber, *Guide du Voyageur à Ephèse*, Smyrne, 1891 (excellent maps); also Sir C. Wilson, *Handbook to Asia Minor*, etc. (Murray) 1895: on the antiquities, Hicks, *Gr. Inscrip. of the Brit. Mus.* iii. p. 67 ff.; Menadier, *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint*; Zimmermann, *Eph. im erst. christl. Jahrh.*; Lévy, in *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1895, p. 203 f., and subsequent artt., gives a careful and admirable study of the constitution of the Asian cities; and Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ch. ii., gives a brief sketch of the same subject. Guhl's *Ephesiaca* is not wholly antiquated, and Falkener's *E. and the Temple of Diana* contains some things to reward study. Wood's *Discoveries at E.* is almost purely a popular book (except for the appendix of inscriptions, most of which are republished by Hicks, *l.c.*); and the scientific account of his discoveries, which doubtless he contemplated, was never published. The sketch of the history, esp. the early history, given by E. Curtius in 'Beiträge z. Ges. u. Topog. Kleinasiens' in *Abhandl. Akad.* Berlin, 1872 (repub. in his *Gesam. Abhandl.* i. 233-265), is singularly charming and instructive. Lightfoot's 'Discoveries illustrating the Acts of the Apostles' in *Contemp. Rev.* May 1878 (repub. as app. to his *Essays on Supernat. Rel.* p. 291 ff.), is useful: see also Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.* pp. 112-156, and *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 267-282. On the coinage, see Head's excellent *Hist. of the Coinage of E.* (which unfortunately ends with the Christian era, but may be completed from his 'Catalogue of the Gr. Coins in the Brit. Mus.' *Ionia*, pp. 70-115. On the great highway between E. and the East see G. Hirschfeld, 'Kelainai-Apameia-Kibotos,' in *Abhandl. Akad.*, Berlin, 1875; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of As. Min.* pp. 35-51. On the supposed 'tomb of St. Luke,' see Weber, Rylands, and Falkener, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* vii. 1881, and Simpson, *ibid.* vi. p. 323.

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EPHLAL (אֶפְלָל).—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 2[37]). See GENEALOGY.

EPHOD (אֵפוֹד, אֵפֹד; *ἐπωμίς* Ex, Lv, but *ἐφώδ*, *ἐφούδ*, Jg and 1 S).—In treating of this term, which is apparently used in different meanings, it will be convenient to consider first the passages in which there is least doubt about the signification of the word.

1. The 'ephod' was a priestly garment made of white linen (בַּד), and attached to the body by a girdle (חֵשֶׁב). An ephod such as this was worn by Samuel as a temple-servant (1 S 2[18]), by the 85 priests belonging to the sanctuary at Nob, who were slain by Doeg (1 S 22[18]), and by David when he danced before the ark (2 S 6[14b]; cf. 1 Ch 15[27b]). The nature of this priestly garment is not further described; but it may be assumed to have been a simpler form of the more ornate garment of the same name described in P (Ex 28[6-8. 27f.] 29[5] 39[2-5. 19f.], Lv 8[7]) among the vestments peculiar to the High Priest. This more ornate 'ephod' was, in a word, an ornamental kind of *waistcoat*. It consisted of an oblong piece of richly variegated material (blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, interwoven with gold thread, the 'work of the designer'), bound round the body under the arms, and reaching down as far (apparently) as the waist. The ephod was supported by two 'shoulder-pieces,' *i.e.* two flaps or straps attached to it behind, and passing over the shoulders to the front, where they were again fastened to the ephod: on the top of each of these shoulder-pieces was an onyx-stone, engraven with the names of six of the tribes of Israel. Round the body, the ephod was further held in its place by a band (חֵשֶׁב הָאֵפֹד, *i.e.* prob. the 'ingenious work of the ephod'*), of the same material as the ephod, and woven in one piece with it, by which it was 'girt' (Lv 8[7]) round the waist. The ephod was worn over a blue frock, woven entirely of blue, and put on by being drawn over the head, something in the manner of a cassock (but without arms), called the 'robe (מְעִיל) of the ephod.' The skirt of this robe was adorned with a border of pomegranates in colours, with golden bells between them, the sound of which was to be heard whenever the High Priest was ministering in the Holy Place (Ex 28[31-35]). On the front of the ephod was fastened the jewelled BREAST-PLATE, containing the pocket or pouch in which were put the Urim and Thummim, or sacred lots (Ex 28[16. 29f.], Lv 8[8]).†

2. There is, however, a second group of passages in which 'ephod' has been supposed to denote, not a priestly garment, but some kind of idol or image. a. In Jg 8[26f.] Gideon is said to have made an 'ephod' of the gold rings‡ taken from the Ishmaelites and Midianites, which he 'set'—or 'stood' (וַיָּצֶג, implying location somewhat more definitely than וַיַּעַשׂ; see Gn 30[38] 43[9], and of the

* According to others, 'the *band* of the ephod,' חֵשֶׁב being supposed to be transposed from חָבֵשׁ. The verb חָבַשׁ is, however (in connexion with dress), used only of binding on headgear.

† It is possible that the ephod was of Egyptian origin. At least V. Ancessi (*Annales de philos. chrétienne*, 1872, pp. 45, 47) gives illustrations from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. plates 224*a*, *d*, 274*b* (cf. 222*h*), of divine and royal personages having similarly a richly decorated garment round the body, supported by two shoulder-straps, fastened at the top by a gem, and secured round the waist by a girdle.

‡ 'It' in v.[27a] refers naturally only to the 'gold' of v.[26a]: the crescents, etc., of v.[26b] do not seem to be included.

* See illustrations collected *Expositor*, March 1892, p. 223; *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 271.

† This Epistle was written from Ephesus.

‡ The Council was held *in E.* (not outside the city) *ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Μαρίᾳ*, as is stated in the *Acta*.

ark, 1 S 5², 2 S 6¹⁷)—in Ophrah. That this was an object of idolatrous worship seems plain from the comment of the later historian (v.²⁷), who states that 'all Israel *went a whoring* after it,' and that it became a snare to Gideon and to his house.' The amount of gold spent upon this ephod (1700 shekels =about 75 lbs. troy, which would be worth now some £3600) points also to something more than an ornamental vestment for a priest: indeed the ephod appears to be the chief object in the sanctuary.* **b.** In other passages also the ephod figures as part of the regular equipment of a sanctuary. In Jg 17⁴ᶠ· 18¹⁴· ¹⁷· ¹⁸· ²⁰, Micah provides for his private shrine in Ephraim a graven and molten image (*peṣel* and *maṣṣēkhāh*),† and an *ephod* and teraphim; and in Hos 3⁴ the prophet speaks of a time when Israel should be left 'without king and prince, without sacrifice and pillar (*maẓẓēbāh*), and without *ephod* and teraphim.' The juxtaposition of ephod and teraphim in these passages is noticeable. The latter were idols (Gn 31¹⁹, cf. v.³⁰), apparently of human form (1 S 19¹³·¹⁶), and were used in divination (Ezk 21²¹ (²⁶), Zec 10²; cf. Hab 2¹⁹): hence it is reasonable to conclude that the ephod was in some way associated with the teraphim in divination. It does not, however, follow that it was any kind of image: rather, as the teraphim were idols, the ephod will have been something different. **c.** In 1 S 21⁹ [Heb.¹⁰] the sword of Goliath was preserved at Nob as a trophy, wrapped in a mantle 'behind the ephod,' which therefore would seem to have been something having a fixed place by the wall, but standing free from it. **d.** In the Books of Samuel, the ephod is several times mentioned as a means of ascertaining the will of J"; the verb used in connexion with it, when thus employed, is—not 'put on,' but—'bring near' (הִגִּישׁ 1 S 14¹⁸ LXX,‡ 23⁹ 30⁷·⁷): the priest (whose privilege it is to possess it) is said to 'carry' or 'bear' it (נָשָׂא 1 S 2²⁸ 14³·¹⁸ LXX,§—not 'wear'); and Abiathar brings it down with him 'in his hand' to David in Ḳe'ila (1 S 23⁶). These passages seem to imply that the 'ephod' was something moved about or carried, rather than something worn as a garment. **e.** The derivative אֲפֻדָּה—the same word which is used in connexion with the high priest's ephod in the phrase (Ex 28⁸ 39⁵) 'the band of its *attachment*'—is used actually of some part of the metal plating of an idol in Is 30²² 'the silver overlaying (צִפּוּי) of thy graven images, and the gold *attachment*, or *casing* (אֲפֻדָּה), of thy molten images.' On the strength of these passages, Wellhausen (*Hist.* 130 n.), summarizing the conclusions of Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* 1835, pp. 267, 269), writes, 'Outside the Priestly Code, *ephod* is the image, *ephod bad* the priestly garment'—the term, when used in the latter sense, being thus distinguished by the addition of 'linen' (Stade, Kautzsch, Smend, Nowack, Benzinger).

The places in which *ephod bad* occurs are 1 S 2¹⁸ 22¹⁸, 2 S 6¹⁴; so that, taken strictly, the passages in which *ephod* denotes, upon this view, an image would be Jg 8. 17 f., 1 S 2²⁸ 14³ 21⁹ 23⁶· ⁹ 30⁷, Hos 3⁴ (to which 1 S 14¹⁸ LXX must naturally be added); though Vatke excludes 1 S 14³, and Smend, Kittel, and Budde ('perhaps') exclude 1 S 2²⁸ ('to bear the ephod *before me*'). It may, however, be doubted whether, the connexion being so similar (esp. in the Sam. passages,—though 1 S 2²⁸ is, no doubt, later than the rest), the term must not be understood throughout in the same sense.

The explanation of the passages quoted is possible, but not certain. (1) The difficulty that the same term should be used to denote both a priestly vestment and an image is not insuperable. The 'ephod' was essentially a *casing* round the body; and hence the same word might well have denoted the casing of precious metal, which (as was usual in ancient images) was spread over a wooden core (cf. Is 40¹⁹); the derivative אֲפֻדָּה appears actually to be used in this sense in Is 30²² (quoted above): and a term denoting properly the decorated casing of an image, might easily have come gradually to be used for the entire figure. (2) It is true, נָשָׂא (to *carry* or *bear*) is not elsewhere used of garments, but only of shields, weapons, burdens, etc.: if, however, at the time to which Jg 17 f. and 1 S refer, the ephod worn by the principal priest at a sanctuary was in any sense a prototype of the later high priest's ephod, and had a pouch containing the sacred lots (cf. 1 S 14⁴¹ᴸ, esp. v.⁴¹ LXX [Urim and Thummim],—provided, at least, as seems a natural inference from what is stated on other similar occasions, and from v.¹⁸ LXX ¹⁹· ³⁶ᶠ·, the ephod may be presumed to have been used in Saul's inquiry,—and 28⁶), it might be fairly described as 'carried' or 'borne,' and mentioned (in Jg 17 f., Hos 3, for instance) as a prominent and essential part of the priest's dress, without which the oracle could not be consulted. It is, however, strange that the same term נָשָׂא should be used also of the *linen* ephods of the priests at Nob.* (3) In 1 S 21⁹, as also in 14³·¹⁸ LXX, 23⁶· ⁹ 30⁷, the term does seem to denote something different from what it does in 22¹⁸: in 21⁹ the 'ephod' is spoken of in terms implying that there was but one at a sanctuary (here Nob);† and 14³·¹⁸ (LXX) mention one as being, apparently *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, in the possession of the principal priest in Israel; whereas 85 priests, belonging to the same sanctuary as the one named in 21⁹, are said in 22¹⁸ to have borne linen ephods. The single ephod may, of course, have been the more elaborate ephod of the high priest (though this would hardly suit well in 21⁹); but for those who doubt whether the high priest's dress had yet acquired the ornate character described in P, the way is open for the inference that it was an oracular image.

On the whole, we can hardly be said to possess the *data* for deciding this controverted question with confidence. There is, however, a decided probability that, at least in Jg 8²⁷, the term 'ephod' is used of the gold casing of an oracular image. And if it has this meaning (in addition to that of a priestly linen waistcoat) in one passage, the presumption against its having the same second meaning in other passages is lessened, though, naturally, it is not proved that it has it actually.

The opinion that אֵפוֹד denotes a plated image is adopted by Ges. (for Jg 8. 17 f., Hos 3); Studer, *Comm. on Jud.* (for Jg 8 only); Stade, *Gesch.* 466 (for Jg 8. 17, 1 S 21⁹: with regard to the 'ephod' in which the sacred lots were kept, he merely says, p. 471 bottom, that it is disputed whether it was an image, or the priestly vestment); cf. (for Jg 8) Ewald, *Alt.*³ 298 n.: generally for these and the other passages named (sometimes with the exception of 1 S 2²⁸) by Vatke, *l.c.* (except 1 S 14³), Wellh. *l.c.*; Reuss, *Gesch. d. Heil. Schr. AT.*³ 1, §§ 102, 139;

* It is argued (*e.g.* by Berth. *ad loc.*) that the money may have been used for defraying the entire cost of establishing the sanctuary; but the expression is distinctly 'made into an ephod'; and *set* (or *stood*) is hardly applicable to a movable priestly garment.

† In reality, it may be, only a *peṣel*: see 18³⁰· ³¹, and cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 375 f.

‡ 'Bring hither the ephod. For he bare the ephod at that time before Israel.'

§ Read also by Klost. in 1 K 2²⁶ ('ephod' for אָרוֹן 'ark'). The same verb is used in 1 S 22¹⁸ of the 'linen' ephod.

* Smend, Nowack, and Benzinger explain the identity of name by the conjecture that originally the body of the image was dressed in an 'ephod' of linen, which was afterwards replaced by one of precious metal, while the ephod of linen became the priest's garment, and think consistently that '*bear* the linen ephod' in 1 S 22¹⁸ is a survival from the time in which the expression was applied, as they consider it still is in 1 S 14³·¹⁸ LXX, to carrying the oracular image. LXX omits 'linen' in 1 S 22¹⁸; but this does not seem to be right: as said above (No 3), the ephod of 22¹⁸ appears (upon grounds independent of the word 'linen') to have denoted something different from the ephod of 14³·¹⁸ LXX, 23⁶· ⁹ 30⁷.

† Whether this was the same ephod as that which was brought afterwards from Nob by Abiathar to David (23⁶· ⁹ 30⁷), is uncertain; for in 23⁶ both MT and LXX have '*an* ephod' (not '*the* ephod').

Kuenen, *Hibb. Lect.* 82 ('probably'); Kautzsch in Herzog's *PRE*^{2}, xvi. (1885), 229; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* 115 f.; Kittel, *Gesch.* ii. 174 n.; Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.* 41; Nowack, *Arch.* ii. 21 f.; Benzinger, *Arch.* 382; cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{2}, 241; G. A. Smith, *The XII Proph.* 23, 38; Dillm. *AT Theol.* 136, 153. See further Moore, *Judges*, 232, 379, 381, who adopts the same view without hesitation for Jg 8, and seems to prefer it for some of the other passages, but allows that they do not 'imperatively' require it, and that 'all that can with certainty be gathered from them is that the ephod was a portable object which was employed or manipulated by the priest in consulting the oracle' (p. 379). It has been opposed by Thenius on 1 S 21^{10}; Bertheau, *Richter*^{2}, 164; Nowack on Hos 3^4 (in his *Comm.* of 1880); Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.*; and especially by König, *Hauptprobleme*, 59–63 (who does not, however, appear to maintain more than that the view is not 'undoubtedly' correct).

The etymology of אֵפוֹד is too uncertain to throw light on the meaning of the word. The Heb. verb אפד (Ex 29^5, Lv 8^7) seems to be a denominative. Lagarde (*Bildung der Nom.* 178; *Mittheil.* iv. 17) derived אֵפוֹד from the root preserved in the Arab. *wafada*, *to come as an envoy* (to a ruler, etc.), supposing that *ephod* = 'approach' was abbreviated for '(garment of) approach (*sc.* to God),' and comparing Syr. *pedthā* (which would be another derivative of the same root), a long robe (oft. in Pesh. for אֵפוֹד). But this etymology, though ingenious, cannot claim to be more than a conjecture. In usage, the word was probably felt to denote something *closely surrounding* or *encasing*.

S. R. Driver.

EPHOD (אֲפֹד).—Father of Hanniel, Manasseh's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34^{23} P).

EPHPHATHA.—The word spoken by our Lord (acc. to St. Mark, 7^{34}) to a deaf and dumb man brought to Him on His return through Decapolis to the Sea of Galilee. It is the Ithpeel (or Ethpa'al) imperat. of an Aram. verb meaning 'to open'—the ת of the prefix being assimilated to the foll. consonant; but as respects philological details the specialists are not agreed (see Dalman, *Gram. des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, p. 222 n.). The evangelist interprets it in Greek by the 2 pers. sing. 1 aor. pass. impv. 'Be (thou) opened.' The word was used in the Western rites of baptism (cf. Ambr. *de Myst.* 3).

J. H. Thayer.

EPHRAIM (אֶפְרַיִם).—The name of a patriarch and tribe in Israel. E. was the second son of Joseph and Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, priest of On, and was born in Egypt (Gn 41$^{50ff.}$). He was adopted, along with his elder brother Manasseh, by Jacob, who thus gave his favourite son Joseph two tribes among his descendants. At the ceremony of adoption (Gn 48$^{13ff.}$) Jacob, in spite of Joseph's resistance, reversed the order of birth, gave E. the precedence over Manasseh, and prophesied that the younger should be the greater. In Jacob's testament (Gn 49) E. and M. are included under the name of Joseph, their future fortunes being conjoined. The tribe of E. is said (Nu 1^{33}) to have, at the Exodus, contributed 40,500 men to the army of Israel, a number reduced, presumably by war and privations, to 32,500 at the close of the wanderings in the desert (Nu 26^{37}). The value of these figures may be estimated by the fact that during the same period the warriors of Manasseh increased from 32,200 to 52,700 (Nu 1^{35} 26^{34}).

Apart from this, however, there is sufficient evidence to show that, in the earliest period of Isr. history in Canaan, the tribe of Joseph, or of Rachel, was still undivided. It embraced not only E. and M., but Benjamin; and therefore we find Shimei the Benjamite regarding himself as a member of the house of Joseph (2 S 19^{20}). After Benjamin constituted a separate tribe, E. and M. still remained undistinguished for a considerable time; they formed together the house of Joseph in the more general sense; and this can alone explain their union for administrative purposes under Solomon (1 K 11^{28}). To what precise period we should assign the subdivision of Joseph it is impossible to discover. All we can say is that it would naturally result from the ever-increasing extent of territory occupied by the tribe, and the emergence of different and conflicting interests in the separate regions of it.

E., like the other tribes of Israel (see Alliance), was far from owing its territory entirely to force of arms (see Tribe). Can. elements are found in its midst at a comparatively late date (Jos 16^{10}), and Jg 5^{14}, though very corrupt, may imply that the population was composed to some extent of Amalekites. The earliest settlement was in Mt. Ephraim, which was densely wooded. Hence when a complaint was made to Joshua that the territory assigned was too small for the tribe, he advised them to make clearances, and thus make good the defect (Jos 17$^{14-18}$). From this point E. extended northwards over the wooded hill-country of Samaria to the borders of the plain of Jezreel. The boundary between E. and Manasseh is stated to have been the brook Kanah (Jos 16^8), but this line of demarcation was not strictly observed. The S. limit was fixed at the two fortresses of Upper and Nether Beth-horon, on the borders of Benjamin. To the W. of these lay the territory of the Can. town of Gezer, received by Solomon on his marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh (1 K 9$^{15-17}$).

The Ephraimites were the most powerful tribe in Israel, and their ambition and sense of superiority are continually in evidence in the history. Their later characteristics and conduct are foreshadowed in the Bk. of Jg. Here we find them attacking Gideon for going to war with the Midianites without summoning them to his aid; their resentment is allayed only with the greatest difficulty (Jg 8$^{1-3}$). In the same way they complain against Jephthah, and on this occasion they actually come to blows with their kinsmen, with the most disastrous consequences to themselves (Jg 12$^{1-6}$). But they not only aspire to leadership in war. Shiloh, the seat of the 'house of God' until the destruction of this sanctuary by the Philistines, is within their borders. Samuel still further adds to the prestige of the tribe from whose midst it was only natural that the kingmaker should arise, thus realizing the idea of monarchy in the land, if not among the people, of Jerubbaal and Abimelech. After Saul's death E. set up Ishbosheth, and instigated, or at least joined in, the opposition to David and the tribe of Judah (2 S 2^9); but after the assassination of their prince they yielded to the force of circumstances, and gave in their adherence to David. The traditional jealousy of Judah was not, however, allayed. It can hardly be doubted that this had much to do with the initial success of Absalom's revolt, and it found expression after the failure of the conspiracy in a formal complaint (2 S 19$^{40-43}$). The succession of Rehoboam to the throne furnished a favourable opportunity for a final attempt at obtaining independence. The first intimation of the meditated secession is stated to have come from Shiloh, the ancient headquarters of the priesthood and of the first kingmaker. The revolt was precipitated by the tyranny of Solomon and Rehoboam, and was consummated under the leadership of Jeroboam, who became the first ruler of the N. kingdom. From that date E. and Judah were irrevocably divided, and the history of the former tribe is merged in that of Israel. The capital, whether Shechem, Tirzah, or Samaria, was always situated in E., and the name of that tribe was constantly applied, especially by the prophets, to the whole kingdom. See Israel.

Mount Ephraim occurs repeatedly in AV (Jos 17^{15} 19^{50} 20^7, Jg 2^9 3^{27} etc., 32 times in all) as tr. of הַר אֶפְרַיִם, which RV more correctly tr. 'the hill country of Ephraim.' It designates the mountain-

ous ridge in Central Palestine, stretching N. to S. from the Great Plain to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, occupied by West Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin. It had fruitful land on both slopes, especially the western (see Moore on Jg 3^{27}, Dillm. on Jos 16^{1}, and G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 325, 338).

LITERATURE.—Moore, *Judges*, 152, 205, 314 ff.; Budde, *Richt. u. Sam.* (*passim*); Kittel, *Hist. of Heb.* (see Index).

J. MILLAR.

EPHRAIM ('Εφραίμ).—A town not mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels, nor in any other part of the NT except Jn 11^{54}. In that passage we are told that, in consequence of the plots formed by the rulers of the Jews after the raising of Lazarus, Jesus went from the neighbourhood of Jerus. and Bethany 'into the country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there he tarried with his disciples.' The 'wilderness' (ἡ ἔρημος) apparently means the grassy mountain lands near Jerus.; and Josephus (*Wars*, IV. ix. 9) mentions a small fort named Ephraim in the mountain district north of Judæa, which he couples with Bethel. In 2 Ch 13^{19} we have Ephrain (עפרין) instead of **Ephron** (עֶפְרוֹן) suggested in the *Kerê* and RVm as the correct name of one of the towns taken by Abijah; and in this verse we again find it coupled with Bethel, if the suggestion be adopted. Lightfoot remarks that, whether the *Kerê* be the right reading or not, it shows that such a place existed just in the region where from St. John's account we should expect it to be. Robinson suggests that it is the same as **Ophrah** mentioned in 1 S 13^{17}, and enumerated by Joshua among the cities of Benjamin (Jos 18^{23}). He identifies it with a village now called et-Ṭaiyibeh, situated on a conspicuous conical hill commanding a view over the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea (Robinson, i. 444). This site is a very probable one; it is 4 miles N.E. of Bethel, with which Ephraim is coupled both in 2 Ch and by Josephus; and it is about 14 miles from Jerusalem.

Ewald identifies it with the Ephraim in the neighbourhood of which Absalom's sheep farm was situated (2 S 13^{23}); but the Ephraim there referred to is differently spelled, beginning with א, whereas Ephraim of Benjamin begins with ע. If Ewald is right in accepting as genuine the words which the LXX puts in the watchman's mouth in 2 S 13^{34}, and in interpreting them as referring to Beth-horon, this would in reality put a further difficulty in the way of the identification which he proposes; for this would indicate a site N.W. of Jerus., whereas et-Ṭaiyibeh lies N.E. of the capital, and the neighbourhood of Bethel seems to show that Ephraim of Benjamin must have been in the same locality. Jerome describes it as being 'In tribu Juda, villa prægrandis, Ephræa nomine, contra septentrionem in vicesimo ab Ælia milliario.'

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* i. 444–447; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 45–51; Ewald, *HI*, Eng. tr. iii. 172; Schürer, *HJP* I. i. 246; *PEFSt*, 1886, p. 57; Andrews, *Life of Our Lord*, 409–411; Smith, *HGHL* 352; Driver, *Sam.* 233.

J. H. KENNEDY.

EPHRAIM, FOREST OF (יַעַר אֶפְרַיִם).—The scene of the battle between the forces of David and the followers of Absalom (2 S 18^{6}). As 'the city' (18^{3}) out of which David was to succour Joab, if needed, was Mahanaim (17^{27}), the battle must have been fought on the other side of a plain from that city (18^{23}). Though the site of Mahanaim has not been certainly determined, it must have been in Gilead (see MAHANAIM). The most probable site is *Mukhnah* on the eastern side of the circular plain 'El-Bukeia.' Instead of 'Εφράιμ of LXX, Luc. has Μαάναν =מַחֲנַיִם. This is accepted by Klosterm., and Budde (in Haupt's *OT*) remarks that Mahanaim 'would be good, but is perhaps a guess.' אֶפְרַיִם is 'unquestionably wrong' and could well be dispensed with, but can hardly have originated 'out of nothing.' It has been suggested that the 'F. of E.' got its name from the battle recorded Jg $12^{1ff.}$. It is more prob. that it was from a settlement of Ephraimites on the east of Jordan, an attempt to have a lot there as well as Manasseh, for the Ephraimites were from the first dissatisfied with their portion (Jos 17^{14-18}). To this the obscure words of Jg 12^{4} may refer. See Smith, *HGHL* p. 335 n.[2].

A. HENDERSON.

EPHRAIM, GATE OF.—See JERUSALEM.

EPHRATHAH (אֶפְרָתָה, LXX 'Εφραθά, AV wrongly **Ephratah**) in Ps 132^{6} is prob. not an ancient name of Bethlehem, but means the territory bordering on Judah and Benjamin, in which lay Kiriath-jearim, where the ark rested for a time, and where it is represented as being 'heard of,' found 'in the field of Jaar.' So Ges., Del., and see RVm. **2.** A place near Bethel where Rachel died and was buried, Gn 35^{19} 48^{7} (in both of which passages 'the same is Bethlehem' is a gloss). **3.** A name of Bethlehem, Ru 4^{11}, Mic 5^{2}. **4.** The wife of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{50} 4^{4}, abbrev. in 1 Ch 2^{19} to **Ephrath**). See CALEB.

W. T. DAVISON.

EPHRATHITE (אֶפְרָתִי).—**1.** A native of Bethlehem (Ru 1^{2}). **2.** An Ephraimite (Jg 12^{4}, 1 S 1^{1} [cf. Driver, *ad loc.*, and see art. SAMUEL], 1 K 11^{26}).

EPHRON (עֶפְרוֹן).—The son of Zohar the Hittite, from whom Abraham purchased the field or plot of ground over-against Mamre, in which was the cave of Machpelah (Gn 23). The purchase is described with great particularity; and the transactions between Ephron and Abraham are conducted with an elaborate courtesy characteristic of Oriental proceedings. Ephron received 400 shekels' weight of silver (23^{15}): coined money apparently did not exist at that time. If we compare the sale of the site with other instances (Gn 33^{19}, 1 K 16^{24}), Ephron seems to have made a good bargain.

The presence of Hittites in Palestine in the days of Abraham is noticeable. It is possible that Ephron belonged to a different group of Hittites from those who dwelt in Asia Minor. 'Indeed it seems probable that before either Canaanites or Aramæans appeared west of the Euphrates, the Hittites had settled throughout Syria, and the Amorites in Palestine . . . It is also not without a special allusion to the distant past that the learned Ezekiel ($16^{3.\ 45}$) says of ancient Jerusalem, "the Amorite was thy father and thy mother a Hittite"' (McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and Monuments*, vol. i. p. 196). See further under HITTITES.

H. E. RYLE.

EPHRON (עֶפְרוֹן), Jos 15^{9}.—A mountain district, containing cities, on the border of Judah, between Nephtoah and Kiriath-jearim. The ridge W. of Bethlehem seems intended. **2.** ('Εφρών) 1 Mac 5^{46-52}, 2 Mac 12^{27}. A strong fortress in the W. part of Bashan between Ashteroth-karnaim and Beth-shean. The site is unknown. **3.** See EPHRAIM in preceding col.

C. R. CONDER.

EPICUREANS ('Επικουρεῖοι).—We read in Ac 17^{18} that when St. Paul came to Athens 'certain of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers encountered him.' Whether he discussed their tenets with them is not related, nor what they thought of his; for we need not refer to the two sects the unfavourable criticisms, that St. Paul was a babbler and a setter forth of strange gods.

Epicurus was born B.C. 342, and spent his early life in the Ionian Islands. In 307 he domiciled himself at Athens, and soon gathered round him a group of friends and pupils who never forsook him. Their meeting-place was a small garden and villa which he owned in the suburbs, and which he

afterwards bequeathed to the sect or 'thiasus.' He died in B.C. 270 of stone, the pain of which he bore with philosophic calmness.

The moral or ethical theory of Epicurus was suggested by that of his predecessor Aristippus of Cyrene, who formulated the human good or end of life as consisting in the pleasure of each moment. E. adopted pleasure as the end; but insisted that it is the pleasure of an entire life at which we must aim, and taught that this can be secured, not by indulging whims and instincts as they momentarily arise in us and solicit us, but only by reconciling them into a systematic whole, in which each will receive the amount of satisfaction which belongs to each. Before indulging any instinct, bodily or mental, we are to consider, said Epicurus, what will be the consequences to ourselves and those whose happiness or pleasure is bound up with our own. Thus the general upshot of his teaching is not unlike that of Bishop Butler; and the charge made against him by the ancient Stoics, that he encouraged sloth and sensuality, was unjust. Conybeare and Howson are right when they speak (*Life and Letters of St. Paul*, ch. x.) 'of the quiet garden, where E. lived a life of philosophic contentment, and taught his disciples that the enjoyment of tranquil pleasure was the highest end of human existence.'

The Stoics also stigmatized E. as an atheist, because he held that the gods live a sublime life of divine calm, as far removed from the passions and hatreds which make men unhappy as from the turmoil of the elements. The contemporaries of E., like the Greek or Italian peasantry of to-day, believed that every clap of thunder, every flash of lightning, every earthquake, was a direct act of a god, who, except in abnormal paroxysms, never acted at all. If a man was blind from birth, the gods were angry with him or his forefathers. If there was a drought, the gods meant to signify their displeasure with someone or other. The gods were perpetually meddling with nature and man, and oftener in a malign than in a loving manner. An instinctive dislike for such peddling views of Providence inclined E. to the philosophy of secondary causes, which Anaxagoras and Democritus had already broached in an earlier generation; and he elaborated a philosophy of nature according to which all phenomena, especially the thunder and lightning, in which Zeus was popularly supposed to vent his ire, were referred to the play of atoms moving about in a void space. To this regular action and interaction of atoms were to be ascribed the stars and their movements. Here, again, Epicureanism struck at the widespread superstition of astrology, and rendered a great service to humanity. For if a man's whole life and destiny depended on the position of the stars at his birth, he was not free to mould his own character, but was the slave of alien forces. In opposition to such a degrading and paralyzing fatalism, E. taught that man has a free will, and can make the best of himself.

A modern writer (Mr. Pater, in his work *Marius the Epicurean*) has shown how naturally Epicureanism, the most humane of ancient creeds, could in the 2nd cent. pass into Christianity. And indeed the two had much in common. Both were opposed to the vulgar mythology of antiquity; both ascribed to the Deity a lofty immunity and repose from every lower passion and feeling; both taught the doctrine of free will in opposition to the astrologers; both inculcated kindness and gentleness to man and beast; both frugality and contentment with moderate circumstances. And as Epicureanism, being the offspring of an age when the intense but narrowing patriotism of the ancient city-state was gone by, was capable of being practised under any form of political institutions, so the moral system of Christianity was formed in detachment from any special set of institutions, and even in defiance of many which, both before and since, have been held essential.

LITERATURE. — The best short account of Epicureanism is Wallace's *Epicureanism* in 'Chief Ancient Philosophies' (S.P.C.K.). See also his article in *Encyc. Brit.*[9]. For a fuller treatment of the subject, and for a knowledge of the Greek sources, consult Ritter and Preller's *Historia Philosophiæ Græcæ*, or Zeller's *Hist. of Gr. Philosophy*; also H. Usener's *Epicurea*. Among older works, Gassendi's *De Vita, Moribus et Doctrina Epicuri*; *The Life of E.*, by Diogenes Laertius; the poem of Lucretius in Latin, or as tr. by Munro. Late in the last cent. an entire library of Epicurean writings was found at Herculaneum. Many of these rolls have been deciphered and printed since 1793, when the task of unrolling them was first essayed. But many of them are too much charred by the hot lava which overwhelmed the city in A.D. 79 to be of much use. Still many writings of E. and of the leading members of his school, which would have been lost except for this famous cataclysm of nature, have been thus preserved to us.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

EPIPHANES.—See ANTIOCHUS IV.

EPIPHI (Ἐπιφί, 3 Mac 6[38]).—See TIME.

EPISTLE.—**1. IN OT.**—The epistle is so spontaneous a form of literature that it may be regarded as one of the earlier applications of the art of writing (see WRITING). Letter-writing must, however, have been confined at first to the few; and official rather than private correspondence would be the prevailing type. In OT verbal messages alone appear prior to the Kingdom in Israel, the letter of David to Joab touching Uriah (2 S 11[14. 15]) being the first recorded example. Here the message was one which could not have been sent verbally through Uriah; and a similar need for secrecy explains the use of sealed letters by Jezebel in the matter of Naboth (1 K 21[8. 9], cf. 2 K 10[1-7], Jehu and the sons of Ahab; also 2 Ch 21[12]). The answer in each case was verbal; hence we infer that writing was still the rare exception even in high official matters. Other reasons for resorting to written messages were the desire to be emphatic or peremptory, as in the cases of Benhadad's letter sent with Naaman to Jehoram of Israel (2 K 5[5-7]), and of Sennacherib's open letter to Hezekiah (2 K 19[14], Is 37[14], 2 Ch 32[17]); or the wish to be specially courteous, as with the letters and present sent by Merodach-baladan on hearing of Hezekiah's recovery from sickness (2 K 20[12] = Is 39[1]). So far letters have been chiefly those of kings. Akin to these, in formal or authoritative character, is the letter sent by Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon (Jer 29[1]), which also alludes to similar letters sent by a certain Shemaiah, a false prophet, to Jerusalem in order to undermine Jeremiah's own position (vv[25. 31]). From this it would seem fair to infer that the conditions of the Captivity gave a marked stimulus to the use of letters by the Hebrews as a medium for important messages. Certain it is that hereafter we find not only more frequent reference to such correspondence, but also a new and more precise terminology used to express the notion 'epistle' as a specific form of writing. Hitherto the term employed, as in 2 S, K, (=Is), and even Jer, has been quite vague and general. A letter is simply 'a book' (סֵפֶר, *βιβλίον*, *βίβλος*), its precise nature being learnt only from the context. But henceforth there emerge, in Ch, Ezr, Neh, Est, certain specialized terms, the most distinctive coming from foreign tongues. Besides words for a 'writing' (כְּתָב, 2 Ch 2[11] בִּכְתָב . . . נִיאמֶר, Est 3[13. 14] 8[10. 13] with סְפָרִים hard by in either case; or מִכְתָּב, 2 Ch 21[12] = *γραφή*, as in Dt 10[4]), we find the strange אִגֶּרֶת of Assyr. (*ĕgirtu*, so Frd. Delitzsch) or at least Pers. origin (2 Ch 30[1. 6], Ezr 5[5ff.], Neh 2[7-9] 6[5. 17. 19], Est 9[26. 29]. Cf. *ἀγγαρήϊον*, Herod. viii. 98; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6. 9), and נִשְׁתְּוָן, a Pers. form [Ezr 4[7ff.], where כְּתָב מַנִּשְׁתְּוָן (v.[7]) = אִגְּרָא (vv.[8. 11]) = נִשְׁתְּוָנָא (v.[18]);

while Artaxerxes' פִּתְגָמָא (rescript, v.[17]) also = נִשְׁתְּוָנָא (v.[23])]. The two latter terms are regularly rendered by ἐπιστολή in the LXX. From all this it seems probable that familiarity with the royal posting system of the Persians (cf. ἀγγαρεύειν in Mt 5[41]) helped to make the letter stand out more clearly to the Jewish mind as a distinct literary type. In the post-exilic historical books the exact epistolary form is often preserved, including a formal address in certain cases. This is a marked feature in the Bks. of Mac, belonging to the Greek period, where also a closing 'Farewell' occurs, sometimes with the addition of the exact date (*e.g.* 2 Mac 11[27. 33. 38] χαίρειν . . . ἔρρωσθε or ὑγιαίνετε). As yet, however, we have no models of private correspondence among the Hebrews; so that here, as often, we are dependent upon the light shed backwards by NT.

2. In NT.—In view of the numbers and influence of the Diaspora, the collateral evidence of non-Heb. analogies now becomes of moment. But the letters of literary men, like Cicero or Seneca, are hardly to our purpose. It is rather to the Egyp. papyri, and to the collections of epistles mostly fathered upon great Greek names during the Alexandrine age, that we must look for hints of real value.* The evidence has been well collected by G. A. Deissmann, who, in his *Bibelstudien* (pp. 189–252), reaches the following results. A broad line is to be drawn between the letter and the epistle. The one is essentially a spontaneous product, dominated throughout by the image of the reader, his sympathies and interests, instinct also with the writer's own soul: it is virtually one half of an imaginary dialogue, the suppressed responses of the other party shaping the course of what is actually written: it is confidential in the sense that it is meant for particular readers known to the writer. The other has a general aim, addressing all and sundry whom it may concern: it is like a public speech, and looks towards publication. But publication is the very note of literature proper. Hence the letter, as private, differs from the epistle in being a 'pre-literary' type of self-expression, akin to a diary. But, like a diary, if meant ultimately for the public eye a letter may, in spite of its original use, be in fact an epistle (*e.g.* certain letters of Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny). The literary epistle would arise from actual experience of the posthumous value placed on a great man's letters, and might take one of two forms: (1) those written to make or enhance one's own fame; (2) those forged under some great name, either for practice, after the fashion of the schools of rhetoric, or to give weight to propaganda of some sort. But in any case it will betray care, effort after finish—in a word, art; whereas the letter proper is unstudied, a thing of nature. This being so, letters require an exegesis all their own, one which sets their contents in vital relations with author and readers. Thus only can their proper sense be ascertained.

These principles have a real bearing on NT epp., and must rank among the tests of authenticity. But certain special features of primitive Christianity modify their application; and the universal nature of the interests involved makes the line between letter and epistle a fainter one, as we see by placing 1 Th alongside an epistle like Romans, or even the encyclical Ephesians. It was, no doubt, by writing letters that St. Paul came to feel an epistle a fit medium of exposition. And it seems that he, partly in virtue of his unique missionary labours, partly as a Jew of Gr.-Rom. culture, was the creator of the NT type of epistle, itself the most characteristic blossom of the New Life in the souls of men, the most notable differentia of NT among sacred books. It is even possible that all other NT epistles owe their birth to St. Paul as pioneer. Be this as it may, the relevant data can best be grouped as (*a*) pre-Pauline, (*b*) Pauline, (*c*) post-Pauline.

(*a*) Pre-Pauline Epistles.—Letters of instruction to the synagogal authorities even outside Pal. were sent by the supreme court of the mother-city as occasion arose (Ac 9[2] with 22[5], cf. 28[21]). It was, perhaps, not without some vague sense of this analogy that the Jerus. community, acting through the apostles and the elder brethren (Ac 15[22. 23], cf. 2 Mac 1[1. 10]), addressed their Gentile brethren of the province Syria-Cilicia touching terms of communion. Common use of 'letters of introduction' is implied in 2 Co 3[1] (see Ac 18[27], and cf. Ro 16[1. 2] as a sample), and in a slightly different sense in 1 Co 16[3]. No doubt, too, foreign synagogues were wont to refer doubtful points to Jerus. and thus elicit written responses. But we cannot view the letter of the Cor. Church to its spiritual father or apostle (1 Co 7[1], 4[14-17] 9[2. 7. 12]) exactly in this light. Rather it seems a natural result of the unique relation which St. Paul's personality, at once strong and tender, caused to grow up between him and his 'children in the gospel.' This is the secret of the Pauline letters.

(*b*) Pauline Epistles.—There was an imperative need for the single Apostle of the Gentiles to multiply his presence, as it were. This he did in part by trusted companions, but in part also by letters. Doubtless, their exact form would have been other than it is had the current models been other than they were.* But existing literary usages, whether Jewish or Gentile, gave to them no more than Rabbinism gave to his gospel—certain vehicles of thought that lay readiest to use. What his gospel adopted, it transfigured; and nowhere more strikingly than in the conventionalities of the epistolary form. Address, salutation, final benediction, all pulsate with life, and expand at his touch into clauses charged with emotion, every word of which reveals his estimate of some group of souls that were ever in his heart's prayers. One may well see in 2 Th 3[17] (cf. 2[2]) tokens that Thessalonica was not the first Church addressed by St. Paul. Yet it is equally certain that the true cause of his very first letter lay deep in the same spirit as breathes in 1 Th, the essentially 'pastoral' instinct. His letters were indeed the life-blood of a noble spirit, ever ready to be poured forth to nourish its spiritual offspring (1 Th 2[7. 8]). Of a temper too ardent for the more studied forms of writing, St. Paul could yet by letter, and so on the spur of occasion, concentrate all his wealth of thought, feeling, and maturing experience upon some particular religious situation, and sweep away the difficulty or danger. Such 'waiting upon Providence' was the attitude of the apostolic age, which took no thought for a future the next event of which might be the return of Jesus Messiah in heavenly power. In this sense, likewise, the occasional epistle was the typical form of its literature.

The Pauline letters have a style all their own—though style was far from the writer's thoughts. It was indeed the man. Hence their enormous value: first, as the data for his *journal intime* and *Life* all in one; and next as the immovable critical basis of historical Christianity. Just as certain of these letters articulate a unique personality, manifold yet mastered by one absorbing passion, so surely must all theories reckon with what they

* A certain proportion of the Alexandrine pseudo-epistles, being Græco-Jewish in origin, have a special claim to attention.

* Renan, relying apparently on Talmudic and mediæval data, asserts that 'correspondence between synagogues already existed in Judaism; the envoy charged with such letters was even a dignitary drawn from the synagogues,' and he implies that doubtful points of doctrine or practice were thus discussed (*St. Paul*, 228, 229 and n[2]). But he gives no references. Sanday speaks more guardedly, and indeed doubts if 'the writing of doctrinal epp. would come to the first generation of Christians as a matter of course' (*Bamp. Lect.* 335, 344).

imply as to the origins of Christianity. They reflect the mood of the time and given circle with perfect vividness of light and shade, ere it fades into the neutral tints of a set narrative. No criticism can ignore them. But neither can Christian theology. This means that they are to be read first of all as letters, and by the canons which govern such a reading. Until any reading can be put into relation to both writer and correspondents, so far as yet known, it cannot be held real and valid. We must reach the theology, if we reach it truly, through the missionary and man of God. So reached, it is full of qualification, of the flexibility that marks spirit off from letter. And, most valuable of all, a feeling for the practical reference of Christian truth—the ideal of 'being,' even more than 'knowing' or even 'doing'—can never be lacking when these writings are read as letters. To this end their very ordering contributes. For the body of the contents falls into two parts. The prophet—for herein lies their continuity with OT (cf. Jer 29)—carries the soul, on the wings of vision, to a level where the will finds its feet free to run in the ways of God, and life is seen *sub specie æternitatis*, in the light of God. But then the apostle never fails to depict what this means for daily life, ere he turns the eye once more to the founts of inspiration with a closing Doxology or Benediction. It is in such applications that the actual face-to-face nature of the Pauline letter allows certain self-revelations to be elicited by the virtual dialogue. Some of these are among our most precious hints towards a theory of biblical inspiration, which by its very recognition of human limitations stands out in contrast to the pagan notion of inspiration as uniform dictation through a passive organ; an idea which soon tainted the ecclesiastical theory from Justin onwards (see Sanday, *BL* 350 ff., cf. 31 ff., 391 ff.).

Finally, it may be noted, even as regards the growth of thought marked by certain Pauline epistles, that of all literary forms the letter least professes to exhaust a writer's ideas—the limit being given rather by the reader's conditions—or commits the writer to his own past. It is, in fact, the ideal form of utterance for a spirit in which great germs are ever being quickened by the touch of practical problems.

(*c*) Post-Pauline Epistles, in a broad sense at least, we may style the other NT epistles (for *James*, see Sanday, *BL* 344). Some of them largely partake of the 'epistle' in contrast to 'letter.' Deissmann, indeed, goes too far when he puts at least half of them into the former class in such a sense as to infer their pseudonymity (pp. 242 ff.). But we may group them as 'letters' and 'epistles' according as they were or were not meant originally for readers more or less known to the writer. Here *Hebrews* first claims notice; for, though not actually Pauline, it was most likely suggested by St. Paul's example, seeing that Timothy is known to its author (13^{23}). Its closing greetings mark it a true letter; yet its abrupt opening makes it, even more than some Pauline epistles, hover between a letter and a homily. Possibly, the writer does not feel his name weighty enough to prefix in formal fashion (cf. *Ep. Barn.* 1$^{1.\ 8}$). On the other hand, *James* has a formal address, but no final greetings; which marks it an epistle proper, meant for a class, not for given circles personally known to the writer. Otherwise is it with 1 *Peter* (1$^{1.\ 2}$ 5$^{12\text{-}14}$), which is quite on the lines of an epistle like Ro, and involves some familiarity with the readers' concrete relations. And this seems true even of 1 *Jn*, devoid as it is of the usual marks; for the tone of paternal affection (τεκνία) seems best to suit a Church or Churches that knew and revered the writer—probably those addressed out of full knowledge, though in a public or literary fashion, in the Bk. of Rev (2–4). 2 *Jn* is surely a real letter, in due form, to one such Church by the same apostle, whose cryptic use of ὁ πρεσβύτερος and ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία is due to fear of a hostile State (v.^{12}). So is it with 3 *Jn* (v.^{13}), a sequel (cf. ^{9}) sent to a private friend when access to this Church was cut off by an ambitious official. In all of the above one seems to feel personality going forth in subtle ways to reach its proper audience. This is hardly so with *Jude*, whose address is quite vague; still less with 2 *Peter*, which as it stands seems dependent on *Jude*. Nor need this surprise, when its author, in implying anxious study of certain Pauline epistles, can rank them as Scripture (3$^{15.\ 16}$).

To sum up. While we gain new insight into differences of type among NT epistles by placing them in line with other ancient epistles, yet on reflexion we see afresh the strange distinctiveness of the former as a whole. It turns on the special nature both of the originating impulse and of the ties binding writer and readers in virtue of their common faith. Outside Judaism, religion meant neither passionate belief nor elevated conduct so much as correct ritual. From this could spring no literature of persuasion, least of all in epistolary form. But given the new motive for the religious letter, its native form could hardly stop short where it began, in the splendidly personal prophesyings and exhortations of St. Paul the inspired missionary. Even in him new and more settled conditions evoked a new manner; the sermon gets the upper hand, changing Christian letter into Christian epistle. Of the later, or strictly pastoral type, 1 Jn seems a true sample. Placed alongside 1 Th, it, or even 1 P, might appear marked off as Deissmann's 'artistic epistle' from his 'pre-literary letter.' But, with all intervening stages supplied in even acknowledged Pauline letters, these categories cannot apply with such rigour as to be synonymous with 'Catholic' and 'Pauline' epistles respectively. Various problems remain, *e.g.* as to the Pauline Pastoral Epp., whose integrity is open to doubt; but flexibility and nice discrimination must here be the order of the day. This is not the place to see how the NT epistles became, first literature, and then canonical literature. But it here falls to note that even the most personal Pauline letters thereby became for the Church pure epistles or theological pamphlets. They were, that is, read for the most part *in abstracto*, their writer and original readers—and therefore the original sense—alike becoming of little or no moment.

Literature.—Farrar, *Messages of the Books* (1884), ch. vii.; Sanday, *BL* 334 ff., 344; and esp. *Proleg. zu den bibl. Briefen und Episteln*, in G. A. Deissmann's *Bibelstudien*, 1895.

J. V. Bartlet.

EQUAL.—**1.** As adj. in the sense of 'impartial,' 'fair' (=Lat. *æquus*), Ps 17^{2} 'Let thine eyes behold the things that are equal' (מֵישָׁרִים, either the obj. of the vb. hence AV, and RV 'Let thine eyes look upon equity'; or, more probably, an adv. [=בְּמֵישָׁרִים] as Del. and RVm 'Thine eyes behold with equity'). This meaning of 'equal' is elsewhere in OT found only in Ezk (18$^{25\ bis.\ 29\ bis}$ 33$^{17\ bis.\ 20}$, Heb. יִתָּכֵן, lit. 'is proportioned' or 'adjusted') in ref. to God's dealings. In Apocr. it is found 2 Mac 13^{23} 'sware to all equal conditions' (τὰ δίκαια, RV 'to acknowledge all their rights'); and in NT, Col 4^{1} 'Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal' (τὴν ἰσότητα, RVm 'equality,' Lightft. 'equity,' 'fairness'). Tindale in Prol. to Genesis, says 'that Joseph brought the Egyptians into soch subjection wold seme unto some a very cruel deade, howbeit it was a very equal waye'; and in 'The Obedience of a Christian Man' (*Works*, i. 209) he says, 'it is impossible that a man should be a righteous, an egal, or an indifferent judge in

his own cause—lusts and appetites so blind us.' Cf. Milton, *PL* x. 748—

> 'As my will
> Concurred not to my being, it were but right
> And equal to reduce me to my dust.'

2. As subst. in the sense of a contemporary, one of the same generation (=Lat. *æqualis*), Gal 1[14] 'And profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation' (*συνηλικιώτης*, RV 'beyond many of mine own age'). In the argt. to *Samson Agonistes*, Samson is 'visited by certain friends and equals of his tribe.' In Ps 55[13], however, 'equal' is one of my own rank, as AVm Heb. אֲנוֹשׁ כְּעֶרְכִּי, a man after my valuation, *i.e.* esteemed as I am esteemed. So Elyot, ii. 417, 'to acquire by the executyng of iustice nat only an opinion of tyrannye amonge the people, and consequently haterede, but also malignitie amonge his equalles and superiours.'

3. As verb—(1) to 'come up to,' 'match,' Job 28[17. 19] 'The gold and the crystal cannot equal it'; 'The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it' (עָרַךְ); and (2) to 'compare,' La 2[13] 'What thing shall I liken to thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? what shall I equal to thee?' (מָה אַשְׁוֶה־לָּךְ).

J. HASTINGS.

ER (עֵר).—**1.** The eldest son of Judah by his Canaanitish wife, the daughter of Shua. He was married to Tamar, who was apparently also of Canaanite origin. For wickedness, the nature of which is not described, 'J" slew him' (Gn 38[3-7], Nu 26[19]). **2.** A son of 'Shelah the son of Judah' (1 Ch 4[21]). **3.** The name of 'Er the son of Jesus' appears in the genealogy of our Lord (Lk 3[28]) in the 7th generation before Zerubbabel, and the 15th after David.

H. E. RYLE.

ERAN (עֵרָן 'watchful').—Grandson of Ephraim, Nu 26[36] P. Patronymic, **Eranites**, *ib.*

ERASTUS (Ἔραστος) occurs three times as the name of a companion of St. Paul. **1.** From Ac 19[22] we learn that during St. Paul's long stay at Ephesus he sent Timothy and E., two of those that ministered unto him (*δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ*), into Macedonia. **2.** In Ro 16[23] E. 'the treasurer (*οἰκονόμος*) of the city' is mentioned among those who send their salutations. His office implies that he was a man of some considerable importance. **3.** In 2 Ti 4[20] E. is mentioned as having 'remained in Corinth.'

Whether these reff. apply to one, two, or three persons we have no means of conjecturing. It is, however, not probable that the 'treasurer of the city,' who held an office which implied residence in one locality, should have been, like the others, an itinerant companion of St. Paul.

A. C. HEADLAM.

ERECH (אֶרֶךְ) was called by the Babylonians and Assyrians Uruk (or Arku), whence Heb. Erech and Arab. Warka. A very ancient city, thought at first to be Edessa or Calirrhoë (Urfah) in the N.W. of Mesopotamia. It is the second in the list of the four towns of Gn 10[10] (Babel, *Erech*, Accad, and Calneh), comprising Nimrod's kingdom in the land of Shinar (Babylonia). Erech (or Warka) lies halfway between Hillah and Korna, on the left bank of the Euphrates, and W. of the Nile Canal. It is supposed by Fried. Delitzsch that this river must have flowed nearer to the city at the time of Gilgameš, as the legend relates that Gilgameš and Ea-bânî washed their hands in the stream after having killed, in Erech, the divine bull sent out by the goddess Ishtar. Its orig. name was Unu, Unug, or Ununga, translated in the bilingual texts by *šubtu* * 'seat' 'dwelling.'

* The pronunciation of the word seems, from a Greek transcription, to have been *sobthu*.

It was a very important city—the capital, in fact, of the mythical hero-king Gilgameš. The ruins found on its site show the remains of elegant buildings with fluted walls, sometimes decorated with patterns formed with the circular ends of various coloured cones imbedded in mortar, bricks bearing archaic Accad. and Bab. inscriptions, etc. Remains of canals traverse the mass of hillocks (which in some parts are nearly 90 feet high) and the country around the city, showing that it must have been well drained in ancient times. Those portions of the walls of the city which can be traced seem to have been in the form of an irregular circle about 40 feet high, and show that its average circumference was about six miles. The houses of the people are supposed to have extended beyond the walls.

The antiquity of the city is indicated by the non-Semitic (bilingual) version of the creation-story, in which its foundation is attributed to the god Merodach (*RP* 2nd ser. vi. 107–114). Another and important proof of its antiquity is given in the number of names it bears in the inscriptions. Besides its original appellation of Unug, it was called Illag (or Illab) (*WAI* v. pl. 41. 15), Namerim (ii. 50. 58; v. 41. 16), Tir-ana 'the heavenly grove' (v. 41. 16), Ara-imina 'the seven districts' (*ib.* 17), Gipar-imina * 'the seven enclosures' (*ib.* 18), Ki-na-ana 'the heavenly resting-place' (*ib.* 19)—poetical names implying that the city and its surroundings were regarded by the Babylonians as fertile and beautiful in the extreme, and very different, naturally, from the scene of desolation which now meets the traveller's eyes. The **Archevites** mentioned in the Bk. of Ezra, 4[9], were inhabitants of the Bab. Arku or Erech, which was the seat of a celebrated school of learned men. Strabo speaks of the Orcheni (Archevites) as a sect of Chaldæan astronomers dwelling near Babylon (xxi. p. 739); Ptolemy, as a people of Arabia near the Persian Gulf (v. 19, § 2); and Pliny, as an agricultural population, who banked up the waters of the Euphrates and compelled them to flow into the Tigris (vi. 27, s. 31).

Two deities who had temples in the city seem to have been worshipped in E., namely, Ishtar and Nanâ. The temple dedicated to Ishtar (Venus, as the evening star) was called Ê-ulmaš 'the house of the oracle'; the other, dedicated to Nanâ (the goddess whose image was carried off by the Elamite king, Kudur-nankhundi, B.C. 2280, and only restored to its place 1635 years later by Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria), was called Ê-ana 'the house of heaven,' and is now represented by the Buwariyya mound.

Among the inscribed and stamped bricks found in Erech are many of the time of the historical kings—Dungi, Ur-Bau, Gudea, Sin-gašid, Merodach-baladan I., etc. Tablets of the reigns of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Darius, and some of the Seleucidæ, have been excavated in the site. In the ruins of the town and the country around, a large number of glazed earthenware coffins and other receptacles, used no doubt for the burial of the dead, mostly of the Parthian period, has been found, showing that part of the town and its neighbourhood must have been used as a necropolis.

LITERATURE.—Schrader, *KAT*[2] 94 f.; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 162 f.; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 221 f.; Smith, *Chaldæan Genesis*, 194; Sayce, *Hib. Lect. on Rel. of Anc. Babylonians*, 184 f., *HCM* 102; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* 122 n., 129, 168, 177, also art. BABYLONIA, p. 224[b].

I. A. PINCHES.

ERI (עֵרִי 'watcher').—Son of Gad, Gn 46[16], Nu 26[16], P. Patronymic, **Erites**, *ib.*

* This apparently refers to the great tower there, in seven stages, similar to the tower of Babel. It was called E-gipar-îmina (*WAI* ii. 50. 20).

ESAIAS.—The familiar AV spelling of ISAIAH in Apocr. and NT is retained by RV only in 2 Es 2^{18}.

ESAR-HADDON (אַסַּר־חַדּוֹן, Σαχερδονός, Ἀσορδάν).—Esar-haddon, in Assyr. Assur-akh-iddina, 'Assur has given a brother,' seems to have been the favourite son of Sennacherib, by whom his name was changed to Assur-etil-yukin-abla, 'Assur, the hero, has established the son.' Sennacherib bequeathed to him golden bracelets, necklaces, and other valuables, 1½ manehs, 2½ shekels in weight, which were stored up in the house of a certain Amuk, and probably intended him to be his successor. In B.C. 681 Esar-haddon was at the head of the Assyr. army fighting against Erimenas of Ararat (Van), when Sennacherib was murdered by his sons Adrammelech (or rather Arad-malik) and [Nergal-]sharezer (2 K 19^{37}, Is 37^{38}) on the 20th of Tebet (December). For forty-two days the conspirators held the capital, but on the 2nd of Adar (January) they were compelled to fly to the Armenian king. Esar-haddon met his brothers and the army of Ararat near Malatiyeh on the 12th of Iyyar (April); the veterans of Assyria won the battle, and at the end of it saluted Esar-haddon as king. Eusebius quotes from Abydenus that the battlefield was at 'the city of the Byzantines,' which von Gutschmidt corrects into Bizana on the Cappadocian frontier. After the victory Esar-haddon returned to Nineveh, and on the 8th of Sivan (May) was crowned king.

He was an able general, and by his conciliatory policy prevented such rebellions as had troubled his father's reign. His first care was to rebuild Babylon, which Sennacherib had destroyed (in B.C. 689), and to make it the second capital of his empire. Manasseh of Judah became his vassal, and was called upon, along with the other kings of the west, including those of Cyprus, to furnish timber and stone for the palace of their Assyrian lord. The statement in 2 Ch 33^{11}, that he was carried prisoner to Babylon after his revolt from Assyria, is explained by the fact that Babylon had become one of the residences of Esar-haddon.

The early part of Esar-haddon's reign was occupied in defending his kingdom against the hordes of Gimirrâ or Kimmerians, called Gomer in OT, and included by the Assyrians under the general title of Manda or 'Nomads,' who were now pouring into Western Asia. For a time the issue seemed doubtful, and a hundred days of humiliation and prayer to the gods were ordered that the empire might be protected against the Kimmerians and their allies, Kastarit of Karkassi, Mamiti-arsu the Mede, the Minni, and the people of Saparda (Sepharad) and Asguza (Ashkenaz). At last Teuspa the Kimmerian was overthrown in a decisive battle on the northern frontier of Assyria, and driven westward into Asia Minor. Then came a campaign against the Medes.

In B.C. 677 Sidon revolted, but was promptly captured and destroyed, and another city, called 'the city of Esar-haddon,' was built in place of it, and colonized with captives from Elam and Babylonia (see Ezr 4^{2}). The following year the king of Sidon and his ally, a Cilician prince, were beheaded, and their heads sent to Nineveh. In the autumn Esar-haddon marched into the heart of Arabia, through a waterless desert, a distance of more than 600 miles, and conquered the eight kings of Bazu and Khazu (the Buz and Hazo of Gn $22^{21.\ 22}$). In B.C. 674 he invaded Egypt, and the invasion was repeated in the February of the following year. In 672 his wife died on the 5th of Adar, and in 670 came the final attack on Egypt. The Egyptian forces were driven before the Assyr. army (from the 3rd to the 18th of Tammuz or June) all the way from the frontier to Memphis, being thrice defeated with heavy loss; while Tirhakah, their king, was wounded. On the 22nd of Tammuz, Memphis surrendered, Tirhakah and his son fled to Ethiopia, and Egypt became an Assyr. province. In B.C. 668 it revolted, and while on the march to punish it Esar-haddon fell ill, and died on the 10th of Marcheshvan (October). His empire was divided between two of his sons, Samas-sum-ukin having Babylonia, while the rest of the empire passed to an older son, Assur-bani-pal, whose suzerainty Samas-sum-ukin was called upon to acknowledge. A third son, Assur-mukin-paliya, was raised to the priesthood, while a fourth became priest of the moon-god at Harran.

LITERATURE.—*Records of the Past*, new series, iv.; Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott* (1893); Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 473 ff.; Budge, *History of Esarhaddon*; Ragozin, *Assyria*, 331–346; Plumptre in *Expos.* 2nd ser. iv. 448–461; Driver, *Isaiah*[2] ('Men of Bible'), 220; Buxton, *Side-Lights*, 207–213; McCurdy, *Hist., Proph., and the Mon.* ii. 333–350.

A. H. SAYCE.

ESAU.—1. (עֵשָׂו), elder of Isaac's twin sons. The name ('hairy')* is said to have been suggested by his appearance at birth (Gn 25^{25}, J). The surname Edom ('red'), applied chiefly to his posterity, commemorated, according to Gn 25^{30} (J), the incident there related, but referred also, possibly, to his red hair. Sayce [see EDOM, p. 644[b]] derives the name from the red colour of the sandstone cliffs of Idumæa. The struggle between E. and Jacob, prior to birth,† foreshadowed subsequent relations between the brothers as well as their descendants (see EDOM), and was oracularly declared to signify that 'the elder shall serve the younger.' The premature tokens of manly strength were premonitory of E.'s future. When he grew up, he preferred the wilder life of the chase to the quieter routine of sheep-farming at Beersheba. He became a 'man of the field,' an expert hunter, and eventually chief of a tribe occupying the hilly land of Seir, whose Horite inhabitants were displaced or subdued by E., his followers, and their posterity (Gn 25^{27} $32^{3.\ 6}$ 36, Dt 2^{12}).

The main incidents of E.'s life are (1) *Sale of birthright.*—Hungry, faint, and feeling as if about to die, he arrives one day,‡ after a (presumably) unsuccessful hunt, at the patriarchal camp, finds his brother cooking lentils, and cries, 'Let me devour some of that same red food.'§ Jacob, taking mean advantage of E.'s condition, and aware probably of the oracle in his own favour, demands, as price of the pottage,‖ a renunciation of the birthright. The latter included precedence, and authority after his father's death (Gn 27^{29}); perhaps, also, as in later times, a double portion of the patrimony (Dt 21^{17}), and the domestic priesthood (Nu $3^{12f.}$). Along therewith would naturally, in the case of the chosen family, be transmitted the covenant blessing, which secured for its possessor the divine special favour, with promise of Canaan for his posterity, and the honour of conveying a blessing, through future seed, to 'all the families of the earth' (Gn 12^{3} $22^{17f.}$). In E.'s eyes the temporal advantages of the birthright were distant and shadowy; to spiritual privilege he was apparently insensible. 'What profit shall the birthright do to me?' he cries, and barters it away

* Ges., Kalisch, etc. Acc. to Pseudo-Jon.'s Targ. 'ready made,' from עָשָׂה to make, or make ready, because E. 'was born with hair of head, beard, and teeth.'

† Cf. the story of the twins Acrisius and Proetus, related by Apollodorus, *De Deor. Orig.* ii. 2. 1.

‡ Ps.-Jon.'s Targ. records a tradition that it was the day of Abraham's death.

§ So Ges. (הָלְעִיטֵנִי). Lit. 'that red, red thing,' as if he could not wait to recall the proper word.

‖ Farinaceous food may have been a tempting luxury owing to 'famine in the land' (Gn 26^{1}, assigned to the same J document as $25^{27ff.}$).

with a levity which even the oath exacted by Jacob fails to turn into gravity. (2) *E.'s marriages.*—One who 'despised his birthright,' as heir of Abraham, was not likely to value highly connexion with Abraham's kindred. He associated freely with Canaanites, who were 'strangers from the covenants of promise,' and, at the age of 40, married two Hittite wives, Judith and Basemath, to the grief of his parents, who could not forget Abraham's anxiety to avoid such alliances. Afterwards, when Jacob had been directed by Isaac to seek a wife among their kinsfolk in Paddan, E., in hope of propitiating his parents, married, in the lifetime of his first two wives, his cousin Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael.* Of these wives five sons were born (Gn $36^{4f.}$). (3) *Loss of patriarchal blessing.*—When Isaac's death apparently approached, E. seems to have realized the temporal profit of the benediction. Not forgetting (Gn 27^{36}), but ignoring his bargain with Jacob, he enters readily into Isaac's plan for the bestowal of the blessing on his favourite first-born. When the blessing is lost through Jacob's repulsive artifice, and E. receives a lower benediction,† indicating that he would live by the spoils of war and chase (27^{40}), he resolves to slay his brother after Isaac's death, and thus regain all he has lost. (4) *Reconciliation with Jacob and final departure from Canaan.*—During Jacob's sojourn in Paddan, E., while retaining connexion with Canaan (Gn 36^{6}), seems to have become a 'duke' in Seir (Gn 32^{3}).‡ When Jacob is on his way back to the S. of Pal., E. meets him with 400 men. It is not clear that his purpose was hostile, as Jacob supposed: the men may have been mustered for war against Horites. Twenty years had intervened since J.'s departure; time is a great healer; and E.'s wrath may have been mollified by success. Any remaining animosity was appeased by Jacob's abundant gifts (which had the aspect of tribute), and vanished at the sight of the prostrate brother. 'E. ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him' (Gn 33^{4}). They met once more, in peace, at Isaac's funeral, after which E., partly 'because their substance was too great for them to dwell together,' severed his connexion with Canaan, and made Seir his permanent abode (36^{8}).

The epithet *βέβηλος* 'profane' (He 12^{16}), § *i.e.* unconsecrated, secular (Lv 10^{10}, 1 S 21^{4}, Soph. *Œd. Col.* 10), rather than blasphemous, supplies a key to E.'s character and history. Frank and manly, affectionate and impulsively generous, irascible but not implacable, E. is naturally lovable, and exhibits materials out of which a fine character might have been developed. But he discloses no spiritual aspiration or God-ward bent; no sense of unworthiness or devout surrender to divine guidance, such as Jacob, amid grave faults, exemplifies. This lack of consecration leaves E. subject to animal appetite; leads him into secularizing, if not demoralizing, alliance with Canaanites; renders him careless of spiritual blessing and insensible to high ideals; causes his conduct to be dominated by impulse, not regulated by principle; and prevents that moral growth through which Jacob, originally far less amiable, is transformed from a tricky 'supplanter' into Israel, a prince of God. Even E.'s natural frankness and generosity fail him, when he tries, without Jacob's knowledge, to obtain the blessing virtually forfeited, and resolves to slay his brother, not in the first heat of resentment, but prudently, in cool blood, after Isaac's death has removed the peril of paternal curse. His later pacification—the outcome, directly, of affectionate impulse—was probably due also to the conviction that the head of a host of 400 had, after all, lost nothing through being supplanted by one whom the coveted blessing, after twenty years, had made only a successful cattle-breeder.

Some modern critics* regard the history of E. and Jacob as more or less mythical. Ewald supposes the details about E. were suggested by the rough nature of Idumæa (שֵׂעִיר Seir=rough), and by the later relations of Edom and Israel. Kuenen lays stress on the representation of E. and Jacob (with other personages in Gn) as 'progenitors of tribes'—a 'theory of the origin of nations' which 'the historical sense of the present day rejects.' Families, he declares, become nations, not so much by multiplying as by conquest of and combination with other populations. For discussion of the general question, see TRIBE. As regards Esau in particular, (1) the roughness of Edomite territory may be reasonably traced to the disposition of a progenitor whose rough strength prompted him to choose an abode suited to his habits. (2) Nothing in Gn precludes the supposition that the Edomites (as well as the Israelites) included within their communities the descendants of retainers and immigrants. (3) It is difficult to believe that legends containing so much that is derogatory to the venerated Jacob, and favourable (comparatively) to the ancestor of unfriendly Edomites, should grow up among the Jews. Of the stories and features of character which would naturally cluster round E.'s name in Heb. circles, we have specimens in Rabbinical writings which represent E. as thief, fornicator, blasphemer, etc., as committing five heinous sins in one day, as giving his father dog's flesh for venison, and biting Jacob after the latter's return.† The impartiality of Gn in revealing much that is attractive about E. and repulsive (even to an Eastern mind) about Jacob, suggests a substantially historical record which could hold its ground in spite of its (to the Jews) unpalatable character.

LITERATURE (in addition to works quoted above).—Kalisch, Dillmann, and Delitzsch on *Genesis*; Yonge in *Expositor* for 1884; Farrar in *Fall of Man*; Dods, *Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph*; Cox, *Hebrew Twins*; Lightfoot, *Cambridge Sermons*, 3; Moinet, *Great Alternative*, 119; Welldon, *Fire upon Altar*, 79, 92; Jacobs, *Studies in Bibl. Archæology*, 48–63.

2. ('Ησαύ), 1 Es 5^{29}=ZIHA, Ezr 2^{43}, Neh 7^{46}.

H. COWAN.

ESCHATOLOGY (*τὰ ἔσχατα, the last things*).—Eschatology gives an account of the final condition of man and the world as this is represented in scripture. The idea of a final condition of mankind and the world rests on the other idea that history is a moral process, with a goal towards which it is moving. In scripture this moral process is specifically a redemptive process, of which the author and the finisher is God, He Himself being the end towards which mankind is being drawn, for the perfection of man lies in full fellowship with God; and the perfection of man is reflected in, and subserved by, a new condition of the world, which is transfigured with his redemption. In this view

* The differences in the names and parentage of E.'s wives, as given in Gn 26^{34} 28^{9} and 36^{2} are due, perhaps, not to divergent traditions (for these passages are all assigned to the same 'source,' P), but (1) to double names, (2) to errors in transcription by the editor of the documents.

† The words in Gn 27^{39} may mean either (partitively) that E.'s dwelling would be 'of the fatness' or (privatively) 'away from the fatness.' The latter suits better the character of Seir.

‡ Gn 36 (P) suggests, when taken by itself, that E.'s departure to Seir took place only after Jacob's return to Canaan, not before it, as 32^{3} (J) intimates; but if we suppose that, so long as Isaac lived, E., while dwelling much in Seir, retained an abode in Can., the discrepancy disappears.

§ If *πόρνος* 'fornicator' in this verse refer to E. (which is doubtful), the ref. is either to his marriages with idolatresses, or to Heb. traditions of his gross immorality.

* Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* bk. i. sec. i. C; Kuenen, *Rel. of Isr.* ch. ii.; more moderately, Kittel, *Hist. of Hebrews*, Eng. tr. i. 169.

† See instances collected by Weistein, on He 12^{16}, and by Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. p. 47.

the Messianic idea and hope becomes an important element in eschatology; but in OT, at least in its earlier portions, the Messianic is not yet so developed as to be a constant feature in the eschatological picture, much less that which gives its whole colour to the picture. The redeemer is God—'salvation belongeth unto the LORD' (Ps 3); and if the Messiah anywhere be redeemer or king of the redeemed people, he is so in virtue of the *divine* in him, as being in some way God in manifestation (Is 9^{2-7}). The nomenclature, therefore, of some writers, who employ eschatological and Messianic as synonymous terms, is somewhat confusing; for, though this terminology be more and more justified as revelation advances, there are many eschatological passages even in late writings in which there is not only no mention of the personal Messiah, but in which there is no reason to suppose that the idea of a personal Messiah lay as a presupposition in the background of the author's thought. The OT reveals its conceptions piecemeal. Its writers are like subordinate workmen, each absorbed in his own particular task, in polishing a corner or carving a chapiter or wreathing a pillar; it is only when the master-builder appears, with the full idea of the house in his mind, that each of the separate parts takes its place in the building. While, therefore, every Messianic passage is eschatological, there are many eschatological passages not Messianic.

Besides exhibiting the scripture views of the final condition of things, eschatology may take notice of the phenomena, the physical convulsions, or the national commotions amidst which the final condition is ushered in; or it may go a step farther back and refer to the moral forces bringing about these manifestations and revealed in them. In OT physical nature has no meaning of its own; it is a mere medium for the transmission and manifestation of moral impulses; and the same is true in a sense of human history, for, though men and nations act voluntarily, ultimately all their movements are inspired and led by God, the First and the Last (Is 41^4 48^{12}). The final condition of men and the world is therefore regarded in OT less as the perfect issue of a gradual ethical advancement in the mind of men and the nations than as the result of an interposition, or a chain of interpositions, on the part of God, though these interpositions, under whatever external forms they may be revealed, are of course all moral.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF OT may be treated under two heads: The eschatology of the People, and the eschatology of the individual Person. As the People in their final condition have necessarily some relation to the nations, the eschatology of the People widens out in many passages to be an eschatology of mankind and the world; while, on the other hand, owing to the idea prevalent in OT, particularly in the prophets, that the religious subject in relation with God is the People, the eschatology of the individual Person in distinction from the People is little developed, and some of the passages that appear to relate to it are uncertain in meaning. In other words, the eschatology of the People is the doctrine of the perfection of the kingdom of God upon the earth, while the eschatology of the individual Person is the doctrine of Immortality.

I. ESCHATOLOGY OF THE PEOPLE.—Though formally the people came into existence only at the Exodus, yet ideally it already existed in the patriarchal family from Abraham downwards (Is 41^8), and some of the widest hopes and aspirations cherished by the people in later times in regard to their place in the religious history of mankind are already expressed in connexion with Abraham. But previous to the time when, by a process of divine selection, the religious destinies of mankind were entrusted to his family, some eschatological intimations were given. It is characteristic of all these early intimations that they are general both in meaning and in regard to time. The earliest of them, the promise that the seed of the woman would bruise the head of the serpent (Gn 3^{15}), bears upon the family of mankind universally. It may not be easy to say what sense our first parents or even Israelitish readers put into these words. The fulness of meaning which we are now able to express by them, and the individual application of 'the seed of the woman' which we can make, can hardly have been suggested to them. But they would be assured that the family of mankind would have the upper hand in the struggle against the author of their calamitous transgression; and as the meaning and consequences of what had befallen them became clearer, so would their conception of what was meant by bruising the serpent's head, and how alone that could be done. Equally universalistic, though more definite in regard to the means of its accomplishment, is the promise given to Abraham, 'In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed' (Gn 12^3). Such a promise could not soon be fulfilled, and there might be room for conjecture even as to the manner of fulfilment; yet the patriarch, knowing wherein his own blessedness lay, in his knowledge of God and fellowship with Him, would surmise that through his seed this true knowledge of God would reach all peoples. The sense is little altered if for 'be blessed' we render 'bless themselves,' *i.e.* wish for themselves the same blessings as Abraham and his seed are seen to enjoy (cf. Nu 23^{10}). Some other passages, such as the Blessing of Noah (Gn $9^{25ff.}$), are international, religious prominence being given to the family of Shem; while others, such as the Blessing of Jacob and Moses (Gn 49, Dt 33), are more national, having respect to the place of the tribes in Canaan. The phrase 'the last days' (אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים) describes the farthest future into which the eye of the seer reaches, and may have different senses. In Gn 49^1 it refers to the final disposition of the tribes in Canaan (though 49^{10} may have a wider outlook; see PROPHECY); while in Is 2^2 it refers to the final condition of the family of mankind, when all nations shall appeal to the God of Jacob as the righteous arbiter in all international causes. Dt 32 ends with the hope of the victory of Israel over all its enemies, and in his Last Words (2 S 23) David expresses the assurance that under his family a kingdom of Righteousness will arise.

The Day of the Lord.—In the 8th century B.C. the faith of Israel was virtually complete. Amos taught that God is Righteousness; Hosea, that He is Love; Isaiah, that He is the Lord the King, who has founded His kingdom in Zion, on the throne of which shall sit for ever one of the house of David, the Prince of Peace, filled with the fulness of the Spirit of God (Is 9. 11). But besides this Messianic eschatology belonging to the second period of Isaiah's career, there is another belonging to the earliest period (chs. 2. 3), which he calls 'the Day of the Lord.' The prophet does not expressly combine the two, though they are probably to be regarded the one as the dark side and the other as the light side of the same cloud of judgment. In the earlier chapters he moves more among principles, moral necessities; in the second period (ch. 7 ff.) the actors are already on the scene who shall carry out the programme which in his first days he perceived to be inevitable. The phrase 'the Day of the Lord' is first heard in the mouths of the people (Am $5^{18ff.}$). The term 'day' is much used in Arabic of a battle day, as the day of Badr, Ohod, and the like, and so in Heb. 'the day of

Midian' (Is 9^4), and this may be its primary meaning. The day of the Lord to the popular mind would be the day when J″ their God would interpose in their behalf to deliver them. The deliverance would be primarily from external hostile oppression, but internal social miseries might also be included. The idea and the phrase may thus be very ancient, though they appear first in Amos. All that the phrase connotes in the mouth of the people is the sense of misery and oppression, the belief that only their God can deliver them, faith in His power, and a hope or conviction of His approaching intervention, though on what this conviction was founded does not appear. But to the prophets of this age J″ is a purely ethical Being, the moral ruler of Israel and the nations, and the sin of Israel and the world demands His intervention. Hence the first aspect of the day of the Lord is always a day of judgment. But judgment is not an end in itself; it is only in order to redemption, and behind the storm of judgment there always rises clear the day of salvation. The conception of the sin of the world which compels the intervention of the Judge differs in different prophets. In Amos it is social and civil unrighteousness; in Hosea, religious unfaithfulness; in Isaiah, insensibility to the majesty of the great King, who must interpose to bring the sense of Himself home to men's minds.

'The day of the Lord' is an eschatological idea; the phrase cannot be rendered '*a* day of the Lord,' as if any great calamity or judgment felt to be impending might be so named; the 'day' is that of the final and universal judgment. But, of course, a prophet's presentiment of its nearness might not be realized; the crisis which he saw impending and deemed the great 'day' itself, or the beginning of it, might pass over and the 'day' be deferred. But this fact should not lead us to suppose that the prophets call any great visitation of God by the name of 'the day of the Lord.' Again, the term 'day,' if it originally meant battle day, suggests the presence of some foe whom God uses as His instrument of judgment. This feature, however, is not always present in descriptions of the day. Sometimes the terrors of the day of the Lord are represented as due to His manifestation of Himself and the convulsions of nature that accompany His appearing, 'when He arises to shake terribly the earth' (Is $2^{10\text{-}22}$). But at other times, besides the supernatural gloom and terrors that surround Him when He appears, He is represented as using some fierce, distant nation as the instrument by which He executes His judgment (Is 13, Zeph). The judgment of the day of the Lord is a judgment on the known world, and the nation that executes the judgment is some wild people emerging from the dark places of the earth lying beyond the confines of the known world.* Once more, when the prophets speak of the day of the Lord they always regard it as near (Is 13^6, Jl 1^{15} 2^1). The coming of the 'day' itself was a settled belief, but of its time knew no man; the presentiment of its nearness was awakened in the mind of the prophet by what he saw of the moral condition of mankind or of the operations of God in the world. To one prophet the insensibility of men to the majesty of the Lord the King seems so frightful that He must interpose to cast down everything that is high, so that He alone shall be exalted in that day (Is 2. 3); to another He is so visibly operating in the convulsions of the nations that His full manifestation of Himself seems at hand (Is 13, Zeph); while to a third the severe natural calamities with which He is visiting His people seem the tokens and heralds of His final judgment (Jl 1. 2). The prophets' hearts were filled with great religious issues, with presentiments of the future of the world in God's hand. These presentiments were so vivid in their hearts that they were constantly looking for the fulfilment of them. And thus when the currents of providence, often too sluggish to their eager eyes, received a sudden quickening, when great events were moving and J″ visibly interposing in the affairs of the world, they felt that He was taking to Him His great power. It was but a step or two when the kingdom would be the Lord's.

(1) In the pre-exilic prophets the day of the Lord is a judgment primarily on Israel (Am 3^2), though it also embraces the nations. It is Israel's national dissolution, though the dissolution is only in order to a new reconstruction. The sinners of the people shall be destroyed, and a poor and humble people left behind (Zeph 3^{12}, Is 2. 3, Hos 4^3 $2^{18\text{ff.}}$). (2) With the Exile the judgment on Israel seemed to have been fulfilled, and during the Exile and at the period of the Restoration the judgment of the day of the Lord is represented as falling on the heathen world, and its issue is Israel's redemption (Is 13, Hag, Zec 1–8). And this feeling is often expressed in passages where the day of the Lord is not formally mentioned (Is 40 ff., Ps 93–99). (3) But after the Restoration, when Israel was again a people, and the old internal antagonisms and wrongs once more manifested themselves, prophets have to threaten it anew with the refiner's fire of the Day of the Lord (Mal $3^{2\text{ff.}}$). Still, though in the post-exilic literature the judgment is also a sifting of Israel itself (*e.g.* Ps 50), it is mainly regarded as falling on the heathen world, and issues in Israel's deliverance and the restoration of the Diaspora (Dn $7^{21\text{ff.}}$). This idea largely pervades the later Psalms. Psalms differ from prophecy. Like the hymns of all peoples, they are not creative but representative. They give back, in thanksgiving, in praise, and often in prayer, the faiths and hopes already contained in the mind of the community and long cherished. And these hopes and faiths are in the main eschatological. When the Psalms speak of the judgment (1^5 $7^{6\text{ff.}}$ 35^{23} etc.), and of the meek inheriting the earth (37^{11}), of the nearness of the day of the wicked (37^{13}), of seeing God's face in righteousness (17^{15}), of the upright having dominion speedily over the unrighteous (49^{14}), and much of the same kind, they are not uttering vague hopes never before expressed, but reflecting the certainties of a faith as old at least as the prophets of the 8th cent., the certainty of a judgment of God (Is $1^{24\text{ff.}}$ 2. 3), and of the rise behind it of a kingdom of righteousness (Is 1^{26} 9^7 $11^{4\text{ff.}}$), and peace (Is 2^4 9^7 11^9), and everlasting joy (Is 9^3, Hos $2^{18\text{ff.}}$).

To follow the scripture statements regarding the Day of the Lord through the three periods just mentioned would lead to much repetition: it will be enough to state some general points connected with the Day. The Day of the Lord is His time for manifesting Himself, for displaying His character, for performing His work, His short and strange work upon the earth. 'The Lord of Hosts hath a day upon every one that is proud and lofty, and he shall be brought low . . . and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day' (Is $2^{12.\ 17}$).

1. As it was a day of the manifestation of J″, God of Israel, in His fulness and therefore in a way to realize His purposes; which with Israel and even with the world were those of grace, it is fundamentally a day of joy to Israel, and even to the world—'the Lord is king, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of the Isles be glad thereof. Say among the nations, The Lord is King; let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad' (Ps 96). That J″ should reign, and that He should come to the earth as king, must, in spite of all the terrors that might attend His coming, bring to the world

* Davidson, *Nah, Hab, and Zeph* in 'Cambridge Bible,' p. 118; Driver, *Joel and Amos* in same series, p. 185.

a pervading gladness. For the falsehood and injustice that had cursed the earth so long would disappear, and the longing of men, who were ever in words or sighs saying, Show us the Father, would be satisfied. But it would be a day of joy above all to Israel, His people, when He should plead her cause, for the day of vengeance was in His heart and the year of His redeemed was come. Naturally, an accompaniment of the manifestation of J" was the disappearance of the idols—'On that day men shall cast their idols of silver and their idols of gold to the moles and to the bats' (Is 2^{20}). But in the view of the prophets those gigantic oppressions, the empires of Assyria and Babylon, were but projections of their idolatry, with its cruelties and licentiousness and pride. The later prophet Daniel expresses this idea in a graphic figure when he represents the heathen monarchies under the symbol of various savage beasts, while the kingdom of God is represented under the image of a man.

2. To those in Israel who looked for His coming, apart from the natural terrors of it, it was unmixed joy (Hab 3). And it would have been so to all Israel had fidelity to their God been universal. But this was far from being the condition of Israel. There were many who belonged to Israel only in race. They were filled from the East, and soothsayers like the Philistines. They imitated the idolatries and practised the sins of the nations. Hence the prophets warn the people against a superficial conception of the Day of the Lord, as if it would be a mere interference of J" in behalf of His people as a nation, and not a revelation of His righteous judgment—'Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord. Wherefore will ye have the day of the Lord? It is darkness and not light; as if a man did flee from a lion and a bear met him' (Am 5^{18}). Hence the Day is first of all judgment, and only through this salvation. Sometimes one side is made prominent and sometimes another, the side of judgment (as has been said) in the pre-exile prophets, and the other side in prophets later down (*e.g.* Ob ^{15}). It is around the Day as one of judgment that all the terrible pictures of gloom and the dissolution of nature are gathered (Is 2. 3. 13. 24, Hos 10^{8}, Am 5^{18}, Jl $2^{2.\ 10}$ 3, Zeph 1). These convulsions in nature which accompany the Day of the Lord may not be all to be explained in the same way, but the general idea seems this: the universe is a human world; man is the head of creation, and creation is virtually the earth; the heavens are a mere appendage of the earth, subserving the moral life of mankind—being for signs and seasons, and days and years. Hence in man's judgment the world suffers dissolution, and in his redemption it is renewed and transfigured.

3. As has been said, the coming of the Day was an article of faith as much as our belief in the Last Day, but the presentiment of its nearness was awakened by what the prophet perceived around him: the moral condition of the world (Is 2. 3, Mic 3), God's operations among the nations of the earth (Is 13, Zeph 1), His judgments on His people (Jl 1. 2), or the beginnings of their redemption already experienced at the Restoration, which led to the hope of His full manifestation to dwell in His House when it should be prepared (Hag, Zec). Naturally, though the Day of the Lord was a crisis, and itself of brief duration, the phrase 'that day' is often used to cover the period ushered in by the day. This is the period of final perfection and blessedness. It is identical with what in other passages is the Messianic age, and with the ideal condition following the Restoration as conceived by such prophets as Deutero-Isaiah (Is 60). It is a period entirely homogeneous. There are no occurrences within it. It has characteristics, but no internal development. It is a period of light and peace and the knowledge of God, which covers the earth as the waters cover the sea. Subsequent revelation has broken up the coming of the Messiah into a coming and a coming again, and history has intercalated between the two an age full of developments and vast changes. But the prophets embrace all in one period over which there hangs a divine light. The characteristics they assign to the Messianic age or the period introduced by the Day of the Lord are in the main those characteristics which we assign to the age which the second coming shall introduce. These characteristics are the issue of the first coming, the natural expansion of its principles; and to the prophets the principles and their realization all seem condensed into one point.

4. The prophets are not interested in giving mere predictions of external events or conditions of the world, but in setting before the people the moral development and issues of the kingdom; and just as the Day of the Lord seems to them to issue out of the conditions of the world of their own day, so they sometimes bring down the moral issues of the kingdom upon an external condition of the world such as it was in their own time. There is perfect realizing of moral principles, but the condition of the world in its kingdoms and the like remains unchanged. But ordinarily this is not the case.

(*a*) A constant feature in the eschatological picture is Israel's restoration to its own land. The Lord will say to the North, Give up; and to the South, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth; even every one that is called by my name (Is 43^{6}). And in this land all earthly blessings attend the people (Am $9^{11\text{-}15}$); they attain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away (Is 35^{10} 65^{19}). The people are also truly the people of God—'Thy people shall be all righteous'; 'In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory' (Is 45^{25}). The people's restoration to everlasting felicity and their righteousness are but different sides of the same thing. Cast out because of their sins, they are restored because of their righteousness, although the righteousness be one bestowed on them by God (Is $43^{25\text{ff.}}$); and their restoration is the outer side of their justification, the token to their own heart and to the eyes of the nations that they are in truth now the people of God (Is 61^{9} $65^{17\text{ff.}}$). The question how in our day we are to interpret such prophecies is a double one. It is a question, first, of what the prophets meant. And to this question there can be but one answer—their meaning is the literal sense of their words. They spoke of the people Israel and of the land of Canaan, and predicted the restoration of the people to their land, and their everlasting abode there with their God in the midst of them. This was their view in their day of the final condition of the people. Of course, to the prophets the essential thing was the spiritual perfection and blessedness of the people given by the presence among them of their God in His fulness, but they were unable to conceive this except as reflected in an external condition of the people. The other question is how we may expect these OT prophecies to be fulfilled now that the NT dispensation is come. There is no question as to the meaning of the OT prophecies; the question is how far this meaning is now valid. The question is not one to be dogmatic on, but we should naturally say that it is to be decided by the principles of the NT dispensation. The only NT writer who seems formally to argue the question is St. Paul (Ro 9–11). Now, he argues only on the spiritual side

of the Abrahamic covenant, or rather he regards the covenant as an exclusively spiritual or redemptive instrument (see art. COVENANT, last par.). Those, therefore, who, in advocating the idea of the Restoration of Israel to their own land, think themselves entitled to reason on the material side of the covenant (the promise of the land), cannot plead the apostle's authority nor his example. It may be made a question, indeed, whether his reasoning does not exclude theirs, for his view appears to be that the covenant from the moment it took effect was a purely spiritual and redemptive deed. To his mind the covenant guarantees the final salvation of Israel. The church of God is historical and continuous. It was planted in Abraham, and it is perennial. Israel was the church, and continues to be; and if the Gentiles be in it, they have been grafted in; and if some of the natural branches be meantime broken off, God is able to graft them in again; and this He will do, 'and so all Israel shall be saved.' This is St. Paul's manner of stating the idea of Deutero-Isaiah, that the true knowledge of the true God has been given once for all to Israel, and given to be the heritage of mankind. If the OT prophecies are to be brought into the argument, the order in which they place things must be observed. That order is, first, righteousness and faith, and then restoration to Canaan. A return of Jews to Canaan while still in unbelief, however interesting a thing in itself, does not come into contact with OT prophecy.

(*b*) Another feature in the eschatological picture is the relation of the nations to Israel and their God. In some prophecies, especially those that are apocalyptic in their character, there is the idea of a final attack on Israel by the nations, and a great conflict near Jerusalem or in Canaan, in which the nations are overthrown and destroyed (Ezk 38. 39, Jl 3, Zec 14, Ob v.[18], Dn). But usually the nations are represented as attaching themselves to Israel, drawn either by the righteousness and humanity of the Messianic King (Ps 72), or convinced that the God of Israel is God alone (Is 2)—a conviction which they receive in various ways, as through J"'s terrible revelation of Himself (Zeph $3^{8.9}$, Is $66^{18ff.}$), but chiefly through the teaching of Israel, the servant of the Lord, who becomes the light of the nations, and the peoples wait on His arm (Is 42^{6} 49^{6} $50^{5ff.}$ $51^{4ff.}$ 60). But while already in the OT the Gentiles are fellow-heirs of salvation with Israel, the racial distinction is not obliterated. Jews and Gentiles do not amalgamate into one people or church—Israel 'inherits the Gentiles' (Is 54^{3}), 'the kingdom is given to the people of the saints of the Most High' (Dn 7^{27}). The nations occupy a subordinate place. There may be different shades of view in different passages. Of course, when the prophets wrote, Israel alone possessed the knowledge of the true God, and its place was that of benefactor of the nations, while theirs was that of recipients of blessing from Israel. Therefore the nations do homage to Israel, but it is to Israel as having the only true God within it — 'they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee; and there is none else, no God' (Is 45^{14} 49^{23}, cf. 14^{2} 60^{9} 61^{6}).

5. From what has been said, it can be seen what general conceptions the OT contributes to Christian Eschatology. They are such as these: (1) the manifestation or advent of God; (2) the universal judgment; (3) behind the judgment the coming of the perfect kingdom of the Lord, when all Israel shall be saved, and when the nations shall be partakers of their salvation; and (4) the finality and eternity of this condition, that which constitutes the blessedness of the saved people being the Presence of God in the midst of them—this last point corresponding to the Christian idea of heaven. All this is said of the people as a people. The people is immortal and its life eternal; and this life is conceived as lived in this world, though this world transfigured — a new heavens and a new earth (Is 65^{17}). But are the individuals of the people immortal, or is their life, however prolonged and blessed, yet finally closed by death? It is probable that in most passages the prophets have in view the destinies of the people as a unity, the ultimate fate of individuals not being present to their mind. In some passages, however, the destiny of the individual is referred to, and a progress of idea may be observed, though, owing to the uncertain authorship of the passages, it may be precarious to infer at once that the more advanced are the later. In Is $65^{20ff.}$ only a very prolonged life appears promised, 'the days of a tree,' he that dieth at a hundred years shall die a child (cf. Zec 8^{4}). But in the apocalyptic passage Is 24–27 death is represented as abolished, 'the Lord will swallow up death for ever' (25^{8}); and the promise extends to the nations as well as to Israel (ver.[6ff.]). The conception of a resurrection first appears in the prophets, who speak of a resuscitation of the dead nation (Hos 6, Ezk 37). In Is 26^{19}, however, the literal resurrection of individuals is predicted. This is the complement of the Restoration of the living members of the people. And in Dn 12 a resurrection both of the just and unjust is prophesied, though it remains somewhat uncertain whether the resurrection be universal, or be only of those who, in the preceding troublous times, had been specially prominent, whether on the side of righteousness or of evil.

II. ESCHATOLOGY OF THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON. —One of the strangest things in OT is the little place which the individual feels he has, and his tendency to lose himself in larger wholes, such as the tribe or the nation. When in earlier times the individual approached death, he felt that he had received the blessing of life from God and had enjoyed it in His communion; his sojourn with God had come to an end, he was old and full of days, and he acquiesced in death, however strange his acquiescence may seem to us. He consoled himself with the thought that he did not all die—'The memory of the righteous is blessed' (cf. Is $56^{4.5}$). He lived, too, in his children and in his people. He saw the good of Israel; his spirit lived, and the work of his hands was established. The great subject was the people, the nation; J" had established His covenant with the nation, and the individual was blessed in the blessing and fortune of the whole. And he was content to have poured his little stream of life and service into the tide of national life, and in some degree to have swelled it. This was particularly the case, so far as can be judged, in earlier times. But when the nation came to an end with the Captivity, when national life and religion no more existed, the individual rose to his own proper place and rights, and felt his own worth and responsibility. Though the nation had fallen the individuals remained, and J" and religion remained, though religion remained only in the heart of the individual. The religious unit, formerly the people, now became more and more the single person, and the truths regarding duty and responsibility, and the hopes of the future, enunciated by the prophets in regard to the people, were appropriated by the individual to himself.

In regard to the Eschatology of the individual person there are two things which require to be carefully distinguished. There are, *first*, certain ideas regarding death and the state of the dead lying in the popular mind, though cherished by

all classes, the righteous as well as others, alike. These ideas are common to Israel with some other Shemitic peoples. They have in themselves no moral significance. But some of them, such as the idea that the person, though he died, was not extinguished, but still subsisted as a person, however shadowy the state of subsistence was; and the other idea, that the dead person, though still subsisting, was in death cut off from all fellowship with the living, whether men or God,—these ideas formed points to which the aspirations of the pious might attach themselves, whether in the way of development, as of the first idea, or protest, as against the second idea. And, *secondly*, there are the aspirations, intuitions, or inferences of the pious mind itself. It is only these that can properly be called OT teaching. Such aspirations and intuitions may be either intellectual or emotional, that is, virtually, either ethical or religious, though the basis even of the religious is ethical. The fundamental idea is the moral one: God and man are moral beings, their relation is moral; the universe is a moral constitution, the stage where God displays His righteousness, and where man sees God's face in righteousness. Righteousness must win, and righteousness is eternal (Is 51^6). This is the idea that underlies the Book of Job and such Psalms as 37. 49. and 73. There are thus three things to look at: (1) Death and the state of the dead; (2) Life; and (3) the Reconciliation of Death and Life.

(1) By death OT means what we mean when we use the word. It is the phenomenon which we observe. Now, all parts of OT indicate the view that at death the person is not annihilated; he continues to subsist in Sheôl, the place of the dead, though in a shadowy and feeble form occasioned by the withdrawal of the spirit of life. In this condition of subsistence, which is not life but death, in Sheôl, the common abode of all dead persons, there is no distinction in destiny between the righteous and the ungodly. OT does not name those in Sheôl either souls or spirits, they are persons. It is possible that they were conceived as retaining a shadowy flickering outline of their former personality, for in Is 14 they sit on thrones, from which they rise up and speak. Subsistence in Sheôl is a feeble, nerveless reflection of life on earth. These conceptions, as has been said, are not properly scripture teaching, only the popular notions from which its teaching starts. Illustrations of them are such passages as these among others, Ps 6. 30, Is 14. 38, Job 3. 10. Thus, to start with, OT is not materialistic, death is not the extinction of the formerly living person. Neither is it philosophic, regarding the body as the prison-house of the soul, released from which it can spread its wings and soar unfettered into regions of pure and perfect life. Nor is it, to begin with at least, Christian in the sense that the spirit attains to perfection at death.

(2) As by death so by life OT means what we mean by it. It starts from the idea, not of the soul, but of the person. Life is what we so call when we see it, the subsistence of the complete personality in the unity of its parts, body and soul. An essential part of man's being is the body; and life is life in the body, such as it is before the analysis which we call death, and corresponds therefore to the Christian synthesis called the resurrection life. Hence Job, when the idea of a second life first dawns upon him, can conceive it only as a renewal of the natural life—'If a man die, shall he live again?' (ch. 14). But as life was due to the communication by God of the spirit of life, and death to the withdrawal of this spirit, these operations came under the moral idea, and 'life' meant moral life in the favour of God (Ezk 33)—'in the way of righteousness is life'; 'righteousness delivereth from death.' OT scriptures occupy themselves chiefly with the condition of man on this side of death, and they teach that whatever principles are involved in the relations of men to God they come always to light in this life; death does not change these relations; on the contrary, by its manner or circumstances it reveals them (Ps 37. 73).

(3) Now, this conception of life naturally came into collision with the fact of death. And OT doctrine of immortality, when *death* is had in view, consists of the efforts made by the faith of pious men to gain for the idea of life just referred to the victory over the fact of death. These efforts are of two kinds: one consists of an appeal against the fact of death, a demand for immortality or not dying, a protest against the fellowship of the living man here with God being interrupted, or a lofty assurance that it cannot be interrupted. It is quite possible that the examples of this may have to be referred to particular circumstances, when death might be actually threatening; but the language used, the demand made for the continuance of life, the lofty assurance of faith that the relation of the person to God cannot be interrupted, rise to the expression of principles, and are by no means merely the expression of an assurance that God would save from death on this particular occasion. This is the meaning of Ps 16, 'I have set the Lord always before me; because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Thou wilt not leave my soul over to Sheôl; thou wilt not let thine holy one see the pit.' What the speaker is assured of is deliverance from death. But his assurance has an absoluteness in it. It expresses principles. In his ecstasy of life in God he feels life to be eternal. The tie between him and J" is indissoluble. With our more reflecting habits of thought this ecstasy of faith is hard to conceive. To us the fact of death is so inevitable that we cannot imagine any one resisting it. We accept the fact, and rest on what lies beyond. But the resistance of the pious Hebrew was due just to his not knowing what lay beyond, and was but a mode of making a demand for that which we now know to lie beyond.

The other line of thought was somewhat different; it was not so much a protest against dying, as a protest that dying was not death; it was a denial that death was to the saint of God that which the popular mind regarded it to be—a separation from God and descent into Sheôl. The fellowship with God had in life, and which was life, would remain unbroken in death. This amounted to the faith that the godly soul would overleap Sheôl and pass to God. This appears to be the faith expressed in Ps 49 and 73, and in a certain sense in Job 19.

Before these poetical passages, which are obscure, are briefly looked at, something must be said of Sheôl and the state of the dead; though, as has been said, OT statements about Sheôl chiefly reflect the popular sentiments, and have little positive value. It might be surmised from the strong expressions used many times of death in the OT that in death existence absolutely came to an end. Thus Ps 146^4 'his breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish'; Ps 39^{13} 'O spare me, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more.' And perhaps most strongly of all Job $14^{7ff.}$ 'for a tree hath hope, if it be cut down, it will sprout again; but man lieth down, and riseth not; till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep' (cf. 7^{21}). But these are only the strong expressions of despondency and regret over a life mournfully soon ended, and that never returns to be lived on this earth again. The conception of

Sheôl is sufficient answer to the apparent doctrine which they teach. The word Sheôl (שְׁאוֹל, twice written defectively, and usually *fem.*, as nouns of place mostly are), is of uncertain derivation. Its root has been supposed to be a softened form of another root (שׁעל, represented by שׁעל the hollow hand, Is 40[12]) signifying perhaps 'to be hollow,' in which case it would have the same meaning as our word 'hell' (Germ. *Hölle*); and the name 'pit' with which it is interchanged in OT (ἄβυσσος in NT) might seem to favour this derivation. A corresponding Assyrian *Suâlu* (Fried. Del., Jeremias) is denied by Jensen. Sheôl is the opposite of the upper sphere of light and life; it is 'deep Sheôl' (Ps 86[13] 63[9]), the region of darkness, 'a land of darkness as darkness itself, without any order, and where the light is as darkness' (Job 10[22]). There is no strict topography to be sought for Sheôl; it is in great measure the creation of the imagination, deep down under the earth or under the waters (Job 26[5]). It is not to be identified with the grave, though the grave be often regarded as the mouth of it; and it is sometimes represented as a vast burying-place (Is 14[11], Ezk 32[23]). Sheôl is the place of departed personalities; the generations of one's forefathers are there, and he who dies is gathered unto his fathers; the tribal divisions of one's race are there, and the dead is gathered unto his peoples, and if his descendants have died before him, they are there and he goes down to them, as Jacob to his son, and David to his child (Gn 37[35] 42[38], 2 S 12[23]).

(1) *The state of those in Sheôl.*—As death consists in the withdrawal by God of the spirit of life, the source of energy and vital power, the personalities in Sheôl are feeble and flaccid. They are shades (רְפָאִים Job 26[5], Is 14[9]). Their abode is called 'silence' (Ps 94[17]); it is 'the land of forgetfulness' (Ps 88[12]); 'the living know that they must die, the dead know not anything' (Ec 9[5]); 'his sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, and he perceiveth it not of them' (Job 14[21]). But other passages represent the existence of the dead in Sheôl as a dreamy reflection of life on earth, in which self-consciousness and ability to recognize others still remain—'Art thou become weak as we; art thou become like unto us?' is the language addressed by the Shades to the prince of Babylon when he descends among them. (2) *There is no distinction of good and evil in Sheôl.*—All must go into Sheôl, and all alike are there (Job 3[17]). Sheôl itself is no place of punishment nor of reward (Ec 9[5]), neither is it divided into compartments having this meaning: 'To-morrow,' said Samuel to the king whom God had rejected, 'to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me' (1 S 28[19]). The idea of a deeper or darker Sheôl in any penal sense cannot be verified. 'The farthest recesses of the pit' into which the prince of Babylon is thrust in death forms a mere antithesis to the 'farthest recesses of the North,' the abode of the gods, where he aspired to seat himself when alive (Is 14[15]). If the 'prison' referred to Is 24[22] be Sheôl, incarceration in Sheôl, *i.e.* death, is regarded as the penal issue of the judgment. And the state of the dead being a reflection of life on earth, any dishonour done to one on earth, such as being deprived of sepulture, may still cleave to him when he descends into the Underworld (Is 14, Ezk 32). The language of Is 66[24] 'their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched,' refers to the bodies of the ungodly, which are cast out upon earth, an abhorring to all flesh, and not to the ungodly themselves in Sheôl. (3) *All connexion with the world of the living is broken off.*—The dead can neither return to earth, nor does he know anything of the events passing there (Job 7[9] 14[12], Ec 9[5]). Yet with the strong belief in the existence of the persons in Sheôl, there was naturally a popular superstition that they could be reached. This belief gave rise to the necromancy practised among the Hebrews, as among most peoples, though it is proscribed in the law and ridiculed by the prophets (Is 8[19]). The practice probably did not repose on any general idea that the dead must have a wider knowledge than the living, that 'there must be wisdom with great Death,' but on the idea that great personages continued still to be in death that which they had been in life. This appears to have been the idea of Saul in seeking unto Samuel. There is no record of any one answering from the dead except Samuel. The question whether any connexion was thought to exist between the person in Sheôl and his body can hardly be answered. No such connexion existed as to interfere with the passage of the person into Sheôl, whatever befell the body. The want of burial was in itself dishonouring, and the dishonour continued to cleave to the person among the dead, but it did not, as among some nations, prevent his descent to the world of the dead. There are some passages which seem to speak of a sympathetic *rapport* still existing between the body and the person in Sheôl, but probably they hardly go further than to suggest the idea that the body, though thrown off, was still part of the man, and not mere common unrelated dust. (4) The main point is that *the relation between the dead person and God is cut off.* This is what gave death its significance to the religious mind. Fellowship with God ceases—'In death there is no remembrance of thee; in Sheôl who shall give thee thanks?' 'For Sheôl cannot praise thee; they that go down to the pit cannot hope for thy truth' (Is 38[18]).

The passages relating to the eschatology of the individual person are mostly poetical, and they are in some points obscure. They are such passages as Ps 16. 17. 22. 37. 49. 73, and many fragments of others, and Job. Now, with regard to these passages several things must be said: first, they are all late, later at all events than the prophetic faith of the 8th cent. This faith—belief in the coming manifestation of God, in the judgment, and in the eternal rest of the people in God's perfect kingdom—was the faith of the writers. Again, all the passages repose upon an acknowledged distinction among men, the distinction of the righteous and the ungodly. This distinction is visible, men are differently related to God. But the problem arose from the fact that men's destinies in the world were not seen to correspond to this distinction: in a moral world morality was not triumphant, in the government of the righteous God righteousness was not acknowledged. No doubt, the pious mind sometimes composed itself by a deeper analysis of that wherein true prosperity or felicity lay—the portion falling to it, even God Himself, was a profounder good than all earthly possessions (Ps 17. 73). Nevertheless, the problem remained and demanded solution. The solution was always an eschatological one, and was just the distinction between the righteous and the ungodly truly realizing itself. In other words, immortality or eternal life is the corollary of religion, as Christ, summing up the whole OT teaching, said, God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; it might even be said to be the corollary of morality—if the universe be a moral world there is everlasting life. The general position of OT saints, with their faith in the advent of God to judge, was very similar to that of the early Christians, who looked for the speedy coming of Christ. This coming would change the world and the Church, but the Church would pass living into perfect blessedness; and, of course, individuals would share the change—'We

shall not all die, but we shall all be changed.' Now, this was very like the feeling of OT saints. The individual would share the transition of the community, the Day of the Lord would break, and the living would enter into fulness of life without tasting death. True individualism is little seen in OT. It is real to this extent: the individual realized keenly his own personal life, and longed earnestly to share for himself in the blessings upon which the community would enter when God appeared to abide for ever among them. He longed that he, the living man, should see with his people the glory of the Lord revealed, and enter with his people into life. It was, perhaps, only the prospect of death, or reflection on it, that rounded off individualism and revealed its energies. The life of the community was perennial, but with death before him the individual could not share this life, and he sought to forecast his own personal destiny.

Thus there may be two classes of passages: (1) passages which, though spoken perhaps by individuals, express the hope of the living people, and refer to that great change which the Day of the Lord shall introduce, and which the individual, as part of the people, shall experience without tasting death; and (2) passages where the individual contemplates death, but expresses the assurance that he will not, like the ungodly, fall into Sheôl, but see life. Ps 37 belongs to the first class, and possibly Ps 73, though the phrase 'take me' might, as in Ps 49, refer to escaping Sheôl at death. Ps 49 has two peculiarities: first, its opening verses imply that its teaching on immortality is no more an aspiration, but a firm conviction; and secondly, it seems to start from the assumption that death is universal. If this be the case, the words, 'God will redeem my soul from Sheôl,' must refer to the Psalmist's hope in death. This interpretation may certainly be supported by reference to the parable of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, which shows that the idea of a blessedness of the spirit at death had been reached before the time of our Lord. It is enough here to state some general principles and give a classification of passages; for details the commentaries must be consulted.* The prophets and saints of the OT were not speculative men. They did not reason that the soul was immortal from its nature,—this was not the kind of immortality in which they were interested,—though, for all that appears, the idea that any human person should become extinguished or be annihilated never occurred to them. They did not lay stress in a reflective way on man's instinctive hopes of immortality, though they may be observed giving these instinctive desires expression. So far as they reasoned, their assurance was based on the moral idea—Righteousness is eternal. So far as they experienced and felt, their assurance was immediate — religion is reciprocal, the consciousness of God is God's giving Himself in the consciousness.

It has always been felt strange that the Pentateuch, which gives the constitution of the people of God, should be silent on death and immortality, or only refer to the popular idea of Sheôl. In explanation it may be said that the earliest part of the Pent. is anterior to the prophets of the 8th cent., while the later portions are the reflection of the prophetic teaching. Deut. reposes on Isaiah and the prophets of the Assyrian age, and the Priests' Code on Ezekiel. The constitution which they furnish for Israel is the embodiment of the prophetic conceptions. But the conceptions of the prophets are ideal, their pictures of the true Israel are pictures of Israel of the future, Israel of the perfect and final state; in other words, of Israel in what may be called its condition of immortality. The legislation seeks to impose this ideal on Israel of the present. Of necessity, when applied to the conditions of the actual Israel, the ideal was imperfectly realized, and was anew projected into the future.

* See particularly the *Anhang* to Studer's *Das Buch Hiob*, Bremen, 1881.

LITERATURE.—Von Orelli, *Prophecies of the Consummation of the Kingdom*; Bertheau, 'Die Altt. Weissagung von Israel's Reichsherrlichkeit in seinem Lande,' *Jahrbb. für Deutsche Theol.* vols. iv. v. The older literature on Immortality is given in Boettcher, *De Inferis*, 1846, and particularly in W. R. Alger, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, with a Complete Bibliography by Ezra Abbot*, New York, 1871. Besides the relative sections in the *Bib. Theologies*, useful works are: Oehler, *Vet. Test. Sententia de rebus post mortem futuris*, 1846; Perowne (Bp.), *Immortality* (Hulsean Lecture), 1869; Schultz, *Voraussetzungen der Christ. Lehre v. d. Unsterblichkeit*, 1861; Stade, *Die Alttest. Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode*, 1868, and relative section in Hist. vol. i.; Jeremias, *Die Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode*, 1887; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892; A. B. Davidson, 'Modern Religion and OT Immortality,' *Expositor*, May 1895; especially Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 3rd ed., 1897.

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ESCHATOLOGY OF THE APOCRYPHAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.—We shall treat this subject under four heads. 1. The authorities for Jewish Eschatology, B.C. 200–A.D. 80. 2. Some of the conceptions which gave birth to and controlled the evolution of later Jewish Eschatology. 3. Its historical development. 4. Its systematic exposition.

I. THE AUTHORITIES.

2nd cent. B.C.—Sirach.
,, Ethiopic Enoch 1–36.
,, Daniel.
,, Ethiopic Enoch 83–90; 91–104.
,, Tobit.
,, Sibylline Oracles — Proœmium and 3^{97-818}.
,, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs — Apocalyptic Sections. Between B.C. 140 and A.D. 30.
,, Judith.

1st cent. B.C.—Ethiopic Enoch 37–70.
,, 1 Maccabees.
,, Psalms of Solomon.
,, 2 Maccabees.

1st cent. A.D.—Book of Jubilees.
,, Assumption of Moses.
,, Philo.
,, Slavonic Enoch.
,, Book of Wisdom.
,, 4 Maccabees.

Apocalypse of Baruch, Book of Baruch, 4 Ezra, Ascension of Isaiah — Composite works written partly before and partly after A.D. 70. Part of the Book of Baruch may belong to the 2nd cent. B.C.

Josephus.

The above authorities vary indefinitely in the degree of light they shed on the evolution of eschatological thought among the Jews. Thus very little help in this direction is to be derived from Sirach, the Book of Baruch, Judith, and 1 Maccabees. It is, in fact, to the pseudonymous apocalyptic writings that we are almost entirely beholden for the materials of which we are in quest. These not only supply the missing links which unite in orderly development the thought of OT to that of NT, but also in not a few cases are the only documentary authorities for views and doctrines which in later times established themselves securely in Christianity or Judaism.

II. SOME OF THE CONCEPTIONS WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO AND CONTROLLED THE EVOLUTION OF

LATER JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY.—These conceptions were already at work in OT, but were applied only sporadically, and in a partially developed form. In the later period they gradually attain to their full rights.

1. *The enlarged conception of God as the Creator and Moral Governor of all the world, and its consequences.*—When once this idea is fully comprehended, the OT conception of Sheol can no longer *logically* exist. And yet these two conflicting conceptions did exist side by side for several centuries. So long as J" was conceived simply as the tribal God of Israel, and as one among other gods, whose sole concern was the moral well-being and prosperity of His people on earth, then Sheol was naturally conceived as beyond the sphere of His dominion, and so preserved its ancient non-moral character. It is not, indeed, till almost the Maccabæan period that the former conception has transformed the latter, and the abode of the shades has become a place of moral retribution.

Another consequence of this enlarged conception of God was an enlarged conception of judgment. Since God was the Creator and Ruler of all men, the idea of a final and world judgment, in which the destinies of all should be decided, naturally arose. It must be conceded, however, that in Judaism this idea was, so far as the Gentiles went, always of the most one-sided and inequitable character. In their case, judgment, as a rule, meant simply condemnation. At best they were spared only to become subject to Israel.

2. *The conception of the individual, and his growing claims.*—The doctrine of individual retribution was evolved in OT.* It is the direct antithesis of the earlier view of the solidarity of the family, tribe, or nation. The latter doctrine, which identified the responsibilities of the individual with his family or nation, naturally led to strange consequences. Ezekiel (esp. in ch. 18) was the first to attack this doctrine in its entirety, and to replace it by an equally exaggerated and false individualism. As the consequences of sin were still confined to this life, the difficulties of this conception soon came to light. According to it every misfortune is a divine punishment, and every piece of prosperity a special instance of God's favour. The antinomies arising from such a view are discussed in Job and Ecclesiastes, and its untenableness demonstrated no less certainly than that of the doctrine it was intended to supersede. As long as the consequences of man's action were regarded as limited to this life, these antinomies were incapable of solution, and God's dealings with His righteous servants incapable of justification. But notwithstanding the bankruptcy of both these theories, or rather in consequence of it, the faith and religious thought of Israel were set free to attempt a truer and profounder solution of the problem. On the one hand, the *faithful servant* of J" in due time came to be assured that neither here nor hereafter could he be separated from the love and presence of God; and that for him the ancient Sheol would stretch out its arms in vain. On the other, the *religious thinker* of Israel was equally assured that since God's righteousness did not attain to its full consequences here, it must do so elsewhere; and thus the doctrine of retribution was carried into the after-life, and a personal blessed existence, whether of limited or endless duration, whether as a member of the Messianic kingdom or a direct participant in a blessed immortality, became a postulate of religious thought. In due course the moralization of the old conception of Sheol was effected, not indeed in OT times, but in the subsequent centuries, as we find in Apocalyptic literature.

* Cf. Gn 18^{23-33}, Ex 32^{33}, Nu 16^{22}, Dt 7^{10} 24^{16} etc.

3. *The growing transcendence of the Messianic expectations.*—In OT the hopes of Israel were in the main confined *to this world and to the well-being of the nation.* Thus they looked for the destruction of their national foes, for the purification of their people, and the establishment of an earthly kingdom of limited or endless duration. The scene of this kingdom was to be the earth purged from all violence and sin. But in the later period the gulf between the present and future begins to widen, and this process goes on till the last resemblances vanish, and the present appears a moral chaos under the rule of Satan and his angels, and the future is conceived as an unending kingdom of blessedness under the immediate sway of God or the Messiah.

III. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY.—(*A*) 2nd cent. B.C.

Sirach.—The eschatology of this book belongs to the OT. Hades is the place of the shades and the region of death (9^{12} $14^{12.\ 16}$ 21^{10} 41^{4} 48^{5}). There is no delight there (14^{16}), no praise of God (17^{27-28}), man is plunged in an eternal sleep (46^{19} 22^{11} 30^{17} 38^{23}). Retribution does not follow a man into the after-life (41^{4}), but his sins are visited through the evil remembrance of his name, and in the misfortunes of his children after him (11^{28} 23^{24-26} 40^{15} 41^{5-8}). As regards the future of the nation, the writer looks forward to the Messianic kingdom of which Elijah is to be the forerunner (48^{10}), when Israel will be delivered from evil ($50^{23.\ 24}$), the scattered tribes restored (33^{13a}, AV 36^{11}), the heathen nations duly punished (32^{22-24}, AV $35^{18.\ 19}$). He expects also the eternal duration of Israel (37^{25}), and likewise of David's line (47^{11}).

*Ethiopic Enoch** 1–36.—This fragmentary writing represents the earliest, and at all events the most primitive, view of the 'last things' in the literature of the 2nd cent. B.C. According to this writer, retribution inevitably dogs the heels of sin. Thus punishment has already befallen sinful angels and men ($10^{4-10.\ 12}$) in the first world-judgment (10^{1-3}). But the final judgment is yet to come. Meanwhile all who die enter one of the four divisions of Sheol, where they have a foretaste of their ultimate bliss or woe (22). In due course the final judgment comes, ushered in by the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked (with the exception of one class of the latter, $22^{12.\ 13}$). The resurrection seems to be limited to Israel and its progenitors. The fallen angels, demons, and men then receive their final award (10^{12} 16^{1} 1^{9}). The former are plunged into an abyss of fire (=Tartarus, $10^{13.\ 14}$), while the wicked amongst men are cast into Gehenna, and their punishment is a spectacle for the righteous ($27^{2.\ 3}$). Then the eternal Messianic kingdom is established, with Jerusalem and Palestine for its centre (25^{5}). God makes His abode with man (25^{3}) —there is no Messiah. All the Gentiles become righteous and worship God (10^{21}). The righteous eat of the tree of life, and enjoy patriarchal lives (5^{9} 25^{6}) and every material blessing (5^{7} $10^{18.\ 19}$ 11^{2}), begetting each 1000 children (10^{17}). There is no hint as to what becomes of the righteous after the second death.

Observe that (1) justice is done to the claims of the righteous nation by the establishment of an eternal Messianic kingdom; (2) and likewise to those of the righteous individual by his resurrection to a long life in this kingdom; also (3) that Sheol has undergone transformation, and become *an intermediate place of moral retribution* for the righteous and the wicked for the first time in literature; (4) Gehenna appears as the final place

* For some treatment of the critical and exegetical questions of this work, the readers should consult the article on this book

of punishment for apostate Jews, and Tartarus for the fallen angels; and (5) that the final judgment precedes the Messianic kingdom, and is limited to Israel.

Daniel.—The eschatology of this book in some respects marks an advance on that of the writer just quoted. When the need of the 'saints of the Most High' is greatest ($7^{21.\ 22}$ 12^{1}, in the persecution under Antiochus), the Ancient of Days will intervene, and His throne of judgment will be set up (7^{9}), and the kingdoms of the world will be overthrown ($7^{11.\ 12}$), and supreme and everlasting dominion given to His saints ($7^{14.\ 22.\ 27}$); and these will 'break in pieces and consume' (2^{44}) all the kingdoms of the world, and all 'peoples, nations, and languages shall serve' them (7^{14}); their 'dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away' (7^{14}). And the righteous who 'sleep in a land of dust* shall awake,' to share in the eternal life and blessedness of this kingdom (12^{1-3}).

Observe that (1) the Messianic kingdom—there is no Messiah—is established not only through the personal intervention of God, but also through the active efforts of His saints. The latter feature reappears frequently in the later Apocalypses as the 'period of the sword.' (2) The resurrection is a resurrection of the body, and embraces all Israel. (3) The scene of the kingdom is the earth; for 'all peoples, nations, and languages' are its subjects (7^{14}). (4) The context does not decide whether the risen body will possess its natural appetites, as in Eth. En. 1–36, but seems to favour this idea. (5) 'Everlasting life' (12^{2}, or rather 'æonian life' חַיֵּי עוֹלָם) may mean nothing more than a very long life, as in Eth. En. 1–36. (6) Nothing is said as to the future abode of the Gentiles.

Ethiopic Enoch 83–90 (B.C. 166–161).—The writer of this book has advanced considerably beyond the naïve and sensuous views presented in Eth. En. 1–36. His views are more spiritual, and closely allied to the Daniel Apocalypse, which was written a few years earlier. His eschatology is developed at greater length than that of Daniel. Like Daniel, he regards every people under heaven as being under the control of a guardian angel. But this view is peculiarly applied in this author. The undue severities that have befallen Israel are not from God's hand, but are the doing of the 70 shepherds (*i.e.* angels) into whose care God had committed Israel (89^{59}). But these angels have not wronged Israel with impunity; for judgment is at hand. When their oppression is sorest, a righteous league will be formed (*i.e.* the Ḥasidim, 90^{6}), and in it there will be a family from which will come forth Judas the Maccabee (90^{9-16}), who will war victoriously against all the enemies of Israel. While the struggle is still raging, God will appear in person, and the earth will swallow the adversaries of the righteous (90^{18}). The wicked shepherds and the fallen watchers will then be cast into an abyss of fire (*i.e.* Tartarus, 90^{20-25}), and the apostates into Gehenna (90^{26}). Then God Himself will set up the New Jerusalem ($90^{28.\ 29}$), and the surviving Gentiles will be converted and serve Israel (90^{30}), and the dispersion will be brought back, and the *righteous* Israelites will be raised to take part in the kingdom (90^{33}). When all is accomplished, the Messiah will appear (90^{37}), and all will be transformed into his likeness.

Observe (1) the growing consciousness of the evils and imperfections of the present world. Thus even Israel for a time is ruled by wicked angels. This dualism manifests itself also in the picture of the future kingdom. Then its centre is not the earthly Jerusalem, but the New Jerusalem, brought down from heaven obviously on the ground of the unfitness of the former. Yet the writers of Eth. En. 1–36 and Daniel were not conscious of this unfitness. (2) As against the two preceding books, Eth. En. 1–36 and Daniel, this book teaches the resurrection of the righteous only. (3) We have here the earliest reference to the Messiah in Apocalyptic literature. But he has no real part to play in the kingdom, and his introduction seems due merely to literary reminiscence.

Ethiopic Enoch 91–104 (B.C. 134–94).—As we pass from the eschatological views of the three preceding books to those of the present, we feel conscious we are entering into a world of new conceptions. In the former books the resurrection and the final judgment were the prelude to an everlasting Messianic kingdom, but in this these great events are relegated to its close. The author acknowledges that the wicked are seemingly sinning with impunity; but this is not so: their evil deeds are recorded every day (104^{7}), and for these they will suffer endless retribution in Sheol (99^{11}); and from this hell of darkness and of flame, into which their souls enter on death, they will never escape ($98^{3.\ 10}$ $104^{7.\ 8}$). In the eighth week, moreover, the Messianic kingdom will be set up, and the righteous will slay the wicked with the sword (91^{12} 95^{7} 96^{1} etc.). At the close of this kingdom in the tenth week the final judgment will be held, and the former heaven and earth will be destroyed, and a new heaven created (91^{14-16}). Then the righteous dead, who have hitherto been guarded by angels (100^{5}), will be raised (91^{10} 92^{3}), but not in the body, but as spirits only ($103^{3.\ 4}$), and they shall joy as the angels (104^{4}), and become companions of the heavenly hosts (104^{6}), and shine as the stars for ever (104^{2}).

Observe that (1) the dualism we have noticed above has already led to its logical results. (2) Thus the Messianic kingdom is apparently for the first time in literature conceived of as temporary. (3) Sheol has for the first time become the equivalent of hell (yet see Eth. En. 22^{13}). (4) The resurrection is for the first time regarded as of the spirit only. (5) Even the heavens need to be created anew.

Tobit.—The eschatology of this book, like that of Sirach, belongs to the OT. The same view of the after-life prevails (4^{10}). It entertains, like the OT, high hopes for the nation. Thus Jerusalem and the temple will be rebuilt with gold and precious stones, the scattered tribes restored, and the heathen, forsaking their idols, will worship the God of Israel (13^{10-18} 14^{4-6}).

Sibylline Oracles, Procœmium and 3^{97-818}.—This book contains many details concerning the last times; but as it belongs to Hellenistic Judaism, it is only of secondary interest in this study of Jewish Palestinian eschatology. It contains, however, a vivid account of the Messianic kingdom. Very soon the people of the Mighty God will grow strong ($3^{194-195}$), and God will send the Messiah from the East, who will put an end to evil war, slaying some and fulfilling the promises in behalf of others, and he will be guided in all things by God. And the temple will be resplendent with glory, and the earth teem with fruitfulness ($3^{652-660}$). Then the nations will muster their forces and attack Palestine ($3^{660-668}$); but God will destroy them, and their judgment will be accompanied by fearful portents ($3^{667-697}$). But Israel will dwell safely under the divine protection ($3^{702-709}$); and the rest of the cities and the islands will be converted, and unite with Israel in praising God ($3^{710-731}$). The blessings of the Messianic age are recounted $3^{744-754}$; cf. also $3^{367-380.\ 619-623}$. And the kings of the earth will be at peace with one another ($3^{755-759}$).

* This is the natural translation of אַדְמַת־עָפָר. For Sheol in this sense compare Job 17^{16}. Sheol here seems to preserve its OT sense as a place of semi-conscious existence where moral retribution is unknown. Only by waking from this condition can man enter on the retribution that is his due.

And God will establish a universal kingdom over all mankind, with Jerusalem as centre ($3^{767-771}$), and the prophets of God will lay down the sword and become judges and kings of the earth ($3^{781-782}$), and men will bring offerings to the temple from all parts of the earth ($3^{772-775}$).

Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. — Until a critical edition of this composite work is published, it is dangerous to quote it as an authority. While it contains many sections that appear to be as early as B.C. 140, the body of the work seems to have been written about the beginning of the Christian era. There are, moreover, numerous Christian interpolations. Till a critical edition of the text and contents is published, it is best not to cite it as evidence on the present subject. Its evidence, though valuable, is in no respect extraordinary, or unvouched for elsewhere.

Judith.—This book is singularly barren in eschatological thought. It speaks of the judgment of the heathen (16^{17}).

(*B*) 1st cent. B.C.

Ethiopic Enoch 37–70 (B.C. 94–64).—These chapters form the well-known 'Similitudes,' the most important element in the Book of Enoch. The writer's eschatological views are as follows:—In the latter days sin will flourish in the world; sinners will deny the name of the Lord of Spirits (38^2 41^2) and of His Anointed (48^{10}); and the kings and the mighty will oppress the elect of the children of God (62^{11}). But suddenly the Head of Days will appear, and with Him the Son of Man ($46^{2.\ 3.\ 4}$ 48^2), to execute universal judgment. And all Israel will be raised from the dead (51^1 61^5), and all judgment will be committed to the Son of Man (41^9 69^{27}), who will possess universal dominion (62^6) and sit on the throne of God (47^3 51^3). And he will judge all the angels, unfallen and fallen (61^8 55^4), and the righteous and the sinners amongst men ($62^{2.\ 3}$), and the kings and the mighty (62^{3-11} $63^{1-4.\ 11}$). And the fallen angels will be cast into a fiery furnace (54^6), and the kings and the mighty will be tortured in Gehenna by the angels of punishment (53^{3-5} $54^{1.\ 2}$), and the remaining sinners and godless will be driven from off the face of the earth (38^3 41^2 45^6); the Son of Man will slay them by the word of his mouth (62^2). And heaven and earth will be transformed ($45^{4.\ 5}$), and the righteous will have their mansions therein (39^6 41^2). And the Elect One will dwell amongst them (45^4). And they will be clad in garments of life ($62^{15.\ 16}$), and become angels in heaven (51^4), and grow in knowledge and righteousness (58^5).

Observe that (1) the Messianic kingdom is here of everlasting duration, but its scene is no longer the present earth, as in the literature of the preceding century, but a transformed heaven and earth. Thus in the process of evolution Messianic thought has become more transcendent. (2) The Messiah for the first time in Jewish literature is represented as a supernatural being and as the Judge of men and angels. (3) The hopes of a Messiah, which in the 2nd cent. B.C. were practically dead, have, owing partly to the circumstances of the time, risen to a new and vigorous life. See the review of the Pss. of Solomon, below. (4) Several Messianic titles appear in this book for the first time in literature: 'Christ' (48^{10} 52^4), 'the Righteous One' (38^2 53^6), 'the Elect One' (40^5 $45^{3.\ 4}$), 'the Son of Man' ($46^{2.\ 3.\ 4}$ 48^2 etc.). (5) All questions affecting the future destinies of the Gentiles are ignored, if we regard 50 as an interpolation; but if it belongs to the context, the writer teaches that when the kings and the mighty and the sinners are destroyed, the remaining Gentiles will be saved if they repent and forsake their idols. God will have mercy on them, but give them no honour or glory.

1 *Maccabees.*—This book is entirely wanting in eschatological teaching, if we except the writer's expectation of a prophet in 4^{46} 14^{41}.

Psalms of Solomon (B.C. 70–40).—Like the Similitudes, this book is of Pharisaic authorship. They proclaim in common a vigorous Messianic hope, but on very divergent lines. In the preceding century this hope was practically non-existent. So long as Judas and Simon were chiefs of the nation, the need of a Messiah was hardly felt. But in the first half of the next century it was very different. Subject to ruthless oppression, the righteous were in sore need of help. As their princes were the leaders in this oppression, they were forced to look for divine aid. Thus the bold and original thinker to whom we owe the Similitudes conceived the Messiah as the supernatural Son of Man, who should enjoy universal dominion and execute judgment on men and angels. But other religious thinkers, returning afresh to the study of OT, revived, as in the Psalms of Solomon, the expectation of the prophetic Messiah, sprung from the house and lineage of David (17^{23}). As the hopes of this Messiah are confined to Pss 17. 18, and in all the Pss that precede there is not even the remotest hint of such hopes, it is reasonable to infer a difference of authorship. There are other grounds for the same inference, but we cannot deal with them here. In recounting, therefore, the eschatology of Ps.-Sol, we shall first deal with Pss 17. 18.

Pss 17. 18. The Messiah—specifically so called in 17^{36} 18^6—is to spring from the lineage of David (17^{23}), to be a righteous king (17^{35}), pure from sin (17^{41}). He will gather the dispersed tribes together ($17^{28.\ 50}$), and purify Israel ($17^{28.\ 29}$), and will suffer no Gentile to sojourn amongst them (17^{31}), nor any iniquity to lodge in their midst, nor any that knoweth wickedness ($17^{29.\ 36}$); and all the people will be holy (17^{36}), even sons of God (17^{30}). But as for the ungodly nations, he will destroy them with the word of his mouth (17^{27}, cf. 17^{39}), for his weapons will not be carnal; nor will he trust in horse or rider or bow, or in silver or gold (17^{37}), but he will overthrow sinners by the might of his word (17^{41}). And the remaining Gentiles will become subject to him ($17^{31.\ 32}$); and he will have mercy on all the nations that come before him in fear (17^{38}), and they will come from the ends of the world to see his glory (17^{34}), and bring her sons as gifts to Zion (17^{34}). And the Messiah will not faint all his days (17^{42}).

Observe that (1) the Messiah is, however highly endowed, a man and nothing more. (2) It follows that his kingdom can only be of temporary duration. (3) It falls in with both these observations, that there is not a hint of the righteous rising from the dead to share in it. This conclusion is confirmed by the beatitude of 17^{50}, 'Blessed are they that shall be born in those days to behold the blessing of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes.' Thus only the surviving righteous share in this temporary earthly kingdom. (4) The Gentiles are still mercifully dealt with. Such as have not been hostile to Israel are spared and become subject.

Pss 1–16. The bulk of these Pss are silent as to the future. They are all absolutely silent as to the Messiah. On the other hand, they paint in glowing colours the restoration of the tribes (8^{34} 11^{3-9}). A Messianic kingdom was therefore probably expected—at all events a period of prosperity, when God's help is promised (7^9). But beyond prophesying vengeance on the hostile nations and the sinners, the psalmists do not dwell on this period. The real recompense of the righteous is not, in their thoughts, bound up with this earthly kingdom. The righteous rise not to any kingdom of temporal prosperity, but to eternal life (3^{16} 13^9), they inherit life in gladness (14^7), and live in the

righteousness of their God (15^{15}). There seems to be no resurrection of the body. As for the wicked, on the other hand, 'their inheritance is Hades (here=hell) and darkness and destruction' (14^{6}), destruction and darkness (15^{11}), and into their heritage in Hades they enter immediately on dying (16^{2}), and their iniquities pursue them thither (15^{11}). Thus the eschatology of Pss 1–16 agrees in nearly every point with that of Eth. En. 91–104, and so calls for no further comment here.

2 *Maccabees.*—There is no direct reference to a Messianic kingdom in this book, though it might be possible to reason back to it from the expectation of the restoration of the tribes (2^{18}). There is certainly no hint of a Messiah. On the other hand, however, the doctrine of retribution, present and future, plays a significant rôle. Present retribution follows sin alike in the case of Israel and of the Gentiles, but in the case of Israel its purpose is corrective, whereas in that of the Gentiles it is vindictive (6^{13-15}). Though God punish His people, He does not withdraw His mercy from them (6^{12-16} 14^{15}). In order to show the certainty of retribution in this life, the writer rewrites history, and makes individual sinners suffer the penalties which he thinks, in strict justice, they ought to have suffered: thus compare the final earthly destinies of the heathen oppressors, Epiphanes (7^{17} 9^{5-12}) and Nicanor (15^{32-35}); and of the Hellenizing Jews, Jason (5^{7-10}) and Menelaus (13^{8}). Even the martyrs confess their sufferings to be due to sin ($7^{18.\ 32.\ 38}$). Immediate retribution is a token of God's goodness (6^{13}). But our present concern is mainly with retribution beyond the grave. The righteous and the wicked of Israel enter after death the intermediate state (Hades), where they have a foretaste of their final doom (6^{26}), which takes effect after the resurrection. There is to be a resurrection of the righteous ($7^{9.\ 11.\ 14.\ 23.\ 29.\ 36}$), possibly even of all Jews ($12^{43.44}$). The resurrection is to be clearly that of the body (7^{11}). Apparently, it is to accompany the final judgment. Of the heathen there will be no resurrection: when they die they enter at once on their eternal doom (7^{14}). There appears to be no blessed future for any of the Gentiles.

(*C*) 1st cent. A.D.

Book of Jubilees.—Like many of the books just reviewed, the Book of Jubilees makes no mention of a Messianic king. It sketches, however, in vigorous terms, the woes that are to be the prelude of the Messianic kingdom, the attacks of the heathen powers, and then the gradual introduction of the kingdom effected through devotion to and observance of the law. Thus the Messianic woes are described in $23^{13.\ 19.\ 22}$ 'Calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and pains. 19. And they will strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten His commandment, and the covenant and the feasts, and the months, and the Sabbaths, and the jubilees, and all judgments. 22. And a great punishment will befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord; and he will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured.'

And thereupon will ensue the invasion of Palestine by the Gentiles ($23^{23.\ 24}$). 'And he will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who will show them no mercy or grace, and who respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are wicked and powerful, so that they are more wicked than all the children of men. And they will use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob, and much blood will be shed upon the earth, and there will be none to gather it and none to bury. 24. In those days they will cry aloud, and call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinful Gentiles; but none will be saved.'

Then Israel will repent (23^{26}). 'And in those days the children will begin to study the laws, and to seek the commandments, and to return to the paths of righteousness' ($23^{16.\ 27-30}$). '16. And in that generation the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate, and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left. 27. And the days of the children of men will begin to grow many, and increase from generation to generation and day to day, till their days draw near to one thousand years, and to a greater number of years than (before) were their days. 28. And there will be no old man nor one that is not satisfied with his days, for all will be (as) children and youths. 29. And all their days they will complete in peace and in joy, and they will live, and there will be no Satan nor any evil destroyer; for all their days will be days of blessing and healing. 30. And at that time the Lord will heal His servants, and they will rise up and see great peace and drive out His adversary, and the righteous will see and be thankful, and rejoice with joy for ever and ever, and will see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies.' Finally, when the righteous die their spirits will enter into a blessed immortality (23^{31}). 'And their bones will rest in the earth and their spirits will have much joy, and they will know that it is the Lord who executes judgments, and shows mercy to hundreds and thousands of all that love Him.'

Observe that (1) apparently there is no resurrection of the dead, and that the soul enters at death on its final destiny. (2) Sheol has thus become hell (24^{31}). 'For though he ascend unto heaven, thence will he be brought down; and whithersoever he flee on earth, thence will he be dragged forth; and though he hide himself amongst the nations, even from thence will he be rooted out; and though he descend into Sheol, there also shall his condemnation be great, and there also he will have no peace.'

Assumption of Moses (A.D. 7–29).—This book is closely allied to that of Jubilees in many respects. Thus the preparation for the advent of the Theocratic or Messianic kingdom will be a period of repentance (1^{18}). 1750 years after the death of Moses, God will intervene on behalf of Israel (10^{12}), and the ten tribes will be brought back from the captivity.* During this kingdom Israel will destroy her natural enemies (10^{8}), and finally be exalted to heaven (10^{9}), whence she shall see her enemies in Gehenna (10^{10}).

Observe that (1) there is no Messiah. Indeed the author in 10 appears to be really inimical to this expectation: 'The eternal God alone . . . will punish the Gentiles.' (2) There appears to be no resurrection of the body, but of the spirit only after the final judgment, similarly as in Eth. En. 91–104, Pss of Solomon, and Jubilees. (3) Gehenna, which originally was the specific place of punishment for apostate Jews, has now become the final abode of the wicked generally.

* See Charles' *Assumption of Moses*, pp. 59, 60.

Philo (B.C. 25–A.D. 50).—We shall touch only on the main points of Philonic eschatology. Philo looked forward to the return of the tribes from captivity, to the establishment of a Messianic kingdom of temporal prosperity, and even to a Messiah. The *loci classici* on this subject are *De Execrat.* § 8–9, and *De Præm. et Pœn.* § 15–20. The inclusion of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom in Philo's eschatology, though really foreign to his system, is strong evidence as to the prevalence of these expectations even in Hellenistic Judaism. Apparently, he did not look forward to a general and final judgment. All entered after death into their final abode. The punishment of the wicked was for everlasting (*De Cherub.* § 1); even wicked Jews were committed to Tartarus (*De Execrat.* § 6). As matter was incurably evil, there could of course be no resurrection of the body. Our present life in the body is death (*De Leg. Alleg.* § 1).

*Slavonic Enoch** (A.D. 1–50).—As the earth was created in six days, its history, according to this book, will be accomplished in 6000 years; and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6000 years of the world's history will be followed by a rest of 1000 years—the millennium or Messianic kingdom. Then time will pass into eternity (32^2–33^2). In this Messianic kingdom there is no Messiah. At the close of this kingdom the final judgment is held, variously called 'the day of judgment' (39^1 51^3), 'the great day of the Lord' (18^6), 'the great judgment' (52^{15} 58^5 65^6 66^7), 'the day of the great judgment' (50^4), 'the eternal judgment' (7^1), 'the great judgment for ever' (60^4), 'the terrible judgment' (48^8), 'the immeasurable judgment' (40^{12}). But prior to the final judgment the souls of the departed are in intermediate places. Thus the rebellious angels are confined to the second heaven, awaiting in torment the eternal judgment (7^{1-3}). The fallen lustful angels are kept in durance under the earth (18^7). Satan, being hurled down from heaven, has the air as his habitation ($29^{4.5}$). There is no definite account of the intermediate place for men's souls. The writer declares, however, that places have been prepared for every human soul (49^2 58^5). From the latter context these appear to constitute the intermediate place for human souls. In 32^1 Adam is sent back to this receptacle of souls on his death, and is transferred from it to paradise in the third heaven after the great judgment (42^5). Even the souls of beasts are preserved till the final judgment, in order to testify against the ill-usage of man ($58^{5.6}$). On the conclusion of the final judgment the righteous enter paradise as their eternal inheritance and final abode (8. 9. $42^{3.5}$ 61^3 65^{10}). The wicked are cast into hell in the third heaven, where their torment will be for everlasting (10. 40^{12} 41^2 42^{1-2} 61^3). There is apparently no resurrection of the body—the righteous are clothed with the garments of God's glory (22^8, cf. Eth. En. 62^{16} 108^{12}). The seventh heaven is the final abode of Enoch (55^2 67^2), but this is an exceptional privilege.

Observe that (1) we have here the first mention of the millennium. (2) There is no resurrection of the body; but at the final judgment the souls of the righteous, which have in the interval been in the intermediate place, are now clothed with God's glory and admitted to paradise.

Book of Wisdom.—In this Alexandrian work there is no Messiah, but there is an expectation of the Messianic or Theocratic kingdom, where the righteous will judge the nations and have dominion ($3^{7.8}$). There will be no resurrection of the body; for the soul is the proper self: the body is a mere burden taken up by the pre-existent soul, but in due season laid down again. Accordingly, there is only an immortality of the soul. The immortality of the righteous soul and its future blessedness are set forth in terms remarkable at once for their beauty and vigour (3^{1-4} $4^{2.7.10}$ 15^3). As for the wicked, they will be punished with death ($1^{12.16}$ 2^{24}); they will be bereft of hope ($3^{11.18}$ 5^{14}): the time for repentance is past (5^3); they will be utterly destroyed (4^{19}), yet not annihilated; for they will be subject to pain (4^{19}); and be aware of the blessedness of the righteous ($5^{1.2}$).

Observe that the righteous in Israel are to judge the nations. This seems to be a later development of the judgment by the sword frequently mentioned in previous literature (cf. Dn 2^{44}; Eth. En. 91^{12} etc.). Thus the judgment of the saints has become a *forensic* one, as that of the Messiah (cf. 1 Co 6^2).

4 *Maccabees.* — This book is a philosophical treatise on the supremacy of the reason. The writer adopts, so far as possible, the tenets of Stoicism. He teaches the eternal existence of all souls, good and bad, but no resurrection of the body: the good will enjoy eternal blessedness in heaven (9^2 12^{12} 13^{17} 15^3 17^5); but the wicked will be tormented in fire for ever (9^9 10^{15}).

*Apocalypse of Baruch** (A.D. 50–80).—Of this composite work the six or more independent constituents may be ranged in three classes when treated from the standpoint of their eschatology. Thus the Messiah Apocalypses A^1 A^2 A^3, *i.e.* 27–30^1 36–40 53–74, form the first class. i. This differs from the remaining part of the book in being written prior to A.D. 70 and in teaching the doctrine of a personal Messiah. The rôle of the Messiah in A^1 is entirely a passive one, whereas in A^2 and A^3 he is a warrior who slays the enemies of Israel with his own hand. In all three Apocalypses the Messiah-Kingdom is of temporary duration. In A^2 'his principate will stand for ever until the world of corruption is at an end' (40^3); in A^3 his reign is described as 'the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is incorruptible' (74^2). In A^2 and A^3 the kingdom is inaugurated with the judgment of the sword (39^7–40^2 72^{2-6}). The Gentiles that had ruled or oppressed Israel should be destroyed, but those that had not done so should be spared, in order to be subject to Israel (72^{3-6}). The final judgment and the resurrection follow on the close of these kingdoms. Of the two remaining classes, the second consists of B^1, and the third of B^2 and B^3, written after A.D. 70.

ii. In B^1, *i.e.* 1–9^1 43–44^7 45–46^6 77–82. 84. 86–87, the writer looks forward to the rebuilding of Jerusalem (6^9), the restoration of the exiles (77^6 78^7), the Messianic kingdom, but no Messiah (1^5 46^6 77^{12}). There is no consideration shown for the Gentiles (82^{2-7}).

iii. In B^2, *i.e.* 13–25. 30^2–35. 41–42. 44^{8-15} 47–52. 75–76. 83, the writer has relinquished all hope as to the present corruptible world, and fixes his regards wholly on the incorruptible world that is to be. The world will be renewed (32^6), and in this renewal, from being transitory and verging to its close (48^{50} 85^{10}), it will become undying (51^3) and everlasting (48^{50}); from being a world of corruption (40^3 74^2 21^{19} etc.), it will become incorruptible and invisible (74^2 51^3). The teaching as to the resurrection proceeds on parallel lines. Thus in answer to the question, 'Wilt thou perchance change these things (*i.e.* man's material body) which have been in the world, as also the world?' (49^3), it is shown in 50 that the dead will be raised with their bodies, exactly in the same form in which they had been committed to the earth, with a view to their recognition by those who knew them. When this

* For further details see Morfill and Charles' *editio princeps* of this book; also the art. ENOCH (Bk. of Secrets of).

* For a fuller treatment of the questions touched upon here see Charles' *Apocalypse of Baruch.*

recognition is completed, the bodies of the righteous will be transformed, with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration and glory (51[1. 3. 7-9]); and they will be made like unto the angels and equal to the stars, and changed from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory (51[10]). They will surpass the angels in excellency (51[12]). In B^3, *i.e.* 85, there is the same despair of a national restoration as in B^2, and only spiritual blessedness is looked for in the world of incorruption (85[4. 5]).

Observe that (1) in B^2 Sheol is the intermediate abode of the souls of the departed prior to the final judgment (23^5 48^{16} 52^2, cf. 56^6). This intermediate place is one involving certain degrees of happiness or torment. For the wicked it is an abode of pain (30^5 36^{11}), but not to be compared with their torments after the final judgment. As for the righteous, these are preserved in certain 'chambers' or 'treasuries' which are in Sheol (4 Ezr 4^{41}), where they enjoy rest and peace and are guarded by angels (Eth. En. 100^5, 4 Ezr 7^{95}). From these they issue forth at the final judgment, to receive their everlasting reward (30^2) (2) From the account of the resurrection in 49^3–51, it is clear that the Pauline teaching in 1 Co 15^{35-50} is in some respects a developed and more spiritual expression of ideas already current in Judaism.

Book of Baruch.—In this composite work there is little that demands our attention. 1–3^8 is undoubtedly derived from a Hebrew original, and possibly part of 3^9–5. It is composed of at least three independent writings. As to their dates, nothing satisfactory has been yet arrived at. It is noteworthy that in 2^{17} Hades still possesses its OT connotation. The restoration of Jerusalem is looked for (4^{19-35}) and the return of the exiles (4^{36}–5).

4 *Ezra.*—We shall adopt provisionally some of the critical results attained by Kabisch on this book. Of the five independent writings which he discovers in it, two were written prior to A.D. 70, and three subsequently. The two former he designates respectively as an Ezra Apocalypse and a Son-of-Man Vision. (*a*) The Ezra Apocalypse consists of chapters 4^{52}–5^{13a} $6^{13-25. 28}$ 7^{26-44} 8^{63}–9^{12}, and is largely eschatological. The signs of the last times are recounted at great length (5[1-12] 6^{18} $9^{1-3. 6}$), the destruction of Rome (5^3), and the advent of the Messiah, the Son of God (5^6 7^{26}). Certain saints will accompany the Messiah (7^{28}), and all the faithful who have survived the troubles that preceded the kingdom will rejoice together with the Messiah for 400 years.* Then the Messiah and all men will die (7^{29}), and in the course of seven days the world will return into its primeval silence, even as in seven days it was created (7^{30}). Then the next world will awake and the corruptible will perish (7^{31}), and all mankind will be raised from the dead (7^{32}) and appear at the last judgment (7^{33}). Then Paradise (=final abode of the righteous) and Gehenna will be revealed. And the judgment will last seven years (7^{43}).

Observe that besides the general resurrection in $7^{31. 32}$ there seems to be a preliminary resurrection of some special saints to the Messianic kingdom in 7^{28}, but this is doubtful.

(*b*) A Son-of-Man Vision.—This writing consists of chapter 13, and was probably composed before A.D. 70. Many signs will precede the advent of the Messiah (13^{32}), who will appear in the clouds of heaven ($13^{3. 32}$); and the nations will assemble from the four winds of heaven to attack him ($13^{5. 34}$), but the Messiah will destroy them, not with spear or weapon of war ($13^{9. 28}$), but 'by the law, which is like fire' ($13^{38. 49}$). And he will restore the ten tribes ($13^{40. 47}$), and preserve the residue of God's people that are in Palestine (13^{48}).

We shall now set forth the eschatological expectations which appear in the remaining three constituents of this work, which were composed between A.D. 70 and 100. (*c*) The Eagle Vision, *i.e.* 10^{60}–12^{35}. Here the destruction of Rome is predicted, through the agency of the Messiah sprung from the house of David (12^{32}), who will judge its people and destroy them (12^{33}). He will save the residue of God's people in Palestine, and he will fill them with joy to the end, even the day of judgment (12^{34}). (*d*) An Ezra fragment, *i.e.* 14[1-17a. 18-27. 36-47]. Ezra is to be translated and live with the Messiah till the times are ended (14^9). These times are twelve. Of these, ten and a half have already elapsed (14^{11}). There seems to be no Messianic kingdom.

(*e*) The Apocalypse of Salathiel, *i.e.* 3^{1-31} 4^{1-51} 5^{13b}–6^{10} 6^{30}–7^{25} 7^{45}–8^{62} 9^{13}–10^{57} 12^{40-48} 14^{28-35}. The world is nearly at an end (4^{44-50}). As it was created, so it will be judged by God alone (5^{56} 6^6). Very few will be saved (7^{47-61} $8^{2. 3}$). Judgment and all things relating to it were prepared before the creation of the world and of man (7^{70}). The day of judgment will arrive when the number of the righteous is completed (4^{36}); for the sins of earth will not retard it (4^{39-42}). In the meantime retribution sets in immediately after death ($7^{69. 75. 80. 86. 95}$ 14^{35}). On dying, the souls of the righteous will be allowed seven days to see what will befall them ($7^{100. 101}$); they will be guarded by angels in the 'chambers' ($7^{75. 85. 95. 121}$). They will have the joy of rest in seven ways (7^{91-98}). These chambers form their intermediate abode: after the final judgment glory and transfiguration await them ($7^{95. 97}$). But the souls of the wicked will not enter into the 'chambers,' but roam to and fro in torment in seven ways ($7^{80-87. 93}$). After the final judgment they will be tormented more grievously still (7^{84}). Intercession, though permissible now ($7^{106-112}$), will not be allowed on the day of judgment ($7^{102-105}$). All things will then be finally determined ($7^{113-115}$). With the final judgment this world closes and the next begins (7^{113}): it will be a new creation (7^{75}). With its establishment the righteous enter on their final reward. They shall be bright as stars (7^{97}); and, beyond them (7^{125}), they shall shine as the sun and be immortal (7^{97}). Paradise will be their final abode (7^{123}).

Josephus (A.D. 37–101). — Josephus' interpretation of Messianic prophecy as pointing to Vespasian (*BJ* VI. v. 4) must be set down to the exigencies of his position with regard to the Romans. For it is clear from *Ant.* IV. vi. 5 that he looked forward to a Messianic era. As the troubles predicted by Daniel had befallen Israel, so likewise would the prosperity (*Ant.* X. xi. 7). Apparently, he believed in an intermediate state for the righteous. Thus in *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3 it is said that 'souls have an immortal vigour, and that under the earth (ὑπὸ χθονός, cf. *BJ* II. viii. 14 κατ' ᾅδου) there will be rewards and punishments, accordingly as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former will have power to revive and live again.' Here the wicked enter at once into everlasting punishment. Sheol is here hell. But the righteous rise from the intermediate place of happiness and enter into other bodies, probably spiritual bodies (*BJ* II. viii. 14). Such was the Pharisaic doctrine according to Josephus. The Essenes believed that a blessed immortality awaited the souls of the righteous (*BJ* II. viii. 11), but that those of the wicked were destined to a dark, cold region, full of undying torment.

* This number has originated as follows. According to Gn 15^{13} Israel was to be oppressed 400 years in Egypt. Now in Ps 90 the writer prays: 'Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil.' From the combination of these two passages it was inferred that the Messianic kingdom would last 400 years, as a set-off against the period of oppression in Egypt.

The above account of Pharisaic belief which we derive from Josephus may be regarded as fairly trustworthy; but that which he gives in *BJ* III. viii. 5 is misleading in a high degree. There he describes the soul as a 'particle of Divinity' (*θεοῦ μοῖρα*) which has taken up its abode in a mortal body. After death the souls of the righteous 'receive as their lot the most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolution of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies.' For the souls of suicides the darkest place in Hades is reserved.

IV. Systematic Exposition of Jewish Eschatology (B.C. 200–A.D. 100).—In the preceding section we have given a survey of eschatological ideas in the order of their historical attestation, and consequently, in large measure, of their actual evolution. By presenting the eschatological scheme of each writer by itself in that section, we have made it possible for the reader to see the various conceptions, such as Sheol, Gehenna, Messiah, Resurrection, in their actual organic relations and historical environment. In this section, however, we shall isolate several of these conceptions, and deal briefly with the various forms they assumed from B.C. 200 to A.D. 100 in Jewish circles. These conceptions are: the Last Woes, the Messiah, the Messianic Kingdom, the Return of the Dispersion, the Resurrection, Judgment, Sheol or Hades, Gehenna, Paradise, Heaven.

The Last Woes.—It will be sufficient for our present purpose to mention the passages where these woes preluding the Messianic kingdom are recounted. These are: Dn 12^{1}, *Or. Sibyll.* $3^{796-804}$, 2 Mac $5^{2.\ 3}$, *Jubilees* $23^{13.\ 19.\ 22}$, Apoc. Bar 27. 48^{31-41} 70^{2-8}, 4 Ezr 5^{1-13} 6^{18-28} 9^{1-12} 13^{29-31}. For further information the reader should consult Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah, in loc.*; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 154–156; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* ii. 509 sqq. 550 sqq.

The Messiah.—As this subject will be treated under the general art. Messiah, we shall sketch here only its leading phases.

i. The Messiah—conceived merely as a passive though supreme member of the Messianic kingdom. He is so represented in Eth. En. 83–90, where his appearance is largely otiose, and due probably to literary reminiscence. He rules over a transfigured Israel, with the Heavenly Jerusalem set up as the centre of his kingdom, and his reign is apparently for ever. In the 1st cent. of the Christian era this conception reappears twice in Apoc. Bar 27–30^{1} where his rule is of temporary duration, and in 4 Ezr 7^{28} (*i.e.* in the Ezra Apoc. See p. 747[a]), where he dies after a reign of 400 years. In the second and third cases the Messiah appears after the Messianic woes and judgment; in the third, simultaneously with the first resurrection.

ii. The Messiah—conceived as an active warrior, who slays his enemies with his own hand. This conception is attested in the *Or. Sibyll.* $3^{652-660}$, which belongs to the 2nd cent. B.C.; in the Pss. of Sol $17^{23.\ 26}$, where the Messiah is to be of Davidic descent—but this book belongs properly to the next division; in Apoc. Bar 36–40; also in another independent writing in the same book, 53–74; 4 Ezr 10^{60}–12^{35}. In the last the Messiah is of Davidic origin. In all these books save the first (?) the Messianic kingdom is of temporary duration.

iii. The Messiah—conceived more loftily as one who slays his enemies by the word of his mouth, and rules by virtue of his justice, faith, and holiness (cf. Ps.-Sol $17^{27.\ 31.\ 37.\ 39.\ 41}$). A similar conception is found in 4 Ezr 13. In both writings his reign is probably of temporary duration.

iv. The Messiah—conceived as supernatural, as eternal Ruler and Judge of mankind (Eth. En. 37–70). This conception of the Messiah is logically in some measure a development of that in the third division, and yet it is chronologically antecedent to it. It is the most sublime conception of the Messiah to be found in all Jewish literature outside the Canon. For further details see above, p. 744[a].

The Messianic Kingdom.—Three views in the main prevailed amongst the Jews as to this kingdom. i. It was to be of eternal duration. ii. It was to be of temporary duration. iii. There was to be no Messianic kingdom.

i. The Messianic kingdom was to be of eternal duration.

(*a*) On earth as it is (Eth. En. 1–36, Dn, *Or. Sibyll.* $3^{766-783}$ (?)).

(*b*) On a transformed earth and in heaven (Eth. En. 37–70). As the Messianic kingdom is here eternal, it is preceded in Palestinian literature by the resurrection and the final judgment.

ii. The Messianic kingdom was to be of temporary duration on earth (Eth. En. 91–104, Ps.-Sol 17. 18, 2 Mac, Jubilees, Slav. En., Assumption of Moses, Book of Wisdom, Apoc. Bar—parts A^{1} A^{2} A^{3} B^{1},—4 Ezr—all parts but Salathiel Apoc.).

When the Messianic kingdom is of temporary duration, there appears to be no transformation of the earth. The resurrection and final judgment take place at its close. The resurrection is all but universally a resurrection of the righteous only. Hence in many of these books the wicked are held to enter at once into their final abode. Thus Hades in these cases becomes Hell.

iii. No Messianic kingdom expected [4 Mac (?), Apoc. Bar (B^{2}), 4 Ezr, Salathiel Apoc.].

In these books man does not enter till after the last judgment on his final award. After death he meets with a foretaste of his final lot in Hades or Sheol.

The Return from the Dispersion.—The promise that God would turn again the captivity of Israel is frequently made in the OT; also in Sir 33^{11} (AV 36^{11}), To 13^{13}, Eth. En. $57^{1.\ 2}$ 90^{33}, *Or. Sibyll.* $2^{170-173}$, Bar 2^{27-35} $4^{36.\ 37}$ 5^{5-7}, Ps.-Sol 11, 2 Mac 2^{18}, Apoc. Bar 77^{6} 78^{7} (cf. $84^{2.\ 8.\ 10}$), 4 Ezr $13^{12.\ 39-47}$, Targ. Jon. on Jer 33^{13}, and *Shemoneh Esreh*: 'Lift up a banner to gather our dispersed, and assemble us from the four ends of the earth.' Yet Rabbi Akiba (*Sanh.* 10^{3}), in the 2nd cent. A.D., denied this return.

The Resurrection.—The resurrection is very variously conceived. The earliest attested view in the 2nd cent. B.C. is that of (*a*) the resurrection of *all* Israel (Dn 12^{1-3}). About the same period the doctrine of (*b*) the resurrection of the righteous only is taught in Eth. En. 83–90. Towards the close of the same century another writer looks forward, not to a resurrection of the body, but to (*c*) a blessed immortality of the soul or spirit after the final judgment (Eth. En. 91–104). These views hold the field throughout the next century, and it is not till the 1st cent. of the Christian era that they are in some measure displaced by others. These latter, which are developments of the former, are: (*d*) a blessed immortality for the souls of the righteous after death. This is one side of the larger doctrine of an immediate and final retribution after death affecting only the soul or spirit; (*e*) a general resurrection of all mankind preceding the final judgment.

(*a*) The resurrection of all Israel [Eth. En. 1–36 (see 22), Dn 12^{1-3}, Eth. En. 37–70 (see 51, etc.), 2 Mac $7^{7.\ 11.\ 14.}$ etc. $12^{43.\ 44}$, Apoc. Bar (B^{2}) (see 24. 30^{2-5} 50. 51)].

In 2 Mac 12^{42-45} the possibility of a moral change taking place in Sheol seems to be implied.

(*b*) The resurrection of the righteous only [Eth. En. 83–90 (see 90^{33})].

In this book the righteous have no concern in the last judgment, and do not rise till it is over.

(*c*) A blessed immortality for the souls of the righteous after the final judgment [Eth. En. 91–104 (see $103^{3.4}$ 91^{10} 92^{3} $104^{2.4}$), Assumption of Moses (see 10^{9}), Slav. En. (?), Eth. En. 108 (?)].

(*d*) A blessed immortality for the souls of the righteous immediately after death [Jubilees (see 23), Philo, Book of Wisdom (see 3^{1-4} $4^{2.7.10}$ etc.), 4 Mac (see 5^{37} 9^{8} 13^{17} etc.)], Essene doctrine according to Josephus, *BJ* II. viii. 11.

Observe the expression in 4 Mac 13^{17} *θανόντας ἡμᾶς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ὑποδέξονται* (cf. Lk 16^{22}).

(*e*) Resurrection of all mankind [Apoc. Bar 30^{2-5} 50–51, 4 Ezr (Ezra Apoc. See $7^{32.37}$), Test. XII. Patr., Benj. 10].

Judgment.—Judgment is variously conceived, either as retribution which takes effect from day to day, or at great crises in national history, or as retribution which is universal and final. The last may take place either at the beginning or the close of the Messianic kingdom. In Apocalyptic literature little attention is paid to the first division. A most emphatic presentation of the doctrine of retribution in this life pervades 2 Mac and Jubilees. We shall here, however, confine our attention to judgment as connected with the consummation of the world. Now, in the last times there were generally two stages in this judgment. The former was executed by human agents,—the saints of Israel or these led by the Messiah,—and may be designated as the judgment by the sword, or, better, the Messianic judgment; the latter was administered by God or, in one instance only, by the Messiah, and constitutes in reality the final judgment.

(*a*) *The Messianic Judgment.* — This judgment (i.) may be realistically conceived as involving the destruction of the wicked by the *personal prowess* of the Messiah or the saints; or (ii.) it may be *forensically* conceived: the word of the Messiah or of the saints judges or destroys the wicked. The latter form of judgment is obviously a development of the former, but the two are not always kept apart.

i. The Messianic judgment realistically conceived:

(*α*) Executed by the Messiah [Ps.-Sol 17. 18 (?), Apoc. Bar 39. 40. 72. 73, 4 Ezr 12^{32-34}].

(*β*) Executed by the saints (Dn 2^{44}, Eth. En. 90^{19} 91^{12} 96^{1} 98^{12}, Or. Sibyll. 3^{781}, Jubilees, Assumption of Moses 10^{9}).

ii. The Messianic judgment forensically conceived:

(*α*) Executed by the Messiah (Ps.-Sol 17. 18, 4 Ezr $13^{28.32-50}$).

(*β*) Executed by the saints (Book of Wisdom 3^{8}, cf. 1 Co 6^{2}).

(*b*) *The Final Judgment.*—This judgment is always administered by God save in Eth. En. 37–70, where it is committed to the Messiah, the Son of Man. This judgment takes place either at the beginning of the Messianic kingdom or, where this kingdom is of temporary duration, at its close; or, where no such kingdom is expected, simply at the end of this world (see section above on *The Messianic Kingdom*, p. 748[b]).

As to Sheol, Gehenna, Paradise, Heaven, see the separate articles.

LITERATURE.—The Jewish eschatology of our period has been greatly neglected in the past. This has been due partly to the ignorance of Christian scholars, and partly to the deliberate ignoring by Jewish scholars of the chief sources of information on this subject, *i.e.* the Apocalyptic books. To Lücke, Hilgenfeld, and Drummond belongs, in large measure, the merit of emphasizing the importance of this literature. Drummond's work, *The Jewish Messiah*, is a splendid contribution to our knowledge of Jewish thought, though much of it is no longer abreast of our knowledge of this subject. Schwally's *Das Leben nach dem Tode* is very stimulating on this period, though frequently misleading. The reader may consult also Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, and Stanton's *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, where they deal with our subject.

Abundant information, and copious, though undiscriminating, references to authorities will be found in Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 126–187. Marti also (*Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion*, pp. 270–310) is well worth consulting.

The present writer hopes to edit, towards the close of next year (1898), a critical work on Jewish Eschatology from the earliest OT times down to A.D. 100. R. H. CHARLES.

ESCHATOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The eschatology of the NT attaches itself in the first instance to that of the OT. The Heb. Scriptures do not contain anything like a definite or complete doctrine of the things of the end. They are the records, however, of an important contribution to the faith in a future life, and that contribution was an ever-enlarging one. It had its reason in the two fundamental articles of Israel's faith—the doctrine of one *God*: a living, personal, righteous, gracious God, who made Himself known to His people and entered into fellowship with them; and the doctrine of *Man* as a creature different in origin and in end from other creatures, the bearer of God's image, made for communion with God, and for life in that communion. These great truths, unfolding their meaning more and more, and acting on the popular conceptions of Death and the Hereafter which Israel had in common with the Babylonians and other nations, led by steps of gradual advance to a clearer, more determinate, and more moral conception of existence beyond the grave. The experiences and intuitions of saints, the visions and forecasts and inferences of faith, seen in the poetical books, combined with thoughts and words of sublime suggestion occasionally found in the historical books, and with the more definite teaching of the prophets, to further this enlargement of belief and the march towards a definite doctrine. So the popular ideas of a dark Sheol with a chill attenuated existence in its sunless deeps gave way to higher views; the thought of the lot of the individual disentangled itself from that of the destiny of the community; the belief in a moral order with judicial awards following men into the other world took shape and became increasingly distinct; and at last the faith and the teaching of the OT rose to the great hope of a resurrection to life. This eschatology of the OT, which grew from less to more in the course of Israel's history, remained nevertheless incomplete at its highest, and pointed to something beyond itself. The eschatology of the NT became its heir, passing beyond its limits and carrying its principles to their issues.

But the eschatology of the NT attaches itself also, though in another way, to the popular faith of the Jews of its time, and to certain developments of thought and belief which had taken place in the period following that which produced the last of the OT books. These developments were considerable. We gather what they were from the literature of Judaism which has descended to us, the Apocr. of the OT, to some extent the Rabbinical books, and most particularly the pseudepigraphic and apocalyptic writings. This literature furnishes the key to much in the NT doctrine of the Last Things. It shows in what way the OT faith was retained and enlarged in harmony with its essential principles; in what way also it was materialized and subjected to changes which were not consistent with its true spirit; in what directions belief became more positive; and in what respects it became fanciful, speculative, grotesque; how certain OT terms and ideas were modified in sense and application, and in what measure new terms and ideas were intro-

duced. The eschatology of the NT bears the impress of these things. It cannot be understood apart from them. From much that emerged in this intervening period it stands aloof. Other things in this development, which were consistent with the principles of the OT revelation, are reflected in it, purified of the gross, exaggerated, and unspiritual elements which mixed themselves with them.

The eschatology of the NT is not given in systematic form, neither is it expressed in the precise and measured language of metaphysics or theology. It appears in the shape of a number of ideas which are common to the NT books, but which are presented in different aspects and connexions by the several writers. It is given in occasional form, in Christ's words, the discourses in the Bk. of Acts, the records of evangelists, the Epistles of apostles, on the promptings of circumstances which from time to time called forth declarations in speech or in writing on the matters of the end. It is not given in the terms of the schools nor with a view to speculative interests, but always for the purposes of life and practice, and in the language of the people. It makes free use of the figurative, parabolic, imaginative phraseology in which the Eastern mind naturally expresses itself. It never claims to give an exhaustive disclosure or a constructive account of the Last Things. The message of the NT also being distinctively a message of hope, the eschatology is occupied mainly with the issues of the kingdom of God and the destiny of the righteous. It says less of the graver issues of the future of the unrighteous.

The eschatology of the NT being conveyed in this occasional and discontinuous form, we may best understand it by following out the great ideas as they appear first in one and then in another of the main groups of writings. The fundamental question is that of Christ's own mind on the subject. It will be convenient, therefore, to deal with the eschatology *first* as it appears in Christ's own words reported in the Gospels, and *then* as it is found in the teaching of the several divisions of the NT writings. It will thus be seen whether or how far the NT has a consistent doctrine of the Last Things.

I. Christ's Eschatology.—There are questions of criticism to which regard must be had in studying the eschatology of the NT. In the case of our Lord's teaching there is the debated question of what is primitive and what is secondary in the records of His words, with the various tests proposed for distinguishing between the one and the other. It is impossible to enter at length into these things here. It is enough to say that the substance of Christ's teaching will be found to be the same whichever of the leading theories of the construction of the Gospels is followed. Its main points belong to the large stream of narrative and discourse which is common to the first three Gospels, and in which the most primitive tradition is probably preserved. There is also the question of the relation in which the report of Christ's words given in the Fourth Gospel stands to that contained in the Synoptists. Of this it must suffice to say that the difference in the form is a reason for taking the two accounts separately; from which, however, it does not follow that there is an essential difference between them.

In the Synoptic Gospels the eschatology centres in the great idea of the Kingdom of God (which see). Christ's whole disclosure of the Future has its point of issue in this doctrine of the Divine kingdom and its consummation. In this His teaching connects itself with the large ideas of the OT, carrying them further and fulfilling them. As the OT, too, in its conceptions of the future knew nothing of the philosophy of the subject and furnished no reasoned statement, but followed the logic of experience and the heart, giving no dogma of immortality, but the expression of a living fellowship with God which involved the continuance of life; so Christ's teaching lies apart from all theoretic questions, all speculative discussions, all that is of curious interest, and deals with practical relations and broad moral issues. It offers no proof of the reality of a future existence, but presupposes it, and speaks of life as man's destiny. It unfolds the course of the Divine kingdom which had been the object of OT faith and the centre of OT hope. It presents that kingdom as a thing of the actual present, brought to men in and by the Teacher Himself, but also as a thing of the future which looks through all historical fulfilments to a completer realization,—a thing, too, of gradual, unobtrusive growth, yet destined to be finally established by a great conclusive event. Christ's whole teaching on the subject of the Last Things, as regards the Church, the world, and the individual, is connected with this lofty OT idea of a new order in which God shall be confessed to be Sovereign, and has regard to it in its primary deliverances.

Among these deliverances a large place is given to the promise of His own *Return*. In the OT the consummation of the Divine kingdom was to be brought about by a descent of God to earth, and in certain prophecies it was further connected with the coming of an ideal King, the agent of J" in the fulfilment of His purpose. So Christ connects the completion of the kingdom with a decisive occurrence, the great event of His own Parousia (Mt $24^{3.\ 37.\ 39}$). The time of this new interposition is not declared, it is not known even to the Son (Mt 24^{36} RV, Mk 13^{32} RV). But it is to come when the times are ripe for it, and there are prelusive tokens of it. This event of His coming is the burden of the great eschatological discourse in Mt 24. 25, in which there are problems both for criticism and for interpretation. In that discourse two distinct occurrences, the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world, seem to be spoken of as coincident and as near. This is in accordance with the nature of biblical prophecy as it is seen in the OT, which brings together in prophetic perspective or 'timeless sequence' events which were widely separated in actual occurrence (Is 8. 9, Zeph, Ob). It does not require for its explanation the affirmation of mistake on Christ's part (Strauss, Renan, Keim, Weizsäcker, S. Davidson, etc.), the supposition of misunderstanding or misreporting on the part of the evangelists (Baur, Colani, De Wette, Holtzmann, etc.), the limitation of the whole declaration to the single catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem and the Jewish state (J. S. Russell, etc.), the theory of a double coming, or the hypothesis either of a Jewish (Weizsäcker) or of a Jewish-Christian (Colani, Keim, Pfleiderer, Wendt, Weiffenbach, Vischer, etc.) apocalypse in the discourse. Nor is this form of statement confined to this particular section of the Synoptic Gospels. Sayings of similar import are given elsewhere (Mk 13^{30}, Lk 21^{32}, Mt 10^{23} $16^{27.\ 28}$; cf. also Mk 8^{38} 9^{1}, Lk $9^{26.\ 27}$). In these Gospels, too, the Return appears to be an objective event, the expression given to it being such as goes beyond any figurative description simply of the final victory of principles or the supersession of old forms of religion. In the Fourth Gospel the case is somewhat different. It is the coming of the Spirit that chiefly appears there, and that in such measure as to suggest to many that only a dynamical coming is in view (Neander, Godet, etc.). Yet a distinction is observed between the coming of the Spirit

and Christ's coming, and there are passages in which the idea seems to be the same as that of the Synoptic records (14^{3} 21^{22}, cf. 1 Jn 2^{28}). The first point, therefore, in Christ's teaching on the subject of the future is the announcement of the objective event of His own Return. But His declarations on this Parousia know nothing of the minute and fantastic inventions of Jewish theology, as seen in the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Sibylline Oracles, and similar products of Jewish thought, with their elaborate machinery of signs and portents and mystic numbers, their extravagant chronologies, their grotesque descriptions of the literal re-settlement of the Jews in their own land, their many eccentricities and ineptitudes. They know as little of those *Chiliastic* conceptions of the future, those curious calculations of the duration of Messiah's kingdom, those puerile ideas of the erection of a new Jerusalem on the ruins of the old, which took hold of the Jewish mind before Christian times, and, entering into Christian thought, gave shape to the doctrine of a millennial reign of Christ on earth which was to end in a great apostasy and to herald the consummation.

With this doctrine of the second advent is associated the doctrine of a *Final Judgment*. This judgment is presented as the object of the coming, and it occupies a place of like prominence in Christ's teaching. It is expressed in various of His sayings, but at greatest length in the eschatological discourse in the First Gospel. According to the consentient teaching of the Synoptic Gospels, it is a judgment at the end of the world, a judgment of individuals (Mt 22^{1-14} etc.), a judgment of universal scope (Mt $13^{36-42.\ 47-50}$ 16^{27} 25^{31} etc.), and a judgment in which Christ, the Son of Man, is Himself to be the Judge (Mt 25^{31} etc.). In the Fourth Gospel the judgment appears for the most part under another aspect. In that Gospel the emphasis is laid upon a judgment which is *present* and subjective, fulfilling itself in a probation of character and a self-verdict which proceed now ($3^{17.\ 18}$ $12^{47.\ 48}$). But this subjective judgment of the present in life and conscience is not inconsistent with an objective judgment of the future. And the latter is not strange to the Fourth Gospel. The Johannine phrase 'the last day' (12^{48}) points to it, and it is contained in such words as those in $5^{27.\ 28}$ (cf. 1 Jn 2^{28} 4^{17}, in which Johannine writing the judgment is connected, as in the Synoptists, with Christ's coming). The doctrine of a final judgment so declared by Christ stands in intimate relation to certain leading ideas of the OT, completing these and giving them certainty. The Heb. Scriptures, penetrated through and through by the idea of a Divine retribution, have a large doctrine of judgment, a judgment for Israel, more frequently a judgment for the nations or a world-judgment. But for the most part it is a world-judgment which has its scene in this world, a triumph of the kingdom of God in the form of an overthrow of its living adversaries on earth. And in this J" Himself is the Judge. In certain prophecies (Is 9. 11, Mic 5, Jer 23. 33. 34. 36, Ezk 34. 37, Zec 9–11) the triumph of the kingdom of God is connected with the advent of a great Davidic King, and Messiah appears as the agent of J". But in the OT the final arbitrament of men's lives is not committed to the Messiah or the ideal King, as in Christ's teaching it is given to the Son of Man. Further, while the foundations of the doctrine of a final universal and individual judgment are laid in the OT ideas of the righteousness of God, His covenant relations with Israel, and His sovereignty over the nations, the conception of a judgment after death does not take distinct and definite form till near the close of the OT. Even when the idea of an individual judgment at the end of things appears, the subjects of the judgment seem to be limited to those of Israel. Christ's doctrine has also its relations to the ideas of the non-canonical literature. In the representative books of Judaism the doctrine of a judgment bulks largely, and is taught with much novel and peculiar detail. It has also different forms. In certain books (*e.g.* the *Book of Enoch* $90^{18.\ 19}$, the *Assumption of Moses* 3. 4, etc.) the OT idea of a destruction of living enemies of J"s kingdom here on earth survives. In many cases, though not in all, the Messiah is the agent of God in this judgment; and the judgment is placed usually at the beginning of His reign, but sometimes (where a limited duration is ascribed to that reign) at its close. In other books, however, and especially in the *Book of Enoch*, this passes over into the idea of a final judgment, in the forensic sense, occurring after death, extending to all men and to angels as well. In these books, too, God is the Judge and Messiah His instrument. Only in the later section of the *Book of Enoch* does the Messiah appear in any certain and definite form as the Judge at the last day. Christ's doctrine of a universal, individual judgment at the end of things, in which judgment He Himself is Arbiter of human destinies, carried the OT conception to its proper issue, while it gave a new certainty, consistency, and spirituality to the developed ideas which had arisen in Judaism in the period following the last of the Jewish prophets.

In conjunction with these doctrines of the Parousia and the Judgment, the doctrine of a *Resurrection* has an essential place in Christ's eschatological teaching. The doctrine of a resurrection from the dead is implied in the doctrine of a final universal judgment at the end of things. It lies also in the great principles of OT. The Psalmists and the Prophets have their visions of a limitation of the power of death, a destruction of death, a deliverance from Sheol, a life superior to death; and, in the progress of the prophetic teaching, the faith in a resurrection of the dead rises gradually into distinctness. It appears first as a belief in the re-animation of the dead nation, and at last in Isaiah (26^{19}) and Daniel as a belief in the return of deceased individuals to life. In the final utterance of OT on the subject (Dn $12^{2.\ 3}$) this enlargement of the idea appears to have its occasion in the question regarding the fate of departed members of Israel—whether there is reward for the faithful among these, whether there is penalty for the unfaithful. But OT does not seem to go beyond the case of Israel. It tarries with the announcement that Israel's dead, true and false, shall come forth from the dust of earth to receive the awards of their truth or falsehood. In the period between this and the Christian era the belief passed through various fortunes. It did not become the universal faith of the Jewish people. In some of the non-canonical books the old idea of Sheol continues (Sir $17^{27.\ 28}$ 41^{4}, Bar 2^{17}). In some the hope appears to be that of an incorporeal immortality (Wis 2^{23} 3^{1-4} $4^{13.\ 14}$ 15^{3}, 4 Mac 14^{3} 16^{12} 18^{23}). But in others the belief in a resurrection is seen in more or less definite form (Enoch 91^{10} 92^{3}, Ps.-Sol 3^{16} 13^{9} etc., most distinctly and most frequently in 2 Mac, *e.g.* $7^{9.\ 14.\ 23}$; cf. also Sibyll. Oracles 1^{440} $2^{274.\ 275}$ $4^{228.\ 229}$, Apoc. Bar 30^{1-5} 50^{1} 51^{6}, 2 Es 7^{32}). Rejected by the Sadducees, it became the belief of the Pharisees and the majority of the Jewish people. It had become, too, a belief in the resurrection of the unjust as well as the just, although in certain cases the limited belief in a rising only of the righteous seems to have persisted (Ps.-Sol 3^{16} 14^{2} etc.). Opinion varied to some extent as to the object of the resurrection,

whether it was for judgment or for participation in the glories of Messiah's kingdom, and as to its time, whether it was to be immediately before Messiah's era or at its close (cf. on the one hand Enoch 51, on the other Apoc. Bar and 2 Es). The doctrine, then, which had its roots in the great principles of the OT touching *life*, the nature of man, and his relation to God; which in the OT had grown gradually in magnitude and in definiteness; which also in Judaism had undergone changes in part natural and consistent, in part forced and inharmonious, forms an integral part of Christ's eschatological teaching. It is given in discourses which belong to the triple tradition in the Synoptic records (Mt 22^{23-33}, Mk 12^{18-27}, Lk 20^{27-40}). It is implied in utterances reflecting current Jewish opinion (Mt 8^{11}, Lk $13^{28.29}$). It is presupposed where it is not affirmed in terms (*e.g.* in Mt 24. 25). It is stated in its essential relations to the great principles of the OT, and is relieved of the extravagances, the crudities, and the literalities with which it had become associated in Jewish speculation and Jewish popular thought. It is the doctrine of a real bodily resurrection, far removed from Hellenic or Essene ideas of a bare immortality of soul, affirming in harmony with the OT view of man's relation to God (Mt $22^{31.32}$, Mk $12^{26.27}$, Lk $20^{37.38}$) a continuance of life for man in his entire self. In this the Synoptic records and the Fourth Gospel agree. In the latter, it is true, the fact of the resurrection is presented mainly in its spiritual aspects and its immediate relations. Some of Christ's largest words on the subject go beyond the idea of the resurrection at the last day (11^{21-26}); and others, if they stood alone, might perhaps be taken as strong descriptions of a spiritual renovation only ($5^{25.26}$). But in the Johannine record there are also words too definite to admit of being limited to the expression of a purely spiritual resurrection ($5^{28.29}$). Christ's doctrine, further, is the doctrine of a *universal* resurrection. Certain passages in the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 22^{30}, Mk 13^{27}, Lk $20^{36.37}$, Mt 24^{31}, Lk 14^{14}), indeed, have been supposed to imply that Christ taught only a resurrection of the righteous. But there are others with a different implication (Mt $5^{29.30}$ 10^{28}). The 'resurrection of the just' (Lk 14^{14}) suggests its own antithesis. The Fourth Gospel, too, declares a 'resurrection unto condemnation' as well as a 'resurrection unto life,' and in speaking of the re-awakening of the dead uses terms too large for the limited view. This resurrection, which extends to just and unjust, is further referred to the last day. In Christ's own words there is no statement of a separation of the resurrection of the unrighteous from that of the righteous as if they were events belonging to different times.

In contrast with the fulness and explicitness of Christ's declarations on the Parousia, the Judgment, and the Resurrection, is the reserve of His teaching on the subject of the *Intermediate State*. This is the more remarkable in view of the position given to that topic in the theology and the popular thought of the Jews of the time. The OT idea of Sheol, originally that of an underworld forming the final abode of men, in course of time passed through changes which are indicated to some extent in the canonical books themselves, but which took larger effect at a later period, and are known to us from the non-canonical literature. These changes followed different directions, and various ideas of Sheol continued to prevail. In part the old conception survived, with some modification (*e.g.* Sir 17^{28-30} 41^{1-4}, Bar 2^{17}, To $3^{6.10}$ 13^{2}, 1 Mac 2^{69} 14^{30}); in part the term came to denote a place of relative retribution (Wis 3^{1-10} 5^{1-14} 6^{18-20} 17^{14}, 2 Mac $7^{9.11.14.29}$ 12^{43-45} etc.). Most particularly in the Apocalyptic books it is found to have assumed the sense of an intermediate state with relative rewards and penalties (Enoch 10^{12} 22. 100^{5} 103^{7}; cf. Jubilees 5^{243} 7^{248} 22^{21} $24^{27.36}$, 2 Es $7^{75.80}$, Apoc. Bar 52^{1-3}). Jewish thought seems thus to have occupied itself largely with the idea of the period between death and judgment, and with the conditions and the possibilities of an intermediate state. Of all this there is little or no recognition in Christ's words. He uses, it is true, the word **Hades**, the Greek equivalent to the Heb. Sheol, thrice. But in two of these cases the application is obviously metaphorical (Mt 11^{23} 16^{18}); and in the third (Lk 16^{23}) the term forms part of the imagery of a parable intended to teach the broad moral lesson of the penalty of a selfish life, the retribution that pursues it and changes its conditions in the other world. In the same parable He uses the term **Abraham's bosom** (Lk 16^{22}), but in a connexion that does not suggest a definite doctrinal intention. He also uses the term **Paradise**, a term with which various and uncertain ideas had been associated in Jewish thought. But He uses it only once (Lk 23^{43}), and in a large and general sense, as a word of hope and comfort; in which sense also He uses the word *sleep*,—not to inculcate the doctrine of an intermediate state as a space of unconsciousness, or as a place for the detention, the recompense, or the purification of souls. Some of His words appear to point rather to the hope of an immediate entrance of the just dead into the Father's house and the Father's glory (Jn $14^{2.3}$ 17^{24}). But in general His attitude to the question of the condition between death and judgment is one of reserve, and His words convey nothing approaching to a doctrine of the intermediate state.

It is otherwise with the question of what follows the resurrection and the judgment. The eschatology of NT as it is given by Christ Himself has a pronounced doctrine of the *Moral Issues* of life. It speaks largely and distinctly of final reward for the good, and final penalty for the evil. These are expressed by a great variety of suggestive terms. The recompense of the righteous is described as an inheritance, entrance into the kingdom, treasure in heaven, an existence like the angelic, a place prepared, the Father's house, the joy of the Lord, life, eternal life, and the like; and there is no intimation that the reward is capable of change, that the condition is a terminable one. The retribution of the wicked is described as death, outer darkness, weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, the undying worm, the quenchless fire, exclusion from the kingdom, eternal punishment, and the like. Different measures of reward and of penalty are intimated, according to different degrees of merit and demerit (Lk $12^{47.48}$). In Christ's own words there is no certain declaration of the terminableness of the penalty of the finally impenitent, no indication either of an intermediate purgatorial process or of an ultimate universal restoration. In the Synoptic Gospels, and in the groundwork of their narrative, the term *Gehenna*, *Hell*, is applied to the future condition of the lost (Mt $5^{22.29.30}$ 10^{28} 18^{9} $23^{15.33}$, Mk $9^{43.45.47}$, Lk 12^{5}). This term, though in the later Judaism it had at times the sense of an intermediate condition, whether as a temporary purgatory or as a place of punishment, appears to have been in the earlier Judaism and in our Lord's time a term for the retributive state after judgment (cf. *e.g.* Enoch $27^{2.3}$ 90^{24-26} etc., which are probably its first occurrences in this sense; cf. also 2 Es 6^{1-4} 7^{36}). The question whether Christ teaches the *permanence* of the penal condition resulting from the judgment is variously answered. Certain of His sayings are taken to point to a terminable penalty. These,

however, are few in number, and appear either to be irrelevant (*e.g.* Lk $12^{47.48}$, where the question is, not the *duration* of the judicial awards, but their adjustment to different degrees of wrong), or to suggest the opposite conclusion (*e.g.* Mt $5^{25.26}$, Lk $12^{58.59}$, where the idea seems to be that of a liability that cannot be discharged, and a justice that is inexorable; Mt $12^{31.32}$, Mk $3^{28.29}$, Lk 12^{10}, where the terms appear to be exclusive terms, expressing the irremediableness of the condition, the fact that there can be no forgiveness at any period for the sin in question). It is urged, too, but on grounds open to challenge, that the distinctive terms 'eternal' (*αἰώνιος*) and 'punishment' (*κόλασις*) may have in this connexion other than their usual and obvious applications. But, on the other hand, the finality of destiny appears to be expressed unmistakably and in many different forms—in the words with which at the close of the great eschatological discourse the moral issues of life are summed up (Mt 25^{46}), in such contrasts as that between the 'kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world' and 'the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels' (Mt 25^{41}); in the statements of the issues of God's kingdom and of man's life given in the parables (*e.g.* Mt $13^{24-30.37-43}$); in the figures of 'the unquenchable fire' (Mk 9^{43}), the 'worm' that 'dieth not' (Mk 9^{48}), the salting with fire (Mk 9^{49}), and the like; in the many other terms of solemn moment by which the final lot of the unworthy is described—banishment from Christ (Mt 7^{21-23}), rejection (Mt 10^{33}, Lk 9^{26}), the loss of the soul or the life (Mk 8^{36}), dying in one's sins (Jn $8^{21.24}$), perishing (Jn 3^{16}), being judged already (Jn 3^{18}), its being good never to have been born (Mt 26^{24}, Mk 14^{21}), etc. These sayings are to be understood in the light of the beliefs which prevailed among the Jews on the nature and the duration of the retribution of the wicked. These are by no means easy to determine, as they varied at different periods and in different schools. Yet the general condition of opinion in our Lord's time and in the immediately preceding period can be stated with approximate certainty. The Jewish books relevant to the question contain little to bear out any large belief in the final restoration of all. They often use terms—*death, perdition, destruction,* and the like, which might be taken to point to annihilation as the final lot of the wicked, if interpreted apart from the old popular ideas of Sheol (*e.g.* Ps.-Sol 3^{13} 9^{9} 12^{8} 13^{10} 15^{13}; cf. 2 Es 7^{30} 8^{52-62}, Apoc. Bar 30). But in many cases the language is definitely expressive of the finality of the retribution (*e.g.* Jth 16^{17}, 4 Mac $9^{8.9}$, Enoch $5^{5.6}$ 10^{11-14} 12^{3-6} 22^{4-11} $27^{2.3}$ etc.). The schools of Hillel and Shammai, too, seem both to have taught, though in different ways, the immediate sealing of certain classes of sinners to Gehenna, or their punishment there to 'ages of ages.' It would appear, therefore, that in Christ's time, with certain variations and exceptions, the belief was general in an enduring penalty in the other world for the absolutely evil—unrighteous Gentiles, guilty and apostate Jews. Christ's eschatology is one of grace. His doctrine is a revelation of life. But it throws into strong relief the responsibilities of the present existence, the certainty of the retribution of sin, the possibility of an eternal sin (Mk 3^{29}) with an eternal penalty.

II. The Apostolic Eschatology.—Under this title we include the eschatological ideas and truths delivered in the various groups of NT writings outside the evangelical records of Christ's own words. Taking each writer separately, we have to ascertain what contribution he makes to the eschatological system, in what relation it stands to Christ's doctrine, in what sense it is in harmony with that, in what degree it is supplementary. There are questions of literary criticism connected with not a few of the writings, questions both of genuineness and of integrity. Into these it is not necessary to enter here. In increasing measure these writings are being lifted above the uncertainties of criticism. It is enough for our present purpose to take them as representatives of different types of NT doctrine, earlier and later. Their ideas exhibit certain characteristic differences in form in the different groups. They bear the impress of the beliefs, opinions, and ways of speech that were current among the Jews of the time. They have obvious points of affinity with the ideas of the OT. They stand in a special relation, of dependence and agreement, to Christ's doctrine.

The *Epistle of James,* a notable product of primitive Jewish Christianity, says comparatively little on the things of the end. It speaks most definitely of the *Parousia,* of that as an event nigh at hand, and as having judgment associated with it (5^{8}). It speaks also of a *Kingdom* that is promised (2^{5}); of a *Judge* who 'standeth at the door' (5^{9}); of a judgment that will be according to character and responsibility (2^{13} 3^{1}); of recompenses for the tried and proved (1^{12}), and retributions for the oppressive rich ($5^{1.4.7}$); of a penalty which appears to be eternal (5^{20}).

In the *Epistle of Jude* Christ's Return is the great event of the future (v.[24]); the reward of the good is 'eternal life' (v.[21]); the truth of the final judgment (vv.[7.14]) is asserted; the doom of the evil is described as the 'blackness of darkness,' a doom 'reserved for ever' (v.[13]). A peculiar feature (appearing also in 2 *Peter*), in the eschatology of this Epistle, is the place given to the judgment of fallen angels—a subject on which the Jewish imagination ran riot (see especially the Book of Enoch 6–10. 21; cf. also Jubilees 5, Apoc. Bar 56^{10-13}). Here their doom is described, free from the extravagances which meet us in the Apocalyptic books, as that of being 'kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day' (RV v.[6]).

The writings bearing Peter's name, together with the discourses ascribed to that apostle in the Bk. of Acts, represent a distinct type of eschatological teaching, as of doctrinal statement generally. The *Second Epistle,* the genuineness of which has been so largely questioned, exhibits an affinity in many things with the Epistle of Jude. It has the same conception of the coming of Christ as the conclusive event of the future (1^{16} 2^{4}). It speaks in much the same terms of the judgment, and of the doom of evil men ($2^{1.3.6.9.17}$). It designates the recompense of the good as an 'eternal kingdom' (1^{11}), as Jude designates it 'eternal life.' It has the same exceptional doctrine of the punishment of fallen angels, applying the unusual term *Tartarus* to the intermediate place of their detention, and describing them as committed to 'pits of darkness in reserve unto judgment' (2^{4}). But it also makes its own peculiar contribution to the eschatology of the canonical writings in a remarkable paragraph, the most detailed of its kind in NT, on the end of the world (3^{3-13}). It teaches that Christ's Parousia is to bring the whole present system of things to its conclusion, and the world itself to its consummation. With the great event of His coming the existing order shall be dissolved; the present heavens and earth are to give place to 'fresh heavens and a fresh earth'; and a reconstructed world is to come forth as the abode of righteousness and the scene of the perfected kingdom of God. In this 2 P attaches itself to OT conceptions of a world-conflagration (Ps 50^{3} 97^{3}, Is $66^{15.16.24}$, Dn $7^{9.10}$), and a dissolution of the present system, effected by fire, in connexion with J^{m}'s judgment and the day of His recompense (Ps $102^{26.27}$, Job 14^{12}, Is 34^{4} 66^{22}).

First Peter, which is an epistle of hope, looks at all things in the light of the future. It has a large eschatology, the central point of which is Christ's 'Apocalypse,' His revelation or appearing (1^7 5^4). Its dominant notes are the 'last time,' the 'end of all things,' the judgment (1^5 $4^{7.17}$). In the judgment God Himself is Judge (1^{17}); Christ also appears to be Judge (4^5). The judgment is universal, alike of quick and of dead (4^5). It begins with the house of God now, and it has its fate reserved for the 'ungodly and the sinner' ($4^{17.18}$). The judgment of the unrighteous is referred to only incidentally. The reward of the good is declared in various terms, as an 'inheritance,' 'honour,' 'life,' a 'crown of glory,' etc. ($1^{4.7}$ 5^4). The question of greatest interest in the eschatology of this Epistle, however, is its relation to the 'larger hope.' This turns upon the interpretation given to the two famous passages touching the preaching to 'the spirits in prison' (3^{18-22}), and the preaching of the gospel to 'the dead' (4^6). In connexion with these the application which Peter makes of Ps 16 in his Pentecostal discourse (Ac 2^{31}) is also brought into view. The terms in which Peter speaks here of Christ, 'neither was he left in Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption,' have been taken to point to a visit of Christ to the under-world, and a consequent activity of His grace there. It is with Christ's *resurrection*, however, that Peter is specially concerned in that discourse, and the words do not go beyond the broad statement that Christ at His death passed into the world of the departed like other men, but passed thither only to rise again. The two passages in the Epistle itself are of a different nature, and rank among the chief *cruces interpretum* in NT. The former passage has been expounded in the interest of many different theories—those of the liberation of saints of OT times; Christ's penal endurance of God's wrath; the purgatorial detention and purification of souls; Christ's descent to Hades for the purpose of a judicial manifestation of Himself, for a fresh proclamation of the gospel there, for the provision of a continuous ministry of grace there, for the prolongation of opportunities of repentance and offers of forgiveness to the departed, and the like. The latter passage has also been very differently interpreted. On the basis of both, the eschatology of this Epistle has been understood by many to favour the 'larger hope,' and to suggest that this life is not in every case the theatre of human fates, if not to teach the doctrine of the existence of a ministry of grace in the world of the departed with untold possibilities of after-death repentance and salvation. For the details of the interpretation and for its history the commentaries must be consulted. It must be enough here to say that, while the view in question has been largely adopted, it has not commended itself to all scholars of authority. The exegesis of these passages has still many uncertainties, and waits yet for its key; while the passages themselves stand entirely alone in NT. (See especially Güder, *Die Lehre von der Erscheinung Christi unter den Todten*; König, *Die Lehre von Christi Höllenfahrt*; Dietelmaier, *Historia dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad Inferos litteraria*; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*; Usteri, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*; Schweitzer, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*; Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister*; Bruston, *La Descente du Christ aux Enfers.*) The further question has been raised whether Peter's eschatology does not contain the doctrine of a *Universal Restoration*. In his discourse to the people in Solomon's porch (Ac $3^{19.21}$) he is reported to have spoken of a *restoration* or *restitution of all things*. This has been sometimes supposed to intimate the final restoration of all men. But the words have their key in the passage of Malachi ($4^{5.6}$) to which they refer, and in Christ's application of that passage (Mt 17^{9-13}). So regarded, the *restoration* of which Peter speaks becomes either the moral renewal of Israel, as some explain it, or the renovation of the world, as others think. It is in any case a restoration, not of persons, but of *conditions*. Peter's eschatology, therefore, is in general concord with that which has so far been recognized in NT. The points in which it has been supposed to be different yet remain doubtful.

The writings associated with *John's* name have a distinct and peculiar character in their doctrine of the end as in all things else. There is a marked difference, too, between the Apocalypse and the Epistles. The former is an eschatological writing, following the order of the Jewish Apocalyptic. In the latter eschatological truths also appear, but in a subordinate place. The *Epistles of John*, with their ideal teaching, find the future in the present. As in the version of Christ's teaching which is given in the Fourth Gospel, their great conception is *life*, and that as opposed to *death* and *perdition*. As in the one, so, too, in the other, this *life* is in the first instance a present thing (1 Jn $5^{12.13}$). But it is also a thing of the future (1 Jn 2^{25}), and it is an *eternal* life, life after the divine order, life with the ethical quality of real, perfect life. But it is none the less a life that looks to a future—to a manifestation yet to be made of what the children of God *shall* be (1 Jn 3^2). In these Epistles the eschatological relations are not lost in the ideal. They speak of the 'last hour' (1 Jn 2^{18}); of an 'antichrist' that 'cometh' as well as of antichrists that already are (1 Jn $2^{18.19.22}$ 4^3, 2 Jn ^{7}); of a future 'full reward' (2 Jn ^{8}); of a vision of Christ and a conformity to Him which are not of the present (1 Jn $3^{2.3}$); of a manifestation of Christ yet to be made, of His expected *Parousia* (1 Jn 2^{28}). The use of the term *Parousia*, which elsewhere, and especially in the Pauline writings, has a very definite sense, indicates that, while to John Christ's Return was in one sense a spiritual advent, a present act of grace or judgment, it was in another sense an objective event of the future. While in John's writings, too, the *Resurrection* and the *Judgment* are for the most part spiritual processes and present conditions, they are also events of the future associated, as they are elsewhere, with the Parousia. That it is so with regard to the former is implied in what is said of the judgment and the manifestation of the children of God. That it is so with the judgment itself appears especially in 1 Jn 2^{18} 4^{17}.

In the *Apocalypse of St. John* we have a large and impressive eschatology, in which Christian truth appears in the garb of Jewish ideas and Jewish terms. This book is beyond all others the book of the future. That future is near, and it is filled with the figure of the returning Christ. Its whole doctrine of the end has its centre in the event of the Parousia, and that doctrine is conveyed in a form which bears the stamp both of the visions of OT prophets (especially Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel) and the symbolism of the Jewish Apocalyptic books. The Parousia appears occasionally as a spiritual advent taking effect in history (2^5 3^{20}), but usually as the objective return which belongs to the end of things. It is regarded as near (2^{17} 3^{11} $22^{12.20}$); it is to be an event of *glory*, and to have *judgment* for its object (1^7). The Judge is God Himself (20^{12}); but Christ also appears as Judge (1^{18} $6^{16.17}$ 22^{12}). Like the non-canonical books of the same class, it speaks much of the signs of the end, and of the prelusive events, but avoids the trivialities and the gross imaginings, the fanciful and long-drawn-out calculations, which are characteristic of the ordinary Jewish Apocalyptic (*e.g.* Enoch 10^{12} 91^{12-17} 93, Assump. Moses 10^{29}, Sibyll.

Or. 4[47], 2 Es 14[11. 12] etc.). At times it seems to combine different ideas which prevailed in Judaism of the things of the end. In one paragraph (20[1-10]), of difficult interpretation, it appears to follow a view of the final events which differs from the general doctrine of the NT, but is given in certain of the Jewish books—the idea of a millennial reign of Christ on earth, to be followed first by a final burst of Satanic power, and then by Christ's judicial advent. The paragraph, which will not fit a purely figurative interpretation, represents the Day of the Lord as consisting of two divisions, with a double resurrection and a double judgment —a first resurrection, which is only of the saints, and more particularly the martyred saints, and a second, which is for 'the rest of the dead'; a first judgment taking effect in the overthrow of Satan, and a second, which is in forensic form, and for all classes of the dead. The book is also understood to express two views of the lot of the righteous dead: one in which they are presented as having immediate entrance into heaven (13[6]), another in which they are presented as in the underworld, in consciousness and rest, waiting for their complete reward (6[9-11]). In the latter case, however, the martyrs alone are in view, and in both cases the language is that of the imagination. The Apocalypse, however, has a pronounced doctrine of the final awards. The reward of the righteous is conveyed in a varied imagery of the OT order—'hidden manna,' a 'new name,' the 'crown of life,' 'right to the tree of life,' the place of a 'pillar' in the temple, a reign with Christ, a position before the throne, entrance into the city, the vision of God's face, the heirship of all things (2[7. 10. 17] 3[12. 21] 7[15] 21[7] 22[4. 14]). The penalty of the unrighteous is described as 'great tribulation,' being 'without,' killing with death, burning with fire (2[22. 23] 18[8. 9] 22[15]); but above all by two terms, 'the second death' (2[11] 20[6. 14] 21[8]) and 'the lake of fire' (19[20] 20[10] 21[8]), which are peculiar to this book among the NT writings, but which occur in one form or other in the Rabbinical and Apocalyptic literature (*e.g.* Enoch 18[11] 21[7-10] 90[42]). In this book they appear to denote a lasting retribution. Further, the Apoc. expresses the doctrine of a perfected world as well as that of a perfected society. It has the vision of a new heaven and a new earth (21[1-6]) as well as that of a perfected city of God (21[1]–22[5]).

In the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, where we have a series of ideas and forms of expression in general affinity with the Pauline type of doctrine, and not less with the older apostolic type, eschatology is not the prominent subject. Even the 'rest' and 'the world to come' are not presented primarily as of the future. Yet the things of the end make a considerable element of the thought of the Epistle. The doctrines of 'resurrection of the dead' and 'eternal judgment' are dealt with as things that should be well understood (6[1f.]). The day of Christ's coming is in the writer's eye; it is a day that draws nigh, and with it the judgment is connected (9[28] 10[24. 25]). In the judgment it is God Himself, not the Son, that is Judge, and He is 'Judge of all' (12[23] 10[30. 31]). The Epistle also has a definite doctrine of *final awards*. The recompense of the righteous is the 'heaven' into which the Forerunner and High Priest has passed, an 'eternal inheritance,' an 'enduring substance,' a 'better country,' a 'city prepared,' a 'kingdom which cannot be moved' (4[4] 6[19. 20] 9[15] 10[34. 36] 11[16] 12[28]). The retribution of the unrighteous is 'judgment,' 'fierceness of fire,' 'perdition' (10[27. 39]).

In the *Pauline Epistles*, together with the discourses attributed to St. Paul in the Book of Acts, we find a remarkable eschatology, larger, more developed, and in some points, especially in the doctrine of the resurrection, having more of the aspect of reasoned statement. Even this eschatology, however, is not given in anything like orderly or systematic form, but incidentally as occasion arose from time to time in the discharge of St. Paul's ministry. Nor is it the fundamental doctrine of the Pauline writings. The questions of its precise nature and measure, its consistency, and its relations to what is found elsewhere in Scripture, have been made dependent on questions regarding the authenticity and integrity of the Epistles and the growth of St. Paul's ideas. In its main elements, however, it is unaffected by these questions. Its essential points would remain the same had we only the four primary Epistles accepted by Baur. They appear in all the four distinct groups into which the Pauline writings fall. They do not appear in the same proportions and relations, or under precisely the same aspects, in the several groups. But the differences which have to be recognized do not amount to inconsistency. They do not imply any essential change of view, and do not appear to go beyond what finds its explanation in differences of circumstance, occasion, and circle of readers.

As in other sections of NT, the doctrine of the things of the end is closely related in the Pauline writings to that of the kingdom of God, an idea which recurs in all the four groups of Epistles. This 'kingdom,' though sometimes described as a *present* kingdom (Ro 14[17], cf. 1 Co 4[20], Col 1[13]), is usually a kingdom of the future, and the idea of its consummation is the centre of the Pauline eschatology. A foremost place is given in this eschatology to the doctrine of Christ's *coming*, which event is described under a variety of terms —His 'day,' His 'revelation,' His 'Parousia,' etc. (1 Co 1[7. 8] 5[5], 1 Th 2[19] 3[13] 4[15] 5[2. 23], 2 Th 1[7] 2[1. 8. 9], Ph 1[10], 1 Ti 6[14], 2 Ti 1[12] 4[1. 8], Tit 2[13] etc.). This Parousia is regarded as an objective event. The passages in which this 'coming' is declared are not confined to any one section of the writings; and when compared with each other they do not suggest a change in St. Paul's mind from a less spiritual idea in the earlier Epistles to a more spiritual in the later. The doctrines of the *Resurrection*, the *Judgment*, and the *Final Awards* also appear in essentially the same form in the Pauline writings, and in the several groups of these writings, as elsewhere in the NT. The *resurrection* finds its largest exposition in the primary Epistles, but it is given also in others, and it is a real *bodily* resurrection, a return of the complete man to life (Ro 4[17], 8[11], 1 Co 15, 2 Co 1[10] 4[14] 5[1-5], Ph 3[11. 21]). The *judgment* is the judgment of *God* (Ro 2[3] 14[11], cf. 3[19]), of *Christ* (2 Co 5[10], 2 Ti 4[1]), of *God through Christ* (Ro 2[16]); a future, final judgment (Ro 2[5], 1 Co 3[13]); a righteous judgment, discovering the secrets of all hearts, giving to every man according to his works (Ro 2[5], 2 Th 1[5], 2 Ti 4[8]); a universal judgment, for both quick and dead (Ac 17[31], cf. Ro 14[11], 2 Ti 4[1]). The issues of that judgment are declared with remarkable frequency and variety of statement; they are described as 'eternal' (αἰώνιος), which term in the Pauline Epistles is essentially, and in most applications, one of duration (cf. *e.g.* Ro 16[26], 2 Co 5[1] etc.). The lot of the unrighteous has a subordinate place, but is expressed as 'wrath,' 'the wrath to come,' 'death,' 'punishment,' 'destruction,' 'eternal destruction from the face of the Lord' (Ro 2[5], 1 Th 1[10], Ro 2[8] 6[21], 2 Th 1[9], Ph 3[19]). The lot of the righteous is a salvation 'with eternal glory,' a 'prize,' a 'crown,' an 'inheritance,' a 'manifestation,' a 'reign,' a 'life' with Christ, 'eternal life,' 'the life which is life indeed' (Ro 2[7] 5[9. 21] 6[8. 23], 1 Co 9[25], Gal 5[5] 6[8], Ph 3[14], Col 1[12] 3[24], 1 Ti 1[16] 6[12. 19], 2 Ti 2[1. 10] 4[8], Tit 1[2] etc.).

The Pauline eschatology has elements which are,

in some sense, peculiar to itself. Among these are the doctrines of the Rapture of the Saints (1 Th 4^{17}) and the Man of Sin (2 Th 2^{3-10}). Of these the former has a certain affinity with one of the apocalyptic visions (Rev $11^{11.12}$), as well as with Christ's word regarding the 'gathering of the elect' (Mt 24^{31}), and the narratives of the ascension, especially those by Luke (Mk 16^{19}, Lk 24^{51}, Ac $1^{9.10}$). The latter takes its form from Daniel's predictions (9^{27} $11^{36.37}$ 12^{11}), and is in affinity with Christ's eschatological discourse (Mt 24^{24}), and John's declaration on Antichrist (1 Jn 2^{18}).

There are also things in the Pauline eschatology on the interpretation and relations of which opinion has been divided. It is thought by some to depart from the general view of the NT, and to join the Apocalypse (20^{1-10}) in teaching the intervention of a *millennial* period between two distinct resurrections. But this idea, which is otherwise alien to St. Paul's writings, turns upon the particular interpretation of a single passage (1 Co 15^{22-24}), in which the immediate question is not one of *succession* or chronological order, and in which nothing is said of any other resurrection than that of those who are Christ's. The Pauline Epistles have also been supposed to contain a definite doctrine of the *intermediate state*, with activities of grace in it. The doctrine of a *purgatory*, or some provision for the purgation of souls in the other world, has been ascribed to the great paragraph in 1 Co 3^{12-15}, in which, however, the 'day' in question is that of the judgment, and the action referred to is that of *testing*, not purifying. The doctrine of a *middle state*, with a descent of Christ implying the extension of grace and opportunity, is supposed to be contained, in particular, in certain passages of the greater Epistles. One of these is the section in Romans (10^{5-10}) in which use is made of Dt 30^{11-14}. But the main idea there is the *accessibility* of the Divine commandment, the *nearness* and *attainability* of the righteousness of God, and the words say nothing of a Hades-ministry of Christ, nothing of the world of the dead, beyond the fact that Christ entered it and was raised from it. Another is the paragraph in Ephesians (4^{7-10}) in which the subject of *gifts* is dealt with, and the 68th Psalm is introduced in that connexion. It speaks of a *descent* of Christ, by which some understand the descent from heaven in the incarnation, and others the descent from earth to Hades. But even on the latter interpretation the paragraph says nothing of any work of Christ, or any possibilities for the dead in Hades. Of greater interest is the question whether the Pauline eschatology contains the doctrine of a *universal restoration*. The answer turns mainly on certain passages of large suggestion in the Epistles of the Captivity, together with one or two in the earlier Epistles. The comparison between *Adam* and *Christ* in 1 Co 15^{20} is cited in this interest. The universality expressed there, however, does not mean that all shall in the end be made certain of blessedness. The point is either, as some take it, that all who are Christ's shall be raised (the 'all' being limited by the nature of the case); or, as others think, that, as in Adam all are made subject to physical death, so in Christ all shall be raised out of it. The statement in the same chapter (1 Co 15^{24-28}) on the subduing of all things, and the consummation in which God shall be 'all in all,' is also supposed to imply Paul's hope of a final restoration of all. But the subjects to be subdued are not sinful men, but 'all rule and all authority and power'—all powers opposed to God; and the end expressed by the 'all in all' is a condition of things in which the world in all its parts will answer to God's will, or in which the will of God will be recognized as the sole authority. The declaration of the universal adoration that is to be paid to the exalted Christ (Ph $2^{10.11}$) is also cited as a distinct witness to the same; in which, however, there is probably nothing beyond the broad statement of a homage wide as universal nature, or an acknowledgment of sovereignty made by three great classes of living beings. The passages which are most definite and most relevant are the one in Ephesians ($1^{9.10}$) which speaks of a 'summing up' of all things in Christ, and the one in Colossians (1^{20}) which speaks of a 'reconciliation' of all things. In these the terms are large enough to include all created things, and go beyond the case of universal man, or even the whole animate creation. They are passages which express the cosmic effects of Christ's work, and appear best interpreted as declarations of the Divine purpose to bring back all things to their pristine condition of harmony, through Christ as the centre of unity and bond of reconciliation.

The Pauline eschatology has its point of culmination in its doctrine of the *resurrection*. That doctrine is a consistent as well as a lofty one. It does not limit itself to a resurrection of the just, but has its place also for that of the unjust. Neither does it regard the resurrection of the just and that of the unjust as two successive acts, separated by a millennial period, the passage (1 Co 15^{20-28}) chiefly relied on for that being insufficient to sustain it. Nor does it seem to predicate the provision of an *interim* body, as some have argued on the basis of a single paragraph (2 Co 5^{1-8}), for the existence between death and the resurrection. Nor, again, does it entangle itself with curious questions regarding the *how* of the resurrection, the nature of the risen body, or the conditions of the future life, but contents itself with the simplest analogies drawn from nature and from Christ's own case. It consistently affirms for man a real and complete continuance of being, not an incorporeal immortality like that to which Greek thought looked, but a bodily immortality, a permanence of life in the integrity of man's entire nature. It connects its doctrine of the resurrection with other cardinal Pauline doctrines—the indwelling of the Spirit, the inward presence of Christ, the mystical union. It links it further with the doctrine of a renovated earth and a ransomed creation (Ro 8^{19-23}).

The eschatology of the NT, therefore, is in its broad outlines a consistent though not a systematized doctrine. In the different sections of NT, and with all differences in detail, the eschatology turns on the great truths of the Parousia, the bodily resurrection, the universal, righteous judgment, the final awards of recompense and penalty. It is in essential harmony with the faith and teaching of the OT, and requires for its explanation no theories of derivation from ethnic thought. The distinctive points in the Pauline eschatology are in affinity with Hebrew faith, not, as some argue (Pfleiderer, etc.), with Greek thought. The same is even more obviously the case with the eschatology of the NT writings outside the Pauline circle. Essene or Alexandrian (Philonic) ideas are not in place as sources of Christ's teaching on the things of the end. Even the doctrine of the *resurrection* as it is given in the NT cannot be said to be dependent, in the sense affirmed by some (L. H. Mills, etc.), on the Zoroastrian theology. It is possible that in some of its affirmations the NT eschatology has been influenced to a certain extent in its form by external modes of thought. In all that is of its substance it is in relation to Hebrew faith, and has its point of issue in the principles and ideas of the Old Testament.

LITERATURE.—The various books on *NT Theology*, the *Biblical Theology of NT*, the *Teaching* of Christ and the Apostles, by Baur, Neander, Reuss, Lechler, Schmid, Oosterzee,

Meyer, Weiss, Beyschlag, Wendt, Holtzmann, etc.; the various treatises illustrative of NT Times and Jewish beliefs: Colani, *Jésus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps*; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*; Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*; Hilgenfeld, *Jüdische Apok.*; Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*; Schürer, *HJP*; Hausrath, *New Test. Times*; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*; Delitzsch, *Biblical Psychology*; S. Davidson, *Doctrine of Last Things*; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*; Pusey, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* White, *Life in Christ*; Petavel-Olliff, *Problem of Immortality*; Kabisch, *Eschatologie des Paulus*; Russell, *The Parousia*; Riemann, *Lehre von der Apocatastasis.*

S. D. F. SALMOND.

ESCHEW.—In the older versions 'eschew' is common, and is used in two senses. — 1. To 'escape,' as Pr 11[15] Wyc. 'He that escheweth snaris, schal be sikur'; cf. Knox, *Hist.* p. 70, 'If they will not convert themselves from their wicked errour, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew.' Of this meaning AV has retained no example.

2. To 'turn away from,' as Pr 17[16] Wyc. 'He that eschewith to lerne, schal falle in to yuels.' Of this AV preserves three examples in OT, Job 1[1, 8] 2[3], all in the phrase 'to fear God and e. evil' (Heb. סוּר); and one in NT, 1 P 3[11] 'Let him eschew evil, and do good' (Gr. ἐκκλίνω). Cf. Is 7[16] Cov. 'But or euer that childe come to knowledge, to eschue the euel and chose the good.' RV prefers 'turn away from' in 1 P, Amer. RV in Job also. Eschew came into the Eng. lang. from the Old High Ger. *sciuhen* (through the Fr. *eschever*), whence came also 'shy,' adj. and verb.

J. HASTINGS.

ESDRAELON.—This is the Gr. way of writing the Heb. name **Jezreel**—יִזְרְעֶאל 'God soweth'—the royal city of Ahab and Jezebel, which, standing on the E. edge, gave its name to 'the great plain' of central Palestine. It is variously given, *e.g.* Jth 3[9] אca A 'Εσδρηλών (B 'Εσδραηλών); 7[3] A 'Εσδρηλώμ (B א 'Εσδρηλών); 4[6] B 'Εσρηλών, A 'Εσερηχών. The name by which it is now known among the natives is *Merj Ibn-'Amr* 'Meadow of the son of 'Amr.'

At one time the mountain range must have stretched unbroken from the uplands of Samaria, behind *Jenîn*, to those of Galilee, which run N. into the Lebanons. Now it is as if a gigantic mass had been torn from the bosom of the range, leaving the rough protuberances of Gilboa, Little Hermon, and Tabor, along the edge of the Jordan Valley, and thrust violently towards the sea, in a N.W. direction. This mass forms the wooded bulk of Carmel, which, rising to a height of over 1800 feet, terminates in a bold promontory, guarding the S. end of the Bay of Acre. The undulating floor of this great gap among the hills forms the 'valley' or plain of Esdraelon. The name by which it is mentioned 2 Ch 35[22], Zec 12[11], בִּקְעָה 'an opening,' from בָּקַע 'to split' or 'cleave asunder,' as distinguished from עֵמֶק 'a depression' or 'deepening,' applied to its offshoot, the vale of Jezreel, suits the conditions admirably. The word still persists in *El-Beḳâ'*, the great hollow between the Lebanons; and in its dim. form, *El-Baḳei'a*, a village with a tract of fertile land around it, enclosed by ridges, high in the mountains of Naphtali. So the plain of E. is shut in by hills on every side. It may be described generally as triangular in form. It is bounded by irregular lines, drawn from the foot of Carmel, along the N. edge of the low hills which join Carmel to the Samaritan mountains, to *Jenîn*; from Jenîn to the base of Mt. Tabor; and thence under the Nazareth hills, back again to Carmel. The S. boundary is the longest, extending some 20 miles; the other two are nearly equal, being each about 15 miles in length. From *Jenîn* a little bay runs east into the bosom of Gilboa, but finds no outlet. Between Gilboa and Little Hermon a broad and easy descent passes down as far as *Beisân*, and then, with a sudden leap, plunges to the level of the Jordan Valley. This is properly the vale of Jezreel. Between Little Hermon and Tabor another offshoot of the plain makes its way down to the *Ghôr*, throwing off a spur to the N.E. of Tabor. Westward the plain narrows to a gorge between the lower hills of Galilee and Carmel, through which the Kishon forces a passage to the plain of Acre, and thence to the sea. We have practically one continuous plain from the sea-shore to the lip of the Jordan Valley. There is the plain of Acre, running up to the gorge at the E. end of Carmel; the great central plain spreading N. and S., and rolling E. to the base of Gilboa and Little Hermon, the general elevation of which is about 200 ft. above sea-level; then the vale of Jezreel, which, in the 12 miles from *Zer'în* to *Beisân*, sinks about 600 ft., before falling steeply into the Jordan Valley.

For the most part, the plain consists of deep, rich, loamy soil. After the removal of the crops, where it is cultivated, the autumnal suns burn the surface almost to brick; and when the rains come, it sucks them in like a huge sponge. In winter it becomes a nearly unbroken sheet of mud, extremely dangerous to cross; disaster not seldom befalling those who travel even by the most frequented and thoroughly beaten tracks. Its fertility has always been remarkable, ever generously rewarding the toils of the husbandmen. In season you may pass over many acres where the man on horseback can just see over the tall stalks of grain. Where left to itself, the rank luxuriance it produces is proof enough of what it might do in skilful hands. Of trees, in the plain there are few, but on its borders, esp. at *Jenîn*, there are clumps of olives and other fruit trees, the stately palm waving high over all. The low hills that run down towards Carmel from the N. are thickly covered by oak trees, and are known among the natives as 'the forest.'

The only stream of importance in the plain is the Kishon, visible, for the most part, only from its own steep banks. Rising at *Jenîn*, it pursues its crooked course, justifying its name 'the tortuous,' along a deep muddy bed, gathering contributions from other parts of the plain, and carrying all, through the gorge at Carmel, to the sea. The chief fountains are at *Jenîn*, where, creating the gardens, they gave rise to the ancient name *En-Gannîm*; at Jezreel, where, in close proximity, are three springs, the principal being *'Ain Jalûd*, just under the northern cliff of Gilboa, identified with the well of Harod. The stream which these three supply flows eastward to Jordan. At *Lejjûn*, the ancient Megiddo, there are also copious springs, sufficient to form considerable marshes to the N., besides turning several mills, and serving largely for irrigation.

The plain owed its importance chiefly to its central position, and to the great highways that lay athwart it. The main gateways of entrance were five in number. (1) That coming down from the N. between Tabor and the Nazareth hills, guarded by the fortress on the mountain. (2) That from the E. up the vale of Jezreel, commanded by this city. (3) The approach from the S. by *Jenîn*. (4) That up *Wady 'Arah* into the plain by the old stronghold of Megiddo, now *Lejjûn*. (5) That through the pass under Carmel, from the plain of Acre, dominated by Harosheth—*Harithîyeh*—on the N., and by Jokneam of Carmel on the edge of the plain. By one or other of these portals the merchant caravans and the armies of contending powers had to enter, and find exit, on their passage N., S., E., or W. These strongholds, together with Bethshean—*Beisân*, Shunem—*Sôlam*, Nain, on the N.W. shoulder of Little Hermon, Daberath —*Debûriyeh*, on the W. slope of Tabor, and Chesul-

loth—*Iksâl*, under the Nazareth hills, were the chief cities around the plain. At no time have towns of any importance been built on the plain itself.

E. formed the main part of the 'lot' of Issachar (Jos 19^{17-22}). This tribe seems to have reverted at once to the old nomadic life, 'dwelling in tents' (Dt 33^{18}), and the fatness of the land becoming a snare to them, they were ignobly content to secure its enjoyment by stooping as servants 'under task-work' (Gn 49^{14}). The 'men who had understanding of the times,' of the children of Issachar, who came to David at Hebron (1 Ch 12^{32}), were probably astrologers, and skilled in the arts of divination, so popular from of old among the children of the wilds. This goes to show how closely the inhabitants of the plain were identified with their *Bedawi* neighbours. In the same chapter, v.^{40}, we have an indication of the character of its ancient produce. The men of Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali 'brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, victual of meal, cakes of figs, and clusters of raisins, and wine, and oil, and oxen, and sheep in abundance.'

Four battles, famous in Israel's history, were fought in this plain. On the banks of Kishon Sisera was overthrown, 'the stars in their courses' contributing to his defeat (Jg 5^{20}). In the hollow between Gilboa and Little Hermon, the swarms of 'the children of the East' perished in the midnight alarm, before Gideon and his brave 300 (Jg 7). Saul and Jonathan, driven back by the victorious Philistines, retired to the heights, and were slain on the 'high places' of Gilboa (1 S 31). Josiah's disastrous mistake, in attempting to arrest the progress of Pharaoh-necoh in the valley of Megiddo, was paid for with his life. Wounded in the battle, he was carried to Jerus. dead (2 K 23^{30}) or dying (2 Ch 35^{20-27}). Imperishable memories of Elijah's encounter with the prophets of Baal cling to its western border. Up from the way of the Jordan came Jehu, driving furiously, to the slaughter of Ahab's house, and across the plain fled Ahaziah, to perish by Megiddo. The army of Holofernes spread out from the hills above *Jenîn* to Cyamon—*Tell Kaimûn* (Jth 7^{3}). During the long period of the Jewish wars, the plain often resounded with the tramp of armies and the noise of battle. In the vision of the Jewish-Christian seer (Rev $16^{14.\ 16}$), the most fitting place whither 'the kings of the whole world shall be gathered together unto the war of the great day of God, the Almighty,' is the level reaches, so often drenched in blood, which take their name from 'the place which is called in the Heb. tongue Har-Magedon.'

Open of old to the eastern tribesmen, who kept the peasants in constant fear, the Romans inaugurated a period of security, and the people made progress in the arts of civilization. But with the fall of the eastern empire, the Arab hordes rushed back, and restored the ancient conditions. In recent years the Turks have established more effectual control over the nomads; and the peasants, delivered from the rapacity of the Arabs, have been handed over to the tender mercies of certain Greek capitalists in Beirût. We may doubt if their burdens have thus been lightened.

LITERATURE.—G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 381–410; Baedeker, *Pal.*^{3} 229; Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* iii. 302; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 179 f.; Porter, *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 245 f.; *PEFSt*, 1872, 180 f.; 1873, 3 ff., 46, 60; 1875, 40; 1879, 13; Conder, *Tent-Work*, 58 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 197 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 89.

W. EWING.

ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF.—TITLE.—The titles of the books that deal with the history of Ezra are confusing. In the Sept. this book is entitled Esdras A, Esdras B embracing the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the Vulg., however, Jerome had used the words Esdras I. and II. for the canonical books; Esdras A therefore became Esdras III., Esdras IV. being the designation of the other and later apocryphal book. In the sixth article of the Book of Common Prayer, and in all the early Eng. Bibles, the four books are numbered as in the Vulgate. The Geneva Bible (1560) was the first to adopt our present classification, which keeps the Heb. names Ezra and Nehemiah for the canonical, and gives the Latin names Esdras I. and Esdras II. to the apocryphal books.

Another title, *ὁ ἱερεύς*, appears as the heading of Esdras A in Cod. A of the LXX, which also has *ἱερεύς* at the head of Esdras B; the subscriptions in both books give the ordinary names.

Yet another name for our book appears in the subscription to the Old Latin, 'Explicit Esdrae liber primus *de templi restitutione*,' which aptly describes the contents of the book. To avoid confusion, 'The Greek Esdras' has been suggested as a suitable title.

CONTENTS.—Except for one original section (3^{1}–5^{6}), the book is made up wholly from materials that exist in canonical books. It is a repetition of the history of the rebuilding of the temple. The first chapter corresponds to the last two of 2 Ch, the last to a portion of Neh 8; the intervening portion runs parallel to Ezra, and contains the whole of that book, with one transposition and one interpolation.

The following scheme gives the canonical parallels, and shows the chronological confusion of the book. (The verses are those of the Camb. LXX.)

Es 1=2 Ch 35. 36. Great passover of Josiah; his defeat at Megiddo, and death; the succeeding Jewish reigns and the Captivity briefly sketched.

Es 2^{1-14}=Ezr 1. *Cyrus'* proclamation. Delivery of the sacred vessels to Sanabassar, and his return to Jerusalem.

Es 2^{15-25}=Ezr 4^{6-24}. Opposition to the rebuilding of the temple. Letter of Persian officials resident in Samaria to *Artaxerxes*. The work abandoned *till the reign of Darius*.

Es 3^{1}–5^{6}. Original. Story of the three pages at the court of *Darius*, who each maintain a thesis before the king. The third, Zerubbabel, as a reward for his wisdom, is granted leave to lead a body of Jews to Jerusalem. Departure of the caravan under *Joachim, son of Zerubbabel*, and others.

Es 5^{7-45}=Ezr 2. Lists of those returning with Zerubbabel.

Es 5^{46-70}=Ezr 3–4^{5}. Altar of burnt-offering set up; Feast of Tabernacles celebrated; foundation of temple laid; offer of 'the enemies' to co-operate rejected. The work hindered through their opposition *till the reign of Darius*.

Es 6. 7=Ezr 5. 6. Work resumed in second year of Darius. Letter of the Persian governors to Darius, and his favourable rescript. Completion of the temple.

Es 8–9^{36}=Ezr 7–10. Return under Ezra in reign of *Artaxerxes*. The abuse of mixed marriages redressed. Names of the transgressors.

Es 9^{37-55}=Neh 7^{73}–8^{13}. Reading of the law by Ezra.

The history goes directly backwards: first Artaxerxes (2^{15-25}), then Darius (3–5^{6}), lastly Cyrus (5^{7-70}), instead of Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes. After expressly stating that it was Darius who gave permission to Zerubbabel to return, the writer in 5^{68-70} calmly refers this return to the time of Cyrus.

The book is incomplete. It breaks off in the middle of a sentence, *καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν* (cf. Neh 8^{13}). It probably continued the history to the Feast of Tabernacles described in Neh 8, but no further; this is suggested by Jos. *Ant.* XI. v. 5, who describes that feast, using an Esdras word *ἐπανόρθωσις*, and at this point, having hitherto followed Es as his authority, passes on to the Book of Neh. The Latin versions add a clause completing the broken sentence of the Greek. There is no indication that the book ever began at an earlier point in the history than it does now.

RECEPTION AND USE OF THE BOOK.—The first witness to the existence of Es A is Josephus, who uses it in place of the canonical book not only in his description of the Return (*Ant.* XI. i.–v.), but also in his account of Josiah (*Ant.* X. iv. 5 ff.). He agrees with Es in shifting the first opposition to

the work, and the letter to the Persian king, from its place in the canonical Ezr, altering Artaxerxes to Cambyses to correct the chronological error; he introduces the story of the three pages; with Es he passes directly from the end of Ezr to Neh 8; and he borrows a good deal of the language of our book. His preference for it was probably due to its more elegant Gr. style, and a desire not to omit the additional matter contained in it. He occasionally supplements his authority by information derived apparently from the Heb. Ezr; the indications of his knowledge of the Gr. Es B are too slight to warrant the supposition that he made any use of that book (but see XI. i. 3, § 15, *ψυκτῆρες*; XI. v. 2, § 136). His narrative is worthless as history, since in trying to remove the inaccuracies of his original he has only introduced greater confusion himself.

Our book is quoted fairly often by the early Christian Fathers, both Gr. and Latin. Among Gr. Fathers, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 392, Potter (*ἐνταῦθα Ζοροβαβὶλ σοφίᾳ νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιταγωνιστὰς, κ.τ.λ.*); Origen, *Hom. ix. in Josuam*, § 10, *Comm. in Johann.* vi. 1; Eusebius, *Comm.* in Ps. 76, § 19; Athanasius, *Orat. cont. Arianos*, ii. 20. Tertullian, *De Cor. Milit.* 9, perhaps refers to 1 Es 5[2]; Cyprian, Ep. 74, 9, quotes the passage, 'Veritas manet et invalescit in æternum, et vivit et obtinet in sæcula sæculorum' (iv. 38); and Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36, refers to the same passage, suggesting that it may be prophetical of Christ, who is the Truth. No passage has perhaps been more freq. quoted, or misquoted, than iv. 41, Magna est veritas et prævalet 'Great is truth, and strong above all things' (*ὑπερισχύει*). (The patristic references are collected in the *Tübingen Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1859, p. 263 sq.) The first writer to throw discredit on the book was Jerome. He refused to translate the 'dreams' of 3 and 4 Esdras. His words are (*Præf. in Ezram*), 'Tertius annus est quod semper scribitis atque rescribitis, ut Esdræ librum et Esther vobis de Hebræo transferam. . . . Nec quenquam moveat quod unus a nobis liber editus est: *nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur*; quia et apud Hebræos Ezræ Nehemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur; et quæ non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor senibus sunt, procul abjicienda.' Consequently, the Old Latin was left untouched by him, and the book is absent from the older MSS of the Vulg. (*e.g.* Cod. Amiatinus).

It was probably owing to the influence of this estimate of Jerome, that the Tridentine Fathers in 1546 excluded 1 Es from the Canon. 1 and 2 Es, with the Prayer of Manasses, are the only books admitted as apocryphal into the Romish Bibles, the rest of our Apocr. being declared canonical by the Council of Trent. In modern editions of the Vulg. they form an Appendix, being placed after the NT, with a prefatory note stating that they are placed 'hoc in loco extra scilicet seriem canonicorum librorum . . . ne prorsus interirent, quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus citantur, et in aliquibus Bibliis tam manuscriptis quam impressis reperiuntur.' In the Eng. Bible our book stands first in the Apocrypha.

Relation to the Canonical Ezra.—On this question, the most interesting which arises in connexion with the book, the most opposite opinions have been held. The various theories resolve themselves into three.

1. It is regarded as a mere compilation from the Gr. of the LXX (2 Ch and Es B). Those books, according to this theory, have been worked over and modified for the sake of Greek readers, to whom the Hebraic style of the LXX version rendered it unintelligible. Such is the view of Keil, Schürer (in Herzog, *Encycl.* i. 496, 'nach der Septuaginta übersetzung bearbeitet,' and *HJP* II. iii. 177 ff. Eng. tr.), and Bissell (in Lange's *OT Comm.*). In favour of this view it is urged (i.) that our book often agrees literally with the LXX in the Gr. used, even in rare and unfamiliar words; (ii.) that the LXX is often followed in its *deviations* from the Heb. text; and (iii.) that in the case of deviations from both Heb. and LXX, the readings of Es A are more easily referred to the latter than to the former. The best instances of (i.) are Es A 8^{88} *ὁ κουφίσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν* = Es B 9^{13} *ἐκούφισας ἡμῶν τὰς ἀνομίας*, RV 'punished us less than our iniquities deserve'; Es A 9^{51} = Es B 18^{10} *φάγετε λιπάσματα*. For (ii.) may be quoted Es A 1^{10} *καὶ οὕτω τὸ πρωινὸν* = 2 Ch 35^{12} *καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸ πρωί*, against Heb. 'and so they did with the oxen.' The two Heb. words בָּקָר ('oxen') and בֹּקֶר ('morning') are indistinguishable without the vowel points; the agreement need not prove the use of one version by the other. More striking is Es A 1^{11} *μετ' εὐωδίας καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν*, compared with 2 Ch 35^{13} *καὶ εὐωδώθη καὶ ἔδραμον*. This looks like a confusion of *εὐωδέω* and *εὐοδόω*; the Heb. equivalent is 'and in pans.' But here Es renders the Hiphil וַיָּרִיצוּ correctly by *ἀπήνεγκαν*, which *ἔδραμον* fails to do, thus showing independent knowledge of the Hebrew. Compare also Es A 1^{26} *πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρει*, and 2 Ch 35^{22} *ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκραταιώθη*, with the Heb. '*disguised himself* that he might fight with him.'

A comparison of the two books, however, renders it impossible to maintain the view any longer, that Es A is compiled *solely* from the Gr. of the other books. There are numerous passages where Es preserves the Heb. more closely than the LXX, or points to a different word in the Heb. original. An examination of all the passages given by Bissell (p. 69) in support of the opposite opinion will show that there is not one where Es does not preserve some touch in the Heb. which is missed in the LXX Ezr, which cannot therefore have been the only authority possessed by our author in those parts which agree with the canonical book. It still remains possible that Es A is a mere recension of the canonical books *by the help of the Heb.*; but the Gr. of the two books is of such a different character as to make it improbable that this is the true view of the relation between them.

2. It is regarded as a working over of an earlier Gr. translation of Ch, Ezr, and Neh, but a translation quite distinct from the LXX. This view is held by Ewald (*Hist. of Isr.* v. 126–128, Eng. tr.). He first gives the alternative that the writer 'was either a translator of the books of Ch, or else found them already translated, and worked up the tr.,' and then decides for the latter view (p. 128 n.). 'He found the work of the chronicler tolerably freely translated from the original. This tr. was different from that of the LXX, and no doubt much older.'

This theory admits an independent tr. of the Heb. as the basis of the book, but denies that the compiler was himself the translator; it presupposes a lost Gr. version of Ch, Ezr, Neh. It gives a satisfactory explanation of the coincidences in tr. and deviation from the Heb. in Es A and Es B, if we suppose that both are to some extent dependent on a lost Gr. original. We should then have in the two books a parallel case to the two Gr. versions of Dn, the LXX very paraphrastic, Theod. fairly literal, both being dependent on an earlier version (Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* art. 'Theodotion').

3. It is held to be a direct and independent tr. from the Heb., and from a text in some instances superior to the Massoretic; Es B was entirely unknown to the writer. This view is held by Michaelis, Trendelenburg (in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der bibl. litt.* 1787), Pohlmann (in *Tübingen Quartalschrift*, 1859, p. 257), Herzfeld, Fritzsche, and others. It is simpler than the last, but fails to account for the coincidences in the two books. The question whether (2) or (3) is the true view depends also on the date which, on linguistic and other grounds, we are led to assign to the work. It cannot be said to have been yet decided which is right, but (2) appears to satisfy all the requirements of the problem, while (3) does not.

The two translations are of an essentially

different character. While the writer of Es B shows a slavish adherence to the Hebrew, often transliterating his original, and making no pretensions to style, Es A is marked by a free style of translation, an elegant and idiomatic Gr., a happy rendering of Hebraisms, and an omission of difficulties, which make it a far more readable book than the other. It was clearly intended for Gr. readers unacquainted with Hebrew. The writer was a litterateur in possession of a wide Gr. vocabulary.

A few instances of his manner may be given. He consistently translates the phrase 'beyond the river' (the Persian name for Palestine, Es B *πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ*) by *Κοιλὴ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη* (7 times in Es A; only 3 times elsewhere, viz. in the Books of Mac). He writes *ἄγειν τὸ πάσχα* for Ch *ποιεῖν τὸ φάσεκ*. A good instance of idiomatic Gr. style is $5^{69.70}$ (contrast Es B $4^{4.5}$). A list of some words peculiar to Es A in the Gr. OT may not be superfluous. *ἀκολούθως* c. dat. for *κατά* (5 times), *ἀναγνώστης* (of Ezra, *ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀναγνώστης τοῦ νόμου*=Es B *ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ γραμματεύς*, 6 times), *ἀναμφισβητήτως*, *ἀρχιερεύς* (of Ezra), *βιβλιοφυλακίον*, *δημαγωγία*, *ἐγχάσκειν*, *ἐκπαίζειν*, *ἐμφυσιοῦν*, *ἑπακουστός*, *ἐπιδόξως*, *ἱερόδουλος* (6 times=Es B *Νεθινείμ*), *ἱεροστάτης*, *ἱερῳδιάλτης* (6 times, Es B *ᾄδοντες*), *κάρρον* 'a car,' *μεριδαρχία* (4 times), *μεταγενέστερος*, *ὀνοματογραφία*, *πραγματικός* (subst.), *συμβραβεύειν*, *συνεξορμᾶσθαι*, *σύννους*, *διὰ ταλάντων λαλεῖν*, *χαμαιπετής*, *χρηματιστήριον*. Other words rarely found elsewhere than in this book (which may for the most part be paralleled from Est, Dn, and Mac) are—*ἀνιερεῦν* 'confiscate,' *ἀξίωμα*, *ἀτενίζειν*, *δογματίζειν*, *εἴργειν*, *ἐνακούειν*, *ἐπανόρθωσις*, *ἐπικοιμᾶσθαι* 'attack,' *ἐπισύστασις* (al. *σύστασις*), *εὐίλατος*, *εὐδία*, *εὐφυής* (Es B *ταχύς*), *θυρωρός* (Es B *πυλωρός*), *καταλογισμός*, *καθωνίζεσθαι*, *μανιάκης*, *μεταλλάσσειν τὸν βίον*, *οἰκονόμος*, *ὁλοσχερῶς*, *παστοφόριον*.

The passages which point to a more accurate rendering of the Heb., or a different Heb. original from that tr^d. by the LXX, are collected by Trendelenburg (see also Bissell, 65–69). The foll. instances, partly unnoticed before, may be given :—

In the account of the death of Josiah, Es A $1^{25\text{-}27}$=2 Ch $35^{21\text{-}23}$. Es 1^{25} *ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁ πόλεμός μού ἐστιν*; Ch LXX omit; Heb. 'but against the house of my war' (אַל בֵּית מִלְחַמְתִּי). Es apparently read פְּרָת (Euphrates) for בֵּית. The Heb. as it stands is harsh for 'the house with which I have war'; and Es is a decided improvement.

Es 1^{26} *οὐ προσέχων ῥήμασιν Ἰερεμίου προφήτου*; Ch LXX *οὐκ ἤκουσε τῶν λόγων Νεχαώ*=Heb. Es perhaps read נְבִיא for נְכֹו. *Ἰεσεμίου* is a later insertion; the Vulg. has 'non attendens verbum prophetæ.'

Es 1^{27} *καὶ κατέβησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες ποὸς βασιλία*; Ch LXX *καὶ ἐτόξευσαν οἱ τοξόται ἐπὶ βασ.*=Heb. Es read וַיֵּרְדוּ 'and they came down') for וַיֹּרוּ 'and they shot').

In Es A 8^{30} *καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ γραφῆς ἄνδρες ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα*, the Heb. is more closely rendered ('and with him were reckoned *by genealogy of the males*') than in LXX (Es B 8^{3}) *καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ σύστρεμμοὶ κ. καὶ πεντ.*

In 8^{66} *ὁ Μοσερεί* of LXX is rightly given as *Αἰγύπτιοι*. A writer working on the LXX without the Heb. could hardly infer that *Μοσερεί* stood for מִמִּצְרַי ('the people of Mizraim').

In 8^{68} *ἔρριξε τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα*, the last words of the Heb. וּמְעִילִי ('and my mantle are rightly given; the LXX twice misconstrues them ($9^{3.5}$), *διερρηξα τὰ ἱμάτιά μου καὶ ἐπαλλόμην*.

In 8^{75} *καὶ νῦν κατὰ πόσον τι ἡμῖν ἐγενήθη ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου*, the Heb. phrase כִּמְעַט־רֶגַע ('for a little moment') is rendered, and the passive construction kept. Es B 9^{8} *καὶ νῦν ἐπιεικεύσατο ἡμῖν ὁ θεός*, omits the phrase and changes the construction.

8^{84} *ἀνεκάμψαμεν παραβῆναι*, and Es B 9^{14} *ἐπεστρέψαμεν διασκεδάσαι*, are independent versions of הֲנָשׁוּב לְהָפֵר ('shall we again break?').

8^{90} *ὡς ἐκρίθη σοι καὶ ὅσοι πειθαρχήσουσιν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ κυρίου*, renders the Heb. ('according to the council of my Lord and of those that tremble at the command of our God') where the LXX (Es B 10^{3}) departs from it, *ὡς ἂν βούλῃ ἀνάστηθι καὶ φοβέρισον αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐντολαῖς θεοῦ ἡμῶν*.

In 9^{2} Es A points to a neat and certain correction of the Hebrew. The LXX (10^{6}) runs, *καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς γαζοφυλάκιον Ἰωανὰν . . . καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐκεῖ*, where the second *ἐπορεύθη* is tautological. Es A has *ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ παστοφόριον Ἰωανᾶ . . . καὶ αὐλισθεὶς ἐκεῖ*. The compiler clearly read וַיָּלֶן שָׁם ('and he passed the night there') for וַיֵּלֶךְ שָׁם ('and he went there'). The letters ן and ך are very liable to confusion; and *αὐλίζεσθαι* is the constant rendering of the verb לוּן ('to dwell') in the LXX.

9^{10} *εἶπον μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ Οὕτως ὡς εἴρηκας ποιήσομεν* is a literal rendering of the Heb. (וַיֹּאמְרוּ קוֹל גָּדוֹל 'and they said with a loud voice'); LXX (10^{12}) is again wrong with *καὶ εἶπον Μέγα τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι*.

These few instances out of many show beyond a doubt that the compiler, or the author of the version he is using, had a knowledge of the Heb. as against the other Gr. version, and that Es A is an important authority for a critical emendation of the Heb. text.

The most recent supporter of the third view, and of the claims of this book to attention, is Sir H. H. Howorth, in a series of six articles in the *Academy* for 1893 on 'The real character and the importance of the first book of Esdras.' His attempt to establish the historical credibility of the book and its chronological accuracy, as against the canonical Ezra, is beset by numerous difficulties, and cannot be maintained. Thus he regards the Darius who despatched Zerubbabel as Darius II. Nothus (424), who was a century later than Darius Hystaspes (522), and is forced to date the return under Ezra, and that under Nehemiah, more than half a century later than the dates ordinarily assigned to those events; he regards Sanabassar or Sheshbazzar as a distinct person from Zerubbabel; he says that the misplaced section Es A $2^{15\text{-}25}$ preserves the original order of the Aramaic chronicle from which it is derived; and he regards the story of the three pages as 'equally valuable and worthy of credit with the rest of the book.' It is lost labour to attempt to reconcile this book with history; the compiler has put together his materials regardless of the inconsequences involved. But Sir H. Howorth's views on the relations between the two Gr. books are far more deserving of notice; he has here been partly anticipated by Pohlmann (*op. cit.* 273–275). He argues that 'Es A represents the true LXX text; Es B represents another tr., which in all probability was that of Theodotion'; and he quotes the parallel of the two versions of Daniel. The existing evidence makes it probable that this view is so far correct, that Es A represents the first attempt to present the story of the Return in a Gr. dress, the story of the three pages being perhaps added by a later compiler. Subsequently a complete and a more accurate rendering of the Heb. was required, and this was supplied by what is now called the LXX version of Ch, Ezr, Neh. Whether this took place so late as the time of Theodotion may be questioned.

In favour of the priority of Es A, these points may be noted :—

1. *The Position of the Book and its earliest Title in the MSS* ("Εσδρας α').—The explanation usually given is that the events described in it precede in part the events in the LXX Ezr. It is equally probable that it was assigned the prior position because it was the earlier of the two Gr. versions.

2. *The Contents.*—These point to a time when Ch, Ezr, and Neh formed one continuous work, and the division into sections had not yet been made. Es A passes without a break from one book to another, and does not contain the reduplication whereby the last two verses of Ch are repeated as the first two of Ezra.

3. *The Use of Es A by Josephus.*—There is no certain evidence of his acquaintance with the other Gr. book, or of its existence before his time. This looks as if he were using the only Gr. materials available to him; that is, that in the LXX as known to him this part of the Bible was represented by Es A.

4. During the first five centuries the Christian Fathers quote the book with respect as canonical. It was included in Origen's Hexapla.

5. As shown above, it has in many places preserved a better Heb. text than the LXX Ezra.

The Original Section (3^{1}–5^{6}).—The source of the story of the three pages at the court of Darius is unknown. In what language it was originally written is also doubtful; but Ewald is prob. right in holding that while the main body of the book is a tr. from Heb., 'on the other hand the work from which he took the story about Zerubbabel was originally composed in Gr.' At any rate there are

no clear traces of Hebraisms (Fritzsche adduces 4^{39} *τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων*=עֹשֶׂה מִשְׁפָּט כֹּל), and the paronomasia *ἄνεσιν καὶ ἄφεσιν* in 4^{62} points to a Gr. original. The compiler seems to have been acquainted with traditions of Persian history. The account of Darius and Apame the daughter of Bartacus (4^{29}, Jos. gives his name as Ῥαβεζάκης, so the Latin versions Bezaces) is perhaps derived from some book of Persian court stories.* The presence of Zerubbabel at the court of *Darius* is, of course, an anachronism: it was Cyrus who despatched him to Jerusalem. It is noticeable that in 5^{5}, acc. to the most natural construction, it is Joachim the son of Zerubbabel who spake wise words before Darius. In 4^{58} the speaker is merely called *ὁ νεανίσκος* (a name hardly suitable to Z.), and at his first introduction in 4^{13} the third speaker is identified in a parenthesis only *ὁ τρίτος . . . οὗτός ἐστιν Ζοροβαβέλ*, which is certainly a later addition. This has led to the conjecture that Joachim was the hero of the story, and that there were two expeditions—one in the time of Cyrus led by Zerubbabel, one under Darius led by Joachim (Fritzsche and Reuss). But no Joachim is mentioned among the sons of Z. in 1 Ch 3^{19}. These inconsistencies certainly show the composite nature of the book. It would appear that an earlier Pers. story was adopted by the Jews of Alexandria and became attached to Zerubbabel; the speakers in the original story were Persian courtiers (3^{4} *οἱ σωματοφύλακες*). The second of the theses maintained by the third speaker—the superiority of the truth—may also be a Jewish addition to the original, though the eulogy of truth would not be out of place in a Persian story, since the Persians were taught from boyhood 'to ride, to use the bow, and to speak the truth' (Hdt. i. 136).

The story is told in what perhaps was thought a more plausible way in Josephus (*Ant.* xi. iii. 2). There Darius, unable to sleep, proposes a reward to that one of his three pages who shall best prove his thesis: to the first he gives the thesis, that 'wine is the strongest'; to the second, 'the king is the strongest'; to the third, 'whether women are the strongest or truth is stronger than they'? The speeches are held on the following day. In Es the king makes no promise of rewards: the three pages suggest the idea to each other, and while he sleeps they each write the subject which he means to maintain, and put it under the king's pillow for him to find in the morning. The speeches before the Pers. monarch are not unlike the answers of the 72 translators at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, as described in the letter of Aristeas. The applause which greets the third speech (4^{41}), and the feasting for seven days 'with music and gladness' (4^{63}), may be illustrated from that work. But there is hardly sufficient ground for saying, with Ewald, that the book of Aristeas must have been already known to the author.' The story in Es is a composition of the same class, and probably of the same time as the Aristeas letter.

It should be noted that in the third speech there is an allusion to Gn 2^{24} (Es 4^{20} *ἄνθρωπος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐγκαταλείπει . . . καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα κολλᾶται*).

OBJECT OF THE BOOK.—The body of the book appears, as has been shown, to be the earliest version of the work of the Chronicler. It was written to render Gr.-speaking Jews acquainted with the favour which through the Divine Providence was once shown to their nation by foreign monarchs. The original section (3–4) is perhaps the nucleus of the whole, round which the rest is grouped. One object of the compiler was to give currency to this story, from whatever source, Persian or Jewish, he had derived it. He may also have had an ulterior object in view. The exaggerated accounts of the munificence of Cyrus and Darius lead us to suppose that he aimed at securing to the Jews 'the favour of a Ptolemaic or other heathen power' (Ewald).

TIME AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION.—The extreme limits between which the book must be placed are given on the one hand by the date of the composition of the Heb. books of Ezr and Neh, which is fixed as late as B.C. 300 (Ryle, *Cam. Bible*, Introd. xxvi), on the other by the date of Josephus, A.D. 100. Within these rather wide limits it is difficult to define the time more accurately with any certainty. As Fritzsche remarks, the writer has kept his own personality in the background and nowhere left any traces of his own time (*Einleitung*, p. 9). Still there remain a few indications to be mentioned. The similarity to Aristeas, as we have seen, shows nothing more than that the Zerubbabel story is of the same character and probably the same time as that book (*circa* B.C. 150).

1. But Ewald notes further (*Abhand. über d. Sibyll. Büch.* p. 36) that this story was known and referred to by the writer of the oldest of the Sibylline books. Now, this book (iii. of the Sibylline Oracles) is definitely fixed to the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (B.C. 181–146). In it is an allusion to Persian kings helping forward the rebuilding of the temple in consequence of a dream: iii. 293–4, *Αὐτὸς γὰρ δώσει Θεὸς ἔννυχον ἄγνον ὄνειρον, καὶ τότε δὴ ναὸς πάλιν ἔσσεται, ὡς πάρος ἦν περ.* This, in Ewald's opinion, is suggested by Es 3–4. But in Es $4^{43.45}$ there is no mention of a dream, but only a vow, which influenced Darius. Still, as the dream is not alluded to elsewhere, it is not improbable that the Sibyllist had some older form of this story before him, from which our Esdras also borrowed.

2. The book has, further, some parallels with the LXX version of Dn and Est. The opening of Es 3 seems to be imitated from the opening of Est 1^{1-3}: the phrases *ἐποίησεν δοχήν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μέχρι Αἰθιοπίας*, and 'the hundred and seventy satrapies,' are common to both. Cf. also Es 3^{9} *οἱ τρεῖς μεγιστᾶνες τῆς Περσίδος* with Est 1^{14} LXX, Dn 6^{2}. (The Heb. of Est as also Ezr 7^{4} name seven Persian councillors.)

The agreements between Es and Dn LXX are remarkable. Of these the most striking is a clause which they have in common in the account of the treasures which Nebuchadnezzar recovered from Jerus. (Es 2^{9}=Dn 1^{2} LXX, *καὶ ἀπηρείσατο αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ εἰδωλίῳ αὐτοῦ*). In this place, since *ἀπερείδεσθαι* is an Esdras word, occurring three times in this connexion in Es and nowhere else in Dn, and since *εἰδώλιον* renders the Heb. of Ezr (בֵּית אֱלֹהָיו) but not of Dn (בֵּית אוֹצַר אֱלֹהָיו, Theod. *εἰς τὸν οἶκον θησαυροῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ*), it would seem that the obligation is on the side of the Dn translator.

But, in view of the other parallels between the books, another explanation is more probable, that *the translations are the work of one and the same hand.* In one place the same Aramaic phrase, 'And his house shall be made a dunghill,' is mistranslated or paraphrased in the same way (Es 6^{31} *καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι βασιλικά*, Dn 2^{5} *καὶ ἀναληφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν*). It may be noted that both books are written in an idiomatic Gr. style foreign to most books of the LXX; both are very free translations; both have interpolations of a similar character (the three pages in Es, the three children in Dn); the original Heb. of both books has Aramaic sections interspersed in it. If this theory be true, the parallel between the two Gr. books of Es and the two versions of Dn is very close.*

* The name Apame is Oriental, though not found till the Macedonian period. No such person occurs among the wives of Darius I. The first of the name was the wife of Seleucus Nikator, Alexander's general, and daughter of Artabazus (Strabo). Does this last name give the explanation of the name Bartacus or Ῥαβεζάκης?

* The theory has already been suggested by Dr. Gwynn (*Dict. Christ. Biog.*, *s.v.* Theodotion, p. 977); cf. Dn 2^{11} *ἐπίδοξος* (Es 9^{45} *ἐπιδόξως*); *δογματίζειν* (Dn 2^{13}, Es 3^{9}); Dn 3^{1}, Es 3^{2} *οἱ προσγεγραμμένοι* (Dn 3^{3}, Es 6^{31} [A] only); use of *ἅμα* c. inf. *ἅμα τῷ*

3. Graetz (*Gesch. der Juden*, 1863, p. 445) points to the use of *ὕπατοι* in 3^{14}, and says that the Roman consulate is known to the writer. This would indicate a time later than the first interference of the Romans in the East, *i.e.* later than B.C. 200.

4. On the other hand, the term *Κοιλὴ Συρία* which so frequently occurs is used in the sense which it bore during the Gr. period, meaning all S. Syria except Phœnicia. Before the coming of the Romans to Palestine (*c.* B.C. 63, the date of Pompey's taking of Jerus.) this name had acquired a new significance, being restricted to the country E. of the Jordan (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 538). The way in which this phrase is used appears, therefore, to afford certain proof that the book is at least as old as the first half of the last century before the Christian era.

Whether it goes back to the 2nd cent. B.C. is more uncertain.

5. That such is the case is the opinion of Herzfeld (*Ges. d. Volk. Isr.* 1863, vol. ii. p. 73), who dates it before the Maccabæan wars, on the ground that after that date, when the books of Ezr and Neh had become canonical (Ryle, *Cam. Bible, Ezr. and Neh.* lxv), a translator would not have been bold enough to excerpt and rearrange materials from those books.

6. This view is also supported by Lupton, who has an ingenious theory as to the occasion when the book was written. He regards it as edited at the time (B.C. 170) when Onias, having fled from the persecution in Pal. under Antiochus Epiphanes, petitioned for leave from Ptolemy Philometor to build a temple for the Alexandrian Jews at Heliopolis on the site of a ruined Egyp. temple of Bubastis. At that time 'a work which described the rebuilding of the temple, and the beneficence of foreign kings to the work, and which also introduced the story of Josiah, slain in an invasion of Syria by the Egyptians, would have a special interest.' The account of the building of the Egyp. temple (*ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον*) is given in Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1; the reader is referred to the interesting remarks of Lupton (*Speaker's Comm.*, Apoc. vol. i. 11–14). This is, of course, no more than conjectural, and it is unsafe to base any argument upon it; if the theory about the relation to the LXX Dn be correct, the date given is rather too early. The limits within which the book may be placed may be taken to be B.C. 170–100. Most editors, however, assign it to the 1st cent. B.C. (De Wette, Ewald, Fritzsche).

As to the *place* where the compiler lived, the character of the translation seems to show that it was written for Alexandrian Jews rather than for natives of Palestine, for whom the original Hebrew of the Chronicler would suffice. One slight allusion in 4^{23} to 'sailing upon the sea and upon the rivers' for the purpose of 'robbing and stealing' is thought to point to Egypt. Certain small peculiarities of the language also indicate Alexandria as the place of writing: *οἱ φίλοι τοῦ βασιλέως* (8^{26}) takes the place of Es B *οἱ σύμβουλοι* (*οἱ πρῶτοι φίλοι* were the third in the scale of courtiers at the Alexandrian court): in 2^{18} *ἂν φαίνηταί σοι* is inserted. The phrase *ἐὰν φαίνηται* ('if it seem good') occurs in Aristeas (in Merx' *Archiv*, i. 1870, p. 19), and repeatedly in Egyptian papyri.

Fritzsche, on the other hand, concludes that the writer was a Palestinian from his knowledge of sites in Jerusalem, referring to 5^{46} *εἰς τὸ εὐρύχωρον τοῦ πρώτου πυλῶνος τοῦ πρὸς τῇ ἀνατολῇ* (=Es B *εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*). Cf. also 9^{38} *ἐπὶ τὸ εὐρύχωρον τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἱεροῦ πυλῶνος* (=Neh 8^{1} *εἰς τὸ πλάτος τὸ ἔμπροσθεν πύλης τοῦ ὕδατος*).

MSS AND TEXT.—Es A exists in two out of the three oldest MSS of the LXX, viz. Cod. Vaticanus (B) and Cod. Alexandrinus (A). It is not found in either of the portions of the Sinaitic MS (א) discovered by Tischendorf (Cod. Friderico-Augustanus and Cod. Sinaiticus Petropolitanus); but this is perhaps due only to the fact that that MS is incomplete, and, except for some few fragments of the Pent. and a portion of 1 Ch, contains in its present form no part of the OT earlier than Es B 9, after which it is fairly complete. There has been a curious error in connexion with the Esdras books; 13 chapters of 1 Ch having been apparently inserted in the middle of Es B. Cod. Sin.-Pet. contains one leaf with 1 Ch 9^{27}–11^{22}; Cod. F.-A. has four more leaves headed Es B, but in reality containing 1 Ch 11^{22}–19^{17}; but in the fourth column of the verso of the fourth leaf we suddenly pass in the middle of a line with no break from Ch (*καὶ ἐπολέμησεν αὐτόν*) to Es B 9^{9} (*κς̄ ὁ θς̄ ἡμῶν καὶ ἔκλινεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔλεος*). A note at the bottom of that leaf in a later hand calls attention to the *seven* superfluous leaves that are 'not of Esdras' (*τὸ τέλος τῶν ἑπτὰ φύλλων τῶ̄ περισσῶν ϛ μὴ ὄντων τοῦ ἔσδρα*). Of these seven leaves we now possess five; and reckoning back we find that the divergence must have begun about 1 Ch 6^{50} (list of the sons of Aaron). This error, whereby fragments of 1 Ch have been interpolated into the middle of Es B, is probably due to 'a mistake in binding in the copy from which the MS was transcribed' (Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 307, Append. B); a less probable explanation is given by Lupton (Introd. p. 1). The presence of the title Es B is not sufficient by itself to prove, as Lupton supposes, that Es A ever stood in Cod. א; since the same MS contains only the first and fourth books of Maccabees with the headings *μακκ. α′*, *μακκ. δ′*, and the two intervening books certainly never found a place in the MS.

An interesting problem is presented by the relation of the texts of Codd. A and B in this book. The text of A is always the smoother and more readable; and wherever the reading of B suggests a suspicion of corruption, A almost invariably gives the requisite correction. Several of these corrections may be attributed to an 'Alexandrian' revision of the text, removing grammatical solecisms and harsh phrases; such are 1^{30} *ἐθρήνουν* (B *ἐθρηνοῦσαν*), 1^{33} *ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτὸν . . . τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύειν* (B om. *τοῦ μή*), 1^{51} *τὰ σκεύη κιβωτοῦ* (B *τὰς κιβωτούς*), 3^{9} *ὃν κρίνῃ . . . ὅτι ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος* (B *ὃν ἂν κρίνῃ . . . ὅτι οὗ ὁ λ· αἱ τοῦ σοφ.*), 3^{33} *ἔβλεπον ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον* (B *εἷς τὸν ἕτερον*), 8^{12} *ἀκολούθως ὡς ἔχει ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* (B *ἀκολ. ᾧ ἔχει νόμω*). But in other places it is hard to suppose that A does not preserve the original text. Thus 1^{22} (24) *καὶ ἐλύπησαν αὐτὸν ἐν αἰσθήσει* ('they grieved him to the heart,' a phrase illustrated by Jth 16^{17}; B *καὶ ἃ ἐλύπησαν αὐτὸν ἐστιν*), 1^{41} Joachim at his accession *ἦν ἐτῶν δέκα ὀκτώ* (cf. 2 Ch 36^{9}, B *ἦν ἐτῶν ὀκτώ*), 4^{45} *τὸν ναὸν ὃν ἐνεπύρισαν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι* (B *Ἰουδαῖοι*), 5^{53} *κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα* (B *καὶ τὸ πρόστ.*), 8^{41} *ἐπὶ τὸν λεγόμενον Θερὰν ποταμόν* (B om. *Θερὰν*), 8^{68} *καὶ κατέτιλα τοῦ τριχώματος* (B *κατέτιλον τοῦ τριχ.*). Fritzsche (*Einleitung*, 1851, § 8) remarks that B is on the whole a very pure and A an emended text; but it is noticeable that in his subsequent critical edition (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test.* 1871) in the passages given above and in numerous others he adopts the reading of A and abandons 'the pure text of B.' Still more noticeable is it that the earliest author to quote Es A supports the A text against the B. It is not always possible to reconstruct the text which Josephus used owing to his habit of paraphrasing the authority which lay before him; but out of 13 passages in this book where a comparison is possible, in 10 he agrees with A against B, while in three only does he side with B against A. Jos. *Ant.* XI. iii. 8 *προσετάξε τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους . . . ἀφεῖναι τὰς κώμας* (Es 4^{50} *καὶ ἵνα οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι ἀφίωσιν τὰς κώμας*, B *οἱ Χαλδαῖοι*), XI. iv. 1 *τοῦ ἑβδόμου μηνός* (Es 5^{52} *ἑβδόμου*, B *πρώτου*), XI. iv. 6 *καὶ εὑρέθη ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῇ βάρει τῇ ἐν Μηδίᾳ βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ κ.τ.λ.* (Es 6^{22} *κ. εὑρ. ἐν Ἐκβ. τῇ βάρει τῇ ἐν Μηδείᾳ χώρᾳ τόμος εἷς ἐν ᾧ . . .* B *τόπος ἐν ᾧ*. A preserves the indefinite article; cf. Es B 6^{2} *κεφαλὶς μία*; B is a corruption of the Greek of A); XI. v. 1 *ἀνενέγκωσι δῶρα τῷ Ἰσραηλιτῶν θεῷ* (Es 8^{13} *ἀπενεγκεῖν δῶρα τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ισλ*, B *τῷ κυρίῳ*); *id.* *κολασθήσονται δ' ἤτοι θανάτῳ ἢ ζημίᾳ χρηματικῇ* (Es 8^{24} *κολασθήσονται ἐάν τε καὶ θανάτῳ ἐάν τε καὶ τιμωρίᾳ, ἢ ἀργυρικῇ ζημίᾳ ἢ ἀπαγωγῇ*; B *μὴ ἀργυρίῳ ζημίᾳ*. A is undoubtedly best); XI. v. 2 *συναγαγὼν εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου* (did Jos. read *ἐπὶ τὸ λεγόμενον πέραν ποταμοῦ* in Es 8^{41}? A *Θέραν ποταμόν*, B *ποταμόν*); *id.* *ταύρους δώδεκα ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τοῦ λαοῦ*

ἀκοῦσαι (Dn 3^{15}, Es 8^{68}); *καρπόω*='to burn' (Dn 3^{38}, Es 4^{52}); *ἀχρειοῦν* (Dn 4^{11} 6^{20}, Es 1^{53}); *μανιάκης* (Dn 5^{7}, Es 3^{6} only); Dn 6^{1}, Es 3^{1}; use of *ὑποστίπτειν* (Sus 51^{a}, Es 8^{17}). The parallels are chiefly in the first six chapters of Dn.

τετρήρεις, κρίους ἐνενήκοντα, κ.τ.λ. with A in Es 8[63] (B omits a line through confusion, perhaps, of ΚΤΡΙΩ and ΚΡΙΟΤΣ); xi. v. 3 διέρρηξε τὴν ἐσθῆτα (Es 8[68] διέρρηξα, B ἔρρηξα); xi. v. 4 Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλιασίβου (Es 9[1] Ἰωαναὰν τοῦ Ἐλιασίβου, B Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ Ναστείβου).

These instances form a strong argument for the early existence if not the originality of the A text. The chief passage where Jos. appears to favour B is Es 5[53] (B καὶ χάρα τοῖς Σιδωνίοις καὶ Τυρίοις εἰς τὸ παράγειν; A κάρρα='cars'; Jos. xi. iv. 1 τοῖς τε Σιδωνίοις ἠδὺ καὶ κοῦφον ἦν . . . κατάγουσιν).

On the MSS generally see Fritzsche, *Einleitung*, § 8.

Of VSS, Sabatier prints two Lat. versions, one of which he calls the Vulg., and a 'versio altera' ('ex MS Colbertino annorum circiter 800'). In reality they appear to be two distinct VSS of the O.L. Jerome left the O.L. untouched, and the Lat. now given in the Appendix to the Vulg. is not his work. A third Lat. version of Es A 3–4 (abbreviated) and of a few verses elsewhere in the book is given in Lagarde (*Septuaginta Studien*, ii. 1892) from a MS in the cathedral of Lucca written about 570. The book did not exist in the Peshiṭta Syriac, but is found in the Syro-Hexaplar of Paul of Tella (A.D. 616); the Syriac is given in Walton's Polyglot, 1657. There is a free rendering of the book in the Armenian version.

Literature.—Fritzsche, *Exeget. Handb. z. d. Apokr.* i. (Leipzig, 1851), Introd. and Comm.; Fritzsche, *Libri Apocr. Vet. Test. græce* (Leipzig, 1871), a crit. ed. of the text; Zöckler, *Die Apokryphen*, 155-161 (in Strack und Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* 1889); Schürer, *HJP*, Eng. tr. II. iii. 177–181; Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.*, Eng. tr. v. 126–128. Special treatises on the relation between Es A and Es B; Trendelenburg (in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der Bibl. Litt.* i. 178–232, Leipzig, 1787); Pohlmann, 'Ueber das Ansehen des apokr. dritten Buchs Esras, in *Tübingen Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1859, 257-275). In English the best edd. are Bissell (in Lange's *Comm. on OT*, 1880) and Lupton in *The Speaker's Comm.*, Apocrypha, vol. i. 1888. A series of papers on 'The Character and Importance of 1 Esdras,' by Sir H. H. Howorth in the *Academy*, 1893, vol. 43 (pp. 13, 60, 106, 174, 326, 524). Jos. *Ant.* xi. 1–5 (Niese). For further references see Schürer.

H. St. J. Thackeray.

ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF.—Title.—The title which this book bears in the English Apocrypha is derived from the opening words of ch. i., 'the second book of the prophet Esdras'; but it is more commonly known by the name which is given it in most Latin MSS, 'The *fourth* book of Esdras.' The variation in the titles of the books of Esdras is due to two causes—(1) The adoption of the Latin name Esdras in the Vulg. for the canonical Ezr and Neh; (2) the composite nature of this book, the first two and the last two chapters being later additions to the orig. work, and reckoned by the MSS as separate books. The most frequent arrangement in the MSS is 1 Es = Ezr-Neh; 2 Es = 2 Es 1. 2; 3 Es = 1 Es; 4 Es = 2 Es 3–14; 5 Es = 2 Es 15. 16. The central portion of the book bears every number from one to four. The original Greek had probably no number attached to it. Two suggestions have been made for the original title—(1) Ἔζρας ὁ προφήτης, adopted by Hilgenfeld in his restoration of the Greek, and based on a quotation of Clem. Alex. from Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης, and of Ambrose from 'propheta Ezra' (*Mess. Jud.* 18). The title would then be parallel to ὁ ἱερεύς attached to 1 Es in Cod. A. (2) Ἀποκάλυψις Ἔσδρα, suggested by Dr. Westcott, and found in a catalogue of the 60 books, canonical and apocryphal, made in Asia (Westcott, *Canon*[6], 559). The title is far the most suitable to the contents of the book, but has already become appropriated to a later and inferior Greek Apocalypse published by Tischendorf (*Apocal. Apocryphæ*, 1866).

Original Language and Versions. — The original language of 2 Es was undoubtedly Greek; two quotations from the Greek exist, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 16. 100 (= 2 Es 5[35]), and *Apost. Constitut.* viii. 7 (=2 Es 8[23]). Otherwise we possess the book only in versions. The Latin version abounds in Grecisms, such as the use of the comparative with the genit. ('horum maiora,' 'omnium maior,' etc.), the genit. abs. (10[9]), the prepositions *ad* and *pro* with the inf. (7[135] 13[28]), *de* and *ex* followed by the genit., the double negative ('nihil nemini,' 'nunquam nemo'), redundant prepositions after verbs ('timere a,' 15[3]; 'multiplicare super,' 9[16]). The theory of a Heb. original, of which the Greek was a tr[n], has now been given up; one Hebraism, which, however, had become naturalized in Greek, is of constant occurrence, namely, the use of the participle with a finite tense of the same verb (*e.g.* excedens excessit, 4[2]; proficiscens profectus sum, 4[13]).

The popularity which this book has enjoyed is shown by the number of versions that have been made of it. For many years the text of *the Latin* depended on a few MSS, Codex Sangermanensis (S, A.D. 822), Cod. Turicensis (T, 13th cent.), Cod. Dresdensis (D, 15th cent.), which presented a text from which it was clear that a considerable section was missing between vv. 35 and 36 of the 7th chapter. The other versions contained 70 additional verses in this place. In 1865 Prof. Gildemeister discovered that this 'missing fragment' had once been contained in Cod. S, from which a leaf had been purposely cut out in early times; and drew the certain and important conclusion that all MSS of 4 Es which do not contain the passages were ultimately derived from Cod. S. The discovery of this missing fragment was made by R. L. Bensly, who in 1874 found a MS of the 9th cent. in the *Bibliothèque Communale* of Amiens containing the entire Latin text; he thus had the unique distinction of adding a chapter to the Apocrypha, for hitherto the verses in the Oriental VSS had not been universally considered genuine. An account of the MS and its discovery, with a full commentary on the new passage, was published by him in the following year (*The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra*, Camb. 1875). It subsequently appeared that he had been anticipated in the discovery, for a transcript of the lost passage, made in 1826 from a Spanish MS, was found among the papers of Prof. Palmer: this was not published till 1877 (*Journ. of Philology*, vol. vii. 264). The excision of 736–105 was probably made for dogmatic reasons. The verses contain a description of the intermediate state of souls, and an emphatic denial of the efficacy of intercessions for the dead (v.[105]), a passage which called forth a severe reproof from Jerome ('Tu . . . proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdræ a te et similibus tuis legitur: ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi,' *Cont. Vigilant.* c. 7), and this estimate not improbably accounts for the disappearance of the section from Cod. S. The number of known MSS which give a complete text of 2 Es has now been increased, through the discoveries of M. Berger, to five. A complete text of the book, based on four of these MSS and Cod. S, has at length been edited from Bensly's papers, with an introd. by Dr. James (*Texts and Studies*, iii. 2, Camb. 1895); while the missing fragment has been restored to its place in the English Bible in the Revision of the Apocrypha. The Latin MSS fall into two groups: (1) those which preserve a French text. S (Sangermanensis) once in the Abbey of S. Germain des Prés, now in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, 11504–5, Fonds Latin, dated A.D. 822, the oldest extant MS, and the parent of numerous later MSS, and A (Ambianensis), Amiens, *Bibl. Comm.* 10, cent. ix., containing a text very similar to but independent of S, and agreeing with the quotations of Gildas the Briton in his Epistle (6th cent.); (2) a Spanish text, perhaps traceable to Priscillian (*Texts and Studies*, xxxvi.), represented by three MSS. C (Complutensis), now at Madrid, cent. ix., from which Prof. Palmer

copied the missing fragment in 1826. M (Mazarinæus), Paris, *Bibl. Mazarine*, 3, 4, cent. ix.–x., discovered by M. Berger. V (Abulensis), Madrid, *Bibl. Nac. É. R.* 8, cent. xiii., a copy of C, discovered by M. Berger, and a fourth, not yet fully collated, but probably belonging to this group. L (Legionensis), at Leon, of the year 1162. For one section of the book, the Confessio Esdræ (8^{20-36}), which was often copied in collections of Cantica, an additional group of MSS exists. The two groups differ most widely from each other in the interpolated chapters (1. 2, 15. 16). An examination of their relative values in these chs. has been made by Dr. James (*T. and S.* xliv.–lxxviii.), from which he concludes that in 1. 2. the Spanish form of text is more accurate than the French, which has corrected the text to agree with the canonical Scriptures, whereas in 15. 16 the Spanish is on the whole an emended text, and in 15^{59}–16^{32} A, which has the support of Gildas, is to be preferred to S C M.

The *other versions* agree in omitting the interpolated chapters at the beg. and end (1. 2. 15. 16). Of these the best is the *Syriac*, which exists only in a celebrated MS of the Peshitta in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, B. 21 Inf. The Syriac was edited by Ceriani in *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. v. fasc. 1 (1868), and tr^{d} into Latin in vol. i. fasc. 2 of the same work (1866). There are two independent *Arabic* versions: Ar.^{1} in an Oxford MS (Bodl. 251, A.D. 1354), of which an English tr^{n} was made by W. Whiston for his *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, 1711, and the Arabic text was edited by Ewald in 1863 (*Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*); and Ar.^{2} preserved *in toto* in a Vatican MS Arab. 462, and in part in Bodl. 260.

The *Ethiopic* version was first published in 1820 by Dr. Richard Laurence from a Bodleian MS (Æth. 7). Dillmann collected readings from other MSS, which are given at the end of Ewald's ed. of the Arabic. The Syr. Ar. Eth. versions were probably all made directly from the Greek; the *Armenian*, however, given in Zohrab's ed. of the Armenian Bible (1805, Venice) was perhaps from the Syriac. A reconstruction of the Greek has been made by Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Judæorum*.

CONTENTS. — The original Apocalypse (3–14) consists of a series of revelations or visions given to Ezra by an angel.

1*st Vision*, 3^{1}–5^{20}. Ezra, in captivity at Babylon in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerus. [the date is nearly a century too early], recounts God's favours to Isr. in their earlier history, and while admitting their 'evil heart,' yet complains of their subjection to Babylon, which is more wicked than they (ch. 3). The angel Uriel replies that E. should not enquire into things beyond his understanding. E. pleads with the angel as Abraham did at Mamre ('If I have found favour in thy sight,' 4^{44}; cf. Gn 18^{1}), and asks, further, whether the time that is past exceeds the time to come; and is told that it is so. The signs of the end are given, 5^{1-13}; and he is ordered to fast for seven days.

2*nd Vision*, 5^{21}–6^{34}. E. renews his complaints, and is told why God 'doeth not all at once' so as to hasten the judgment; and of the degeneracy of the world, which cannot produce such children as of old ($5^{42ff.}$). The next world is to follow this as closely as Jacob followed Esau from the womb (6^{10}). More signs of the end follow, and E. is again bidden to fast for seven days.

3*rd Vision*, 6^{35}–9^{25}. E. recounts the works of creation, including the creatures Behemoth and Leviathan, who were reserved to be meat for the saints (6^{49-52}) [this idea is met with also in Enoch 607, Apoc. Bar 29^{4}]; and asks, why, if the world was made for us, we do not possess our inheritance. He is told that the narrow way must be traversed before the large room of the next age be attained (7^{1-16}). Then follows a picture of the Messianic age, the appearance of 'My Son' [or 'My Son Jesus': the name is omitted in the Oriental versions] with His attendants, their reign of 400 years, succeeded by the death of 'My Son Christ' and all living, and the return of the world for seven days into 'the old silence,' and then the resurrection (7^{26-35}). The 'missing fragment' describes the pit of torment and the paradise of delight over-against it: ineffectual intercession of E. for the wicked, leading him to exclaim that the beasts are more fortunate than man: the seven ways of punishment for the wicked, and the 'seven orders' of blessings for the righteous: the seven days' respite after death, before the souls are gathered to their habitations: and the severe declaration of the inefficacy of intercession for the departed (7^{36-105}). E. says it were better if Adam had never been born ('O tu quid fecisti Adam,' cf. Apoc. Bar 48), but acknowledges God's mercy. Ch. 8 contains the same theme, 'Many are created, but few shall be saved,' and fresh intercession in the Confessio Esdræ. In answer to the question, When shall the end be? fresh signs are given.

4*th Vision*, 9^{26}–10^{60}. E. eats of the herbs in the field of Ardat,* and sees a vision of a woman mourning for her son, who died on his marriage day. The woman, he is told, is Sion lamenting the fall of her city, and her thirty years' sterility represents the 3000 years before Solomon built the city. The city in building, which appears after the woman vanishes, is the heavenly Jerusalem which is to replace the earthly.

5*th Vision*, 11^{1}–12^{39}. Of the Eagle (Rome) with 12 wings and 8 little wings (*contrariæ pennæ*) and 3 heads, which bear rule in turn, until sentence is pronounced on the eagle by a lion (the Messiah), and it is burnt up. A partial interpretation is given of the vision.

6*th Vision*, 13^{1-58}. A man (the Messiah) arises from the sea, and graves for himself a mountain (Sion): his enemies collect to fight against him, and are burnt up: and he gathers to him 'a peaceable multitude,' *i.e.* the ten lost tribes, who are to return from Arzareth (*i.e.* 'another land' אֶרֶץ אַחֶרֶת, cf. Dt 29^{28}).

7*th Vision*, 14^{1-47}. E. is told he is to be taken from men; and to console the people for his departure, he in forty days writes ninety-four books (the twenty-four canonical books of the OT that were lost, and seventy books of mysteries for the wise among the people).

The interpolation at the beginning (1. 2), written in an anti-Jewish spirit, contains a reproof of the Isr. for their desertion of God, and threatens the transference of God's favours from them to the Gentiles. The concluding chs. (15. 16) are not of an apocalyptic character, but a denunciation of woe on the nations of the world (Egypt, Asia, Babylon) in the style of the OT prophets. Both sections have numerous reminiscences of the NT (*e.g.* $1^{30.33}$ = Mt $23^{37.38}$, 1^{32} = Lk $11^{49.50}$, 2^{11} 'tabernacula æterna' = Lk 16^{9}, 2^{13} = Mt 7^{7} and 25^{34}, $2^{38.42}$ = Rev $7^{4.9}$, $16^{42ff.}$ = 1 Co $7^{29ff.}$).

CHARACTER AND DATE. — The book is written in a tone of deep despondency, and offers a marked contrast in this respect to the Book of Enoch. The prospect of ultimate triumph and blessedness is almost lost in dismal forebodings about the immediate future and the destiny of the world. The time and place in which the scene is laid demanded that this should be so; but the meaning of this despairing tone is greatly enhanced if we suppose that recent events are referred to, that Jerusalem was in ruins at the time when it was written, and that the whole work portrays the hopeless outlook of the Jew after the terrible events of the year A.D. 70. Hence the gloomy picture of the few that shall be saved (8^{3}), the dying of the Messiah and all that draw breath (7^{29}), the discussion of the problem of the origin of evil ('quare cor malignum,' 4^{4}), the oft-repeated cry that it were better not to be born, or to be without consciousness of our doom like the beasts (7^{62-64} 4^{12} 5^{35} 6^{59}), the consolation to be found in the permanence of the law (9^{37}) though the city is gone.

The date of the book has been the subject of much controversy. It is obviously not a genuine work of the time of Ezra, as is shown, *e.g.*, by the error in Ezra's date (3^{1}) and the allusion to the Book of Daniel ($12^{11.12}$). An ultimate limit is given by the quotation of Clem. Alex. from it referred to above (A.D. 200). Internal notices must fix it more nearly. Hilgenfeld adduces for the earlier date (B.C. 30) 6^{9} 'Finis huius sæculi Esau,' which he thinks proves the time of writing to be the reign of the Idumæan Herod. But Edom is found in Rabbinical literature equally as a de-

* This name (in the Arm. Ardab) is explained by Rendel Harris as a corruption of (Kiriath) Arba, the old name of Hebron, which is the scene of the visions of Baruch in the sister Apocalypse (Rest of the Words of Baruch, 35). The oak (14^{1}) is the terebinth of Mamre. Hilg. takes it to mean Arpad ('Αρφάτ, 2 K 18^{34}).

signation of Rome; and the Herodian dynasty, if that is referred to, lasted on through the first century of our era. He also draws an argument from the description of the twelve ages of the world, of which ten and a half are past (14^{11}), taken in connexion with 10^{46} (Solomon built the temple in the year of the world 3000); from which he calculates about B.C. 30 as the date (*Mess. Jud.* 104); but the description of the world-ages is too uncertain (the Syr. omits the verses) to base any inference upon it. Another argument for the early date is that a Jew, writing after the death of Christ, would not have introduced a prophecy of the death of the Messiah (7^{25}) which would have been employed against him by Christians. No inference can be drawn from the signs of the end ($5^{1ff.}$ $6^{18ff.}$ 9^{1}) as applicable rather to the portents that preceded the battle of Actium than to those in the time of Vespasian. On the other hand, the allusion to the pulling down of the walls of Jerus. (11^{42} 'humiliasti muros eorum qui te non nocuerunt') was true of Titus, but not of the capture of the city by Pompey in B.C. 63.

But the question of the date really depends upon the interpretation given to the Eagle Vision. The details given about the reign of the several wings show that historic facts are here alluded to; the interpretation which follows the vision is perhaps purposely obscure, and does not help much as to the solution of it. The vision describes the reign of 12 'feathered wings,' 8 subordinate wings, and 3 heads — in all, of 23 kings; the attempt to take the wings in pairs, each pair representing a single king, their number being so reduced to 10 (Volkmar), is opposed to the interpretation given to Esdras (12^{14} 'regnabunt xii reges, unus post unum,' 12^{20} 'exsurgent octo reges'). The following points are to be borne in mind in the interpretation (Schürer, *HJP* III. ii. 100). (1) The author writes during the reign of the third head, in which the Messiah is to appear; the subsequent reign of the two last subordinate wings is not history, but prophecy. (2) The second wing reigns more than twice as long as any of the rest (11^{17}). (3) Several wings do not get so far as to reign, and represent pretenders only. (4) The wings and heads all belong to one and the same kingdom. (5) The first head dies a natural death (12^{28}); the second is murdered by the third, who also is to die by the sword (11^{35} 12^{28}). Three main explanations are proposed—(i.) The wings represent Rome under the kings and the republic, and the 3 heads are Sulla, Pompey, and Cæsar; the date of the work is shortly after Cæsar's death (Laurence, Van der Vlis, Lücke). This view has no probability. Early Roman history would have no interest to a Jew, and there is great difficulty in adapting the 8 minor wings to the period before Sulla. (ii.) Hilgenfeld's view, that the wings represent the *Greek* empire reckoned from Alexander, either, as he first held, the line of the Ptolemies (*Jüd. Apokalyptik*, 217 ff.), or, according to his later theory, that of the Seleucidæ (*Mess. Jud.* liv ff.): in either case the three heads are Cæsar, Antony, and Octavian, and the book was written directly after Antony's death in B.C. 30, thirty years after the capture of Jerus. by Pompey (cf. 2 Es 3^{1} 'in the thirtieth year'). It is true that in 2 Es 11^{39} the eagle is compared to the fourth beast of Daniel (7^{7} = the Greek empire); but the fourth kingdom was often referred to the Romans. The chief objections to this view are—(1) The heads and the wings must all refer to a single kingdom, not to a combination of Roman and Greek rulers; (2) the rule of the second in the dynasty, whether Ptolemy I. Lagi or Seleucus I. Nikator, was not more than twice the length of any succeeding reign; (3) Cæsar was assassinated, and did not die in his bed, as the first head is said to have done.

(iii.) It is now the generally accredited view, and it has most arguments in its favour, that the book should be dated in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96). So Gfrörer, Dillmann, Volkmar, Ewald, Schürer, and others. The eagle represents Imperial Rome, the line of the emperors beginning with J. Cæsar. The second wing is certainly to be identified with Augustus, who, reckoning from his first consulate, held rule for 56 years (B.C. 43–A.D. 14), *i.e.* more than twice the time of any of his successors. The three heads with equal probability are referred to the Flavian emperors: Vespasian died on his bed in torment (Suet. *Vesp.* 24; 2 Es 12^{26}); Titus was commonly believed to have been murdered by Domitian. The difficulty lies in supplying the twenty rulers to precede Vespasian. The following proposals are made—(1) Gfrörer takes the twelve greater wings to be the first nine emperors, Cæsar to Vitellius, with three usurpers, Vindex, Nymphidius, and Piso Licinianus: the eight lesser wings are petty kings and leaders in Pal. (Herod the Great, Agrippa I., Eleazar, John of Gischala, Simon Bar Giora, John the Idumæan, Agrippa II., and Berenice: the last two attached themselves to Rome in the war). (2) Schürer agrees as to the twelve, but regards six of the lesser wings (the last two being matter of prophecy) as Roman generals who laid claim to the empire in the years of disorder, A.D. 68–70. (3) Wieseler takes the eight subordinate wings to mean the Herodian dynasty, vassals of Rome (Antipater, Herod I. and his three sons, Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, Agrippa I. and II., and Berenice). (4) Ewald, who is followed by Drummond (*Jewish Messiah*, 107), takes the twelve wings to be the twelve emperors up to Domitian: the eight little wings are the eight emperors among these who reigned less than ten years (Domitian included, for whom a short reign was anticipated), and the three heads are the Flavian princes, reckoned a third time under a different aspect. The double and triple repetition of the same names is unsatisfactory; Schürer's view (2) appears on the whole the most free from objection.

The simpler theory, on the other hand, of Gutschmid and Le Hir (*Études Bibliques*, i. 184 ff.), that twenty-three actual emperors are intended, the three heads being Sept. Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, is shown to be wrong by the fact that the book was quoted by Clem. Alex. at an earlier date than these emperors, and can be maintained only by supposing an interpolation, of which there is no sign in the Eagle Vision.

In considering the date, reference should be made to a companion volume to 2 Esdras, which curiously reproduces the language and visions of that book, namely, the Apocalypse of Baruch, first pub. in 1866 by Ceriani from a Syr. MS at Milan (*Mon. sacra et prof.*, tom. i. fasc. ii., and tom. v. fasc. ii.; also in Fritzsche, *Libri Apocr. V.T.* 654). It also is a product of the Jewish literature called forth by the events of A.D. 70, but written before the final destruction of Jerus. in 133, which is not foreseen (Apoc. Bar 32; Jerus. is to be rebuilt, and then again destroyed [A.D. 70] for a time, and then rebuilt for ever). The similarities in tone and language with 2 Es are so striking that Ewald ascribed it to the same author. The general belief now held is that Baruch is the later, and has used Es, because, *e.g.*, Bar corrects the crude notions of Es about original sin (cf. Es 7^{118} 'O tu quid fecisti Adam? si enim tu peccasti non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum,' with Bar 54, 'Non est ergo Adam causa nisi animæ suæ tantum; nos vero unusquisque fuit animæ suæ Adam'): and whereas Ezra complains that Jerus. should at least

have been punished by the hands of God (5[30]), Bar accordingly represents it as destroyed by four angels before the entry of the Chaldæan army (6–8). Some of the parallels are the division of each book into seven scenes, separated in most cases by intervals of seven days of fasting: the division of time into twelve parts (Bar 27=Es 14[11]): the legend of Behemoth and Leviathan (Bar 29=Es 6[49]): the prayer of Baruch (48, cf. the Confessio Esdræ 8[20]): the importance of Adam's transgression, prefaced in each by 'O quid fecisti Adam?' (Bar 48=Es 7[118]): the vision of a cloud ascending from the sea (Bar 53, cf. Es 13): the permanence of the law though the teachers depart (Bar 77, cf. Es 9[37]): the interest in the lost tribes, to whom Baruch sends a letter of consolation (78–86, cf. Es 13[40]), besides frequent minute resemblances of language.

The writing is a characteristically Jewish work in its apocalyptic form, its knowledge of Jewish traditions (Behemoth, etc.), its interest in the ten tribes, and its deep concern in the fate of Jerusalem. There is no ground for supposing that the author was a Jewish Christian: there is a marked contrast between the Christian interpolations (1–2, 15–16, and the insertion of the name Jesus in 7[28]) and the remainder of the book. The place of writing is given as Rome (Ewald) or Alexandria (Hilgenfeld, lxii, and most edd.), from which the added chapters certainly emanate; this would account for the earliest quotation being found in Clem. Alex. On the other hand, the fall of Jerus. would be more impressive to a Palestinian Jew than to an Alexandrian; and the geography (if Ardat is rightly explained by Rendel Harris) points the same way.

The date of the concluding chs. (15. 16) is placed about A.D. 268 by most critics. 15[10-12] refers to the troubles of Alexandria under Gallienus (260–268), when two-thirds of the population were destroyed by a plague following upon a famine (Eus. *HE* vii. 21. 22). 15[28-33] refers to the conquests of the Sassanidæ ('Carmonii insanientes'), esp. Sapor I. (240–273), who overran Syria but was repulsed by Odenathus and Zenobia ('dracones Arabum'), the founders of Palmyra; they, in turn, were defeated by Aurelian. 33 describes the murder of Odenathus at Emesa (266) by his cousin Mæonius. 34 ff. are referred to the invasion of Asia Minor by Goths and Scythians from the N. of the Euxine: Gallienus marched against them, but was recalled by the revolt of Aureolus (38 'portio alia ab occidente'). 46 'Asia consors in specie Babylonis' alludes to the association of Odenathus in the empire, A.D. 264 (Hilgenfeld, *Mess. Jud.* 208).

The chapters were written apparently as an appendix to 3–14, and were never current in a separate form.

Chs. 1. 2 are not fixed so definitely, but are probably earlier than the close. They are a compilation from various sources, and perhaps a fragment of a larger work: they show some relation to an Apocalypse of Zephaniah (*T. and S.* lxxix).

RECEPTION. — The early quotations from the book are collected by Dr. James (*T. and S.* xxvii–xliii). The Ep. of Barnabas 12[1] (ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ) is thought to refer to 2 Es 5[5], and the Rest of the Words of Baruch (A.D. 136), ch. 9, has similar words; the last scene of that book, where a stone takes the form of Jeremiah and speaks to the people, may be an amplification of 'lapis dabit vocem suam' of 2 Es. But the first express quotation is Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 16. 100, who regards it as the work of 'the prophet' Ezra. It is made use of in an Hippolytæan fragment περὶ τοῦ παντός, and quoted in the Greek in the *Apost. Constit.* viii. 7. The supposed references in Tert. (*de præscr. hæret.* 3), Cyprian, and Commodian (3rd cent., *Carm. Apol.* 943, on the lost tribes) are doubtful. But it is quoted very frequently by Ambrose (*de bono Mortis*, 10–12, and elsewhere), who regards it as prophetical: in his time chs. 15. 16 were already current in the Latin version, and probably attached to 3–14. In Spain it was known to Priscillian and Vigilantius; and in Britain to Gildas, who quotes 15. 16 (Bensly, 36–40). The legend of the restoration of the books of Scripture (2 Es 14) is widespread, and may be derived from tradition apart from 2 Es (Iren. iii. 21. 2; Tert. *de cult. fem.* i. 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 22. 149). Jerome is alone unfavourable to it (*adv. Vigilantium*, 6, *Præf. in vers. libr. Ezræ*, quoted in last art.). It was perhaps owing to his estimate that the book was excluded from the Canon by the Council of Trent: it now with 1 Es forms an appendix to the Vulg. after the NT. The liturgical use of the book shows its popularity: the words of 2[34. 35] are employed in the 'Missa pro defunctis' of the Breviary ad Usum Sarum, and the word Requiem is derived from this passage; and 2[36. 37] were formerly used by the Eng. Church as an Introit for Whit Tuesday. Otherwise no use is made of it in the services of the Church.

LITERATURE.—A full list of the wide lit. on the subject is given in Schürer, *HJP.* II. iii. 93–114. The best critical edd. of the Lat. text are in the Camb. *Texts and Studies*, vol. iii. 2, ed. Bensly and James, 1895; and Bensly, *The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra*, 1875. The versions are collected in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judæorum* (Lips. 1869). Eng. commentaries and introductions are Lupton in the *Speaker's Comm. on the Apoc.*; Bissell (in Lange's *OT Comm.*); Churton's *Uncan. and Apocr. Scriptures*; and Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, 1877.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

ESDRIS (Ἔσδρις).—Mentioned only 2 Mac 12[36]. The text is probably corrupt. AV has *Gorgias*, and this is likely enough to be correct.

ESEK (עֵשֶׂק), 'contention,' Gn 26[20].—A well dug by Isaac, in the region near Rehoboth and Gerar. The site is unknown.

ESEREBIAS (Ἐσερεβίας, AV **Esebrias**), 1 Es 8[54]. See SHEREBIAH.

ESHAN (אֶשָׁן), Jos 15[52].—A town of Judah in the Hebron mountains, noticed with Arab and Dumah. The site is doubtful.

ESHBAAL.—See ISHBOSHETH.

ESHBAN (אֶשְׁבָּן).—An Edomite chief (Gn 36[26], 1 Ch 1[41]). See GENEALOGY.

ESHCOL (אֶשְׁכֹּל). — The brother of Mamre and Aner, the Amorite confederates of Abraham, who assisted the patriarch in his pursuit and defeat of Chedorlaomer's forces (Gn 14[13. 24]). He lived in the neighbourhood of Hebron (Gn 13[18]); and possibly gave his name to the valley of Eshcol, that lay a little to the N. of Hebron (Nu 13[23]).

It is noteworthy that Josephus, in recording the event described in Gn 14[13-24], mentions Eshcol first. 'The first of them was called Eshcol, the second Enner, and the third Mambres' (*Ant.* I. x. 2). In the Heb. of Gn 14[24] they are mentioned in the order Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre. But in the LXX the order is Ἐσχώλ, Αὐνάν, Μαμβρή; and this order is found also in Philo (*De Migrat. Abrah.* § 30, i. 461).

H. E. RYLE.

ESHCOL (אֶשְׁכּוֹל), Nu 13[23. 24] 32[9], Dt 1[24].—A wady, with vineyards and pomegranates, apparently near Hebron. E. is usually rendered 'bunch of grapes.' The name has not been recovered, since the *Ain*

Keshkaleh at Hebron has no connexion with the Hebrew.

LITERATURE.—Robinson, *BRP* i. 114; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 388, 393; Conder, *Tent-Work*, 237; *Bible Places*, 89; Besant, *Thirty Years' Work in the Holy Land*, 70, 84.

C. R. CONDER.

ESHEK (עֶשֶׁק).—A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{39}). See GENEALOGY.

ESHTAOL (אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל Jos 15^{33} 19^{41}, Jg 13^{25} 16^{31} $18^{2.\ 8.\ 11}$).—A town in the Shephelah, first assigned to Judah, afterwards to Dan, always named with Zorah, now *Sura'a*, which is beside 'Ain Shems, where the Wady es-Surar is joined by valleys from the N. and S. and a great basin formed, fertile and well-watered, just beneath the hill country of Judæa. *Eshua'*, close to Sura'a, represents Eshtaol. Guérin says he heard in the neighbourhood that it formerly was called Eshu'al or Eshthu'al, which, if confirmed, might be held decisive; but the degeneration of Eshtaol into Eshua is not impossible. Between Zorah and E. was the 'camp of Dan'; and there (Jg 13^{25}) Samson's achievements began, and there he was buried (16^{31}). (See Smith's *Hist. Geog.* p. 218.) **The Eshtaolites** (*lit.* 'Eshtaolite') were, according to 1 Ch 2^{53}, descended from the families of Kiriath-jearim, etc., who are there described as Calebites. The narratives of Jos 15^{33} and 19^{41} suggest how mingling of the tribes of Judah and of Dan might arise, perhaps leading to the Danite migration from Zorah and Eshtaol.

LITERATURE.—*PEFSt*, 1874, 17; Conder, *Palestine*, 49; Smith, *HGHL*, 218; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 12 ff.; *SWP Memoirs*, iii. 25.

A. HENDERSON.

ESHTEMOA (אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ), named in Jos 15^{50} (where it is called **Eshtemoh**, אֶשְׁתְּמֹה) among towns of Judah. It was made afterwards a Levitical city (21^{14}, 1 Ch 6^{57}). During David's wanderings in S. Judah its inhabitants were on his side (1 S 30^{28}). It is said in 1 Ch 4^{17} to have been inhabited by the descendants of Ishbah; and Eshtemoa, its founder, is called (4^{19}) a Maacathite, which would naturally suggest that he came from the small kingdom of Maacah (wh. see). It may have been here 'the Maacathite' among his heroes joined David (2 S 23^{34}). The site was recovered by Robinson some 8 miles S. of Hebron. It is now *Es-Semû'a*, a considerable village (*BR* ii. p. 204), and full of ancient remains (*PEF Memoirs*, iii. 403, 412).

A. HENDERSON.

ESHTEMOH.—See ESHTEMOA.

ESHTON (אֶשְׁתּוֹן, perhaps 'uxorious').—A Judahite (1 Ch $4^{11.\ 12}$). See GENEALOGY.

ESLI ('Εσλεί, perhaps=אֶצְלִיהוּ 'J" hath reserved').—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{25}). See GENEALOGY.

ESPOUSAL, ESPOUSE.—To espouse (fr. Lat. *sponsus*, ptcp. of *spondēre*, to betroth, through Old Fr. *espouser*) meant either to betroth or to marry. Thus Camden, *Rem.* (1637) 414, 'Two Lovers who being espoused, dyed both before they were married'; but Shaks. *Rich. III.* iv. v. 8—

> 'Withal, say, that the Queene hath heartily consented,
> He should espouse Elizabeth her daughter.'

So also 'espousal' is used in both senses, and Murray (*Oxf. Eng. Dict. s.v.*) thinks marriage is the primary sense. In AV 'espouse' occurs 2 S 3^{14} 'Deliver me my wife Michal, which I espoused to me' (RV, 'whom I betrothed to me,' Heb. אֲרַשְׂתִּי לִי, which always means 'betroth'); Mt 1^{18}, Lk 1^{27} 2^{5}, all of the Virgin Mary (RV 'betrothed'; Gr. *μνηστεύω*, always 'to ask or engage in marriage'); 2 Co 11^{2} 'I have espoused you to one husband' (*ἡρμοσάμην*, lit. 'joined you unto,' and here the ref. seems to be to marriage, not betrothal, 'I have given you in marriage,' though the betrothal, which was also carried out by the bridegroom's friend, may be meant). Espousal is found Ca 3^{11} 'in the day of his espousals' (בְּיוֹם חֲתֻנָּתוֹ, 'on the day of his marriage,' undoubtedly); and Jer 2^{2} 'the love of thine espousals' (אַהֲבַת כְּלוּלֹתָיִךְ, as Cheyne, 'thy bridal state'). Thus it is probable that AV (following older VSS.*) used these words indiscriminately, or at least with a less clear distinction than now obtains between betrothal and marriage. For the solemnity of betrothal in Italy (=England) in Shakespeare's day, see *Twelfth Night*, iv. iii. 26: it enables Olivia to speak of Sebastian as 'husband' (v. 146). It was not less solemn and binding in Israel. See MARRIAGE.

J. HASTINGS.

ESPY.—The verb to 'espy' occurs only six times in AV, Gn 42^{27}, Jos 14^{7}, Jer 48^{19}, Ezk 20^{6}, To 11^{6}, 1 Mac 5^{38}, while the mod. form to 'spy' is found eighteen times, and RV turns 'espy' of Jos 14^{7} into 'spy.' The word is apparently of Teutonic origin (Old High Ger. *spehon*), though it is connected with Lat. *specere*, to look, Gr. *σκέπτομαι*, and entered Eng. through the Old Fr. *espier*.

1. The most common and the oldest meaning is to *inspect* (secretly) a place, as Nu 21^{32} 'Moses sent to spy out Jaazer,' when the Heb. is רָגַל, except Nu $13^{16.\ 17}$ (תּוּר), and the Eng. is always 'spy (Jos 14^{7} AV 'espy') *out*,' except Jos 2^{1} 'to spy secretly' (מְרַגְּלִים חֶרֶשׁ, RV 'as spies secretly'), and Ezk 20^{6} 'a land that I had espied for them' (אֲשֶׁר־תַּרְתִּי לָהֶם). Once the ref. is not to land but to liberty, Gal 2^{4} 'false brethren . . . who came in privily to spy out our liberty' (Tindale's trn.; Wyc. 'to aspie oure fredom,' Gr. *κατασκοπῆσαι*). **2.** But we also find the sense of *keep watch*, as Jer 48^{19} 'O, inhabitant of Aroer, stand by the way, and espy' (וְצִפִּי). **3.** More freq. is the idea of *suddenly perceiving* anything, as Gn 42^{27} 'And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the inn, he espied his money'; so Ex 2^{11}, 2 K 9^{17} 13^{21} 23^{16} (all רָאָה 'see'). **4.** Finally, simply to discover or *perceive*, as 2 K 23^{24} 'All the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah . . . did Josiah put away' (רָאָה). Cf. Barlowe, *Dialoge* (Lunn's ed. p. 73), 'Woulde God they were as prest to remoue ye balk out of their owne eyes, as they be prompte to aspye a lytle mote in other mens.'

The subst. is always plu. 'spies,' except Sir 11^{30} 'spy.' The Heb. is generally מְרַגְּלִים (Gn $42^{9.\ 11.\ 14.\ 16.\ 30.\ 31.\ 34}$, Jos 6^{23}, 1 S 26^{4}, 2 S 15^{10}); also שְׁקָרִים (Jg 1^{24}, RV 'watchers'), אֲחָרִים (Nu 21^{1}, RV 'Atharim' as place-name, wh. see). The Gr. words are *κατάσκοπος* (Sir 11^{30}, 1 Mac 12^{26}, He 11^{31}), the usual LXX tr. of *měraggĕlîm*; and *ἐγκάθετος* (Lk 20^{20}, lit. 'sent down into,' and so, as Plummer, 'suborned to lie in wait.' The word is not found elsewhere in NT).

J. HASTINGS.

ESSENES.—In regard to the origin and nature of this sect very various views have been held. It is therefore best to confine oneself to stating succinctly what is known about them from ancient authors.

Our earliest witness is Philo of Alexandria, who, having visited Jerusalem in his youth, may have come into personal contact with them. In his treatise *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, which is one of

* Tindale, in his tr. published in 1525–26, rendered the Gr. *μνηστευθείσης* (Mt 1^{18}) by 'maried,' and in this he is followed by Coverdale. In the ed. of 1534, however, he altered it to 'betrouthed.' In 2 S 3^{14} Cov. has 'maried,' and so have the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles. In the NT our translators were probably influenced by the Rhemish Version, which in Mt 1^{18} has 'spoused,' or by Udall's tr. of Erasmus' Paraphrase (1548) which has 'espouse.'

his earlier works, written probably before A.D. 20, he describes them as follows :—

They were a sect of Jews, and lived in Syria Palestine, over 4000 in number, and called Essæi, because of their saintliness; for *hosios*=saintly, is the same word as Essæus. Worshippers of God, they yet did not sacrifice animals, regarding a reverent mind as the only true sacrifice. At first they lived in villages and avoided cities, in order to escape the contagion of evils rife therein. They pursued agriculture and other peaceful arts; but accumulated not gold or silver, nor owned mines. No maker of warlike weapons, no huckster or trader by land or sea, was to be found among them. Least of all were any slaves found among them; for they saw in slavery a violation of the law of nature, which made all men free brethren, one of the other.

Abstract philosophy and logic they eschewed, except so far as it could subserve ethical truth and practice. Natural philosophy they only studied so far as it teaches that there is a God who made and watches over all things. Moral philosophy or ethic was their chief preoccupation, and their conduct was regulated by their national (Jewish) laws. These laws they esp. studied on the seventh day, which they held holy, leaving off all work upon it and meeting in their synagogues, as these places of resort were called. In them they sat down in ranks, the older ones above the younger. Then one took and read the Bible, while the rest listened attentively; and another, who was very learned in the Bible, would expound whatever was obscure in the lesson read, explaining most things in their time-honoured fashion by means of symbols. They were taught piety, holiness, justice, the art of regulating home and city, knowledge of what is really good and bad and of what is indifferent, what ends to avoid, what to pursue,—in short, love of God, of virtue, and of man.

And such teaching bore fruit. Their life-long purity, their avoiding of oaths or falsehood, their recognition of a good providence alone, showed their love of God. Their love of virtue revealed itself in their indifference to money, worldly position, and pleasure. Their love of man in their kindliness, their equality, their fellowship passing all words. For no one had his private house, but shared his dwelling with all; and, living as they did in colonies (*thiasous*), they threw open their doors to any of their sect who came their way. They had a storehouse, common expenditure, common raiments, common food eaten in Syssitia or common meals. This was made possible by their practice of putting whatever they each earned day by day into a common fund, out of which also the sick were supported when they could not work. The aged among them were objects of reverence and honour, and treated by the rest as parents by real children.

The most cruel and deceitful tyrants, says Philo, that had been the scourge of their country, had yet been moved to admiration of their quiet but invincible freedom, of their common meals, of their consummate fellowship.

Perhaps in these last words Philo refers to Herod the Great, whose subsequent rise to greatness was foretold to him as a child by an E. named Manæmus (Menahem), and who in consequence befriended and honoured the sect (Josephus, *Ant.* XV. x. 5).

Eusebius in his *Præparatio Evangelica* has preserved a fragment of Philo's 'Apology for the Jews,' which repeats much of the information given by Philo, but also supplements it.

Our lawgiver, he says, trains into fellowship and communion thousands of his disciples, who for their saintliness (*ὁσιότητα*) are called Essenes. They inhabit many cities of Judæa, as well as many villages and populous tracts. Their tenets are espoused by them of free choice, and not as a matter of race.

There are no children or youths among them, but only full-grown men, or men already in the decline of life. They have no private property, but put all they have into a common fund, and live as members of a thiasus or philosophic colony, having common meals. They are very industrious, and work hard from early sunrise to sunset, as tillers of the soil, or herdsmen, or bee-farmers, or as craftsmen. Whatever they so earn they hand over to the elected steward (*ταμίᾳ χειροτονηθέντι*), who at once buys victuals for the common repast.

No Essene, adds Philo in this account, marries, but all practise continence. For women are selfish and jealous, and apt to pervert men's characters by ceaseless chicanery and wiles. While, if they have children, they are puffed up and bold in speech; driving their husbands to actions which are a bar to any real fellowship with other men.

The next writer who describes the Essenes is Pliny the elder († A.D. 79), in his *Natural History*, bk. v. ch. 17. 'The Hessenes,' he says, 'live on the W. side away from the shores (of the Dead Sea), out of reach of their baneful influences. A solitary race, and strange above all others in the entire world. They live without women, renouncing all sexual love. They eschew money, and live among the palm-trees. Yet the number of their fellows (convenarum) is kept up and day by day renewed; for there flock to them from afar many who, wearied of battling with the rough sea of life, drift into their system' (*ad mores*). 'Thus for thousands of ages (strange to tell) the race is perpetuated, and yet no one is born in it. So does the contrition felt by others for their past life enrich this set of men. Below them lay Engadi, a town once second only to Jerus. in its fertility and groves of palms. Now 'tis but one more tomb. Next comes Masada, a fort on a rock, and, like the former, not far from the Dead Sea. And here ends our account of Judæa.'

There are two passages in Josephus in which the E. are described at length, and many minor references. The following is an epitome of his information :—

Josephus calls them Esseni in *BJ* II. viii. 2, *Ant.* XIII. v. 9, x. 6, etc., and with Philo, Essæi in *Ant.* XV. x. 4. They arose along with the sects of Pharisees (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9) and Sadducees, about B.C. 144, and formed from the first an *αἵρισις* or sect.

About B.C. 107 (*Ant.* XIII. xi. 2) a certain Essene, named Judas, had a school, it would seem, in the temple, in which he taught his companions and pupils the art of predicting events. Again, about B.C. 21 we read (*Ant.* XV. x. 4) that Herod excused them along with the Pharisees from taking the oath of fidelity to himself. In the Jewish war (*BJ* II. xx. 4) we hear of one John the Essene leading the Jewish rebels in Thamna. And at that time (*c.* A.D. 70) there was a gate at the S.E. corner of the city of David called the Gate of the E. (*BJ* V. iv. 2), which is proof that they were then a numerous sect.

The E. were so called because of their holiness (*σεμνότητα*) (*BJ* II. viii. 5; *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5). They believed that God controls all things, and committed all things to Him. Sometimes, however, Josephus says that they regarded Fate (*εἱμαρμένη*) as the supreme determinant of all human affairs (so a Mussulman believes in Allah and Kismet both at once) (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 3).

There was no single city of the E., but they were sojourners (*μετοικοῦσιν*) in many, being in number over 4000 (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 5). They eschewed marriage, and, adopting others' children as their own, imbued them with their own tenets (*BJ* II. viii. 2; *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5).

There was, however, another sect (*τάγμα*) of E., who made trial of women for three years and then married them if they were fruitful (*BJ* II. viii. 13). They owned no slaves (*Ant.* XVII. i. 5), and were wholly devoted to agricultural pursuits. They despised wealth and shared their possessions, so that a rich man among them had no more enjoyment of his own property than had a member who owned nothing (*BJ* II. viii. 3 and *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5). For in entering their sect (*αἵρεσις*) a man made over his property to the institution (*τῷ τάγματι*) (*BJ* II. viii. 3). There was no buying and selling between members; but the elected stewards administered the common fund,* impartially satisfying the needs of all alike (*BJ* II. viii. 3). In every city a special relieving officer (*κηδεμών*) was appointed to take care of the garments and supplies of the sect and entertain its travelling members.

But though so knit together among themselves the Essenes succoured the deserving, and pitied all men and fed the needy (*BJ* II. viii. 6). This was a primary duty to be fulfilled by each on his own responsibility, and without waiting for a hint from the overseer (*ἐπιμελητής* or *ἐπίτροπος*); without whose authority, however, they might do nothing else, nor even give to their own kinsmen.

Their general mode of life (*δίαιτα*) Jos. in one place declares to be the same as that which Pythagoras instituted among the Greeks; in another place he compares them to Dacians, presumably because of their simple and communal mode of living (*Ant.* XV. x. 4, XVIII. i. 5). He thus describes a day of an Essene's life inside his brotherhood :—

As for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary. For before the sun rises they speak not a word about profane matters, but address to the sun certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they supplicated it to rise (*BJ* II. viii. 5). After this every one of them is sent away by their curators to exercise those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour (11 A.M.). After this they assemble together into one place, and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any one of another persuasion to enter; and they themselves being pure enter the dining-room as if it were some holy temple, and quietly sit down. Upon which the baker lays them loaves in order, and the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food and sets it before every one of them. But the priest says grace before meat, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before prayer is offered. And when they have made their breakfast, he again prays over them. And when they begin and when they end, they praise God as

* *χειροτονητοὶ οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταί.*

Him that bestoweth life. After which they lay aside their white garments as holy, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening. Then they return home to supper after the same manner; and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house; but they give every one leave to speak in their turn. Which silence thus kept in their house appears to outsiders like some tremendous mystery; and the same is due to their unswerving sobriety, and to this, that their food and drink is measured out to satisfy them and no more.

Like Philo, Josephus is full of praise for their moral qualities, and lauds their self-restraint in anger, their faithfulness, their peace-making, their truthfulness, which made all oaths to them a mere superfluity.

The mode of joining the sect was this. The intending member remained outside the order one year, following, however, the same discipline, and invested with its symbols, namely a spud wherewith to hide his excrement out of sight of God, the girdle and white raiment. After the lapse of a year, if he had given good proof of his continence, he was allowed to join more closely in their way of life and partake of a *purer* quality of the waters of purification, though not yet to live entirely with them. Two years of moral probation must yet be passed before he was chosen a member of their band (ὁμιλος). And then before he touched the common food he took tremendous oaths to them: first to reverence the Deity, next to observe justice towards men, to hate the wicked and assist the just. To be loyal ever to all men, but in especial to those in authority, because none hath authority except by God's help. He swore also, if he should ever be in authority, not to abuse the same, nor outshine those subject to him in his garments or in any other finery; to love truth and repel falsehood; to keep his hands clean from theft and his soul from unholy gain; to conceal nothing from members of the sect, nor reveal aught to others, even at peril of his life. Moreover, he swore to communicate to none the dogmas of the sect, otherwise than as he received them himself, to abstain from brigandage, and to preserve with like care the books of their sect and the names of the angels.

Jos. gives many indications that the E. were very strict Jews (*BJ* II. viii. 9). They revered the name of the lawgiver next after God, and punished with death one that blasphemed against Moses. Above all other Jews they observed the Sabbath, not only not cooking on that day, and avoiding the lighting of a fire, but forbearing also to move a vessel, or even evacuate. In the Jewish war many died under torture at the hands of the Romans rather than blaspheme the lawgiver or eat unclean food. Many details supplied by Josephus prove how much importance they attached to ceremonial purity. We have seen how they bathed before each meal, and wore linen garments; linen, of course, being prescribed because it was a vegetable substance, and not made of dead animal refuse, as would be a leathern or woollen tunic. That the waters of purification in their purer quality were denied to novices, proves that the water of the bath was ceremonially cleansed, and probably exorcised. By immersion in it they were themselves rendered καθαροί or pure before they sat down to meat, by contrast with the ἑτερόδοξοι, or persons of any other persuasion (*BJ* II. viii. 10). They were distinguished acc. to their purity and seniority into four grades; and a senior member was polluted by the very touch of a junior member, and had to wash after being so touched, as if he had been jostled by Gentiles. So an Indian Brahman is polluted by the touch and even sight of a low-caste native. They did not anoint themselves with oil, regarding it as a defilement; prob. because they could not easily get oil prepared by members of their own caste. Josephus elsewhere assures us that no Jew would anoint himself except with Jewish oil.

The same pursuit of ceremonial purity is to be noticed in regard to their meals. Their food and viands were specially prepared by their priests (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 5); just as in a Hindoo prison the cook must be a Brahman, because any lower-caste man may eat what a higher-caste man has cooked, but not *vice versâ*. In each city a special officer (κηδεμών) was appointed to supply travelling E. with their ceremonially pure garments and food. Lastly, an E. expelled for his sins by a court of 100 members from the brotherhood was still so held by its oaths and customs that he could not eat of food provided by others, and in consequence starved to death. To the same concern for ceremonial purity must prob. be ascribed their attitude of reserve towards the temple sacrifices. 'They send offerings (ἀναθήματα) to the temple and perform sacrifices with superiority of purificatory rites,* which they claim to practise (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 5). And being for this reason excluded from the common court of the temple, they perform their sacrifices by themselves.'† These words are obscure, and barely reconcilable with Philo's statement that the E. did not sacrifice animals (Philo, ii. 457 = *Quod om. prob. lib.* § 12). The offerings sent, according to Jos., need not of course have been blood-offerings; and as to the nature of the sacrifices (θυσίας) which they performed by themselves, *i.e.* without the help of the temple priests, Jos. tells us nothing; but we should certainly connect it with a practice, which he elsewhere attests, viz. that they *elected* their own priests for the making of their own food and eatables. This much is clear, that the ordinary lustrations of the temple were not good enough for an E., and were incompatible with his notions of ceremonial purity. Presumably, they were excluded from the temple court for thus flouting the usual lustrations. Unable to enter it, they sent offerings, but did not go themselves. At the same time 'they performed their sacrifices by themselves.' There seems to be some connexion between this statement and Philo's that they offered up the sacrifice of a devout and reverent mind. They could not possibly have offered up animal sacrifices save in the temple and in the ordinary way; and Josephus' own statement elsewhere, that their mode of life was Pythagorean, is in favour of Philo's declaration that they did not sacrifice animals. It is natural to suppose that they regarded their common meals as of the nature of a sacrifice, just as Christians regard the eucharistic elements. Only thus can we explain the fact that they *elected priests* to prepare those meals; for a priest implies a sacrifice to be offered.

Their abstention from marriage must also be set down to their desire for a levitical purity. For acc. to the Mosaic law sexual relations involved a defilement of the person, and the uncleanness lasted until the even (Lv 15^{18}).

Notwithstanding their attachment to the Mosaic law and striving after levitical purity, there were certainly many non-Jewish elements in their religious practices and beliefs. Thus they adored the sun, and prayed to him to rise. In Appian and other writers we find the phrase, 'the *god* rose,' or 'the *god* set,' used instead of 'the *sun* rose,' or 'the *sun* set'; and Philo regarded the sun and stars as holy and divine natures.

The Essene beliefs about the soul and a future life were also non-Jewish. They believed that they received their souls back after death (*BJ* II. viii. 11), and so very cheerfully died for the faith. 'The body is corruptible, they taught; and the matter of which it is composed is not lasting. But souls are immortal, and last for ever, and, proceeding out of the most subtle ether, are entangled in bodies as in prison-cells, being drawn down by some natural yearning. But when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, as being now released from a long bondage, they rejoice and mount upwards. And in agreement with the opinions of the Greeks they declare that there lies away across the ocean a habitation for the good souls, in a region that is oppressed neither with storms of rain or snow, nor with intense heat; a region ever refreshed by the gentle breathing of a breeze blowing from the ocean. But they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den full of never-ceasing punishments.'

* τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἁγνειῶν, ἃς νομίζουσιν.
† ἐφ' αὑτῶν.

The Essenes had hereditary prayers to the sun, as well as the usual Jewish sacred books; they had purificatory rites of different sorts or degrees, and utterances of the prophets. By diligent study of these, some of them learned and professed to read the future. And their predictions, says Jos., were rarely belied; indeed he gives several instances up and down his history of the fulfilment of their prophecies (*BJ* II. viii. 12). They also had compositions of the ancients from which they chose out whatever benefited soul and body; and they inquired after such roots and peculiar stones as would ward off their distempers. The regular books and dogmas of the sect, as we have seen, they took oath to carefully keep, as also the names of the angels. These names, of course, were powerful weapons against evil demons, with a belief in which they must, like other Jews of the age, have been imbued. The stones and roots were the ordinary magic remedies against diseases.

This is the sum of what Jos. has to say about the Essenes. Hippolytus in the 9th Book of his *Refutation of Heresies*, § 18–28, substantially copies out Josephus' account in the *BJ* ii. ch. 8, here and there adding Christian touches in a way which proves that he was not loth to assimilate them to Christians. Yet some of the information which he adds is not of this sort, but serves to intensify their Jewish complexion. Such are the statements that on the Sabbath some Essenes would not so much as leave their beds (§ 25); that some were so scrupulous that they would not carry a coin, declaring it wrong to carry or look at or make an image (§ 26, cf. Mt 22^{20}); that no one of them would enter a city over the gate of which stood a statue (§ 26); that others of them, if they heard any one talking about God and His law, would waylay him when alone, and threaten to slay him unless he were circumcised, and slay him actually if he did not submit; for which reason, says Hippolytus, they got the name of Zealots and Sicarii; that others would call no one Lord (Κύριον) but only God, submitting to torment and death rather than do so. It is difficult to believe that Hippolytus had no authority for these statements; which indeed might seem to be taken from Jos., since they are embedded in his long citation of that author. If so, they have been removed from all the MSS of Josephus. The same account of Jos. was excerpted by Porphyry in the 3rd cent. in his book on Abstinence from Meats, and later by Eusebius in his *De Præp. Evang.* The account given by Epiphanius of the E. is late, confused, and of little value. It is clear that, even if the majority of the E. were cultivators and voluntarily poor, that did not prevent some of their number from occupying important posts in the court and camp; for we hear of one Simon* the interpreter of Archelaus' dream (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 3), and of John the strategus, and of Menahem the friend of Herod. Nor did their gospel of peace and their prejudice against arms, as reported by Philo, prevent them from taking part in the final struggle against the Romans. Jos., moreover, implies that they were constantly moving about from city to city; and we can only suppose that the object of this travelling was to preach their tenets and secure recruits. We should like to know if the sect was not mainly recruited from Greek-speaking Jews, but on this point Jos. tells us nothing. In his autobiog. (*Vita*, 10) he implies that as a youth he had tried the discipline of this sect, as also of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and this inner acquaintance with them entitles his account to our entire credit; but just because he and his countrymen knew the sect so well, he omits to inform us about so essential a point as in what language their books were written, and what tongue, whether Greek or Aramaic, they usually spoke among themselves.

Some writers, impressed with the fact that Jesus constantly inveighed against the Pharisees and Sadducees, but never against the members of the third of the three great Jewish sects, who yet must have everywhere confronted Him, have inferred that He and John the Baptist, His precursor, were Essenes. The silence of the Gospels about the E. is certainly remarkable; and there are many striking traits in common between the E. and the earliest Christians. These are the following:—

1. The community of goods and voluntary poverty. **2.** The art of prophecy. In the earliest Church, as we know from Acts and from the *Didaché*, there was a regular order of prophets. **3.** The teaching about the future life, and about a hell. These tenets, however, were equally found among the Pharisees; nor does Jos. support Hippolytus in the latter's statement that the Essenes believed in the resurrection of the flesh, though the picture of the Islands of the Blest implies as much, and answers well enough to the Refrigerium of later Christian belief. As to the teaching of future punishment, we also find it in Philo. **4.** Abstention from marriage. This was equally a counsel of perfection in the early Church, but was there held to be right in view of the impending second advent and end of the world (1 Co $7^{25ff.}$). **5.** Obedience to established authorities. **6.** Internal government. The officers of the E. community were variously termed ἀποδέκται τῶν προσόδων 'receivers of the revenue,' ἐπιμεληταί 'curators,' κηδεμόνες 'relieving officers,' ταμίαι 'stewards' (in Philo). These officers were, like the bishops of the early Church, elected by show of hands (χειροτονηθέντες), acc. to the testimony of both Philo and Josephus. It is significant that Hippolytus calls them outright προεστῶτες or presidents (lib. ix. § 25), the regular 2nd cent. equivalent of 'bishop.' **7.** The common meals, with which we may compare the picture of the early Church of Jerusalem given in the Acts. But whereas the Essenes dined together because of their anxiety to eat no food but what was ceremonially pure, the Christians were chiefly actuated, it would seem, by charitable and communistic reasons. Their love-feast, however, also had from an early date, if not from the very first, a sacramental character and conclusion, and required, like the Essene common meal, the presence of a priest both to prepare it and to give thanks before and after it to God 'the Giver of Life.' **8.** The Essene priests (ἱερεῖς) were *elected* to preside at the common meal, and *make* the food eaten thereat. Since the Essene common repasts had plainly a sacramental character, the function of their priests, as of Christian ones, was simply to prepare and preside over a sacramental meal, to which none were admitted save those rendered pure by previous baptism. **9.** General organization. (α) Obedience to the Essene officers. The brethren in their deportment and bodily habit were like children under the eye of a schoolmaster whom they feared (*BJ* II. viii. 9). (β) They were all brethren, but the elder members were revered by the juniors as if they were their parents. (γ) The entire body or class of Essenes (γένος as Jos. calls it) is a θίασος, an αἵρεσις, an ὅμιλος, a τάγμα. The two former were generic names for any body of co-religionists, and Christian congregations among the Gentiles were so described. (δ) The travelling precepts of the E. resembled those enjoined by Jesus on the Seventy. They were to take nothing at all with them, but only to go armed for fear of robbers.* (ε) They were to wear their cloaks and shoes right out, never changing them till they were quite worn out. Hippolytus paraphrases this by saying that no E. owned two cloaks or two pairs of shoes (Hipp. *l.c.* § 20). (ζ) The four grades of E. resembled the steps of the catechumenate. Such a distinction, however, of grades of initiation was common to most ancient mysteries, and was not special to Christianity. The *disciplina arcani* of the E. was also reproduced in the Christian Church, but equally in the pagan mysteries. **10.** Like the Christians, the Essenes were not content with the ordinary lustrations (ἁγνείαι) of Judaism, but had superior ones of their own. Whereas, however, the Christian baptism was conferred once and for all, the Essene baptism was daily. The Essene affectation of a purity of food superior even to the ordinary purity of the Jews, also recalls the eucharistic meal of the Christians. From it the novice was excluded, just as was the catechumen from the Eucharist. And just as the priest among the E. was *elected* to *make* the food eaten in their syssitia, so the priest in the Gr. Church, even to this day, himself prepares and bakes the eucharistic loaves. Jos. expressly says that the Essenes *elected* priests. They were therefore not content with the hereditary Levites of Judaism.

More analogies between the Essenes and the earliest Christians could no doubt be discerned. But it is a fatal objection to any real identification, that the Essenes were ultra-Jewish in the observance of the Sabbath, and, if we may credit Hippolytus, in their insistence on the circumcision of converts. The most we can say is that the

* Σίμων ἀνὴρ γένος Ἐσσαῖος.

* οὐδὲν μὲν ὅλως εἰσικομιζόμενοι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἔνοπλοι.

Christians copied many features of their organization and propagandist activity from the Essenes.

The relation of the different sources on which our knowledge of the E. depends requires further sifting than it has generally received. Of course there have been attempts to prove the Philonean sources to be not authentic, but they are based on mere ignorance. There are occasional verbal resemblances * between the accounts of Philo and Jos. which indicate that Jos., besides his own personal experience of the sect, used either Philo or else a document previously used by Philo. The accounts of the two writers, however, do not always agree. Thus Philo says that all the E. were full-grown men, or verging on old age; but Jos. avers that they recruited their sect by adopting other people's children while they were still supple and plastic to receive their teachings (*BJ* II. viii. 2). Yet in the same context Jos. speaks of those who *desired* to become members of the sect,† and also of *their* period of probation, in words suitable only to the view that these recruits were adult men. We may perhaps infer that the sect was recruited in both ways. Pliny's statement that the men from all quarters joined it when they repented of their lives, and left the world, agrees well enough with Philo's statement; and, if we translate *pœnitentia* as 'repentance' rather than mere *ennui*, offers a striking parallel to John the Baptist's preaching: Repent of your sins and be baptized, because the kingdom of God is at hand. There is reason to suspect some close affinity between John, who came fasting, and the E.; the more so as John's sphere of activity in the valley of Jordan lay close to the Essene settlement on the shores of the Dead Sea.

The recluse Bannus, with whom Jos. as a young man spent three years as a disciple, resembled the Essenes. For he lived in the desert, wore garments made of the bark of trees, and lived on anything he found growing about, washing himself often day and night with cold water by way of purification. However, Josephus' context rather implies that he was not one. An almost certain reference to the E. is contained in an eloquent passage of Philo's, from the same treatise in which his longer description of the sect is preserved.

> Even in our own day, he writes, there are still men whose only guide is God; men who live by the true reason of nature, not only themselves free, but filling their neighbours with a spirit of freedom. They are not very numerous indeed. But that is not strange. For the highest nobility is ever rare; and then these men have turned aside from the vulgar herd to devote themselves to a contemplation of nature's verities. They pray, if it were possible, that they may reform our fallen lives; but, if they cannot, owing to the tide of evils and wrongs which surges up in cities, they flee away, lest they too be swept off their feet by the force of its current. And we, he continues, if we had a true zeal for self-improvement, would have to track them to their places of retreat, and, halting as suppliants before them, would beseech them to come to us and tame our life, grown too fierce and wild; preaching, instead of war and slavery and untold ills, their gospel of peace and freedom, and all the fulness of other blessings.

The Therapeutæ of Alexandria, of whom Philo has left so striking a description in his tract *De Vita Contemplativa*, in many ways resembled the Pal. Essenes; but were, as was natural in an Egyp. sect, more addicted to contemplation. Here is not the place for a detailed comparison between them and the E.; nor is it possible to review the numerous theories which have been framed with regard to the origin of the E. It, however, deserves to be remarked that acc. to the evidence of Jos. they arose just at the time when the friendship between Lacedæmon and Jerus. was at its highest. Areus the king of Sparta had written as early as B.C. 309–300 to Onias the high priest in these terms: 'It is found in writing that the Spartans and the Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham' (1 Mac 12^{21}). And in B.C. 144 Jonathan the high priest, in renewing the relations of his country with Lacedæmon, reminded the Spartans of this long-standing friendship based on ancient kinship. Is it possible that the E. sect was partly an outcome of this contact with the Peloponnese—an attempt to imitate on Jewish soil, and in a religious and moral sense only, the Syssitia and organization of the Lycurgean polity? That most of the Jews mentioned in Jos. as belonging to the Maccabæan period have Greek second names is good evidence of the wide diffusion in Pal. at that time of the Gr. language. And the very information proffered by Jos., that the E. were Jews by race, almost implies in its context that in language they were something else. So Philo assures us that the holy places in which the E. met on the Sabbath were called *συναγωγαί, synagogues*. Unless they spoke Greek, why should this term rather than the usual one *σαββατεῖον* * have been employed? Friedländer (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums*, Wien, 1894) has remarked that the very circumstance of Jos. having used, if not Philo's account, at least a Gr. description of the sect already used by Philo, is some indication that they were a Gr. sect of Jews. Their Pythagorean régime, their belief in the preexistence of the soul, their view of its nature and incarnation, all point the same way. The statement also of Philo, not repeated by Jos., that they philosophized most things in the Bible allegorically or in a symbolic way with old-fashioned zeal,† is an almost certain proof of their Hellenism. And Philo's own allegorization of the passage Dt 23 ff. is, as Friedländer has seen (p. 118), an allusion to the Essene probation and discipline (Philo, *Legis Alleg.* i. 117).

Again, Philo, when he states that the E. were taught the art of regulating home and state, and a knowledge of what things are really good and bad and indifferent, how to choose what is right and avoid the opposite courses, seems to imply a familiarity on their part with Greek, especially with Stoic, moral philosophy, inconceivable among Jews who spoke Aramaic only. But here we must be cautious, for Philo would naturally describe any sect in terms of his own Gr. culture. That he twice over described this Pal. sect, yet apparently left unnoticed the purely Jewish schools of Pal., is in any case significant, and suggests that they had a Gr. culture which interested him, and led him to couple them, as he does, with the Alexandrine Therapeutæ.

Jos. equally implies that they were more or less Hellenized. Would he have conspired with Philo to misrepresent them? Nothing is more improbable.

The conclusion, then, is probable that they owed their origin to the introduction and diffusion of Greek culture in the early part of the 2nd cent. B.C. They were in some respects very strict Jews, and even fanatical observers of the Mosaic Law; but in others, notably in their election of their own priests,‡ and in the thereby implied supersession of the Levite hereditary priesthood, and in

* *E.g. Ant.* XVIII. i. 5: *τάδε πράσσουσιν ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες.* Cf. Philo, ii. 457: *πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι.* It is not likely that their numbers were the same at the very beg. of our era as in A.D. 70. Again Jos. writes (*BJ* II. viii. 4): *τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἥκουσιν αἱρετισταῖς πανταχοῦ ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς.* Cf. Philo (ii. 458): *ἀναπέπταται καὶ τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἀφικνουμένοις τῶν ὁμοζήλων.*

† *τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσιν τὴν αἵρεσιν.*

* Jos. uses *σαββατεῖον* (*Ant.* XVI. vi. 2). It is found in a very early Græco-Jewish papyrus, edited by Mr. B. P. Grenfell, of Oxford.

† *τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται.*

‡ *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5: *ἀποδέκτας τῶν προσόδων χειροτονοῦντες . . . ἱερεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει σίτου τε καὶ βρωμάτων.* If the Essenes discarded sacrifices, they had no need for priests of the old kind.

their repudiation of animal sacrifices, they were a new departure in Judaism, and very closely akin to Jesus and His disciples.

The literature relating to the Essenes is so vast as to defy detailed reference. The student may be advised to study for himself the very limited documentary sources relating to them, and then to draw his own conclusions.* F. C. CONYBEARE.

ESTATE.—In AV (1611 and mod. edd.) 'estate' occurs 19 times, 'state' 14 times, without difference of meaning; thus Col 4[7] 'All my state (*τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα*) shall Tychicus declare unto you,' but v.[8] 'that he might know your estate' (TR *τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν*); and again, Ph 2[19. 20] 'your state' (*τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν*). Cf. Melvill, *Diary*, 289, 'We fand him in a miserable esteat'; Calderwood, *History*, 144, 'I, Mr. Andrew Melville . . . most earnestly hath prayed at all times, and specially in the foresaid Sermon, for the preservation and prosperous estate of his Majestie.' The meaning is either 'condition' as in those examples, or 'position' as Ps 136[23] 'Who remembered us in our low estate' (בִּשְׁפָלֵנוּ), Ec 1[16] 'I am come to great estate' (הִגְדַּלְתִּי). Cf. T. Elyot, *The Governour* (Croft's ed. i. 26), 'a man of the base estate of the communaltie'; Calderwood, *History*, 149, 'They declare how some of low estate, borne to no heritage . . . have creeped in favour with the King.' But in Dn 11[7. 20. 21. 38] the meaning seems to be 'high rank,' 'dignity,' as 11[7] 'Out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate.' The Heb. is כֵּן *kēn*, which means 'place' (as RV here) or 'office' (as RVm), and the favourite translation before AV was 'in his stead' (Cov. Gen. Bish.); once, however, the word is translated 'state' (Pr 28[3], AV and RV). Akin to this meaning is Mk 6[21] 'Herod on his birthday made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee' (*τοῖς πρώτοις*, RV 'the chief men'), where, however, the word is used of the men to whom the dignity belongs. Cf. Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* v. iii. 28, 'Item, that God never gave grace or knowledge of Holy Scripture to any great estate or rich man.' See also Ac 22[5] 'The high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders,' Gr. *πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον*, lit. 'all the presbytery,' *i.e.* the Sanhedrin (which see). Compare Communion Office in Pr. Bk. 1549, 'the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth,' changed in 1552 into 'state.' In Ezk 36[11] 'I will settle you after your old estates,' the plu. is used simply because the ref. is to more than one person; so Pref. to AV 1611, 'support fit for their estates.' J. HASTINGS.

ESTEEM, ESTIMATION.—'Esteem' and 'estimate' both come from Lat. *æstimare*, the latter directly, the former through Old Fr. *estimer*. The meaning of *æstimare* is to assign a value, appraise, rate; and that is the meaning of 'estimate' (Heb. הַעֲרִיךְ) in Lv 27[14 *bis*], its only occurrences in EV. 'Estimation' occurs 20 times in the same chapter; elsewhere Lv 5[15. 18] 6[6], Nu 18[16], and always in the same sense as 'estimate,' that is, valuation, price (Heb. עֶרֶךְ). Only once is 'estimation' found in the mod. sense of 'high value,' 'repute,' Wis 8[10] 'For her sake I shall have estimation among the multitude, and honour with the elders, though I be young' (*δόξα*, RV 'glory').

Cranmer (*Works*, i. 14) says, 'But to mine estimation, as much as I could view the ground, there was not slain upon both parties two thousand men.' This meaning of 'estimation' is not found in AV, but it is the almost invariable sense in which 'esteem' is used, that is, to esteem is to have an opinion (good or bad), reckon, as in He 10[29] Rhem. 'estemed the bloud of the testament polluted,' where AV and most VSS have 'counted'; and as Knox, *Hist.* 312, 'he shall be esteemed and holden a seditious person.' Thus Ro 14[5] 'One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike' (both *κρίνει*). Then the kind of judgment is expressed by an adverb, 'highly,' 'lightly,' or the like.

Sometimes 'esteem' might appear to be used, like 'estimation,' in the mod. sense of 'think highly of.' But this impression is probably due to the context or the presence of some adverb. Thus Wis 12[7] 'that land which thou esteemest above all other' (*ἡ . . . τιμιωτάτη γῆ*, RV 'is most precious'); Sir 40[25] 'Gold and silver make the foot stand sure; but counsel is esteemed above them both' (*εὐδοκιμεῖται*); Job 23[12] 'I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary food' (עָפַנְתִּי, RV 'I have treasured up'), 36[19] 'Will he esteem thy riches?' (הֲיַעֲרֹךְ). And in particular, Is 53[3] 'He was despised, and we esteemed him not,' is generally taken in the sense of 'highly value'; but the Heb. verb (חָשַׁב) is very rare in that sense, and is used in the next verse in its familiar sense of 'reckon'—'we did esteem him stricken.' Cf. Ridley, *A Brefe Declaration*, 1535 (Moule's ed. p. 101), 'eateth and drynketh his owne damnacion, bycause he estemeth not the Lordes body; that is, he reuerenceth not the Lordes bodi with the honour that is due unto him,' where the paraphrase contains more than the translation.

J. HASTINGS.

ESTHER (אֶסְתֵּר, Ἐσθήρ, Pers. *stâra*, 'star'), originally named Hadassah (הֲדַסָּה 'myrtle').—A Jewess who has given her name to a book of the OT, in which she holds a prominent place. Sprung from a family of the tribe of Benjamin, she spent her life in the Captivity in Persia, where she was brought up in humble circumstances as the orphan ward of her cousin Mordecai (Est 2[5ff.]). On the deposition of the Pers. queen Vashti for refusing to come at the command of her husband Ahasuerus (*Xerxes*, B.C. 485–465), 'to show the peoples and the princes her beauty,' on an occasion of high festivity at the court of Susa (1[10ff.]), E. was selected to fill the vacant place of honour, as the fairest of many beautiful maidens brought before the king (2[8ff.]). Shortly after her elevation a great disaster threatened her countrymen. The grand vizier, 'Haman the Agagite,' enraged at the refusal of Mordecai to do obeisance to him, accused the whole nation of the Jews to the king as a disloyal and unprofitable people, and undertook to pay 10,000 talents of silver into the treasury as the proceeds of pillaging them. An edict was thereupon issued for the extermination of all Jewish families throughout the empire, and for the confiscation of their property, on a certain day, which Haman had previously determined by lot (ch. 3). In this crisis, moved by the tears of her fellow-countrymen, and incited by Mordecai, who urged her to rise to the great opportunity set before her for the deliverance of her nation, E. (after a fast of three days on the part of the whole Jewish community) resolved to venture uninvited, at the risk of her

* Schürer (*HJP* II. ii. 188 ff.) has a full record of the literature. The important names are Frankel, 'Die Essäer,' in *Zeitschr. für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums*, 1846, 441–461; and 'Die Essäer nach thalmud. Quellen,' in *Monatschr. für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenth.* 1853, 30–40, 61–73; Jost, *Gesch. des Judenthums u. seiner Secten*, 1857, i. 207–214; Herzfeld, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* (2nd ed. 1863), ii. 368 ff., 388 ff., 509 ff.; Lightfoot in *Colossians and Philemon*, 82–98, 349–419; same in *Dissertations*, 323–407; Lucius, *Der Essenismus*, 1881; Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, 1884, 87–149. Schürer may be supplemented by adding: Ginsburg in Smith and Wace, *Dict. Chr. Biog.* 1880; Ohle, 'Die Essener,' in *JPTh* (1888) xiv; also 'Die Pseudophilonischen Essäer und die Therapeuten,' in *Beiträge zur Kirchengesch.* 1888; Thomson, *Books which influenced our Lord*, 1889, 75–122; Morrison, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 1890, 323–347; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, 418–421, 446–449; Cohn in *JQR*, 1892, 38–42; Friedländer, *Zur Entstehungsgesch. des Christenthums*, 1894, 98–142; Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, 1895, 278 ff.—EDITOR.

life, into the presence of Ahasuerus, in order to intercede with him for her people (ch. 4). A gracious reception was accorded to her by the king, who held out the golden sceptre, and agreed to dine with her in her apartments on two consecutive days (ch. 5). On the night preceding the second banquet (at which E. intended to make known her request) it happened by a singular coincidence that there was read to the king, to while away some sleepless hours, a portion of the national archives, which recorded a valuable service rendered by Mordecai in the detection of a plot against the king's life on the part of two of his chamberlains. For this service Mordecai had never been rewarded; and when Haman, elated with the high honour shown him by the queen (who had invited him to the banquet provided for the king), appeared at the palace next morning in order to ask permission to put Mordecai at once to an ignominious death, he was met with the question from the royal lips, 'What shall be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour?' Imagining, in his overweening pride, that it must be himself that was meant, he suggested a triumphal procession, in which one of the chief nobles should act the part of attendant. To his surprise and mortification he found himself called upon to serve in a menial capacity in the triumph of his Jewish adversary (ch. 6). This, as his wife divined, was only the prelude to his downfall, which came to pass next day at the second banquet, when the king, learning for the first time the nationality of the queen, and the distressing position in which the edict had placed her, ordered that Haman should be seized, and hanged forthwith on a lofty gallows which (as the king was at that moment informed by one of his courtiers) had been erected by Haman for the execution of Mordecai (ch. 7). The latter was at the same time raised to the vacant post of honour, and through his influence, and that of E., a second edict was issued and circulated, granting to the Jews the same powers, in the way of self-defence, as had been conferred in the previous edict on their enemies for the purpose of attack,—a direct revocation of the former edict being impossible according to the laws of the Medes and Persians. In consequence of these proceedings a dread of the Jews fell upon all peoples, many proselytes being gained—convinced, apparently, by the logic of events (ch. 8); and when the fatal day arrived, the conflict issued in a great slaughter of their enemies and a decisive victory for the Jews, who, however, waived their right of plunder. To commemorate their great deliverance, the joyful Feast of Purim (which see) was instituted by E. and Mordecai as an annual observance for the whole nation.

How far E. is to be regarded as a historical personage, depends on the historicity of the Book of Est (see below), her name not being mentioned in any other book of the OT, nor anywhere else in pre-Alex. literature. The only queen of Xerxes mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 61, 82, 114; ix. 108–112; cf. Ctesias, 20) is Amestris, a cruel and superstitious woman, whom some (Scaliger, Pfeiffer, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Bunsen, Shickard, etc.) would identify with Esther. But Amestris was a daughter of a Pers. general connected with the royal family, and the chronology and circumstances of her reign cannot be reconciled with the biblical account either of E. or of Vashti. Xerxes (like his predecessors) may have had more wives than one, but, according to Pers. custom, they must have been taken from some of the great families connected with the throne, or from some other royal house; and the most tenable hypothesis seems to be that E. (as well as Vashti) was merely the chief favourite of the seraglio, gaining a remarkable influence over the foolish and capricious monarch, and using that influence at a critical moment for the benefit of her Jewish compatriots. While there are some things recorded of E. that offend our Christian feeling,—in particular her vindictive treatment of the bodies of Haman's sons (9^7), and her request for an extension of time to the Jews at Susa for the slaughter of their enemies (9^{13}),—regard must be had to the spirit of the age in which she lived, and to the passions that had been excited by Haman's inhuman malignity. On the other hand, her devotion to the cause of her oppressed nationality ('I will go in unto the king; and if I perish, I perish'), and her dutiful bearing towards her foster-father, notwithstanding the sudden rise in her fortunes, explain the honour in which her memory has been held by her countrymen.

J. A. M'Clymont.

ESTHER, BOOK OF.—I. Canonicity.—Est is one of the latest of the *Hagiographa* or *Kethubim*, the third and latest accretion of the OT Canon. It may have been among 'the other books of the Fathers' which the Gr. translator of Sir (B.C. 132) mentions (in his Prologue) along with the 'Law and the Prophets' as well known to his grandfather, the author of that book (*c.* B.C. 180); but this seems unlikely, in view of the fact that neither Esther nor Mordecai is mentioned in the *πατέρων ὕμνος* towards the close of the book. The earliest undoubted reference to E. is in Jos. (*c. Ap.* i. 8), who includes it among the 22 books long held sacred (*δικαίως θεία πεπιστευμένα*), as is evident from the *terminus ad quem* which he assigns to the history (*μεχρὶ τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀρχῆς*), Artaxerxes being, in Josephus as in the Sept., erroneously identified with Ahasuerus. The secular and foreign character of the book * gave rise among the Jews of the 1st and 2nd cent. of the Christian era to questionings as to its right to a place in the Canon. In the Jerus. Talm. (*Meg.* 70. 4) there is a statement that 85 elders, including more than 30 prophets, had scruples about the recognition of the Feast of Purim (at which the Book of Est was publicly read) because there was no sanction for it in the law of Moses; and elsewhere (*Bab. Meg.* 7*a*) we find traces of various difficulties felt by Rabbis as to the full inspiration of the book. It appears certain, however, that it formed an integral part of the Jewish Canon when the latter was virtually, if not formally, closed at the Councils of Jerus. and Jamnia in the 1st cent. A.D., as the same books that are in our OT are implied (numerically) in ch. 14 of 2 Es, which was written in end of 1st cent., and are embodied in the Mishna, committed to writing by R. Judah I. about A.D. 200. Breathing a spirit of intense patriotism, the book soon became popular with the Jews, and its annual reading in the synagogue was accompanied with lively tokens of sympathy on the part of the congregation, while the reader pronounced the names of Haman's 10 sons in one breath to indicate that they all expired at the same moment, the names being written by the scribes in large letters in 3 perpendicular lines of 3, 3, 4 to signify that the 10 men were hung on 3 parallel cords. Although the last of the 5 *Megilloth* or *Rolls* which were read at 5 different feasts,† it came to be known as *the* Roll (*Megillah*) *par excellence*, and we may judge of the honour in which it was held from a saying of Maimonides (Carpzov, *Intr.* xx. § 6), that in the days of the Messiah the only Scriptures left would be the Law and the Roll. The excessive love which the Jews

* The name of God is never mentioned in it, but the king of Persia 187 times, and his kingdom 26 times; while the nearest approach to any recognition of religion is to be found in the fasting of 4^{16}, and possibly also in the confidence expressed in 4^{14}.

† The order is different in the Eng. Bible, as also in the Sept and Vulg., where Est closes the historical books.

have ever shown for this book (of which Ewald has said that in passing to it from the other books of the OT 'we fall, as it were, from heaven to earth') illustrates their complete surrender to the spirit of the age in which it was produced. It was an age that had fallen out of sympathy with the teaching of the prophets, and was unprepared for the spiritual conception of the gospel,—when national pride and a certain faith in their own fortunes as a people, with a disposition to make the most of their heathen masters by the use of such worldly wisdom as they possessed, seem to have formed the chief characteristics of those who still claimed to be God's people.

In the Christian Church the book has naturally been less esteemed. It is one of the few books of the OT that are not quoted in the NT (nor in Philo). It has no place in the Canon of Melito of Sardis, who had made careful inquiry among the Jews of Syria regarding the books of the OT; of Theodore of Mopsuestia (followed by the Nestorians); of Athanasius, who put it in the second rank among the *ἀναγινωσκόμενα*; of Amphilochius, who mentions that 'some add the Book of Esther'; of Gregory of Naz., and others. Junilius in the 6th cent. mentions that there were grave doubts on the subject in his day; while Luther, after referring to 2 Mac, says (*Tischreden*), 'I have so little favour for this book and the Book of Est that I wish they did not exist; they are too Judaizing, and contain many heathenish improprieties.' In some of these cases, however, it may have been the corrupt Sept. transl. that caused suspicion, while in others it is possible that Est may be included under the name of Ezra or some other book. Est is recognized as canonical by Origen, Cyril of Jerus., Jerome (who puts it last in the list), Augustine, and others. We may also reckon it an indirect testimony to the authority of the book in the beginning of the Christian era, that, according to 2 Mac (15[36]), 'Mordecai's day' (*ἡμέρα Μαρδοχαϊκή*), doubtless the Feast of Purim, was observed in the writer's lifetime. The fact that it has a place (in an enlarged form) in the Sept., with an epilogue stating that the tr. was brought (to Alexandria) by one Dositheus in the 4th year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, is regarded by some as a proof that the book existed in its Gr. form as early as B.C. 178, in the reign of Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who was friendly to the Jews. But there were two later kings of that name, and one earlier (B.C. 204–81), whose wives were called Cleopatra; and the inference is doubtful, even admitting the authenticity of the statement in question (Riehm, *HWB*; Fritzsche, *Handb. z. d. Apocr.* i.). While the Heb. text is good, there are large interpolations in the Sept., of which there are two different texts, A and B, the latter, according to Lagarde, Field, etc., being an improved recension of the 3rd cent. These interpolations contradict the Heb. in several particulars,* and betray their later Gr. origin by representing Haman as a Macedonian who sought to transfer the sovereignty from the Persians to the Macedonians (16[10-15]), and by other inconsistencies and anachronisms,† and were, no doubt, the work of successive Hellenistic writers desirous to give a religious character to the book,‡ and to supplement other apparent defects.§ In the Vulg. these additions are all put by Jerome at the end of the book, beginning with a portion that takes up the narrative where the Heb. ends — with notes to show where the other additions occur in the Sept.

* Cf. 2[21] and Ad. Est 11[2ff.], 6[3] and 12[5], 3[1. 5] and 12[6], 9[12] and 15[18].

† For example, 'month Adar' 16[20], 'chosen people' 16[21], 'Hades' 13[7], 'I am thy brother' 15[9], 'Aman's table,' 'drink-offerings' 14[17].

‡ Ad. Est 10[3. 10. 11. 12. 13] 11[10] 13[3-18] 14[3-9] 15[28] 16[4. 16].

§ For example, by giving the terms of the royal edicts, which are not at all Oriental in style, 13[1-7] 16.

In the RV Eng. Apocr. (where they are similarly combined under the name of 'The Rest of the Chapters of the Bk. of Esther') these explanations are given in the margin.

Owing to the influence of the Sept. and Vulg. (in the Syr. they have no place) the additions were often read in church, and even regarded as canonical (in common with other Apocr. books of OT), receiving the sanction of several Ch. Councils, from that of Carthage in 397 to the Council of Trent in 1546. They are composed of the following passages—the twofold references showing where they stand in the Sept. and the Rest of Est respectively:—(1) Mordecai's pedigree, dream, and detection of conspiracy, with his immediate reward, exciting Haman's wrath (Intr.; 12[2]–12[6]). (2) Terms of the king's writ, authorizing the destruction of the Jews (after 3[13] 13[1-7]). (3) Prayers of Mordecai and Est (after 4; 13[8]–14[19]). (4) Fuller account of Est's first intercession with the king (in place of 5[1. 2] 15). (5) Terms of the king's writ, authorizing the Jews to defend themselves (after 8[13] 16). (6) Mordecai's devout interpretation of his dream in the light of events, and his permanent institution of the Feast of Purim, followed by epilogue regarding the Gr. tr. (End; 10[4-13] 11[1]). In Josephus we can trace other additions to the story not found in the Sept., which shows the popularity of the subject, and the tendency to embroider the Heb. narrative with Alex. inventions. Similar embellishments are to be found in the 'first' and 'second' Chaldæan Targums or commentaries, independent of the Gr. additions, which only found their way into the Midrashim at a much later time through the medium of the writings ascribed to Josipon ben-Gorion (Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*; Fritzsche, *as above*).

II. HISTORICITY. — On this subject the most diverse opinions have been held. Many old and a few modern writers * maintain the narrative to be thoroughly historical. But an increasing number † hold it to be more or less a work of imagination; while some ‡ regard it as a poetical invention, having no appreciable basis of fact to rest on.

The following are the principal arguments for the historical character of the book.—(1) The narrative claims to be historical, referring more than once to 'the chronicles' of Persia as containing a record of the events in question (10[2] 2[23] 6[1]); and its admission to the Pal. Canon, notwithstanding the absence of any allusion to the Holy Land or to Jewish ordinances, is so far a confirmation of its claim. (2) The Feast of Purim, with which it was so closely connected as to be known among Alex. writers as 'the Epistle of Purim,' and which, in the time of Jos. (*Ant.* XI. vi. 13) was observed by Jews in all parts of the world, is a standing memorial of the remarkable episode in Jewish history which the book records. (3) Its lifelike representation of Pers. manners and customs, especially in connexion with the palace at Susa (1[5. 10. 14] 2[9. 21. 23] 3[7. 12. 13] 4[6. 11] 5[4] 8[3]), is borne out by the results of modern travel and research (Rawlinson's *Anc. Monarchies*, iv. pp. 269–287; Morier, Fergusson, Loftus, Dieulafoy), and finds support in Herodotus and other ancient writers. (4) The conduct of Ahasuerus is in harmony with the vain, capricious, passionate character of Xerxes (the identification of the two names was the first result obtained from the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions by Grotefend in 1802), as depicted by heathen writers (Herod. vii. ix.; Æsch. *Pers.* 467 ff.; Juv. x. 174–187); and this may account for some things in the narrative that would otherwise seem almost incredible. (5) It appears from

* Kelle, *Vindiciæ Est.*; Hävernick, *Einleitung*; Baumgarten, *De Fide Lib. Est.*; Welte, *Einleitung*; Keil, *Einleitung*; Hervey, *Smith's DB*; Nickes, *De Est. Lib.*; Cassel, *Kom.*; Rawlinson, *Speaker's Com.*; Wordsworth, *Com.*; J. Oppert, *Annales Phil. Chrét.*, and *Revue des Ét. Ju.* 1894; J. W. Haley, *Bk. of Est.*; and, in the main, F. W. Schultz, *Lange's Com.*; and Orelli, *PRE*, art. 'Esther.'

† Eichhorn, *Einleitung*; De Wette, *Einleitung*; Bleek, *Einleitung*; Winer, *Bibl. RWB* i.; Dillmann in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* art. 'Purim'; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.*; Stähelin, *Einleitung*; Ryssel-Bertheau, *Exeg. Handb.*; Oettli, *S. and Z. Kg. Kom.*; Davidson, *Introduction*; Hitzig, *Gesch. Isr.*; Herzfeld, *Gesch. Isr.*; Stanley, *Jewish Ch.*; Driver, *LOT* 449 ff.; Cheyne, *Enc. Brit.* art. 'Esther'; König, *Einleitung*.

‡ Semler, *Appar. VT*; Bertholdt, *Einleitung*; Kuenen, *Relig. Isr.*, and *Onderz.*[2] i. 551 ff. (*Hist. Crit.* vol. i.); Nöldeke, *Alttest. Lit.*; Reuss, *Gesch. AT*; Zunz, *ZDMG*, 1893; Grätz, *MGWJ*, 1886; Bloch, 'Hel. Bestandth. im Bib. Schr.,' *Jüd. Lit. BL*, 1877; Cornill, *Einleit.*; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Isr.*

Herod. vii. 8 that Xerxes held a great council of war in the third year of his reign before setting out for Greece, and that he returned to Susa in the spring of his seventh year,—which agrees with the dates assigned to the great feast and the choice of a successor to Vashti (1^3 2^{16}). (6) Although the narrative is minute and circumstantial, containing many names (of courtiers, princes, 10 sons of Haman, etc., $1^{10.14}$ 9^{7-9}) as well as other details, it is remarkably free from literary and historical discrepancies, such as have been detected in the Apocr. books of To and Jth and Ad. Est. According to Oppert, there is not a single proper name that may not be regarded as belonging to the idiom of Cyrus and of Darius, and after the conquests of Alexander such writing was philologically impossible. (7) The silence of contemporary and later writings regarding the events narrated in the Bk. of Est is partly due to the disappearance of literature bearing on the history of Persia, and partly to the interest of Herodotus and Ctesias being centred in the points of contact between Persia and Greece. As for the Bk. of Ezra, it leaves the period from B.C. 516 to 459 (between chs. 6 and 7) a blank, except in $4^{5.6}$.

On the other hand, the following are the chief objections that have been taken to the historicity of the book. (1) The story bears on the face of it the appearance of a historical romance, a number of its features being in themselves extremely improbable, *e.g.* the six months' feast, involving such prolonged absence of the governors from their duties in the provinces; the summons of Vashti before the assembled peoples and princes, and the subsequent decree, suggested by 'the wise men,' that every man should bear rule in his own house, which would have been the publication of Ahasuerus' folly; the long interval before the choice of Vashti's successor; the decree for the wholesale massacre of the Jews (not excepting those in Judæa, and numbering probably two millions) on account of the obstinacy of a single Jew; the publication of this decree eleven months before the time for its execution; the issue of a subsequent decree virtually sanctioning civil war; the immense slaughter of the Persians notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, and the wonderful preservation of Jewish lives, as well as the absence of revenge on the part of the Persians; the institution by Mordecai and E. of a feast that would perpetuate the disgrace of the sovereign in the eyes of his subjects, and embitter the relations between Jew and Persian (but cf. the annual commemoration of the massacre of the Magians, Herod. iii. 79—with which Niebuhr was disposed to connect the story). Add to this that the series of coincidences and contrasts culminating in the overthrow of Haman '*the Agagite*' (1 S 15—but Oppert connects this name with Agaz, a tribe of Media mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon) and the exaltation of Mordecai of *the tribe of Benjamin*, is too perfect to have been drawn from real life. (2) The manifest aim of the writer is to encourage and glorify the Jews; and the whole narrative, which is marked by exaggeration and innuendo, is artfully designed to serve that purpose ($2^{15.17.22}$ $3^{2.15}$ 4^{14} $6^{10.11.13}$ 7^9 $8^{9.15.17}$ 9^{16} 10). (3) The references to 'the chronicles' may be merely a rhetorical device in imitation of similar allusions in Neh and Ezr (in this connexion it is noteworthy that the terms of the royal edicts are not given); or the sources referred to may be like the Bab.-Pers. chronicles, from which Ctesias professes to have derived information—the story being 'an example of Jewish Haggada founded upon one of those semi-historical tales of which the Pers. chronicles seem to have been full' (Sayce, *HCM* p. 475). (4) A strictly historical interpretation of the narrative is beset with difficulties. Neither Vashti nor Esther can be identified with Amestris, the only queen (judging from Herodotus and Ctesias) that Xerxes ever had. Nor is it easy to reconcile Ahasuerus' and Haman's ignorance of Esther's nationality with the frequent presence of Mordecai (who was known to be a Jew, 3^4) 'in the king's gate,' and his constant communications with Esther. Moreover, Haman's description of the Jews ($3^{8.9}$), as 'dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom,' and of their disobedience to 'the king's laws,' is not true of the Pers. period (especially so early as the reign of Xerxes), and betrays a Maced.-Greek origin, as does also the stress laid on financial considerations (cf. 9^{10}), and the part taken against the Jews by 'their enemies' ($9^{5.16.22}$). (5) In several respects the writer's knowledge of Pers. customs is alleged to be defective (Grätz in *MGWJ*, Dec. 1886), *e.g.* the '127 provinces,' cf. the '20 satrapies' of Herod. iii. 89; the command to 'kneel' (כרע) before Haman, an act of worship due to God only and the king, while the refusal to 'do him reverence' by prostration (השתחוה = προσκυνεῖν) betrays a Gr. spirit of independence at variance with Gn 23^7 33^3 (cf. Herod. vii. 136); the un-Oriental toleration so long shown to Mordecai by the vizier; the queen's difficulty of gaining access to the royal presence; the alleged Semitic character of some of the proper names, suspiciously profuse, and very few of which occur elsewhere; and Mordecai's obscurity, notwithstanding his officially-recorded services to the king (2^{23}, cf. Herod. viii. 85). Even admitting the general consistency of the narrative, both with itself and with Pers. surroundings, this is held to be sufficiently accounted for by consummate dramatic skill on the part of the writer, and his possessing such a knowledge of Persia and its ancient régime as was attainable by a Jew who had lived in that country or even in Palestine in the Maced.-Gr. period. (6) The true explanation of the silence of ancient Jewish writers (Ch, Ezr, Neh, Sir, Dn, Philo) as well as of profane writers, is held to lie in the fact that no such facts as those related in the Bk. of Est ever took place. (7) The Heb. of the book, which closely resembles that of Ec, belongs to a much later time than that of Xerxes; and the way in which the writer explains Pers. customs (1^{13} 8^8) seems to imply that the Pers. rule was over, while his description of Ahasuerus, and of his wide dominions, and the magnificence of his court, gives the impression that he is recalling the glories of a bygone age. (8) In answer to the argument from the Feast of Purim, it is alleged that the story of Est was engrafted on a festival already in vogue among the Jews, borrowed from a Pers. or a Gr. source, for the purpose of promoting its wider observance or imparting to it a more national character; and various attempts have been made to trace it to a definite heathen source. None of these attempts, however (art. PURIM), can be said to be successful, and the connexion of the book with such an ancient Jewish observance still forms a considerable presumption in favour of its being founded on facts. It may be that fresh confirmation of its truth will be found in some of the monumental discoveries which still await the explorer, and that the suspicion attaching to its contents will yet be removed.

III. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.—The date generally assigned to the book by those who maintain it to be historical is somewhere in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the successor of Xerxes (B.C. 464–425), or a little later; while most of those who regard the story as more or less of a legend or romance bring its composition down to the Gr. period, say in the 3rd cent. B.C. Hitzig traces its composition (as

well as the introduction of Purim) to the Parthian ascendency after B.C. 238, and in the description of the Jews in 3^8 he finds evidence that it was written subsequently to the colonizing activity of Seleucus Nikator. Others (Reuss, Grätz, Bloch, etc.) give it a still later date, tracing it to the time of the Maccabæan revolt (B.C. 167). Bloch regards it as an attempt to justify the Jewish party at the Gr. court, who thought they could best promote the interests of their country by conciliating the heathen power; but with this it is difficult to reconcile Mordecai's attitude towards Haman, or the slaughter of Pers. women and children and its commemoration. Grätz assigns the book to an adherent of the Maccabæan party, and, with the ingenuity of a special pleader, presents a great array of arguments to prove that Ahasuerus represents Antiochus (with some intentional vagueness as to the identity of Ah. himself), and that the book was intended to appeal to those who, like the deputies to Tyre (2 Mac 4^{18-20}), were disposed to resist the king's attempt to force them into idolatry, although they had very little religion of their own,—hinting at the influences which they might bring to bear upon the king, and at a possible turn in the wheel of fortune,—much as the Bk. of Dn was meant, a year or two later, to tell upon the more devout (Ḥasidim), who still believed in the possibility of direct divine interpositions. Kuenen and Cornill find in it an echo of the same struggle (cf. $3^{8.\ 9}$ and 1 Mac 1^{41} $3^{34.\ 36}$) after it was over (B.C. 135), when religious heroism had given place to animosity and pride. Similarly, Zunz believes it to have been an Eastern reflex (*c.* B.C. 130) of the Maccabæan enthusiasm, and lays stress on the lateness and servility of the language, as well as on the want of any recognition of the Jewish community as a whole, Mordecai and Esther being the only Jews who are credited with any influence. But the language, though late, is very far from exhibiting the stage represented by the Mishna;* and as regards the supposed Maccabæan origin for the story, it must be remembered that even under the Pers. rule (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 22) there had been times when the Jews suffered persecution for their attachment to their faith. That the book was written by a Persian Jew may fairly be inferred from its tone and structure, notwithstanding Grätz' denial that the use of Heb. for literary purposes was possible outside of Palestine, except during the Bab. Captivity. It is vain, however, to attempt to determine the authorship more particularly. The references to Mordecai's writing in 9^{20-32} have given rise to the idea that he may have been the author; but the peculiarities of the passage, both in language and contents, stamp it as an interpolation or interpolations (vv.$^{20-28\ 29-32}$), perhaps borrowed from another book of Purim (v.^{32}). Moreover, some of the allusions to Mordecai (*e.g.* $9^{3.\ 4}$) preclude the idea of his being the writer. All that can be said with confidence is that it was written by a Jew connected with Persia, and full of the nationalist feeling of his time, the absence of religious phraseology being due partly to the decline in the spiritual life of the nation, occasioned by centuries of exposure to heathen influences, leading to reserve in the expression of religious sentiment, partly to the secular character of the Feast of Purim associated with it, which rested on no divine authority, and was marked by a gay conviviality, varied with an occasional outburst of passion that was not favourable to religious solemnity. See further under PURIM.

* At the same time it must be admitted that, even after the Mishna style was formed, books in imitation of the classical style were written, otherwise Ec would have to be placed long after Sirach.

LITERATURE.—Driver, *LOT* 449 ff.; Cheyne, art. 'Esther' in *Encyc. Brit.* (1878), *Founders of OT Criticism*, 359 ff.; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*^{2}, 551 ff.; Zimmern in *ZAW*, 1891, p. 168; Lagarde, *Purim*; Jacob in *ZAW*, 1890, p. 241 ff.; Dieulafoy in *Rev. d. Ét. Ju.* 1888; Sayce, *Exr. Neh. and Est.*, also *HCM* p. 469 ff.; Cornill, *Einleitung*^{2}, 253 ff. 281 ff. 308; Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 139, 205; Wildeboer, *Die Lit. d. AT*, 444 ff.; Schwally, *Leben n. d. Tode*, p. 42 ff.; Bertheau, *Exr. Neh. u. Est.* (in *Kgf. Hdb.*) 1862, 2nd ed. by V. Ryssel, 1887; Oettli (in Strack and Zöckler's *Kgf. Kom.* 1889, p. 227 ff.); Reuss, *AT* vii. 193 ff. See also references in footnotes above. J. A. M'CLYMONT.

ESTHER (Apocryphal).—See preceding article.

ESYELUS ('Ησύηλος, B^{a,b} *ἡ σύνοδος*, AV Syelus) 1 Es 1^8=Jehiel.—One of the rulers of the temple in Josiah's time (2 Ch 35^8).

ETAM (עֵיטָם, possibly 'place of birds of prey,' from עַיִט 'bird of prey').—It is uncertain whether there may not have been two places so called in Judah. The town Etam (1 Ch $4^{3.\ 32}$) was in Simeon, near Rimmon. It may be the place fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^6), though there noticed with Bethlehem and Tekoa. The Rock Etam (Jg $15^{8.\ 11}$) was Samson's refuge, and had in it a peculiar 'fissure' (סְעִיף) or 'cavern' (AV 'top'). In the Talm. an Etam near Bethlehem is noticed (see Neubauer, *Géog. Talm. s.v.*). These may represent three distinct sites. **1.** Etam of Simeon is very clearly the ruin *'Aitûn* near Rimmon of Simeon, on the hills N.W. of Beersheba. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xxiv. **2.** Etam near Bethlehem is represented by the present *'Ain 'Atân*, at the so-called Pools of Solomon (Rom. reservoirs connected with Pilate's aqueduct to Jerus.), the traditional site of the 'sealed fountain' (Ca 4^{12}), identified by the Rabbis with Nephtoah. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii. **3.** The Rock Etam is an undefined site, but may have been near Samson's home at Zorah. There is a remarkable rocky hill to the E., on which the village *Beit 'Atâb* now stands, under which is a curious cavern in the rock. The change of B for M is not uncommon (cf. TIMNAH), and this is a possible site for Samson's refuge. *SWP* vol. iii. sheet xvii.

LITERATURE.—Besides the above, see Robinson, *BRP*^{2} i. 477; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 117 f., 303; Baedeker-Socin, *Pal.*^{3} 134 f.; Schick, *ZDPV* i. 152 f.; *PEFSt*, 1875, 12; 1876, 175; 1878, 116; 1881, 43, 323; Conder, *Tent-Work*, i. 275 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 342 ff.
C. R. CONDER.

ETHAM (אֵתָם, LXX 'Οθόμ, Ex 13^{20}; Βουθάν, Nu $33^{6.\ 7}$. The Coptic has *επεθωμ*, Ex 13^{20} [Wilkins], and *εβουθαι* [Wilkins], *εβουθαν* [Sah. Ciasca]. LXX and Cop. omit Etham in Nu 33^8).—The station at which the Israelites arrived after leaving Succoth. It is described (Ex 13^{20}, Nu 33^6) as being 'on the edge of the wilderness.' This wilderness (called W. of Etham, Nu 33^8, and W. of Shur, Ex 15^{22}) was traversed by the Israelites after crossing the sea. It must therefore be east of the Isthmus of Suez, and Etham would be on its W. edge. If on leaving Egypt the Israelites went along Wady Tumilat [see EXODUS (ROUTE OF), § i.], they would make for the broad tract of dry ground to the N. of Lake Timsah, and the position of Etham would be where their route crossed the Egyp. frontier, *i.e.* in the neighbourhood of the modern Ismailia. Naville places Etham here, but explains the word as designating the land of Atuma, which is mentioned in the papyrus Anastasi vi. The land of Atuma there mentioned is generally supposed to be the land of Edom. See PIHAHIROTH and the Literature under EXODUS (ROUTE OF), § ii. [Brugsch's 'Exodus and the Egyptian Monuments' may be read in English in vol. ii. of the translation (1879) of his *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, or in New Ed. (1891, in one vol.) p. 318 ff.]. A. T. CHAPMAN.

ETHAN (אֵיתָן).—**1.** 'THE EZRAHITE' of 1 K 4^{31}

and Ps 89 (title). In the first of these passages he is mentioned along with other contemporaries (?) of Solomon, who were all surpassed in wisdom by the Jewish monarch. In 1 Ch 2^6 he is said to have been a Judæan of the family of *Zeraḥ*, which is prob. another form of *Ezraḥ* (hence the patronymic *Ezrahite*). Instead of 'the Ezrahite' it has been proposed to render אֶזְרָחִי of 1 K 4^{31} 'the native,' *i.e.* the *Israelite*, in opposition to some of the other wise men named, who were *foreigners* (Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, p. 131). The ascribing of Ps 89 to E. occasioned one of the curiosities of Rabbinical exegesis. אֶזְרָחִי was connected with מִזְרָח (the east), then 'the man from the east' of Is 41^2 was interpreted of Abraham, and Ethan the Ezrahite was identified with the patriarch, who thus became the author of the psalm (Driver, *LOT* p. xxxiii, *n.*). **2.** An ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch 6^{42}). In v.^{21} he is called Joah. **3.** The eponymous ancestor of a guild of temple-singers (mentioned along with Heman and Asaph in 1 Ch 6^{44} $15^{17, 19}$ etc.). His genealogy is traced by the Chronicler back to Merari, one of the sons of Levi. He is generally identified with Jeduthun. (See JEDUTHUN.) J. A. SELBIE.

ETHANIM (חָאֶתָנִים, Αθαμείν B, Αθανείμ A, *Ethanim*, 1 K 8^2). See TIME.

ETHANUS, one of the 'swift scribes' who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14^{24}). The name occurs in the MSS variously as Ecanus, Echanus, Elkana, etc.

ETHBAAL (אֶתְבַּעַל 'with Baal,' *i.e.* enjoying his favour and protection; Ἰεθεβάαλ B, Ἰαβάαλ A, Ἰεθβάαλ Luc.).—King of the Sidonians, and father of Jezebel wife of Ahab king of Israel (1 K 16^{31}).

According to Jos., Ittobaal (Ἰθόβαλος, Ἐλθώβαλος, *i.e.* אִתּוֹבַעַל 'Baal is with him,' a form of the name preferred by Thenius, Stade, etc.) was king of the Tyrians and Sidonians (*Ant.* VIII. xiii. 1), and is stated by Menander the Ephesian to have been a priest of Astarte who attained to the throne by the murder of the usurper Phelles (*C. Ap.* i. 18). This identification with the Ethbaal of K is allowed by moderns. The Taylor cylinder, *col.* ii. 48, mentions a later king of Sidon of the same name; Assyr. *Tuba'lu* (Schrader, *COT*, on Gn 10^{15}).

C. F. BURNEY.

ETHER (עֶתֶר), Jos 15^{42} 19^7.—A town of Judah noticed with Libnah, apparently near the plain of Philistia, given to Simeon, and near Rimmon. The site is unknown.

ETHICS.—The treatment of this subject is involved in a certain amount of difficulty, from the fact that while the ethical character of the whole Jewish dispensation is strongly and unmistakably marked, there is no ethical system, strictly so called, in the Bible at all. The ethical ideas, like the metaphysical ideas, underlie the histories, the prophecies, the legislation, and the writings of the apostles; they are not deduced or criticised, but assumed as premises. For such a purpose as that of the present article they have to be extracted and presented systematically; and there is always danger that when this is done some greater precision of definition may be given to the ideas than they really possessed.

There is another difficulty, even greater than this, which arises from the critical discussions recently raised over the authorship and date of books. This presses more hardly on the student of OT ideas than of Christianity. For even if the date of individual books of the NT be uncertain, the margin of uncertainty is comparatively narrow; and the period within which they all must fall is, comparatively speaking, a short one. Hence critical questions may be neglected without any serious loss. But with the OT it is different. We can no longer take for granted the traditional order or date of the books; and, what is much more serious, the period within which they must all have been written is a very long one, so that it would be unreasonable to expect that the ethical point of view can have suffered no serious change. It is obviously impossible to discuss the various critical questions by the way. We can only call attention to the part they play in the whole discussion of our present subject, and then leave them aside. The plan of the present article is, then, to set forth the ethical ideas in the Bible, as far as possible, without reference to the literary history of the books, following such order as the subject itself seems to require.

I. IN THE OT AND APOCRYPHA.—The first point requiring attention is one of great importance, which will have decisive significance in regard to our whole subject-matter. With the partial exception (considered later) of the Sapiential Books, the whole of the Jewish Scriptures are *under the sway of religion*. The ruling idea of life was conditioned by the prevalent conception of God, and the peculiar relation in which the Jewish people stood towards Him. Hence the larger portion of the discussions with which other ethical writings have made us familiar, has no place whatever in Jewish literature. Greek ethical speculation busied itself with the questions of the end of life, or the ideal order of life, or the nature of virtue, or the sanction of the moral law. But to the Jewish mind all these questions were prejudged by the peculiarly close relation of religion with life. The God they worshipped was to the Jews the source and the sanction of the moral law. Their moral evolution consisted in their gradual discovery of the full meaning of their primary ethical conviction. Their notion of the content of the ethical idea varied as time went on; their history is, in a sense, reflected in their ethical evolution. Things which at one time were thought compatible with the due worship of God, cease to be thought so; but the general relation in which they stand to God remains undisturbed: morality is, to them, the embodied will of God.

It follows necessarily from this that there are, roughly speaking, two, and only two, questions for the Jewish moralists. (1) What conduct does God command? (2) What conduct does God forbid? Why He ordains or prohibits one or another line of conduct does not matter to them. They are concerned only with the fact. The answers to these remoter questions may, to some extent, be revealed in the process of moral evolution, but they are not of primary interest or importance. The central question is that of the actual content of the divine law.

It might seem, at first sight, as if this theory of the moral law must exclude a people from any marked development in ethical matters. The most cursory glance, however, at the actual facts would destroy this supposition. The law of God is adapted to various stages in the progress of the people, and enforces the morality characteristic of the stage at which they are. It is obvious that this must necessarily have been the case. If, as the Jews believed, God Himself revealed the moral law to them, it must necessarily have been in terms which they could understand. It would have been idle, for instance, to promulgate to a nation, as yet only in the tribal stage of its existence, a law which assumed the existence of settled civic ideas. Thus the conviction of the special union of God with His people, and interest in their moral life, affects the character of the evolu-

tion of ethical ideas, but does not prevent their real growth.

(*A*) *The Pentateuch and the Historical Books.*—The note of law is struck in the account of *Paradise and the Fall.* In this story we have all the elements of the ethical idea as it presented itself to the Jews. God gave a command which man disobeyed. In like manner the sin which led to the Flood was disobedience or rebellion against God. The law of murder, enacted after the Flood has disappeared, is given as a definite act of legislation on the part of God (Gn 9^{4-7}). In the same way the sin of Sodom is represented as an outrage upon God; and the destruction of the cities as the judgment of God. When we reach the *times of Abraham* the same phenomena appear in a more complex form. The intercourse between God and man, of which the covenant after the Flood was typical, is concentrated and intensified in the relation of God with Abraham. A demand is made for a more complete and detailed obedience; and the rite of circumcision has a special significance assigned to it. The special covenant is based on the readiness of Abraham to accept the guidance of God; cf. Gn $17^{1.2}$. 'The LORD appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am God Almighty: walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly.' The same idea of a covenant is sustained throughout the whole history between Abraham and Moses; the people are regarded as standing in a peculiar relation to God, and bound by it to certain lines of conduct. The protection and interest of God in the chosen family is represented as a thing which they are bound to cherish with the greatest care, and it is implied throughout that the arrangement is part of a larger scheme. The sin of Esau consists in the neglect of this covenanted right of access to God; and the blessing of Jacob consists in his fitness to be the vehicle of the covenant-relation, rather than in any commendation bestowed upon his own character.

Whatever may be the literary history of the books in which this story is preserved, there is no doubt that it represents the belief of the Jewish people, and, that being so, it characterized their ethical ideas. But it is important to notice also the area of moral action covered by the commands of God. We have already noticed the prohibition of murder, and the condemnation of Sodom. Apart from these, the morality consistent with the stage of civilization so far attained is implicitly permitted. There is no condemnation of polygamy; the fraud of Abraham upon Abimelech is not condemned, though its uselessness is displayed by the action of God; and, in like manner, Jacob's fraud upon Isaac is shown to be unprofitable by the fact of his exile. At the same time the witness of God is sought in order to preserve the validity of treaties (Gn $26^{27ff.}$), and His worship is regarded as distinct from that of many other deities. There is little sign at present of any elaborate moral reform depending on the covenant-relation; and the morality of the people as it is described is strictly governed by principles which prevail in the patriarchal stage. What is new and has the germs of much of the future development in it, is the intensification of the idea of the tribal God. The relation asserted between God and the family of Abraham is peculiarly close and far-reaching in its character; and the ground is prepared for the substitution of a moral for a physical or tribal basis of the covenant.

The next stage in the history as it is presented in the OT books is marked by *the Levitical legislation.* It is here, probably, that the difficulties caused by critical discussions reach their highest point. In pursuance of our plan we shall describe, first, the facts of the legislation as they stand, and reserve such discussion as there is space for, of the bearing of criticism upon the matter. Under the head of the Mosaic legislation we have to consider the Decalogue, the Priestly Code, and the Deuteronomic exposition of the Mosaic law. This will involve a brief consideration of the meaning and character of Sacrifice, and the meaning of Sin.

Of the *Decalogue* it is not necessary to say much. We need only call attention to the fact that it consists of two distinct parts: one containing prohibitions concerning man's relations to God, the other dealing more directly with ordinary social questions. The Decalogue throws comparatively little light on the condition of society at the time of its promulgation. It deals with acts forbidden before, such as murder and idolatry; but its last three sections imply the existence of a settled mode of life different from that of the patriarchal family. Theft, false witness, and covetous desire belong to a social state in which there existed within the social whole various houses or families holding property. The process of *ξυνοικισμός* must have taken place; but beyond this there is nothing that can be said definitely. It is, however, important to notice that the commandments come with the *imprimatur* of God upon them, and that the covenant-relation is alluded to in the prefatory verse as it stands in Ex 20^{2}: 'I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.'

The *Priestly Code* consists of a number of regulations which are largely ceremonial in character. The laws of ceremonial uncleanness and other kindred matters are precisely defined: the great occasions of the ecclesiastical year are ordained, and the ritual due to them established. Further, the various types of sacrifice are described, the occasions on which they are to be performed, and the method of performing them. In regard to the whole of this legislation, we need only for our present purpose to call attention to two points. In the first place, it is important to observe that the whole order is rested upon the covenant-relation with God, and, more than this, that the character of God is placed in definite connexion with the rules laid down. The holiness of God requires this elaborate ceremonial order to preserve it from the contamination of hasty and unfit intruders, and to retain the condition of the people at a level high enough to enable them to use their covenant privileges. This is proved by the refrain which recurs at intervals in the course of Leviticus—'I am the LORD'; and by such marked phrases as the following: 'Ye shall not profane my holy name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel; I am the LORD which hallow you, that brought you out of the land of Egypt to be your God; I am the LORD' (Lv $22^{32.33}$). But, in the second place, it is no less important to notice the extraordinarily limited moral range of the laws enacted. In Lv 6 there is a short list of moral delinquencies which require the atonement of a guilt offering. These consist chiefly of broken pledge and other forms of dishonest dealing. Besides this there are sacrifices ordained for sins of ignorance: 'If any one shall sin unwittingly, in any of the things which the LORD hath commanded not to be done, and shall do any one of them; and if the anointed priest shall sin so as to bring guilt upon the people' (Lv $4^{2.3}$). If we are justified in referring this command to the legislation which appears in Exodus, it will include a certain number of other moral delinquencies. Thus, besides the Decalogue, there are regulations concerning assault and murder, the proper treatment of slaves, the

relations of parents and children, and specially concerning idol-worship and magic. Besides these there are ordinances referring to lost property; the duty of actively aiding the restoration of straying animals is inculcated; the poor are remembered, and severe condemnations passed upon those who judge unjustly. The service for the Day of Atonement is placed in close connexion with the unwarranted intrusion of the sons of Aaron into the presence of the Lord (Lv 16^{1}), and is apparently intended to do away with ceremonial breaches of the covenant-relation, though the ritual would lend itself easily to a deeper meaning. See ATONEMENT (DAY OF).

The legislation in the Book of *Deuteronomy*, as it stands at present, covers a good deal of the ground of the preceding books. It repeats and further develops laws elsewhere laid down. There is the same rigorous condemnation of idolatry, the same care for justice and equality between man and man, and the like. But there is a more pronounced insistence on the moral character of God, and the close relation of God to the people in view of His moral character. He is represented as demanding exclusive worship, but as being faithful and long-suffering (Dt 7^{9}), caring not only for the people of His choice, but also in a special degree for the fatherless and stranger. The characteristic feature of Dt is that which it is now the fashion to call its *parenetic* tone; it goes so far, indeed, as to find a spiritual meaning for circumcision as opposed to that which is purely ceremonial. Moreover, the relation of the people to God is presented in a more spiritual manner: the 'first great commandment of the law,' 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind,' is in Dt 6^{5}.*

It has seemed hardly consistent with the subject of the present article to go into any preciseness of detail as regards the Pent. legislation. Enough, however, has been said to establish the truth of the position maintained at the outset, that morality for the Jew meant that which God had commanded; immorality, that which God forbade. It is obvious that the Bk. of Dt takes a slightly different view of moral life from that which is expounded in Lv. The laws concerning the functions of judges ($12^{18.\ 20}$), the kingly office (17^{14-20}), the single central shrine, and the killing of animals for food (12^{15}), clearly contemplate, either in fact or in anticipation, the position of a settled nation. Similar cases might be quoted from the earlier books. But whereas in Lv the largest portion of the book concerns the ritual order in the land of Canaan, the Bk. of Dt is chiefly concerned with the religious effect upon the people.

One fact, however, is noticeable about all the books alike, and that is the highly archaic character of the regulations themselves. The law and the ritual of sacrifice, the importance given to ceremonial pollution, the practices connected with the avenger of blood, the use of the *lex talionis*, the levirate law of marriage, the use of the ordeal, are all of them archaic in character, and must have survived into later Judaism out of an archaic state of society. As in other cases upon which anthropology has thrown much light, practices have survived after their primary meaning has been lost. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the evolution of ethics among the Jews followed something like the same course as among other progressive nations. Having been first expressed in terms analogous to those of early humanity all the world over, the distinctively moral elements were disentangled from the mass of rudimentary ideas, and took their place as the ruling principles of the religious polity of Judæa. It has sometimes been maintained that the elaborate ceremonial is a subsequent development to the more spiritual attitude of Deuteronomy. This is surely inconsistent with the teaching of anthropology. The more spiritual conceptions rise naturally out of the less spiritual; the moral truth breaks loose from the half-savage practice in which it was enshrined. It is almost inconceivable that this order should be reversed; and that the mind of the nation should have passed from a lofty spiritual conception of life to one that belongs by natural association to minds largely buried in matter. The characteristic note of this legislation is that God takes command over life as a whole, and, while the actual condition of the people is left unaltered, the way is prepared for further progress. The fundamental ideas as to right and wrong and the proper means of communicating with the national God are left unmodified; but practices are condemned which degrade and materialize the life of the nation and its conceptions of God.*

It has often been observed that the indications of the operation of the Levitical law are rare, if not altogether non-existent, in the historical books. It is certainly true that the supremacy of the sanctuary at Shiloh, and then later at Jerus., falls considerably short of the unique sanctity ascribed in the law to the central shrine of J″. Further, there are no records of the celebration of the legal feasts till the time of the later kings. It is plain that the worship of J″ had not established its hold upon the common people; they are continually liable to defections to the gods of neighbouring races. Moreover, the unity of the people is hardly attained; there are obviously differences of opinion and interest between various tribes. These facts and others like them have been quoted, reasonably enough, as bearing on the literary history of the books of the law. They do not affect what has been said above as to the archaic character of many of the legal enactments. And we may say even more than this. The records contained in the historical books are the records of a people emerging from the tribal state into that of national life. The assumptions of such a state of things underlie the action of Jael: they are displayed in the wars of extermination which form a somewhat repellent feature (to modern eyes) in the history of the invasion of Canaan, and in Samuel's denunciation of the Amalekites; they appear in the attitude of the Jews towards the gods of the neighbouring tribes, still more noticeably in such a story as that of the Levite and his concubine (Jg 19. 20), or that of Micah the Ephraimite (*ib.* 17. 18).

The means by which the change is effected is, to a large extent, the institution of the *Kingship*. It is this that prevents the separate action of the separate tribes, and develops the idea of a justice which is due to an individual, as opposed to the tribal notion according to which the tribe, not the individual, is the unit. At the same time it is clear that J″ is regarded as the protector of moral rights. David, for instance, commends Abigail for preserving him from the sin against the Lord that reckless vengeance implies (1 S $25^{27ff.}$). The eating of blood is a sin against J″ (1 S 14^{33}); there is, to use a modern phrase, a taboo upon the shew-bread offered to J″;† and other cases might be quoted showing that, though evidence is lacking for a complete ecclesiastical organization, such as is described in the Pent., much of the legislation embodied therein (and therefore the morality implied by it) dates from a time in which these social ideas prevailed.

(*B*) *The Prophetical Literature.*—We must now turn to the prophets and endeavour to estimate the importance of their work in the ethical development of Israel. They are rightly identified with the higher moral progress of the people; but it is necessary in dealing with them, more even than with any of the other OT authors, to remember that their writings are occasional and not systematic. They deal with the condition of the people as it appears to them, they comment on the vices which arrest their attention, and they give special weight to the effect of these lines of conduct on the field of politics.

* The second, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, occurs in Lv 19^{18}.

* Cf. Lv 18^{24} 20^{1-6}, Dt 12^{2-5} etc.

† It is not accurate to say, with Wellhausen (*Proleg.* p. 131, Eng. tr.), that there is no distinction between holy and unholy in the matter of the shew-bread.

The cycle of ideas in which the prophets move is much the same in outline, though of course some speak more precisely and fully than others.

(*a*) The most conspicuous feature in their moral doctrine is their sense of the union of the nation with God, and the interest of God in the moral development of men. Condemnations of idolatry and of all forms of defection from the proper allegiance to God are frequent in the prophetic books. The nation is described under the figure of a bride, bound by the marriage-tie to J″, and continually breaking it. This appears in Is, Jer, Ezk, Hos; it will not be necessary to quote passages in illustration of so familiar a phrase. The practices most frequently condemned are unrighteous judgment, oppression of the poor, and various forms of luxury and extravagance, especially drunkenness. These do not take us much beyond the ideas which appear in the earliest legislation. The development is to be found rather in the application of the ideas which have already prevailed, and in the appearance of some of the problems which necessarily belong to moral life. Thus the theory of evil receives some consideration. We have seen that the ceremonial legislation referred largely to ceremonial pollutions. It may possibly have been due to this association that the presence of evil was treated as a taint which affected others besides the actual sinner. On the other hand, holiness or righteousness was also regarded as a state which was effectual as a preservation against judgment. Thus in Abraham's colloquy with God (Gn 18) the presence of righteous persons is admitted as a reason for suspending the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. There is, of course, a real moral difficulty contained in this doctrine. It must be remembered that evil is inseparably connected by the Jews with acts of rebellion, *i.e.* with individual self-will and disobedience. If, therefore, others who have not taken part in the sin are involved in its consequences, it is obvious that a serious question must be raised as to the definition of responsibility, and the relation of responsibility to guilt. We find in Is a sense of the polluting effect of the presence of evil. Thus in the account of his call to the prophetic work (6^5) he says: 'Woe is me, for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell among a people of unclean lips.' Isaiah expresses the general effect of evil in the people, and acknowledges its influence upon himself. It is, further, a general doctrine of the OT that the guilt of sin extends to those who are connected with the sinner, as is expressed in the second commandment. These ideas give rise to several lines of moral speculation. In the first place, the sense of individual responsibility is greatly strengthened, so that we find in Ezk a definite restriction or correction of the principle laid down in the Decalogue. Thus (ch. 18^{20}), 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.' This position is carried out on the side of virtue also; the presence even of the three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, shall not avail to suspend judgment upon a sinful city (Ezk 14^{12-23}), nor shall righteousness at one time prevent judgment if a soul relapse into wickedness (Ezk $33^{10ff.}$). Responsibility belongs to the individual soul for actual things done, and for nothing else.

On the other hand, the prevalence of evil and the uncertain incidence of affliction absolutely prevent the adoption of the view that each man is punished simply for his own sins. Evil enters far too deeply into the constitution of things to be explained on these terms. Hence we find in Is and elsewhere the view expressed that God works through evil, and leads men to higher things. This notion is involved in the idea of *visitation*; it gives meaning to the metaphor of the *refining fire*; and it expresses itself in the doctrine of the faithful remnant. These are they on whom suffering and trouble have done their proper work; they have learnt the lessons which God was teaching them. This conception reaches a climax in Is 53. The boldness in language, which is so characteristic of the prophets, is nowhere more noticeable than in some isolated statements to be found on the subject of evil. Not content with describing the probationary functions of it in the divine order, both Amos and Deutero-Isaiah speak of it as the direct effect of God's action. 'Shall evil befall a city, and the Lord hath not done it?' Am 3^6. 'I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I am the Lord that doeth all these things,' Is 45^7. These passages, in which 'evil' has not the moral sense but ='calamity,' 'misfortune,' are not inconsistent with the condemnation of sin ascribed to God, and with His character as elsewhere described. Their real aim is to express in the sharpest form the absolute supremacy of God over the whole course of things.

(*b*) A second point in regard to which the prophetic attitude is fairly consistent is the contrast between ceremonial performance and real morality. The emphasis laid by the prophets upon the moral law, the growing sense of the holiness of God, the comparative lack of moral reference in the ceremonial legislation, are factors in this development. Sacrifice in various parts of the world has tended to pass from an act of communion into an act of commerce. Instead of being a means of reopening intercourse that had in some way become suspended, it is a process of barter by which something valuable is given up or destroyed in order to secure some gain. Further, the tendency to polytheism—so rife in Palestine during the time of the kings—rests upon an assumption that it is worth while to make friends with a variety of gods in hopes of benefits to be received from them. This theory, as well as the other, is inconsistent alike with the ceremonial law as we now read it, and with the prophetic doctrine of God. In proportion, therefore, as the sense of moral conditions to communion with God prevailed over every other, it became necessary to insist on the inadequacy of sacrifice in itself as a means of religious approach. This law is a common subject of the declamation of the prophets. We find it in Is (1^{10-17}), Jer ($6^{19.\ 20}$ etc.), Hos (2^{11} 6^6), Am (ch. 6), Mic (ch. 2), Zec (7^5), and many other places, and in a most elaborate form in II Is (58). In all these, the close relation of J″ to His people, their sinfulness and His hatred of sin, are the basal assumptions. It is the sense of the failure of material means of intercourse, and the difficulty of the more spiritual view of moral life, that gives force to the whole doctrine of salvation. The moral character of God was itself an assertion that evil was not final. If the means at hand of getting rid of it were inadequate, God Himself must take measures to remove it. The one thing certain is that it cannot remain unmodified; the holiness of God forbids this. Hence we find God continually represented as longing to pardon—rising up early and sending His prophets—that men may come back to their allegiance, and realize the blessings of the covenant-union. The two ideas are here held together—the separation from God caused by sin—the prospect of forgiveness from the side of God. It would take us into the region of theology, pure and simple, if we discussed this matter further; but it is impossible to avoid reference to

it, as it is the characteristic feature of the ethics of the prophets, and is perhaps an inevitable result of the peculiarly theological tone of the ethical thought of Israel.

It has already been observed that the ordinary list of virtues and vices in the prophets falls roughly under the same heads as those in the law. They are vices or virtues connected with the intercourse of man with man; in other words, they are political rather than ethical, in the narrower sense. They belong to the political activity of the prophets, and express their influence upon the ordinary life of the State.

There are, besides these, certain other conditions mentioned from time to time which are more purely subjective. Such is the peace which comes to those who are in true union with God, which the wicked can never share. But these are not the most frequent types of virtue. For these and such conditions we must go to the Psalms.

(*C*) *The Psalms* really require a treatise to themselves to set forth their ethical contents adequately. They have formed men's devotional handbook for century after century; and this, in spite of the fact that they are full of national feeling, and are unmistakably Jewish. There are frequent allusions in them to the situation of the Jewish people in politics or warfare; they must have been written, in many cases, like the prophecies, in close connexion with various political events. Yet their significance is never exhausted. They have the twofold right to perpetuity, that they regard the current history in the light of the permanent principles that underlie all history and all life, and that they present these in the form of the highest poetry. The Psalmists see in the events of their own day the manifestation of the divine laws, and it is often this aspect of them alone which they present. Hence the task of dating the Psalms is no easy one; the particular immediate event is often lost in the sense of the universal laws, the working of which it displays. In this connexion, as before in this article, we must disclaim any intention of discussing or deciding the dates of the individual psalms, and confine ourselves to a general presentation of the moral indications in the book as a whole.

As before in Jewish writings, we have to notice the decisive way in which the character of God is represented as the rule for the character of man. A very striking expression is given to this principle in Ps $18^{25.26}$ (RV): 'With the merciful thou wilt show thyself merciful; with the perfect man thou wilt show thyself perfect; with the pure thou wilt show thyself pure; and with the perverse thou wilt show thyself froward.' The reference of all this is put beyond question by the next verse: 'For thou wilt save the afflicted people; but the haughty eyes thou wilt bring down' (cf. Ps 25^{8-10} $97^{10.11}$, and many other passages). Here, therefore, in the most decisive way, the character of God is represented as the moral ideal. If we ask, further, for greater detail in regard to this divine character, we find many points of contact with the books already considered. It is a commonplace throughout the Psalms that God has a fiery hatred of evil. This is especially displayed in a hatred of all forms of oppression. 'For the spoiling of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the LORD' (12^{5}). 'Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. The eyes of the LORD are toward the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry. . . . The righteous cried, and the LORD heard, and delivered them out of all their troubles. The LORD is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit' (34^{14-18}). It is probably this care for the poor that leads, both in the Ps and Dt, to the condemnation of usury (Ps 15^{5}) and of unrighteous judgment (Ps 82 throughout). But the Psalmists take us much further than this condemnation of wickedness. God is represented as a God of loving-kindness—that is, looking with interest and love upon mankind. It is this character which, if the phrase may be used, accounts for and is expressed in the special intimacy between the Lord and His people. 'The earth is full of the loving-kindness of the LORD' (Ps 33^{5}): it is 'in the multitude of the loving-kindness' of God that the Psalmist goes to the temple (Ps 5^{7}): 'He showeth loving-kindness to his anointed, to David, and to his seed for evermore' (Ps 18^{50}). The merciful nature of God shows itself in two directions: in forgiveness and in judgment. The two are not apparently regarded as incompatible. He is full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy (Ps 103^{8}). 'If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared' (Ps $130^{3.4}$). At the same time, upon those who work wickedness, the judgment of God falls severely and relentlessly. 'Thou settest them in slippery places; thou casteth them down to destruction' (Ps 73^{18} etc.).

The character of God as thus described forms the model of the true follower of J". His central motive is that of love and adoration to God; but, at the same time, he so far identifies himself with the cause of God that he too burns with anger against the wicked. This is partly the explanation of the tone of unmodified hatred that pervades certain psalms (esp. 69. 109). It is not merely the annoyance of a person whose will is crossed, and who vents himself in petulant cursing of those who stand in his way. It is the wrath of the person who feels that God's cause is attacked through him, and who is persecuted by the powers of evil. Such a condition is no doubt a perilous one; but it is important to observe that these psalms by no means stand alone. The echo of conflict pervades the whole book. The course of this world is largely affected by the presence of sin and unfaithfulness. The followers of God are not by any means in the majority; nor do they always prevail against their enemies. They pass through times of oppression, of menace, of persecution; they are the victims of treachery in the house of friends; they see the ungodly in apparent prosperity, and the holy things of God defiled and insulted. This condition of the world produces the fury against the enemies of God, already mentioned, together with some other remarkable conditions of mind. It is to this — the apparent triumph of the enemy—that we must assign the sense of being forsaken by God Himself which appears in Ps 22; to this also is to be traced the perplexity of mind as regards the providence of God which appears in Ps 73. The moods in which this problem is approached vary greatly. At times it produces deep depression, almost despair; at times it is treated (as in Ps 37) with calm and quiet triumph. But it is important, for it is to the Jewish mind the fundamental problem of ethics, to account for the lack of apparent balance between a man's lot and the life he leads. The idea of the probationary value of suffering appears in some places; but the full discussion of the problem belongs rather to the Sapiential Books than to the Psalms.

It would not, however, be true to suppose that all the evil in the world is due to the action of the enemies of God. There are in many places signs that sinfulness is regarded as a trouble that touches even the good. It erects a barrier between the soul and God which sacrifices and burnt-offerings are powerless to break down. In one place

(Ps 51[5]) it seems to be regarded as affecting the actual birth of men. The man stands in solitary responsibility before God (49[7] 51[4]); and the essence of sin consists in not having the heart right (78[8]). Together with this sense of incapacity and weakness may be classed the yearning after God which marks Ps 42, and the passionate enthusiasm for the service of God which appears in Pss 119 and 84.

There would be no difficulty in extending largely this account of the ethical features of the Psalms; but the space at our disposal does not permit it. We therefore can only point out here the general character of the whole book. It is essentially a book of reflective devotion. The whole of life is viewed from the point of view of the worship of and intercourse with J". It never reaches the point of ethical theory, even in regard to the ethical problem noticed above. The solution, so far as any is offered, is always spiritual and religious, and not philosophical.

(*D*) *The Sapiential Books.*—It is in these only that we find any definite ethical philosophy among the Jews; and even in these, speculation moves over a restricted area. As in other nations, speculation begins in the proverbial form; the first moral philosophers were men who spoke proverbs. These trace their intellectual lineage to the wise king Solomon, who was wiser than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol . . . and who spake three thousand proverbs (1 K 4[31ff.]). These *proverbs*, if we may judge from the Bk. of Pr as we have it, were of a somewhat utilitarian tone. They started with the assumption that virtue leads to worldly success and happiness; and they dwelt on this relation with various degrees of insistence. They were maxims of ordinary prudence, rather than speculations as to ultimate moral problems, and the religious view of all these questions was somewhat left on one side. Moral practice is still closely allied with the fear of the LORD, but its natural outcome is expected to appear in the form of worldly prosperity. Thus 3[9. 10] 'Honour the LORD with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase: so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy fats shall overflow with new wine.' The reflections upon life which fill up the larger portion of the book are also somewhat subdued in enthusiasm, and seem to lack in some degree high moral inspiration. But it must not be supposed that commonplace utilitarian reflections are the sum of the contents of the Sapiental Books. It is to these that we must trace the development of two of the most striking of all the ethical figures of the OT—the Wise Man and the Fool. The wise man is he whose life is orderly and well arranged—the man who follows the law of the LORD. The fool is he who is self-willed and sinful, and whose life therefore lacks principle, and fails to attain success. A large portion of the antitheses in the Bks. of Pr and Sir present the contrasted pictures of these two characters. They are seen in various relations of life; but the essence of the two characters lies in their different relation to the law of the LORD; for the fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge (Pr 1[7], Sir 1[14-20]). 'All wisdom is the fear of the LORD, and in all wisdom is the doing of the law' (Sir 19[20]). The grossest forms of transgression, as well as the less impressive, are regarded as acts of folly (see esp. Pr 7[6-27], and comp. Pr 10[8. 9] 13[16] 14[8. 9] etc.). It is noticeable that the nature of wisdom and of folly consists, not in an accurate intellectual knowledge of things, but in a prudent or imprudent ordering of life. The wise man shows his wisdom by his right choice, his far-seeing plans, his control of passion, and avoidance of all self-assertion. The fool is he who does the exact opposite of all these things. See FOOL.

It is this notion of a wise ordering of practical life which reappears in the far more magnificent conception which we owe to these books—of the wisdom of God. This is conceived partly as an attribute of God, partly as a counsellor standing, as it were, by the throne of God. According to the latter view, which appears in some of the finest passages in these books, wisdom was the counsellor and helper of God in the creation of the world (Pr 8, cf. Wis 10, Job 28[20] etc.), and has been conspicuously embodied in the law (Sir 24[23]). Wisdom is the power that guides the history of man, and has watched over that of the chosen people (cf. Wis 10[15f.]). Hence the previous connexion between morality and wisdom is explained. Man's wisdom consists in following out the embodied wisdom of God in the law.

This particular character of the divine wisdom brings us back to the consideration of the problems which, as has been already pointed out, appear in the Psalms. The problem of the true relation of virtuous action or righteousness is set forth, as in a tragedy, in the Bk. of Job. The author emphasizes the fact that Job was free from all blame in the truest and strictest sense. He bewails his misery—the cruel change of fortune which comes upon him; but in it all 'he sinned not.' He neither rejected the verdict of his conscience, which acquitted him of wrong-doing, nor called in question the supreme justice of God. In this he proves superior to the popular opinion on such matters, as it is represented in the utterances of the friends. And the justification of his attitude is found in the answer of J" out of the whirlwind, the point of which consists in the assertion of the variety and mysteriousness of the activity of God. The question is not solved by any philosophical formula, but is referred simply to the nature of God Himself.

In the Bk. of Ec we find a much more gloomy point of view. In this case the obscurity of the whole matter presses very hard upon the author's mind. He is impressed with the apparent futility and lack of coherence in the life of man; he can see no purpose served and no object attained by the pursuit of wisdom, or the indulgence of pleasure, or the enjoyment of high place. Everything lies under the doom of vanity; there is no profit under the sun — nothing that endures, and can satisfy man's desire for the enduring. Under these circumstances he approaches the form of ethical thought which, in modern times, is called pessimism. Indeed he only falls short of it in so far as he finds the good of man in the grim adherence to the commandments of God (if Ec 11[13] be genuine).

In both these works the general view of the life of man is closely akin to that which we have had occasion to notice before. It is noted (Job 1[5]) that Job rose up early in the morning and offered burnt-offerings according to the number of them all (*i.e.* his family), 'for Job said, It may be that my sons have sinned, and renounced God in their hearts.' He deemed it necessary to provide against inadvertences of this sort as regards God, and this of course adds to the impression of his complete virtue. In later chapters we find the usual emphasis laid upon the protection of the poor, and the wickedness of oppression (cf. ch. 24, 31[16] etc.), upon purity (ch. 31), and justice (29[16]). In like manner, oppression is one of the things which attracts the attention of the preacher (Ec 4[1-3]), as well as the vanity of the efforts of the righteous, when death comes and cuts short all that he is planning to achieve.

We may now review briefly the drift of this very imperfect sketch of the ethical ideas of the OT.

It seems that the central feature of OT morality is that it is religious; it is grafted on to the national faith and worship. But this must not be taken to imply that the ceremonial order was indissolubly bound up with the moral ideas; the various sacrifices, and the like, are, on the whole, held apart from the definite scheme (so far as there is one traceable) of virtues and vices. It would be truer to say that the ceremonial order and the ethical code are two co-ordinate developments of the one principle—the holiness of J". The character of God was the final rule of the life of man, and the archaic details of sacrificial purification were filled with this meaning; the great holiness of God demanded cautious approach. On the other hand, the general impression left upon the mind by the history of the people and the reflections upon their life is one of considerable simplicity. The acts condemned, the ideals commended, belong to a comparatively simple condition of society. Acts of violence and oppression are the chief burden of denunciation; the tendency is manifest to exact usurious interest; and there are some few other forms of sin noticed, such as drunkenness and impurity. But the real depth and value of Jewish moral teaching is found, not in the political or social sphere, but in the religious life. It is in the Psalms and in those passages of the Prophets which come nearest in tone to the Psalms that we find the permanent and supreme value of the Jewish notion of life. Varieties of religious emotion and aspiration such as we find in these forms are possible only to a people whose whole ethical outlook is religious.

II. In the NT.—When we pass over into the NT we come into an atmosphere which is in many respects strikingly different from that of the OT. In the first place, the literature covers a comparatively small area in point of time, instead of containing history and tradition from a long series of ages. Hence the type of life and thought, though there are signs of rapid development in it, is much the same throughout. Further, the history in NT describes in fragmentary style a single life, and the results which flowed from its activity. We are not concerned with the history of a people, but of a body that was included in, but claimed to be wider than, the firmly established Roman Empire. Our knowledge of its external history is comparatively slight; the emphasis falls on the development of its mind. Hence, while a large portion of OT requires to be explained out of the political history of the time, the tone of NT is more definitely moral, and deals more positively with the qualities and errors of individual minds; it is ethical rather than political. And once more, the NT stands in much closer relation to our own modern experience than anything in the OT. At the best, it is always difficult to get back to the point of view from which the OT writers spoke and wrote; there is much which it requires careful argumentation to explain at all. But with the NT this is different. In spite of the obvious differences of national character, and the effects of all the history that has happened since, we still feel that we understand and are in sympathy with the ethical attitude of those who wrote the NT books. Indeed, the fact that they seem so little strange is the measure of their effect.

On the other hand, there are points of very close contact between the OT and the NT. We do not find the same external conditions, but the moral attitude is much the same. The morality of the NT is essentially a religious morality; it stands in very close relation to the worship of God. That which was hope or aspiration under the old covenant is fulfilled in the new; the access to God, which was before an object of longing, is attained through Christ; the forgiveness, the lack of which so seriously complicated the ancient religious efforts, has become possible through Christ. This is, in fact, the central point in the comparison of the two systems; the note of the old covenant is *promise*, that of the new is *fulfilment*. From this most of the other differences may be derived, directly or indirectly.

As in connexion with the OT, so here, it will be impossible to enter into the various critical questions raised over the Gospels and Epistles. Taking the NT as it is, we shall endeavour to indicate its bearing on ethical questions.

(*A*) *The Sermon on the Mount.*—Different views have been taken as to the actual history of this sermon as it stands in the Gospels, and of its meaning in relation to the purpose of Christ. All are agreed that it stands to the new covenant as the promulgation of the law on Sinai stood to the old; it contains the law of the new kingdom. From this point of view two questions arise in regard to it. (1) What is its relation to the old law? (2) What new features does it add of its own?

(1) In the Sermon on the Mount the old law is revised and fulfilled; the precepts which it contained are interpreted, and their application deepened. Our Lord definitely affirms that He has come, not to destroy (καταλῦσαι), but to fulfil (πληρῶσαι). Hence He touches on a series of points upon which the law had defined its position, and develops them. The law of Murder includes in its prohibition the sin of anger and the harsh unforgiving temper.* The law against Adultery includes lustful thoughts, and condemns them. The law of Divorce and of Perjury are extended in like manner. But the law of Retaliation is reversed; and the narrow command to love the neighbour is extended so as to cover the enemy. In all this the difference lies not so much in principle as in interpretation. We are still in the region of law. Commands are addressed to the will from without, which it has to obey. But the significance of the law is increased tenfold by means of the application of the rules. They no longer concern outward conduct only; they touch the inmost springs of conduct in the heart. In this they are akin to the deeper aspirations of the Prophets and Psalmists; these too, though with less profound and unflinching moral insight, saw that it was in these inward regions that the real issue of right and wrong was to be tried. In the same way, on the positive side, in the matter of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, our Lord lays emphasis on the spiritual side of these acts, without in any way condemning the exterior and formal aspect of them.

(2) But the indications given of the character of the citizens of the new kingdom contain the most significant departures from ancient rule. These appear chiefly in the Beatitudes, and in other parts of the NT in which the character of the new kingdom is described. The nature of the description given in the Beatitudes is not, perhaps, easy to bring into formal order; but there is no question as to the fundamental principles of the character therein set forth. Its rules and interests are in the spiritual world, and there alone. The rewards of its virtues are spiritual. The pure in heart see God; those that hunger and thirst after righteousness gain their desire; the merciful receive mercy; the poor in spirit (or the poor, Lk 6^{20}) are those to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs; the peacemakers are called the sons of God. The meek are said to inherit the earth; but this must not be assumed to contradict the blessing upon those whom the world persecutes. The general drift of the passage is to bless those who are characterized

* Cf. Philo, *De Spec. Legg.* Tom. ii. p. 314, ed. Mang.

by certain spiritual qualities, and to leave on one side their relation to the ordinary standards of the world. The opinion of the world is, as such, of no value; all that matters is the spiritual condition of the citizens of the kingdom. In like manner, later on in the sermon, the motive to prayer and fasting is found in the same region. The critical temper is excluded from the true life (Mt 7^{1-5}, Lk 6^{37-39}); and it is distinctly asserted that care is to be exercised in the presentation of that which is holy. The whole temper indicated is inward and spiritual, though it is affirmed that the character must be expressed in act: the tree is to be known by its fruit.

(*B*) Similar principles appear in our Lord's *Parabolic teachings*. A large number of the parables refer to the general characteristics of the new Society, and therefore do not immediately concern us.* But others deal directly with moral character. Thus the Parable of the Unmerciful Servant deals with the law of forgiveness; that of the Pharisee and the Publican condemns self-righteousness; the Good Samaritan defines the duty of the love of our neighbour; that of the Two Sons distinguishes true and false obedience. Dives and Lazarus illustrates the peril of the love of this world. Besides these, the Prodigal Son, the Unjust Judge, and the Friend at midnight declare the relations between the true believers and God. In these, and in the generality of the teaching recorded in the synoptic Gospels, our Lord uses a quasi-proverbial method. He does not promulgate rules of conduct, but describes in indirect fashion the principles upon which true conduct is to be based.

(*C*) In the more profound teaching recorded in *St. John's Gospel*, we are taken still further into the inner secrets of the moral life. While in the Synoptists we have the life presented in the simple picture of the Two Ways, St. John represents the true and the false life as two opposed conditions of being—Life and Judgment. This, while it contains ultimately the same idea as the simpler language in St. Matthew, lies deeper, and contains assumptions which do not appear elsewhere. In this type of teaching, as in the other, the essential principle is that human life is truly seen only on its spiritual side, and that in this view of it there is a single issue offered for the determination of each particular man. That course which places man on the side of God is described as Life; the other is in itself Judgment. Further, whereas in synoptic tradition we find our Lord opening His mission with the preaching of repentance, so, in the first discourse recorded by St. John (ch. 3), He sets forth the necessity of regeneration for the recognition of and entry into the new kingdom. Here, again, the positions are ultimately the same, but that in St. John is the deeper. The new birth spoken of is essential to the repentance. Once more, the need of faith, which is constantly emphasized in the synoptic Gospels, is by St. John shown to involve moral issues of a serious kind. It is the self-assertion, the self-seeking of the Jews, that prevents their understanding the claims of Christ. And, lastly, it is union with Christ, and dependence upon His life, which sustains those who are His representatives in the world. And thus, again, a moral virtue inculcated in the synoptic tradition is asserted in deeper form in St. John. The love which the followers of Christ are to have to one another rests upon their union with Christ, the indwelling of the Spirit, and has as its ideal the love of the Father and the Son.

In this Gospel there is very little direct exhortation, even of the proverbial kind. The most conspicuous parenetic passage is that in which our Lord (as also in the other Gospels) lays down the absolute necessity of sacrifice for all (Jn 12^{25}). The discourses are concerned rather with the exposition of the final conditions of moral action, and in this sense they are of vital importance for the Christian ethic. It should be noticed that they deal with action, so it seems at first sight, very simply. Truths which are complementary are stated, sometimes in antithesis, sometimes without any sign in the context of the complementary truth, which may appear elsewhere also without qualification. Thus, in ch. 6, the mysterious relations of the work of the Father and the coming of men to Christ are asserted, but not connected by any theory. Or, on the other hand, the judgment given is said to be the coming of the light into the world, and the consequent action of men (3^{19}); whereas in vv.$^{22, 30}$ judgment is placed in the control of the Son of Man. This is largely due to the close connexion of the discourses in this Gospel with the circumstances under which they were delivered, and to the fact that, in life, different aspects of complex unities have a tendency to emerge into exclusive prominence. But the great importance of all these passages for our present purpose is this: they represent the Christian development of the principles already asserted in Judaism—the connexion of the character of God with moral life, and the historic operation of God in the lives of men. Where God declares Himself as a merciful God—in answer to the request of Moses to see Him—and declares His condemnation of the guilty (Ex 34^{7}), Christ in St. John sets out the love of God as the rule of life for the Christian society (Jn 17^{26}). Whereas in the OT the hand of God is seen in the guidance of man throughout his life and history, Christ in St. John affirms definitely the entry of the Father's will into the actual life and choice of individual man. The importance of this, in regard to life, can hardly be exaggerated. It means that the apparent simplification of moral ideas attained by referring all things to a spiritual standard must not be regarded as extinguishing all moral problems. The Gospel of St. John contains no elaborate discussion of such problems, such as we find in St. Paul's Epistles; it only indicates, in the direct way which lies close to immediate experience, that they are present. Thus we derive from the preaching of Christ, not only a deeper view of positive duty, but also an indication of a large field of moral thought of which comparatively little had been known before.

(*D*) In turning to the *Apostolic Epistles* we find the Church engaged in the endeavour to introduce the Christian law into the world. We derive, therefore, from these writings some knowledge of the effect of Christianity upon the life of Greece and Rome. And, further, we find in the Epistles, especially in those of St. Paul, an endeavour to connect the faith of the Church with its practice. It will be desirable to consider these points in the reverse order, as the dogmatic basis of Christian practice in many cases largely determines its form. In the first place, let us observe that there are, in the NT writers, certain moral premises or assumptions which are inherited from the OT, and have been accentuated by the teaching of Christ. The end of man is union or intercourse with God, and sin impedes it. Men are in a position of enmity—sin dwells in them—the wrath of God at present abides upon them—they have not passed from death to life. And they have no power of their own to break loose from this position; the old lamentations of the Psalmist over their moral incapacity are taken up and confirmed by the authority of the apostolic writers. However great and sincere man's desire may be to attain to virtue

* Such are: the Leaven, the Draw-net, the Hidden Treasure, the Seed growing secretly, etc.

and to holiness, there is an impediment. The law did little to improve the position; it killed instead of reviving; it displayed the real nature of sin, so far as man was capable of appreciating it, but it gave him no power to express his knowledge in his life. The sacrifices and other ceremonies, which were part of the legal dispensation, could never take away sin. They only symbolized a purification which they could never convey.

In all this the apostolic writers are using partly ideas which are inherited, partly ideas which are original in them. The sense of failure and ruin appears, as we have said, in the OT, but in the Epistles it is more precise in itself, and its causes and range are more clearly known. The disabilities thus described are removed by the work of Christ. And it is in consequence of this that the dogmatic basis of the Christian practice is so firmly and carefully fixed. The views of man's condition, with which the apostles start, are such that the first thing to be done in order to attain morality is to remove the impediment which at present bars the way. To describe the advantages or the beauties of moral life—to develop a system of new and attractive moral ideas, is secondary to this; to have made it the first interest would have been to leave mankind in the position of the law. It was power they wanted, more even than knowledge. Christ in His teaching had concentrated attention increasingly upon Himself; the central feature of the discourses recorded by St. John had been the presentation of Himself as satisfying in various ways the desires and the needs of man. Thus the apostles had general guidance as to the way in which they were to deal with life, as well as particular instructions for certain occasions. Christ had not, so far as we can gather from His recorded teaching, entered into any detailed and precise account of the effect of His work in the moral world. It is this that the apostolic writers undertake.

In this respect it is possible to observe development and the presence of individual tendencies of thought. At first, the sum of their preaching seems to be contained in the phrase, *Jesus is Lord*. The resurrection, of which all are witnesses, is the proof of this; and the effect is that men have repentance and remission of their sins. The Holy Spirit has been poured out upon them, and they have thus gained various moral and spiritual powers. They are not left, as before, to struggle vainly; a new spring of new life has entered into the world, arising from the person of the risen and ascended Lord. St. Paul develops this position with great fulness in his Epistles. 'If Christ be not risen,' he says (1 Co 15^{17}), 'ye are yet in your sins.' And this position is elsewhere described as the state 'under law,' the condition of inability and partial knowledge which prevailed in the earlier dispensation (Gal $4^{5ff.}$). There is no question that to St. Paul's mind the possibility of moral achievement depends absolutely on the person and work of the Son of God. And we can go further than this. The death of Christ, which was the means of removing the barrier of separation between us and God, was of the nature of a sacrifice—a sacrifice of propitiation (ἱλαστήριον, cf. Ro 3^{25}). Thus the ancient efforts at reconciliation were made effectual. In similar fashion St. John represents Jesus Christ the righteous as a propitiation (ἱλασμός) for our sins and for the sins of the whole world (1 Jn 2^{2}). The author of the Ep. to the Hebrews dwells at length upon the unique importance of the priesthood of Christ, and emphasizes the effect of it upon man's relations with God. St. John, the cast of whose mind is more contemplative than argumentative, sets forth as the essential condition of real Christian life, the confession that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (2 Jn ^{7}, cf. 1 Jn 5^{1}). His characteristic interest is in the truth of the incarnation considered as a fact in history; his treatment of all the other points arises out of this. The others, not less certain than St. John as to the nature of Christ, have given more space to the discussion of the redemptive acts of Christ. But, in spite of differences in the nature and order of the presentation, one salient fact appears on the very surface of the NT, namely, that moral life depends upon the acts and the nature of Christ; in other words, that the true basis for morality is theological. The controversy over the principles of faith and works, which occupies so large a place in St. Paul, has no meaning apart from this; it arises, and is of practical importance, just because it affects the relations of God and man. In like manner, as has been already implied in our remarks upon St. John's Gospel, the controlling will of God in history becomes an element in man's moral life; and in this connexion we have, of course, the Pauline doctrine of predestination. Here, again, we are dealing, not with a mere philosophical speculation, but with a series of facts which must be taken into consideration in any valid account of actual practical life.

It would be beyond our purpose to dwell further on these theological points. We have said thus much about them in order to call attention to the fact that the Christian ethic as it appears in the NT, rests upon certain convictions as to the nature and acts of Christ. The whole bearing and range of morality depends upon these.

We must now return to the other matter remaining for discussion, viz. the attitude of the Church in its endeavour to spread the Christian view of life through the world, and in this connexion we shall consider two points—(1) the general attitude of the Church towards practical life; (2) the system of virtues and vices which flowed from the use of the Christian ideal.

(1) We notice, first of all, that the Church displays an attitude of unflinching hostility to all that is characteristically worldly. The world, to the eyes of St. Paul, presents a spectacle of varied and widespread wickedness. The heathen have lost the light that might once have belonged to them, and, as they have lost the knowledge of God, have fallen into idolatry, and so into gross sin. They have concentrated their attention and interests upon the material side of life, and find their satisfaction in the created world (Ro $1^{18ff.}$). The same point appears in connexion with the moral use of the term 'the flesh.' St. Paul does not mean by this that the flesh, as such, is the seat of evil; but it is the material and transient side of man's nature, which has no right to stand as the object of his life. The works of the flesh (Gal 5^{19}) are all those acts and states of which the real explanation lies in man's choice of the material and transient, his desire for selfish satisfaction. Though there are still higher ideas and signs of moral aspiration among the heathen, yet the predominant note of their life is degradation and sensuality.*

* It is always hard to read St. Paul's descriptions, esp. in Ro 1, without wondering whether he has exaggerated, and, if so, to what extent. It must, however, be remembered that we derive our views of the ancient world rather from the highest minds of the particular periods we consider, than from men on ordinary levels. It was these lower, more ordinary strata of society with which St. Paul was chiefly acquainted. And, further, there can be no question that the entry of Christianity has altered the face of things in many more directions than we ordinarily think; so that, in all probability, the tone of ancient society is much farther from us than we are wont to suppose. St. Paul represents the case of a person with sentiments very like our own acting and thinking under the old conditions. And, lastly, it must always be remembered that St. Paul's method of presenting his ideas is to insist strongly on one aspect of a matter at one time, modifying it or insisting on the complementary truth in

In like manner, St. John speaks of the world as lying in the evil one (κεῖται ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ, 1 Jn 5^{19}), and uses the word κόσμος somewhat in the same way as St. Paul uses the word σάρξ, for the material creation considered, first as apart from, and then as hostile to God. The world is guided by principles of self-will and self-indulgence, and is doomed to pass away with all the objects of its desire. As Christ had anticipated persecution and hatred for those who followed Him, so St. Paul and St. John recognize an endless hostility between the world and those born of God—between the flesh and the Spirit. There is no compromise and no cessation in the strife.

Hence the first thing which strikes us in the general attitude of the Church towards the world is its uncompromising hostility. But in large measure these phrases, the flesh and the world, stand for tendencies or principles rather than for individuals. These tendencies appear in individuals; but there is quite another aspect in which the individuals arrest the attention of the Church. The world from this point of view is capable of being saved; and this fact determines *the character of the warfare*. There is no limit to the sacrifices which must be expected of the Christian: he must, as Christ said, hate his father and mother if he is worthy of his calling. But he will not retire into himself, and live an isolated withdrawn life in which mankind in general has no part. He will live quietly in the state in which his lot is cast, fulfilling ordinary duties of citizenship (Ro 13, cf. 1 P 4^{15}), accepting even such an institution as slavery (1 Co 7^{17}, Philem), without strife or cry. At the same time, he will not conceal his way of life, nor evade inquiry into its motive; the power of example, the mere presence of the new principles of action, will tell. The world will know by this the disciples of Christ—by the fact that they love one another. And the love to the brethren, which is the sign that they have passed from death to life (1 Jn 3^{14}), is extended to the neighbour, and in this is the fulfilling of the law (Ro 13^{10}). As God loved the world, even when men were in a state of rebellion against Him, so those who are called by the name of Christ will endeavour, so far as in them lies, to fulfil God's desire to save it. Thus the Christian's attitude towards the world is partly hostile and partly friendly—hostile so far as the world tries to convert him, but friendly in so far as he endeavours to convert the world. We must now consider certain special conditions of mind which, owing to the peculiar views of life characteristic of the Church, are now brought within the ethical sphere.

(*a*) We propose to consider, first, three moral conditions which are sufficiently similar to admit of such treatment, and which all depend upon a lack of zeal or whole-heartedness. In Ja 1^{5-8} we find a severe condemnation passed upon the δίψυχος or *double-souled* man. In Rev 3^{15-17} the severest judgment of all those passed upon the Seven Churches is the denunciation of the *lukewarm* (χλιαροί). And, again, in Rev 21^{8} the first of those whose portion is the second death are the *cowards* (δειλοί). These three words, especially in view of the context they are in, seem to convey more than a reproach upon vacillation of purpose. The man who is double-souled and unstable in all his ways fails to obtain his prayers; his life loses consistency and firmness, and becomes like the sea, driven by the wind and tossed. So the lukewarm is worse than the open enemy ('I would thou wert cold or hot'), and the coward is coupled in his condemnation with the unfaithful as well as those who are guilty of open and obvious sin. All three are cases of insincerity. They are attempts to serve two masters, and they lack the absolute singleness of aim which Christ demands of those who follow Him. The severity of the condemnation upon them is the measure of the importance of the demand made upon the believer. He is to live a spiritual life pure and simple, guided by spiritual principles and spiritual aims; cowardice or lukewarmness or double-souledness is nothing less than the surrender of all this; in other words, the rejection of Christ. On the positive side, we have St. Paul's exhortations to sincerity of work (Col 3^{22}), to tolerance of weaker consciences in all things lawful (1 Co 8^{8-13}, Ro 14), and these exhortations are based upon the same general principle. The sole concern of men is to be their relation to God, and this will colour all that they do in the ordinary ways of life.

Under the same condemnation will be placed various sensual sins. Thus St. Paul bases his exhortation to purity on the true function of the body, and its capacity as a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6^{12} etc.). Covetousness, mentioned at the end of a list of sensual sins, is stigmatized as idolatry (Col 3^{5}); the love of money is said to have power to pervert men from the faith, and to be a root of all evil things (1 Ti 6^{10}); and again the love of pleasure is set over-against the love of God (2 Ti 3^{5}). In all these cases the error lies in misdirection of aim, the transient is preferred to the eternal. They are not merely breaches of law, or, as a Greek philosopher might have said, disturbances of the due balance of man's nature. In the light of the faith they are errors in principle, a choice of the wrong thing altogether.

This singleness of aim takes shape in social life in various noticeable forms. The bond which holds the Christian society together is love—love to God and love to the brethren. This, in itself, would prevent any violence of self-assertion or rivalry. But there are also positive virtues based upon the conception of the Christian society. One of the most striking of these is *humility*. This appears in St. Paul primarily as a social virtue. It consists in voluntarily accepting a subdued estimate of oneself. It is distinguished from all diffidence or indisposition to accept the call of God to special work by the fact that it deals fairly and simply with reality. On the practical side it consists largely in doing without hesitation or discontent the work assigned. So St. Paul exhorts the Romans (12^{3}) not to think more highly of themselves than they ought; and gives as his reason their unity in the body of Christ. Immediately afterwards he exhorts them to perform faithfully the function that has been allotted to them in the Church. So in the Epistle to the Philippians (2^{3}) the spirit of humility is opposed to the vainglorious temper, and the factious ungracious service of a hireling. So St. Peter finds in humility the principle of church order (1 P 5^{5}). Thus the normal aspect of this virtue in the apostolic writings is social; it answers to the social reserve of the Greeks—the disposition to give and take without savage selfishness or personal rivalry. But it differs widely from this, in that it is not based upon the mere fact that all men cannot have the same thing, and must give way to one another; it rests upon a positive love of men, one to another, and a profound conviction of the unique value of spiritual things. Moreover, it goes back upon the example and the precept of Christ Himself; it is a conspicuous embodiment of His mind and temper.

In this connexion it will be well to speak of another virtue which holds a high place in St. Paul's teaching. In the list of the fruits of the Spirit (Gal 5^{23}), the virtue which appears at the

another context. If Ro 1 represents the darker side of his mind, Ro 2, not to mention his practical attitude towards the Gentiles, represents the aspect of the question neglected here.

end as a kind of climax is ἐγκράτεια, *self-control*. It will not be justifiable to press too far its position in this catalogue; but there can be no doubt that it holds an important position in St. Paul's mind. It is one of the qualities required of the bishop (Tit 1^6); it is inculcated by the example of the zealous athlete (1 Co 9^{25}), and it appears in 2 P 1^6 as a stage in the progress of men in this world. It is in regard to this virtue, probably, that the ethical ideas of the apostolic writers differ most characteristically from the views of contemporary Gr. writers. The Gr. view of virtue was chiefly that of a condition attained after struggle; it did not contemplate the persistence of temptation, or of any disposition to yield on the part of the virtuous man. The material side of man was not, so to speak, an actual element in virtuous action; it required suppression, not control: on the other hand, the Christian virtue does not pretend to introduce warfare or separation into the organization of man. It recognizes the need of self-control, but the character of the man who manages his physical nature and keeps it in its proper relation to his whole life is selected for commendation. The ἐγκράτεια of St. Paul is a more real thing than the σωφροσύνη of a Gr. philosopher; and it is not, morally speaking, a lower conception of virtuous life.

(*b*) We now come to consider three states or conditions or virtues which are most of all identified with the Christian point of view. These are the well-known triad, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*. They are for the most part identified with St. Paul, and found especially in 1 Co 13. But it is not true to suppose that they are limited to that passage. They occur in close connexion, both in St. Peter ($1^{1.\ 21.\ 22}$), and in the Ep. to the Hebrews (10^{22}), and in other passages of St. Paul (1 Th $1^{2.\ 3}$ 5^8, Col 1^{3-5}). Indeed their connexion is so remarkable that it has been recently argued that it must have been based on the teaching of Christ Himself.* Without committing ourselves on this point, it is at least worth noticing that the connexion is frequent, and it is natural to infer that it had some definitely ethical significance. The question then arises, What is implied by the combination of these three virtues? There is practically no doubt as to the meaning of ἐλπίς and ἀγάπη. It is true that ἐλπίς means sometimes a particular state of mind, sometimes the object on which it rests, but there is no serious ambiguity. But with the third πίστις this is not the case. It is ambiguous (1) because it stands both for the temper of the faithful person and for the object of his faith; but (2) more seriously, because the character of the moral temper is not clear. The word means not only trustfulness, but also trustworthiness. And even in those passages where the context excludes the passive sense, there are further differences in the associations given by various writers to the words. St. James (2^{19}) seems to mean by it little more than an intellectual assent to a proposition; it is a state of mind in which the devils can be said to be. The word in St. Paul has a moral rather than a purely intellectual meaning. It describes the temper of one who, in full view of all that makes the other way, trusts in the character and power of God (cf. Ro 4^{19} RV). And so St. Paul speaks naturally of faith being made active by love (ἐνεργουμένη δι' ἀγάπης, Gal 5^6). It is inspired by the love of the person on whom it rests, and therefore does not fail. In the Ep. to the Hebrews we again notice a slight variation in use. The author describes faith in somewhat precise fashion as 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen' (11^1). By this he seems to mean a certainty in the mind of the faithful person that the hopes he has will be realized. The confidence is so great that he seems almost to have in his possession the things which are not yet in being. Such a man, like Moses, 'endures as seeing the invisible.'

It is somewhat difficult to describe succinctly the character in which these three virtues converge. It must be remembered that, for the apostles, the death and resurrection of Christ were the primary and salient facts with which all life had to deal. Hence these determine the primary reference of the faith, hope, and love of the believer. His *faith* rests upon Christ as risen and ascended; his *hope* is in the consummation of God's purpose in the world; his *love* is directed to the Father who guided, and the Son who effected, his redemption. The whole atmosphere of the Epistles is full of these facts, and all practical results which flow out from the presence of these virtues are dependent on the truth of these facts. Thus, because the believer holds to the truth of the death and resurrection of Christ, he has certainty, where others doubt, in his view of the history of the world and of himself. His *faith* is not a blind acceptance of anything that happens. He knows as well as any one the difficulties in life, and the darkness which hangs over human things. He sees things occur which he did not foresee and cannot explain. But he is not in presence of a mere chaos of irrational forces, with a blind belief in the existence of a purpose behind them; he has a sure confidence in the death and resurrection of Christ; that is, he is able to take them as a type of the action of God, and to find in them a ground of anticipation for the future. Because Christ has risen from the dead, instead of being of all men the most miserable he is the person of all others who has a sure hold upon life. See FAITH.

In like manner, the natural object of the virtue of *hope* is the second coming of our Lord, and the consummation of all things which that event will bring. It is this hope that enables men to endure the sorrows and pain of the world; it is hidden in some sort in the groaning and travailing of creation (Ro 8^{18-25}). It results from the steady endurance of persecution (Ro 5^5), and it does not make ashamed. It is not difficult to see how this confidence in the future will affect life on its practical side. It involves no unreality, and no optimistic veiling of the real evil in things. With a full sense of the presence of pain and other troubles in the world, it looks upon the course of history with certainty and fearlessness. There is no haunting dread lest the world may be, after all, a chaos of irrational forces without purpose or true guidance; because the events of Christ's life, the truth of His person, and the certainty of His promises, prevent all such hazy and depressing conditions of mind. The virtue of hope is closely allied with the virtue of faith. They both rest upon the character and self-manifestation of God; they both affect life by bringing within its sphere the realities of the spiritual order.

And, lastly, the virtue of *love* depends upon the cessation of the feeling of hostility and estrangement which had so long been abroad in the world. The efforts of God for the salvation of man, His care for the souls of individual men—that is, the prominent events in the incarnate life of His Son—commend the love of God to us. From of old, men had sought by various means for intercourse with God, and yet had fallen short. The life of Christ opened the way to a fuller communion than they had ventured to anticipate. The law of God, seen in the light of the death and resurrection of Christ, could be a regular principle of action; not imposed

* Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 181; cf. Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesu*, p. 24. Both these works are in Harnack's series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. v. 4 and Bd. xiv. 2.

arbitrarily from without, but accepted and understood as the true form of intercourse with God in life. Again, in regard to men, the old barriers which separated them would tend to be broken down, because all alike came under the condemnation of sin and within the range of salvation. The brotherhood of men amongst themselves is the expression of the knowledge of the love of God towards all. To profess love to God and to fail in love to man is, morally speaking, a contradiction. The one, by the logic of moral life, involves the other.

We have now concluded what it seems necessary to say as to the ethics of the Bible. It would be possible to develop the similarities and the contrasts between the ethics of the Greeks or of modern philosophy and the moral doctrines of Christianity. Or we might endeavour to trace the effect of the principles here indicated in the history of the Christian Church. Both of these topics would be necessary to a complete discussion of Christian ethics. Being restricted here to the ethics of the Bible, we must leave them aside as irrelevant. It remains, therefore, merely to emphasize the general principles which follow from our consideration of the subject. It seems to emerge clearly as a result of the whole, that the ethics of the Bible from one end of it to the other are *religious*. In the early days an ethical meaning was given to religious ceremonies which distinguished them sharply from the generality of such rites. In the hands of the prophets the ethical principles of life were asserted with exceptional vigour and clearness; but always, with however severe a side-glance at ceremonial, as an essential element in the worship of J″. In the Psalmists the various shades of moral feeling are described with infinite knowledge and fulness, but the further reference is always to the desire for intercourse with God. Even in the Sapiential Books, where the tone is least lofty and spiritual, the wisdom of man is found in the fear of the Lord and in obedience to His law.

The change which results from Christianity is partly due to the deeper insight and more alluring attractiveness of the example and preaching of Christ; but it owes more still to the vast increase in knowledge of actual spiritual truth which Christ brought to man, and the infinite significance of the acts of Christ upon the life of men. The truth is summed up, finally, in the words of St. John, 'The law was given by Moses, grace and truth came by Jesus Christ' (1[16]). It was not merely that He charmed the world with the example of a sinless Man suffering because other men were sinful; nor, again, does the effect of His life rest merely upon the graciousness or the austerity of His words; but it flows from the fact that He brought truth as well as grace; power to achieve what the world had so long failed to attain; and knowledge of the spiritual order when all had been guesswork and hazardous conjecture before.

Many things follow from this. The various ethical doctrines which are from time to time represented as the only contribution of Christianity to the world's history are really corollaries of the facts upon which Christianity rests. The infinite value of each human soul, with all that has come of it in the changed position of individuals, presupposes, speaking historically, the belief in the scheme of salvation. The idea of universal love is not the result of a change of sentiment in the world, so much as the practical exposition (as we have indicated above) of the true relation of God to man. And, again, the principle of self-sacrifice is not an arbitrary law imposed on men, challenging an explanation which it never receives, but is the practical expression of the law of love, together with the paramount importance of the spiritual world.

We are well aware of the importance and the difficulty of many of the critical questions which surround the books of the Bible. In the present article, as has been already observed, they have been deliberately left aside. It would have been impossible, in the first place, to treat them adequately in passing, and inadequate discussion is useless. But there is a further reason, which, now that the exposition of the ethics is completed, it seems well to mention again and emphasize. These critical questions are not only irrelevant to the present discussion, they are largely irrelevant to any discussion. Speaking generally, we may say that the Bible has had its effect very largely as it stands. It comes before us a whole, and, though criticism may display for us the process by which some of the OT books have come into existence, it will not seriously alter this fact. And in the case of the NT the date of the formation of the Canon and the publication of the various books is now put back so far that there is not room for a complicated evolution of ideas of which the traces are largely lost. Those who are concerned to trace the formative ideas in the Bible must take it as a whole. For it is in view of the unity of thought which runs through it that the separate books have been gathered into one; this was the chief guiding principle in the formation of the Canon.

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T. B. Strong.

ETHIOPIA (Αἰθιοπία), the name whereby the LXX translators rendered the Heb. כּוּשׁ *passim*, and in Ps 72[9] and 74[14] the Heb. צִיִּים.

1. Derivation, etc.—The word occurs in the earliest Gr. literature as the name of a race to be found in the extreme E. and the extreme W.; in later writers* the nation is more definitely localized as dwelling S. of Egypt. The name would seem to be Greek, and to signify 'Red-faces' (cf. the similar word αἰθοψ applied by Homer to wine), a designation derived from the colour of the people, just as many names given by the Gr. geographers to African tribes are derived from their characteristics, habits, or mode of life; and indeed the present inhabitants of Abyssinia are said to call themselves *Kay* ('red' in Amharic), as opposed to the Nubians, whom they term black (*tekour* in Amharic, *salim* in Ethiopic; Lejean, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, 1872, p. 77). As, however, the colour that is associated with the 'Ethiopians' is not red, but *black* (Juv. *Sat.* ii. 23), it has been suggested that the Gr. name represents the Grecized form of some foreign appellation, such as *Aṯyāb*, plural of the Arab. *ṭīb*, 'scents,' used to designate the inhabitants of the country whence the incense came (Glaser, *Die Abyssinier in Arabien*, p. 10). The word is a loan-word in the language called Ethiopic, imported from the Greek, and only employed by the Abyssinians in Christian times to denote themselves. In the inscription of Adulis, the Abyssinian king claims to have defeated the Ethiopians among other foreign races; meaning by this name, according to Lejean's suggestion, the Shangallas, a tribe placed in the maps of Harris and Lefèvre to the W. of the Abyssinian province Shirē, between the rivers Mareb and Taccazē. The name *Ḥabash*, whereby the Abyssinian country and people are designated in Arabic (whence the European Abyssinia), would appear to represent an ancient Egyp. name for some African race (Glaser, *l.c.*, after W. Max Müller); the native name is Geez.

2. Geography.—Although the Gr. geographers after the time of the Ptolemies distinguish the kingdom of Meroë from the neighbouring tribes, they make the term Ethiopia include both. The extent of territory covered by this name is therefore very great: to the ancients it represented all the land bounded by the Upper Nile on the W., and the Red Sea and Arabian Gulf on the E.; the southern extremity they did not profess to be able to fix. Only modern — the most modern — researches have been able to map out accurately the land known to the old geographers by vague reports.

The land whence the Nile derives its waters is described by Lucan as *putres arenæ*, but this description is not true of the whole of Ethiopia. While the political divisions have constantly been, and are still, fluctuating, the natural divisions are three. The highlands of Abyssinia separate the *Sūdān* (usually spelt Soudan), or 'black country,' on the N. and W. from the *Danākil* country, which lies between the Ethiopian range and the sea.

(*a*) The Soudan, having been rarely traversed by Europeans before Sir Samuel Baker (*Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, 1867), has, since the enterprise of Mohammed Ahmad, been frequently the centre of European interest, and the campaigns that have been fought there have led to the elucidation of its geography; and the works of Wingate (*Mahdiism in the Egyptian Soudan*, 1891), Slatin Pasha (*Fire and Sword in the Soudan*, 1896), and others, give accurate details both of the nature of the country (2,000,000 sq. miles in extent) and of the tribes that inhabit it. South of the thirteenth parallel of latitude is fertile country with a six months' rainfall; N. of it are vast steppes with frequent thorns and thinly-scattered wells (Wingate, p. 8). A narrow strip of rich vegetation is to be found on either side of the Nile, which flows through it, making a gigantic curve between the third and fifth cataracts, and receiving at Al-Damer (about 33° 45′ E. long., 17° 30′ N. lat.) the Atbara, laden in the rainy season with the waters of Abyssinia, but in the dry season a bed of white sand; and some two degrees farther S. splitting at the modern town of Khartoum into the Blue and White Nile. The scenery is diversified by mountain ranges of no great height.

(*b*) Very different from this flat rolling plain is the Switzerland of Africa, Abyssinia, a plateau with a mean elevation of 6000 ft., extending from 9° to 15° 26′ N. lat., and at its greatest width from 37° to 40° E. long. Never completely severed from communication with Europe, this country was first accurately described in the *Historia Æthiopiæ* of the Ethiopic scholar Job Ludolf (1681), while the scientific observations and measurements of the explorers Rüppell (*Reise in Abessinien*, 1838), Lefèvre (*Voyage en Abyssinie*, 1839–1843), and Ferret and Galinier (contemporary with the last), have in recent times vastly increased our knowledge of it, which has been supplemented yet more recently by the researches of Mme d'Abbadie (*Géographie de l'Éthiopie*, 1890) and others (*e.g.* Theodore Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, 1893; Schoeller, *Mittheilungen über meine Reise in der Colonia Eritrea*, etc.). Separated on the E. from the Red Sea by the Ethiopian range (as it was first named by M. Theoph. Lefèvre), bounded on the S. by the rivers Hawash and Abay (afterwards the Blue Nile), on the N. by the rivers Ansaba, Barka, and Gash, and on the W. by the Atbara, the Abyssinian plateau inclines towards the N.W., but reaches its greatest elevation in the mts. of Samen or Semyen, of which the loftiest, Ras Dedjen, is 14,200 ft. high. The four rivers Taccazē (the Nile of Ethiopia), Mareb, Abay, and Hawash, with their numerous tributaries, divide the country into a great number of natural provinces; and as these rivers flow in deep ravines, intercommunication during the rainy season is frequently suspended; while the Mareb and the Hawash lose themselves in the sand after dividing into many channels, the Taccazē (called during part of its course the Settite) flows into the Atbara at Tomat (in the province of Katarif), while the Abay (which near its rise curves through Lake Tsana, the greatest of the Abyssinian lakes) later on in its course is called the Blue Nile. The political and linguistic division of the country into Tigre, Amhara, Shoa, and Galla districts is recent; a more natural division is that according to which the native geographers divide their land into *zones*—the Kola or lowlands (below 5500 ft.), the Woina-Deja (5500–7500 ft.), and the Deja (over 7500 ft.), distinguished by their flora and fauna. (See on these esp. J. Dove, *Ergänzungsheft* 37 to Petermann's *Mittheilungen* 'die Kulturzonen Nord-Abessiniens,' and for another division A. Raffray, *Bulletin de la société de Géographie*, 1882.)

(*c*) Thirdly, on the E. side of the Ethiopian range, and extending to the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, is a vast tract inhabited now by three Hamitic races called Oromo or Gallas, Afar or Danākils, and Somālis, not yet thoroughly explored, among the descriptions of which may be mentioned Borelli's *Éthiopie Méridionale* (Paris, 1890), and Paulitsche's *Ethnologie Ost-Afrika's* (Wien, 1893). The geology, botany, and zoology of 'Ethiopia' are elaborately treated in Decken's *Reisen in Ost-Afrika* (1879), ap. iii. 3.

3. Sketch of History.—Portions of this vast region were under some sort of government during the existence of the ancient kingdom of Napata, the earlier history of which has been sketched in the article Cush. In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus we find an Amonian king Ergamenes reigning at Meroë (Diod. iii. 6), whose name (Erkamon, 'oath of Amon') was found in cartouches on Nubian monuments shortly after the commencement of hieroglyphic studies (see Champollion, *Voyage en Nubie*, 119; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storichi*, ii. 321). To the time of the same Ptolemy, Brugsch (*Zschr. f. Ägypt. Sprache*, etc. 1890, p. 29) assigns the reign of a king Horsiatef or Arsiotes (whose stele with a lengthy inscription is reproduced by Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plate 11); and two kings of the same family as Ergamenes, Onchmachis and Hormachis, after the death of Ptolemy Philopator seized the Thebaid, where they reigned twenty years (Brugsch, *l.c.*; Révillout, *Rev. Égyptol.* v. 39 ff.). As Euergetes I. is said to have sent an expedition into Lower Nubia (*Mon. Adul.*), the two powers must have been long at variance. The invaders of the Thebaid were ejected by Ptolemy Epiphanes—if the combinations of Révillout be correct—by the aid of the Blemmyans, an Ethiopian tribe, whose princes henceforth become supreme at Meroë, though acknowledging the suzerainty of the Egyptians and their heirs the Romans, whence it comes that

* Still the confusion of Ethiopia with India continues long into the Christian era (Letronne, *Matériaux pour l'histoire du Christianisme*, p. 32).

inscriptions in honour of Tiberius and Nero have been found at Dakke (the ancient Pselcis).

An attempt was made during the reign of Augustus by a queen named Candace to drive the Romans out of the Thebaid, resulting in the taking of Napata and Meroë by C. Petronius in B.C. 24; but as peace was made with the Ethiopian queen by Augustus at Samos in B.C. 21, the defeat of the former may not have been so complete as Strabo represents it (Book xvii.; Révillout, *l.c.*). The same queen has been identified with a *κυρία βασίλισσα*, who is mentioned in an inscription of the year B.C. 13 as sending an embassy into Rom. territory (Wilcken in *Hermes* for 1893, p. 145 on *CIG* iii. 5080); and this name Kandake (in Egyp. *Knḏaki-t* with family name *Amn-ārit*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 47 *a* and *b*; *ap.* Brugsch, *Entziff. der Meroit. Denkm.* p. 7) is said to have been the official name of the queen of Ethiopia (Bion of Soli, *Frag. Hist. Græce*, iv. 351, 5). Beyond a solitary allusion to the queen of Meroë in Ac 8[27] the history of this state is blank till a much later period, when the Blemmyans came into collision with the Roman empire (Révillout, *Mém. sur les Blemmyens* in 'Mém. prés. par divers savants à l'Académie,' viii. 2. 371); and Pliny asserts that a tribune with some prætorians sent to reconnoitre by Nero, who was contemplating an Ethiopian war, reported that the regions about Meroë were deserted (*Nat. Hist.* vi. 35). It has been conjectured by Dillmann ('Über die Anfänge des Aksumitischen Reiches' in *Abhandll. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1878, p. 204) that the downfall of Meroë was the result of the campaign of Petronius. Though this may seem doubtful, he is probably right in connecting with the fall of Meroë the rise of another state in Abyssinia; for whereas the classical geographers prior to A.D. 50 (Agatharchides of Cnidus, of the 2nd cent. B.C., excerpted in Photii *Bibliotheca*; Artemidorus of Ephesus, of the 1st cent. B.C.; Diodorus Siculus, who relies in his elaborate account of Ethiopia, Bk. iii. 10–37, chiefly on Agatharchides, but partly on information which he had himself collected in Egypt; Strabo, and Pliny) know of no other *state* but that of Meroë, the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* (of the second half of the 1st cent. A.D.) knows of a metropolis of the Auxomitæ (*Αὐξωμῖται*) situated at a distance of eight days from Adulis, 'whither all the ivory from beyond the Nile is brought through Cyenium to Adulis' for exportation. It was governed by a king named Zoskales; and in one of the inscriptions of Adul recorded by Cosmas Indicopleustes, the king, inferred from the phrases he employs to have been king of Axum, a worshipper of the Greek gods Ares, Zeus, and Poseidon, enumerates conquests extending over a great portion of modern Abyssinia, and into neighbouring tribes and countries, in a list wherein many extant names figure for the first time. Since this king claims to have been the first of his line to conquer tribes which, in the time of the *Periplus*, were subject to Zoskales, Dillmann (*l.c.* 200) argues plausibly that the monument of Adulis is earlier than the *Periplus*; whence it would appear that the empire of Axum came into being somewhere in the middle of the 1st cent. A.D. The date cannot be much earlier, since otherwise its existence could not have escaped the Greeks, who had many factories on the Red Sea coast, dating from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who is said to have organized elephant-hunting expeditions. Although there follows a gap of some centuries in the history of Axum, it is clear that the great antiquity claimed for their empire by the native Abyssinian chroniclers is fabulous (see Dillmann, *ZDMG* vii.) as well as its supposed Jewish basis. Besides Meroë and Axum, the classical writers know only of tribes existing in Ethiopia in various stages of savagery, some of whose characteristics may well be preserved in extant races, while some may be relegated to the region of fable. (See further CUSH.)

4. LANGUAGE, etc.—The chief monuments of Nubian monarchs are in the Egyp. character and language; although, in the opinion of experts, many of them display a very imperfect acquaintance with both. Ergamenes, however, in the 3rd cent. B.C., after overthrowing the power of the priests (it is thought), introduced the native language of Nubia into the monuments, using for it modifications of the hieroglyphic and demotic writing, in which the phonetic value of the Egyp. symbols seems to have been shifted. In his Nubian grammar (1880) Lepsius speaks of these inscriptions as a still unsolved mystery; and the important study of them by Brugsch (*Entziff. der Meroit. Denkm.*, Leipzig, 1887) is not regarded as having finally solved it, although the discovery by Schäfer (*Zschr. für Ägyptologie*, 1896) of elements of modern Nubian in the Nubian words recorded by classical writers makes in favour of Brugsch's system. While the basis of the language is, according to these authorities, to be sought, not in the Beja dialect (as Lepsius had imagined), but in modern Nubian, Brugsch has made it probable that the language of the inscriptions was largely intermixed with Egyp. words, and indeed he fancies that many such are to be detected in the existing language. While the Ethiopian Pantheon was largely peopled with Egyp. gods, a few native names are recorded by the ancients, as may be made out from the inscriptions; and likewise Ethiopian civilization, though largely borrowed from Egypt, retained not a few native peculiarities.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.—According to Ac 8[27] an Ethiopian eunuch, minister of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who was over all her treasure, shortly after the martyrdom of Stephen was met by the deacon Philip when returning from a religious journey to Jerusalem, and converted to Christianity. From the authorities cited in the article ETHIOPIA we know that Gr. literature had spread to the kingdom of Meroë as early as the 3rd cent. B.C.: there is therefore nothing improbable in the LXX translation, which this Ethiopian was found reading, having penetrated thither by the same channels; but whether he also belonged to the Jewish community cannot be made out with certainty. While his journey to Jerusalem 'to worship' (cf. the inscription quoted in ETHIOPIA) might imply it, his apparent unfamiliarity with OT (v.[31]) and his physical condition render it improbable. The word 'eunuch' might indeed be regarded as a mistranslation for 'minister' if there were any likelihood that this narrative was originally in Aramaic, since in some dialects of that language the same word signifies both; but the fact that the passage of Isaiah quoted (Is 53[7. 8]) is given according to the LXX, takes away the ground from any such supposition.

The notices of the Eth. kingdom for this period failing us altogether, it is impossible to identify this personage from external sources; but the historical character of the narrative seems to be acknowledged in most quarters.

The confession of faith put into his mouth in v.[37] AV is now universally admitted to be an early interpolation. Assuming the Lucan authorship of the Acts, the source of the above narrative may have been personal information received from Philip (cf. Ac 21[8]). Like the baptism of Cornelius by St. Peter, the case of the Ethiopian eunuch marked an important stage in the question of the admission of the Gentiles to the Christian Church. Its bearing from this point of view will be discussed in art. PHILIP (the evangelist). See also CORNELIUS.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ETHIOPIAN WOMAN (כּוּשִׁית).—According to Nu 12[1] (JE), when the children of Israel were at Hazeroth, Miriam and Aaron 'spake against' Moses on account of his marriage with an Ethiopian (RV 'Cushite') woman. In the sequel, however, Moses' conduct in this matter is neither impugned nor defended; for the complaint brought by Miriam and Aaron turns into a claim of equal inspiration with Moses (v.[2])—a claim which is refuted by J" in a theophany, while Miriam is punished with leprosy, from which she is immediately relieved through Moses' intercession made at Aaron's request, but has nevertheless to be confined for seven days (v.[4ff.]). As the 'Ethiopian woman' is mentioned nowhere else, and the death of Moses' wife Zipporah is not recorded, some of the early interpreters thought the two must be identical; and this view is favoured by the Jewish expositors, who assign reasons for Zipporah's being called Eth. that are either frivolous (as Rashi) or merely uncritical (as Ibn Ezra); Rashi's interpretation being as old as Targ. Onk. On the other hand, LXX has *Αἰθιόπισσα*, and Jos. (*Ant.* II. x. 2) makes her an Eth. princess. If the woman mentioned in Nu be identical with Zipporah, the word *Kûshîth* must be used in the sense of non-Israelite—a usage which

is found in late Rabbin. writings (Levy, *NHWB*), and cannot be dissociated from the similar employment of *Kûthî* (properly Samaritan). But besides the improbability of this usage being found in the Bible, the text implies (though it does not expressly assert) that the marriage was of recent occurrence. It is therefore more likely that a black slave-girl is meant, and that the fault found by Miriam and Aaron was with the indignity of such a union; and this accords with the statement (v.[3]) that Moses was the 'meekest' of mankind. The employment of Nubians as slaves dates back to the early dynasties of Egypt (cf. Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægyp.* p. 266). Although no etym. of the name Hazeroth is given in the text, this word (from the Arab. *ḥaẓara*, 'confine') would seem to stand in some etymological connexion with the confinement of Miriam. Perhaps it is merely accidental that the word *ḥaẓîr* in Arab. is employed in an idiom meaning to 'calumniate' (Maydani, c. 3); albeit this double etym. would contain implicitly a large portion of the narrative. D. S. Margoliouth.

ETHIOPIC VERSION.—This subject will be treated under the following heads:—

i. The Ethiopic Canonical Books.
ii. The Manuscripts.
iii. Printed Editions.
iv. Source of the Text.
v. Critical Value.
vi. Date.

i. The Ethiopic Canonical Books.—(A) *Old Testament.*—The Eth. OT embraces all the books included in the LXX (except the Books of the Maccabees), together with several others, such as the Book of Enoch, Jubilees, 4 Ezra, Rest of the Words of Baruch, etc. The Maccabees were either never translated or else were early lost. Since, however, the Eth. scholars found the titles of these books in their *Sînôdôs* and *Fetha Nagast*, they proceeded to supply them from their own imagination. In this way these books came into circulation (Dillmann). In later times, indeed, the Latin version of these books was translated into Ethiopic. (See Wright, *Cat. Eth. MSS Brit. Mus.* p. 14.) No distinction whatever appears to have been made between the canonical and the uncanonical books of OT. The number of books in OT is set down unanimously at 46, but hardly two lists of these books agree. As a rule, the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books which appear in one list are replaced in another by quite different works of the same class of literature. (See Walton's *Polyglot* i., Proleg. p. 100; Dillmann in Ewald's *Jahrbücher d. bibl. Wissenschaft*, v. 1853, pp. 144–151; Fell, *Canones Apostolorum Æthiopice*, p. 46.)

(B) *New Testament.*—35 books are reckoned in NT. This number is arrived at by including a book of Canon Law with the usual 27 books of NT. As this work, called the *Sînôdôs*, is counted as 8 books, we thus get 35 in all. (See Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS Éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 141 ff.; Ludolf, *Historia Æthiopica*, III. iv. 27; Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandria*, 239 ff.)

The Western division of the Bible into chapters made its way into Abyssinia through the contact in later times of the latter with Western Christendom. The older MSS exhibit quite a different division of the books.

ii. The MSS of the Ethiopic Version.—The chief MSS of OT, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and of NT will be found in the following catalogues:—Wright, *Ethiopic MSS of the British Museum*, OT and Apocr. pp. 1–22, NT pp. 23–29, 1878; Zotenberg, *Catalogue des MSS Éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, OT and Apocr. Nos. 1–31, 49–51, NT Nos. 32–48; D'Abbadie, *Catalogue Raisonné de MSS Éthiopiens*, Paris, 1859, OT and Apocr. Nos. 16, 21, 22, 30, 35, 55, 99, 105, 117, 137, 141, 149, 195, 197, 203, 204, 205. Some of these MSS contain only single books. MSS of Enoch are found in 16, 30, 99, 197; Gospels, Nos. 2, 9, 47, 82, 95, 112, 173; Pauline Epp. 9, 119, 164; Cath. Epp., Apoc. and Acts, 9, 119, 164. Dillmann, *Catalogus MSS Æthiop. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 1848, OT and Apocr. 1–9, NT 10–15. There are small collections of MSS also in Berlin. See Dillmann, *Abessinische Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*; OT and Apocr. Nos. 1–6, of the Psalms 7–19; NT 20, 21. Of these, No. 1 is a MS of Enoch. For the MSS in Vienna, see *ZDMG* xvi. p. 554; in St. Petersburg, see *Bulletin scientifique publié par l'Académie impériale des Sciences*, ii. 302, iii. 145 ff.; in Tübingen, see *ZDMG* v. 164 ff. There are also a few MSS in Frankfort of some value, and in private libraries in England.*

iii. Printed Editions.—We shall mention only a few of these. For further information the reader may consult Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1878, ii. 140–157; Fell, *Literarische Rundschau für das Kathol. Deutschland*, Feb. 1, 1896.

(A) *Old Testament.* — Of OT Dillmann has edited vol. i. Gn–Ruth, 1853 (some of the best MSS were inaccessible when this volume was edited); vol. ii. Samuel and Kings, 1861–1871; Joel (in Merx, *Die Prophetie des Joels*). The Psalms were edited by Ludolf in 1701, and in the various Polyglots and by the Bible Society. Bachmann published texts of Isaiah, Lamentations, and Malachi. The text of the last two books neither adequately nor accurately represents the best Ethiopic MSS in Europe.

(B) *Apocrypha.*—The honour of publishing the first Apocryphal texts belongs to Oxford. Thus Laurence edited the Ascension of Isaiah in 1819, the Apocalypse of Ezra in 1820, and the Book of Enoch in 1838. These are valuable now only from an historical point of view. Dillmann has given us a splendid edition of the Apocryphal books, Baruch, Epistola Jeremiæ, Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia, Esdræ Apocalypsis, Esdras Græcus (1894). He edited texts also of Enoch (1851), Jubilees (1859), and the Ascension of Isaiah (1877). In 1893 Charles published an edition of Enoch, in which there is a continuous correction of Dillmann's text from 10 hitherto uncollated MSS, and in 1894 the Ethiopic text of Jubilees from 4 MSS.

(C) *New Testament.*—The NT was first printed at Rome in 1548–49 by the Abyssinian Tasfâ-Ṣion, with the omission, however, of the 13 Pauline Epistles. As the translator possessed only a fragmentary MS of the Acts, he supplied an Eth. version of the missing chapters from the Greek and Latin. This edition, which is disfigured by countless errors, was reprinted in Walton's Polyglot. Another edition, *Nov. Testamentum . . . Æthiopice, ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem*, was issued by T. P. Platt for the Brit. and For. Bible Society, 1826–1830. A reprint of this edition appeared at Basle in 1874. These editions are of no critical value.

iv. Source of the Text.—(A) *Old Testament.*—The Ethiopic or Geez version, which from the earliest times was universally used in all branches of the Abyssinian Church as well as amongst the Jewish Falashas, was, according to some of the poets of the country, derived from the Arabic, its authors being variously said to be the Abba Salâmâ (=Frumentius, the Apostle of the Abyssinians, according to Ludolf, see Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS Éth.* pp. 3, 4, or a later Abba Salâmâ,

* See also Margoliouth's art. on the Eth. VS in Miller's edition of Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the NT.*

see Zotenberg, 194; Dillm. *Zur Gesch. des axum. Reichs*, p. 20) or the holy Nine (Guidi, *Le traduzioni degli evangelii in arabo e in etiopico*, p. 33, note). But Ludolf saw reason for doubting this view later (*Historia æthiopica*, pp. 295, 296) when he came to recognize that the Ethiopic version was closely dependent on the text of the LXX. Subsequent investigation has tended to substantiate the later view of Ludolf. Hence the view of Renaudot, that the version was made from the Egyptian, must be summarily rejected; likewise the preposterous theory of Lagarde, that it was derived either from the Egyp. or Arab. in the 14th cent.

It is unquestionable that our version was made in the main from the Greek,—in the main, for there are certain phenomena in the MSS which cannot be explained from this hypothesis alone. These we will touch upon presently, and in the meantime give Dillmann's account of the various texts attested by the MSS. In his *V.T. Æthiopici*, Tom. i. apparat. crit. p. 8 (1853), he draws attention to a large number of readings which agree with the Hebrew against the LXX, and suggests that these are due to the use of the Hexapla of Origen. Later he revises this theory and replaces it by another; thus in Herzog's *RE*, 1877, i. 205, he writes that there are three distinct types of text. i. The original translation more or less corrupted but seldom represented in the MSS. (See also Zotenberg, *op. cit.* 3, 5, 7, 8.) ii. A text revised and completed from the Greek, and found most frequently in the MSS. This is the Eth. Κοινή or *Textus receptus*. iii. A text corrected from the Hebrew, younger in age. See also *V.T. Æthiopici*, Tom. ii. Fasc. i. apparat. crit. pp. 3–6. This theory has been accepted by Zotenberg, and lately by Prætorius, Herzog's *RE*[2] iii. p. 87 ff.

It is possible, however, to interpret the evidence otherwise. Thus Dillmann may be wrong (*a*) in his later rejection of his first theory that the Hexapla of Origen was used by the Eth. translators, and (*b*) in attributing all Eth. transliterations of Heb. words and many Eth. readings which agree with the Heb. against the LXX to the work of later scholars correcting from the Heb. text.

Some evidence will now be cited which points in this direction. This evidence will be drawn from Lamentations and Malachi. First as regards (*a*), we find that in La 2^{13} the Eth. *âstamâslakî* agrees exactly with the version of Symmachus ἐξισώσω σε against the Heb., LXX, and all other Gr. VSS. Likewise in 3^{44} and 5^{15} our text again agrees with Symm. against the LXX, but this time it is in harmony with the Hebrew. As some other divergences from the LXX can be explained by this version and that of Aquila, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Hexapla was used by the Eth. translators. These divergences, however, may have been derived directly from the Heb. text. In many passages in all the biblical books the Eth. version is independent of and attests a purer form of text than the LXX. Next as regards (*b*), it is just as likely that many of the transliterations of Heb. words which are found in certain Eth. MSS,* but not in the LXX, may be survivals of the earliest form of the text made directly in many cases from the Hebrew. If they are all to be ascribed to the corrections of later scholars, how are we to account for their appearance in all MSS of La 3^{12} and Job 16^{12}? What we usually find in the history of a version is that the unintelligible or foreign words are by degrees displaced either by their native equivalents or by emendations, or else they are simply omitted. The theory that the primitive Eth. version contained a large number of words transliterated from the Heb. receives some confirmation from the fact that the Abyssinians first received Christianity through Aramæan missionaries, and that very many Aram. words were actually naturalized in order to express the new doctrines of the Christian faith. The Levitical character of Ethiopic Christianity points in the same direction, *i.e.* its acceptance of the rite of circumcision, and the Levitical laws regarding the purification of women.

Until, however, we have a complete and critical edition of the Eth. version, it will not be possible to settle finally the above questions. Even Dillmann's edition (vols. i. ii. v.) is inadequate for this purpose, as vols. i. and ii. were completed before the best MSS were accessible.*

(B) *New Testament.*—Zotenberg (*Cat. des MSS Éth. de la bibliot. Nat.* pp. 24, 25, 30, 1877) showed that there were two forms of text present in the MSS,—the first, that which was made from the Greek original; the second, a corrected text. In the same year Dillmann (Herzog's *RE* i. pp. 203–206) suggested that the numerous variations in the more widely read books of the NT, such as the Gospels, were due to the influence of the Copt. and Arab. versions. That such versions were known in Abyssinia he infers on the following grounds: Prolegomena translated from the Arab. were prefixed to the NT writings; names of NT books derived from the Arab. displaced occasionally in later times the native nomenclature of the NT books; *e.g.* the Acts were called *Abraxis* (=Πράξεις), Revelation *Abukalamis* (Ἀποκάλυψις). The Arabic-Coptic *Sînôdôs* became early naturalized in the Eth. Church.

These hints of Dillmann's are further developed by Guidi, who pointed out that such corrections are derived from an Arab. tr. circulating in Egypt (Guidi, *Le Traduzioni degli Evangelii in Arabo e in Ethiopico*, Accad. Lincei, 1888, p. 33 ff.). The MSS are affected in various degrees by these corrections. In some they appear side by side with the original text.

v. Critical Value.—The Eth. version of the OT is generally a very faithful and verbal tr. of the Greek. It frequently reproduces the very order of the words. On the other hand, it is not possible to explain many of its readings by any extant Gr. text, and over-against the LXX it frequently attests a purer text. But its critical value cannot be determined until the questions discussed in the preceding section have been treated exhaustively.

As regards the NT, this version is related to the older type of text attested by the great Greek Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. It has also Western and Alexandrian and Syrian elements. But no critical text has yet been published.

vi. Date.—Dillmann (Herzog's *RE* i. 203, 204) confidently ascribes the Eth. version to the 4th and 5th centuries of our era, and regards it as constituting not only the oldest memorial but also the foundation of Eth. literature. This conclusion he draws from the following facts: i. Christianity was already firmly established in the 5th cent. ii. The poet and musician Jared had already produced a church hymnal in the 6th cent. iii. Chrysostom† (*Hom. in Johan.*, Opera

Such as the MS E for the books of the Kings. See Dillmann, *op. cit.* ii. apparat. crit. p. 5; see also Zotenberg, *Cat.* pp. 9, 10, 11 on *Version corrigée d'après le texte hébreu.* Dorn called attention as early as 1825 to the use of the Heb. text in his Introduction to Ludolf's edition of the Psalter.

* For many interesting details see Reckendorf, 'Ueber den Werth der altäthiopischen Pentateuch-übersetzung für die Reconstruction der Septuaginta,' in *ZATW* (1887) pp. 61–90. Among other points he controverts Cornill's view in his Commentary on Ezekiel (p. 67 ff.), that the Ethiopic version is derived from the Hesychian recension of the LXX.

† ἀλλὰ καὶ Σύροι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Αἰθίοπες . . . εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλῶτταν τὰ παρὰ τούτου δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα, κ.τ.λ.

[Montfaucon], viii. p. 10) appears to have known of an Eth. version of the Bible. iv. The version is made directly from the Greek. Now, it was only in the first period of Eth. literature that translations were made from the Greek; for after the appearance of the Arab. language in Egypt, Eth. literature came under the sway of the Arabic.

The above views of Dillmann have recently been confirmed by the peculiar title used for God in Sir 31[8] 37[21], *i.e.* *Astâr*. This shows that heathenism still prevailed when this book was translated (Dillmann, *V.T. Æthiopici*, Tom. v. p. 117). Guidi assigns the version to the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th cent. Lagarde's view (*Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griech. Uebersetzung des AT.s*, 1882, p. 28), that the version was made in the 14th cent., not from a Gr. but from an Arab. or an Egyp. translation of the original, is wholly contradicted by the evidence. We may safely assume that the version was completed before the 7th cent.

R. H. CHARLES.

ETH-KAZIN (עֶתֶה קָצִין, where AV, misunderstanding the ה *locale*, writes Ittah-kazin, as in same verse Gittah-hepher for Gath-hepher).—A town on the E. frontier of Zebulun, whose site has not been identified, Jos 19[13]. J. A. SELBIE.

ETHNAN (אֶתְנָן).—A Judahite (1 Ch 4[7]). See GENEALOGY.

ETHNARCH (*ἐθνάρχης*).—In 2 Co 11[32] it is stated that 'in Damascus the ethnarch under Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes,' the word ethnarch being tr. in both AV and RV by GOVERNOR. Its exact meaning seems doubtful: it is used of Simon the high priest (1 Mac 14[47] 15[1, 2]), of Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 2), and of Archelaus (*Ant.* XVII. xi. 4; *BJ* II. vi. 3). It was also used for the governor of the Jews in Alexandria (Strabo, *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2), and the head of the Jewish community in Pal. in the time of Origen (Origenes, *Ep. ad Africanum*, § 14). The last two instances suggest that the normal use of the word was for the ruler of a nation or *ἔθνος* living with separate laws and customs amongst those of a different race. But the sense of the term seems to have widened, and it became a little superior to that of tetrarch, but inferior to that of king (Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 244, etc.). A. C. HEADLAM.

ETHNI (אֶתְנִי).—An ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch 6[41], called in v.[21] Jeatherai). See GENEALOGY.

ETHNOLOGY.—See RACES.

EUBULUS (*Εὔβουλος*).—A leading member of the Christian community at Rome, who sends greeting to Timothy through St. Paul at the time of the second imprisonment (2 Ti 4[21]). His name is Greek, but nothing further is known of him.

W. LOCK.

EUERGETES (Prol. to Sirach).—See BENEFACTOR.

EUMENES (*Εὐμενής*, 'well-disposed') II., king of Pergamus, succeeded his father Attalus in B.C. 197. Through the friendship of Rome he secured a large extension of his territories, so that his kingdom became for a time one of the greatest in the East. In B.C. 169 he was suspected of secret correspondence with the enemies of Rome, but died (probably in B.C. 159; see Clinton, *F. H.* iii. 403, 406) before an open rupture took place. The principal authorities for his life are Livy (*Ann.*, esp. bk. xxxvii. and *Epit.* xlvi.), Polybius, and Appian, with Strabo xiii. p. 264, and Justin xxxi. 8, xxxii. 4. In 1 Mac 8[8] the Romans are said to have taken 'the country of India and Media and Lydia' from Antiochus the Great, and to have given these dominions to E. The MSS agree in this reading, which is, however, impossible, since India was never under the rule of Antiochus. Media, too, on account of its eastward position, is not likely to have ever been ceded to E. The best correction is to substitute, with Michaelis, Mysia for Media, and, with Grotius, Ionia for India. In agreement with this are Livy's statements (xxxvii. 44) that the Roman Senate required from Antiochus the cession of all Asia north of the Taurus, and of these districts granted (xxxvii. 55) the part north of the Mæander to Eumenes. R. W. MOSS.

EUNICE (*Εὐνίκη*, so Tisch., WH, with all the uncial MSS; not *Εὐνείκη*, as TR with many cursives).—The mother of Timothy, and probably the daughter of Lois (2 Ti 1[5]). The name is Greek, so that conceivably she may have been a proselyte; but this is not a necessary inference, and more probably she was by birth a Jewess (*Ἰουδαίας*, Ac 16[1]). She was married to a Gentile husband, and, probably out of deference to his prejudices, her son was not circumcised; but she gave him a God-fearing name (*Τιμό-θεος*), and trained him carefully in the OT Scriptures (2 Ti 3[15]). She was probably converted to Christianity on St. Paul's first visit to Lystra, as she is described as already a believer on the second visit (Ac 16[1]). She is not mentioned afterwards, but the curious addition of *χήρας* (Ac 16[1]) in cursive 25, and the substitution of it for *Ἰουδαίας* in Gig. fu., may embody a tradition of her widowhood; this would give a fresh point to the injunction in 1 Ti 5[4]. W. LOCK.

EUNUCH (סָרִיס, *σπάδων*, *εὐνοῦχος*).—סָרִיס is rendered in AV eunuch, officer, chamberlain. The employment of eunuchs in Oriental courts was one of the base accompaniments of polygamy and despotism. The harems of the monarchs were committed to their charge, and they frequently superintended the education of young princes. Much influence was thus at times acquired by them in affairs of state (see Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* iv. 175). They were often closely connected with the palace intrigues, which played so important a part in Oriental history. It seems that the Heb. word was also used in a wide sense of persons not emasculated, who held offices which were usually entrusted to eunuchs. Such is probably its use in the case of Potiphar (Gn 39[1]; Whiston's *Jos. Ant.* x. x. 2 n.). Where the word occurs in 1 and 2 K, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether it bears its proper or its derived signification. Herodotus (viii. 105) says that 'among the barbarians eunuchs are more valued than others on account of their perfect fidelity,' and instances the case of Hermotimus, who was highly esteemed by Xerxes. Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 5. 60 ff.), in giving the reasons why Cyrus employed them, alludes to the alleged fact that their having no domestic ties rendered them capable of peculiar devotion to the interests of their masters, and of gratitude to those who conferred honour and consideration upon them. They also naturally adhered to one able to protect them, as they found themselves objects of contempt to other men. He denies the allegation that they are lacking in vigour and excellent qualities, and illustrates their tendencies by the case of 'dogs, which, when castrated, cease to desert their masters, but are not at all less fitted for watching and the chase.'

The Law of Dt 23[1] (cf. Lv 22[23]) attaches a religious stigma to the condition. (See, for the prob. ground of this, Driver on Dt 23[1]). The prediction in 1 S 8[15] was designed to intimate the deterioration of the

national life consequent upon the establishment of the kingdom, through the adoption of unsanctioned Gentile customs. Acc. to Herodotus (vi. 32), the Persians made eunuchs of the goodliest of the youth of captured countries; but as to whether Daniel and his companions were thus treated by the Bab. conquerors, no absolutely certain conclusions can be reached (cf. 2 K $20^{17.\ 18}$). Eunuchs were in the courts of the Herods in our Lord's time (Jos. *Ant.* XV. vii. 4; XVI. viii. 1); hence IIis allusion to them (Mt 19^{12}) as familiar to His hearers. See ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.

G. WALKER.

EUODIA, AV Euodias (Εὐοδία, fem. form of Εὔοδιος. Both names are found in Gr. literature and on the inscriptions. The Euodias of AV seems to have arisen from a mistake of the translators, who took Εὐοδίαν for the accusative of the masculine form Εὐοδίας, and regarded it as the name of a man).—A Christian woman of Philippi, whom the Apostle Paul beseeches 'to be of the same mind in the Lord' with another Christian woman named Syntyche (Ph 4^{2}). They may have been deaconesses, or women of some position in whose houses the brethren were accustomed to meet. The language of St. Paul suggests a religious difference rather than a private quarrel (Ph 2^{2}). They may have represented different types of piety, or may have differed on some question of church life. St. Paul begs a certain *Syzygus*, or, as some critics think, an unnamed 'true yoke-fellow,' to help forward the work of reconciliation, being mindful of the former services of these women to the cause of the gospel (Ph 4^{3}). The theory of Baur, Schwegler, and Volkmar, that Euodia and Syntyche are symbolical names for Jewish and Gentile Christianity, is now generally abandoned. A mode of speaking so mysterious is out of harmony with the general tenor of the Epistle. J. GIBB.

EUPATOR (Εὐπάτωρ, 1 Mac 6^{17} etc., 2 Mac 2^{20} etc.), the surname of Antiochus V., son and successor of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. See ANTIOCHUS V.

EUPHRATES (פְּרָת, Εὐφράτης).—The Euphrates was called Pura-nun, 'the great water,' or simply Pura, 'the water,' in Sumerian, the pre-Semitic language of Chaldæa (cf. Gn 15^{18}). From this the Semitic Babylonians derived their Purat or Purattu with the feminine suffix. Purat is the Heb. Pĕrath, the Old Persian Ufrâtu, where the prosthetic *u* was explained as the word *u*, 'good,' and so gave rise to the Greek Eu-phrates. In the OT it is generally known as 'the river' (*e.g.* Dt 11^{24}, Ex 23^{31}), it being the largest and most notable river of Western Asia, and accordingly in Gn 2^{14} alone of the rivers of Paradise no geographical description is given of it.* In Babylonia it was also called 'the river of Sippara' as well as the Uruttu, a dialectical form of Purattu.

The Euphrates (Arab. *Frat*) has two sources, one of which was called the Euphrates in antiquity; in Armenian, Yephrat; while the other, which rises to the south-east, the modern Murâd-Su, was termed the Arsanias, Arm. Aradzani, Arzania in the Assyr. inscriptions. They rise in two valleys of Armenia, from 6000 to 6500 feet high, the one in the Anti-Taurus, the other in Mount Ararat, and unite near Malatiyeh (Melitênê, Assyr. Melid) in a valley about 2000 feet high, whence they flow eastward through a narrow gorge towards Syria. From this point to the alluvial plain of Babylonia the fall of the river is about 1000 feet in 700 miles, so that it is navigable only down stream. The high road from east to west passed it in OT times at Birtu (*Birejik*) and Carchemish (*Jerabis*). There was another passage at Thapsakos, the Tiphsah of 1 K 4^{24}. A little to the south of Carchemish was Pethor (Assyr. Pitru), on the western bank at the junction of the Euphrates with the Sajur (Assyr. Sagura). Still farther south, but on the eastern bank, it was joined by the Belikh (Assyr. Balikh) and Khabûr (Assyr. Khabur), which came from the land of Gozan (Assyr. Guzanu, 2 K 17^{6}). At the mouth of the Khabûr was Circesium (now Karkisia, Assyr. Sirki). After this the Euphrates receives no more affluents; but northward of Sippara or Sepharvaim it approaches the Tigris very nearly, and by again widening out forms the plain of Babylonia. The Euphrates and Tigris now unite before falling into the sea, owing to the accumulation of silt at the head of the Persian Gulf, but in OT times they still entered the sea by separate mouths. The water of the Euphrates was dissipated over Babylonia by means of canals for the purposes of irrigation, and at its mouth were great salt marshes, called Marratu by the Babylonians (see Jer 50^{21}). Here lived the Kaldâ or Chaldæans, with their capital Bit-Yakin, of which Merodach-baladan was king.

* It is disputed whether Jer $13^{4\text{-}7}$ really refers to the Euphrates see Ewald, *ad loc.*).

LITERATURE.—Frd. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 169 f.; Schrader, *KAT*^{2} 34 f.; Chesney, *Euphrates Exped.* vol. i.; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* chs. xxi.-xxii.; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. Essay ix.

A. H. SAYCE.

EUPOLEMUS (Εὐπόλεμος), the son of John, the son of Accos, one of the ambassadors sent to Rome by Judas Maccabæus, after his victory over Nicanor, in order to conclude an alliance between the Romans and the Jews in B.C. 161 (1 Mac 8^{17}, 2 Mac 4^{11}, comp. Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 6). Eupolemus has often been identified with the author of a history of the Jews, written in Greek, which is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 23), and Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 30–34). Since the historian Eupolemus seems to have written about B.C. 157, and was almost certainly a Jew, this identification may be correct (comp. Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 203 ff.).

H. A. WHITE.

EURAQUILO.—Euraquilo (εὐρακύλων) is the reading adopted at Ac 27^{14} by WH and the RV, instead of **Euroclydon** in the TR and AV, as the name of the wind, which, suddenly descending from the heights of Crete on St. Paul's ship as it was sailing closely along the shore, seized it and drove it before the storm, which ended in the shipwreck on Melita. St. Luke describes the wind as, in character, 'typhonic' (RV 'tempestuous'), that is, marked by whirlwinds or 'sudden eddying squalls,' as Ramsay calls them, adding that 'every one who has any experience of sailing on lakes or bays overhung by mountains will appreciate the epithet "typhonic" which Luke uses' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 326), and by way of greater exactness adds its nautical name, 'which is called' (ὁ καλούμενος). Unhappily, the state of the text leaves the precise name doubtful. A summary of the various readings will be found in Sanday, *Appendices ad NT*, p. 140. The great mass of later testimony yields 'Euroclydon'; the oldest uncials ℵA have ευρακυλων, and this was probably the reading of B*. To B^{2} appear to be due the superimposed Υ and Λ which appear in this MS (ΕΥΡΥΑΚΛΤΑΩΝ). B^{3} then either turned Λ into Δ, or, if it was done by B^{2}, patched up the letter afresh. Vercellone-Cozza in the appendix to their facsimile say 'ευρακυλων B^{1}, ευρυκλυδων B^{3}.' The Vulg. Cassiod. give *Euro-aquilo*. Apart from ampler attestation, Euroclydon may claim a preference as the more difficult reading, by positing which we may explain the others as emendations, but hardly the converse. The word in this form

is not found anywhere else. The meaning of the compound is obscure. Etymologically, it would mean 'a surge raised by Eurus,' the E. or S.E. wind, but such a description of the effect could hardly be applied to the wind itself which caused it. If we should take the form *εὐρυκλύδων* (which occurs in B^2, one or two cursives, and a gloss of the *Etym. M. s.v. τυφών*, and is approved by Griesb.) and derive it from *εὐρύς*, 'broad,' it would mean 'a wind raising a broad surge or surf'; but besides its lack of attestation, it is for the very reason of its greater suitableness dismissed by Meyer as an obvious correction; and it would yield a character more or less applicable to any wind blowing strongly rather than such a note (*e.g.* of direction) as we might expect to be the basis of a distinctive nautical name. Euraquilo, on the other hand, commends itself not only by its early attestation, but by its special precision, as made up of Eurus the S.E. or rather (as Smith adduces strong reasons for holding) the E., and Aquilo the N.E., wind, fitly expressing the direction E.N.E. whence this wind blew. It well accords (*a*) with the narrative of the incidence and effects of the storm, and (*b*) with the experience of navigators in the Levant, quoted by Smith and others, in which 'southerly winds almost invariably shift to a violent northerly wind.' The exception taken to the form as 'inadmissible' (Reuss and others), 'because it is composed of a Greek and a Latin element,' vanishes in presence of analogous compounds such as Euronotus and Euroauster, and of the probably mixed nationality of the sailors and traders to whom such coinages were primarily due; to say nothing of the survival, to which Renan calls attention, of the word *Euraquilo* itself in the name *Gregolia* given to the same wind by the Levantines 'as *Euripus* has become *Egripou*.' Following strict analogy, we might expect the word to be, as in the Vulg., *Euroaquilo*, and the presence of a less regular form may have led to conjectural emendation (Overbeck); but we can hardly see how this should have deviated into so enigmatic a word as Euroclydon. Meyer says, 'Far more naturally would the converse take place, and the *Εὐροκλύδων*, not being understood, would be displaced by the similar *Εὐρακύλων* . . . so that the latter form remains a product of old emendatory conjecture'—a curious anticipation, in this particular case, of the theory more recently formulated by Burgon and Miller as to the older witnesses whom they designate 'the licentious scribes of the West.' For them (*Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text*, p. 46 f.) this passage supplies a signal confirmation of their view, leading them to denounce in strong language Euraquilo as 'an imaginary name,' 'an impossible Latin name,' 'utterly missing the point, which is the violence of the wind as expressed in the term Euroclydon' (a remarkable begging of the question, where the violence of the wind had already been explicitly affirmed in the epithet 'typhonic'!). Why should these early copyists be thus severely blamed for suspecting some corruption to underlie the anomalous Euroclydon, and preferring the more intelligible Euraquilo on such grounds of internal probability as have since commended it to the majority of critics and commentators? But when we consider the mass of testimony on the side of Euroclydon, and the difficulty of accounting for the emergence of this form, if it had not been original, may we not find a feasible key to the solution of the problem in the view put forward by Conybeare and Howson (ii. p. 402 n.): 'The addition of the words *ὁ καλούμενος* seems to us to show that it was a name popularly given by the sailors to the wind; and nothing is more natural than that St. Luke should use the word which he heard the sailors employ on the occasion'?

LITERATURE.—The subject is discussed in the 'Lives of St. Paul' by Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, and others; at considerable length, but with unequal relevancy, by Falconer, *Diss. on St. Paul's Voyage*, 2nd ed. pp. 12–19, 24–26; most fully and satisfactorily by Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck*, in his 'Diss. on the wind Euroclydon,' p. 119 ff., with Appendices from Bentley and Granville Penn, pp. 287–292; cf. Blass, *ad loc.*

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

EUTYCHUS (*Εὔτυχος*).—When St. Paul was at Troas on his final journey to Jerus., on the first day of the week he and his party, with the Christians of the place, assembled in an upper room to break bread. As St. Paul was leaving the next morning, his speech was lengthy, and a young man of the name of Eutychus, who was sitting at the window (*ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος*), fell asleep (perhaps owing to the heat of the many lamps that were lighted), and, falling down from the third storey, was taken up dead (*ἤρθη νεκρός*). St. Paul went down and embraced him, and bade them not trouble themselves, as his life was yet in him. Then he went upstairs, broke bread, and continued talking until the morning. As they departed the young man was brought to them alive (Ac 20^{7-12}).

The incident occurs in the 'we' section of the Ac and is clearly authentic, but two opinions are held. It has been pointed out that it may be capable of a perfectly natural explanation, and it is suggested that it illustrates the growth of mythical stories on a basis of fact, and has been introduced here as a parallel incident to that related concerning Peter (9^{36-43}). But Ramsay points out that St. Luke's language is very precise; that he does not, as in 14^{19}, merely state that E. was thought to be dead, and that weight must be attached to his medical knowledge. Even if this be (as is perhaps the case) putting an unnatural strain on the words, it is perfectly clear that the story was related as an instance of the exhibition of power by the apostle, and that the writer, who was an eye-witness, believed it to be such.

LITERATURE.—Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 290; Holtzmann, *Hand-Commentar.* p. 402; Zeller, *Acts*, ii. p. 62, Eng. tr.

A. C. HEADLAM.

EVANGELIST (*εὐαγγελιστής*, —'a preacher of good news,' the substantive of *εὐαγγελίζω*—or *εὐαγγελίζομαι*, the commoner bibl. form). The verb is used in bibl. Gr. occasionally in the general sense of class. Gr. (1 S 31^9, Lk 1^{19}), and, when specialized, stands for the work of Gospel preachers of all kinds: the subst., however—which is rare, and entirely sacred and eccles., occurring in bibl. Gr. only in Ac 21^8, Eph 4^{11}, 2 Ti 4^5—is confined strictly to the Christian good tidings, and, apparently, to a particular office or function (see Hort, *Ecclesia*, 158). The clearest evidence for the distinctness of office or function lies in Eph 4^{11} '[Christ] gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, *evangelists*; and some, pastors and teachers.' It is true that, in the list at 1 Co 12^{28}, evangelists are omitted (also *ἐπίσκοποι* and *διάκονοι*); but there the point is, perhaps, to illustrate spiritual aptitude rather than to give an exhaustive list of eccles. offices. When a similar omission occurs, Ro 12^{6-8}, St. Paul seems bent chiefly on distinguishing certain charismata, being content to leave the catalogue incomplete. Possibly, in each case local considerations partly account for the omissions. But in Eph the context suggests that the writer desires to mention all the principal offices, whereby Christ had provided for the spiritual edification of the Church universal, and *εὐαγγελιστής* appears to come third in order of institution and of spiritual significance. At the same time it is noticeable that we do not find the word (even in places where it might naturally be looked for) in any of the Pauline Epistles whose

genuineness meets with most general acceptance. Subsequent reference will be made to the passage in the Pastoral Epistles, 2 Ti 4^5; it will be sufficient here to say that the phrase *ἔργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστοῦ*, 'do the work of an evangelist,' is too marked and peculiar to be satisfactorily interpreted as merely equivalent to 'preach the Gospel.' The third and last instance—that in Ac 21^8 (a verse in one of the 'we' passages), 'we came unto Cæsarea; and entering into the house of Philip the *evangelist*, who was one of the seven, we abode with him'—must be compared with Ac 8^{5-40}, where it is said that among those who were scattered from Jerus. after the martyrdom of Stephen, and went hither and thither *preaching the word*, Philip preached the Christ at Samaria, *without being qualified* (v.$^{14f.}$) *to impart the Holy Spirit*; was *sent by the Spirit* to *teach* the Ethiopian eunuch in the desert between Jerus. and Gaza; was afterwards *carried off by the Spirit* and found at Azotus; and, finally, having evangelized 'all the cities' in his route, *took up his abode* at Cæsarea. He may therefore have been called *εὐαγγελιστής*, not because he had been definitely set apart for the office, but because of the missionary work he had done and was perhaps still doing with Cæsarea as centre. He had, in fact, been set apart for something else, 'to serve tables' (Ac 6^{1-6}, 21^8), but had superadded, and possibly, in the end, substituted, the work of a missionary, because he was, like Stephen, 'full of the Holy Ghost' (Ac 6^5), and possessed the charisma for the work of preaching to those who had not heard the Gospel before.

The three passages, as above discussed and illustrated, suggest the following conclusions: (1) *The evangelists were inferior to the apostles.* They are placed third in order in Eph; Philip was unable to impart the Holy Spirit to the Samaritans; Timothy was the assistant and delegate of St. Paul. Consistent with this conclusion is the epigram of Pseudo-Jerome (*in Eph* 4^{11}) 'omnis apostolus evangelista, non omnis evangelista apostolus.' (2) They were *travelling missionaries*, preaching the Gospel to those unacquainted with it, yet sometimes with a settled place of abode, as Philip at Cæsarea, and Timothy at Ephesus. Thus they were officers acting for the whole Christian community, not for a single church only. Their function could be general, covering wide districts, or it could be, in practice, local and circumscribed. Thus Theodoret's apparently contradictory statements can be reconciled: *περιϊόντες ἐκήρυττον*, yet *μὴ περιϊόντες πανταχοῦ*. 'Going about they used to preach,' yet 'not going about *everywhere*' (as apostles might do). (3) *They were charismatically endowed.* Compare the influence of the Holy Spirit upon Philip, and the *χάρισμα* of Timothy (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^6). Yet the revelations to the prophet and apostle were of a higher and more striking order. The apostles were fitted to be the direct authoritative representatives of Christ (Mt 10^{40}, Gal 4^{14}, 1 Co 11^{23}); the prophets, to sway the heart and conscience by the demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Co $14^{24f.}$); the evangelists were more 'matter-of-fact men,' preaching the word, communicating the facts of the Gospel, paving the way for the more systematic work of the pastors and teachers (see order in Eph 4^{11}) who watched over and trained the churches when founded (2 Ti 4^{2-5}). But while this may suffice for a distinction in *work*, it must not be taken as exclusive, so that apostles could not be prophets, or that apostles and prophets could not be evangelists, or that evangelists could not be pastors or teachers, or both. In the floating constitution of the half-organized early Church, different kinds of work were amalgamated (as must always happen) according to qualifications and circumstances (cf. 1 Co 1^{17}, Ac 8^{25}, and the mixed instructions to Timothy and Titus). (4) *They were, sometimes at any rate, solemnly set apart for the special function.* Thus Timothy (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^6); and probably Paul and Barnabas (Ac 13^{1-3}) were (so far as the Church was concerned) set apart, in the first instance, not as apostles, but as evangelists from among the 'prophets and teachers' at Antioch.

But we are still left in much uncertainty as to the exact position of the *εὐαγγελιστής*, and this uncertainty is increased rather than diminished by the contributions of later literature to the subject. Why, for instance, is there no mention of evangelists in the Apostolic Fathers? Because, says Harnack, there was no definite primitive distinction between apostle and evangelist, and in the *Didaché* the 'apostles' are just evangelists. But why should not evangelist have survived, and apostle have been reserved (as in later days) for the first direct representatives of Christ? And, further, when in the *Didaché* the 'apostles' are forbidden to stay more than two days in the same place, can we regard them as parallels to Paul, or Philip, or Timothy, especially as in a letter to the last named such constant itinerancy is condemned (1 Ti 5^{13})? Of course the strict injunction in the *Didaché* may be due to the growing opportunities for imposing upon the hospitality of well-to-do Christians, and the missionaries referred to in 1 Ti may have been caricatures of the evangelist type; but the difference is striking. A partial reply to the former question may be that the extension of the apostolate beyond the Twelve and St. Paul (an extension obtaining apparently in the apostolic age itself) soon submerged the less familiar and less dignified name of evangelist. This, however, scarcely accounts for the speedy and growing exclusiveness of the apostolic title; or for the fact that Eusebius recognizes in Pantænus the evangelist a type of an old order still largely surviving in the days of the Alexandrian, but not common in his own days (Eus. *HE* v. 10).

The material Eusebius affords us on this subject, though to some extent unhistorical, throws back light on the primitive use of the term evangelist. He tells how Pantænus found that his arrival in India had been anticipated by the written Gospel of Matthew; he tells how Thaddæus, one of the Seventy, had been sent by the Apostle Thomas, under divine impulse, to Edessa, as a preacher and evangelist of the teaching of Christ (*HE* i. 13), and this 'teaching' (also called 'the seed of the word of God') is the story of Jesus (§ 19). We may combine these hints with the fact that Eusebius (leaving the rest unmentioned) avowedly records 'the names of those [post-apostolic evangelists] only who have transmitted the apostolic doctrine to us in writings still extant'; that Theodoret definitely *restricted* the *name* to this class; that, finally, Œcumenius and Chrysostom confined the name to the writers of the Four Gospels; and that *εὐαγγελιστής* became (in the *Apostolic Ordinances*, Harnack, *Texte*, ii. 5) an appellation of the *ἀναγνωστής*, the reader of the Gospel for the day, who had also to be *διηγητικός, capable of explaining* it. We may further recall that Philip interpreted the prophet Isaiah to the eunuch; that Apollos (probably an evangelist) was mighty in the Scriptures; that he had been taught the 'way of the Lord' more perfectly by Aquila and Priscilla (probably evangelists also, as Theophylact believes); that Timothy the evangelist was strong in the Scriptures, one of the reasons doubtless for his choice; that Paul passes on to Timothy the 'deposit' of the Gospel he had received from Christ, exhorts him to keep the original model of sound words, and reminds him of the word that is trust-

worthy, and of the (open) mystery of godliness which is the story of Jesus (2 Ti 1^{12}, 1 Ti $6^{20f.}$ 1^{15}, 2 Ti $2^{11ff.}$; cf. Tit 3^{8}, 1 Ti 3^{16}). We shall, then, favour the conclusion that the NT evangelists, as such, were depositaries of the facts of the Gospel as it gradually crystallized; dealing with these facts orally and in writing, now as missionaries, now as interpreters, without the special σοφία of the apostles, or their peculiar weight and authority; demi-apostolic men, with a charisma, but one not so commanding as that of the apostle, or so striking as that of the prophet. In a word, they might be called specially inspired *teachers*; the εὐαγγελιστής being distinctively and originally a teacher *abroad*, aggressive, awakening; the διδάσκαλος a teacher *at home*, quiet and edifying. If this was the practical difference between *evangelist* and *teacher*, we can better understand Eph 4^{11} 'some (general and missionary) evangelists, and some pastors and teachers' (local officers with the double capacity for moral supervision and for instruction in doctrine). We can better understand 1 Co 12^{28}, where διδασκάλους (in the third place) would include evangelists. We can better understand how, in the letters to Timothy the 'evangelist,' so great a stress is laid on *teaching*. Furthermore, we can better understand the meaning of *teacher* in the *Didaché*, when the phrase, 'whoever *cometh* and *teacheth*, you,' is followed immediately by 'but in regard to the *apostles and prophets*' (ch. 11); here the teacher seems to be a wandering teacher, that is, an evangelist; and the order 'apostles and prophets' is so far against the supposition that the apostles are evangelists. This contention is confirmed by the order in other passages, *e.g.* (ch. 15) 'Bishops and deacons . . . they too render you the service of *prophets and teachers*' [when, *i.e.* you have none such sojourning among you]; for 'prophets and teachers' may 'settle among' them (ch. 13), though apostles may not.

If this progressive convergence of *evangelist* and *teacher* be a fact, it is easy to see how the title of apostle became increasingly exclusive, and how the title of evangelist gradually confined itself to the writers of the Four Gospels. See CHURCH, p. 433.

LITERATURE.—Zöckler, *Diakonen und Evangelisten*; Réville, *Les origines de l'épiscopat*; Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age* (Eng. tr.); Harnack, Texte ii. *Lehre der Apostel*; Zahn, *Missionsmethoden im Zeitalter der Apostel*; Smith, *DB*, art. 'Evangelist.' J. MASSIE.

EVE (חַוָּה *ḥavvah*),* is the name given in J to the first woman, the wife of Adam, the mother of Cain, Abel, and Seth. In Gn 3^{20} (which is sometimes regarded as a gloss) it is said that she was so named because הִוא הָיְתָה אֵם כָּל־חָי 'she was the mother of all living,' *i.e.* of course, 'all living men.' חַוָּה is a form of the widespread Sem. root חוה, חיה, or חיי, and =*life*, as LXX, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*; rather than *living* (RVm *Living* or *Life*), or *life-giving* (Symm.), as if a shortened Pi. ptcp. W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Arabia*, p. 177) makes *Ḥavvah* a phonetic variation of *ḥayy*, and thus a personification of the bond of kinship, conceived as exclusively mother-kinship (*ḥayy*). Wellh. (*Proleg.* 308 n. Eng. tr.) follows Nöldeke in suggesting that *ḥavvah* =serpent, as explained in Philo (*de agric. Noe*, § 21) and Midrash Rabba on Gn 3^{20}, and finds here a trace of the primitive belief that all earthly life originated in a primeval serpent (cf. the function of Tiamat in the Bab. cosmology, and Arab. *ḥayyatun*, serpent).

* LXX Gn 3^{20} Ζωή, $4^{1.25}$ Εὔα (the Εὔαν of v.^{25} has no equivalent in the Heb.), so also in NT 2 Co 11^{3}, 1 Ti 2^{13}. In Gn 3^{20} Aq. has Αὔα or Αὒα, and Symm. Ζωογόνος. *Tisch.* writes Εὔα both in OT and NT, but WH (ii. 313) point out that in the absence of MS evidence as to breathings, the only safe guide is the initial ח of the Heb. Cf. also the Vulg. *Heva*, both in OT and NT.

For Eve's relation to Adam, and the account of her in the narrative of the Creation * and the Fall, see ADAM. Her utterance on the birth of Cain, Gn 4^{1}, is very obscure,—קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יהוה 'I have gotten a man,' AV 'from the Lord,' with Targ. Onk.; RV '*with the help* of the Lord,' with LXX, διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ; Vulg. *per deum*; Symm. σὺν κυρίῳ. Another Gr. tr. quoted in Field's *Hexapla*, ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον κύριον, 'I have gotten a man, even the Lord,' has been adopted by Luther and others, and understood as expressing Eve's conviction that the promised Messiah of 3^{15} had been born. Umbreit proposed 'I have gotten J" for a husband.' The RV is the only probable translation. The text is possibly corrupt. (See CAIN).

W. H. BENNETT.

EVENING.—See TIME.

EVENT occurs thrice in Ec (2^{14} $9^{2.3}$) as the tr. of *miḳreh* in the obsol. sense of 'that which befalls,' 'fate': as 9^{2} 'There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked.' Cf. Shaks. 2 *Henry IV.* IV. ii. 83—

> 'Against ill chances men are ever merry,
> But heaviness foreruns the good event.'

Elsewhere event is found only in the sense of 'issue,' 'result,' Wis 8^{8} '[Wisdom] foreseeth . . . the events of seasons and times' (ἐκβάσεις); 2 Mac 9^{25} 'expect what shall be the event' (τὸ ἀποβησόμενον). This, which is the common meaning of Lat. *eventus*, is most frequent in writers of the time of AV, as Shaks. *T. of Shrew*, III. ii. 126—

> 'I'll after him, and see the event of this.'

The mod. sense of an occurrence is very rare in writers of the period. Carlyle quotes Cromwell (*Letters*, 12 Sept. 1650) '[We do not think] of the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of His; but can slightly call it an "event."' J. HASTINGS.

EVERLASTINGNESS.—For **everlasting** see ESCHATOLOGY. 'Everlastingness,' once common for 'eternity,' is now used only where its special signification is emphasized, as Cheyne, *Isaiah*, i. 242, 'The idea of the divine everlastingness is one of the primary notes of the prophecy.' It occurs only 2 Es 8^{20} 'O Lord, thou that dwellest in everlastingness' (qui inhabitas sæculum, RV 'abidest for ever,' RVm 'inhabitest eternity'). Wyc. (1388) translates Is 57^{15} 'For the Lord high, and enhaunsid, seith these things, that dwellith in euerlastyngnesse.' J. HASTINGS.

EVERY is occasionally found in AV where mod. usage demands 'each,' as 2 S 21^{20} 'a man of great stature, that had on every hand six fingers, and on every foot six toes'; 2 Es 3^{10} 'it came to pass in every of them' (RV omits);† Rev 21^{21} 'every several gate was of one pearl' (RV 'each one of the several gates'). Cf. Cranmer, *Works*, i. 111, 'In my right hearty wise I commend me unto you, and likewise

* The line of an Assyr. Bab. magical text is often read as,

> 'The woman from the loins of the man they bring forth,'

and quoted as a parallel to the formation of Eve from the ribs of Adam. But when this line is correctly tr. and read in its context, the parallel entirely disappears; 'they' are demons, and the passage narrates their ubiquity and mischief; they enter houses through locked doors, like a snake or the wind, and

> 'A woman [who is] at the loins (?) of a man they lead away.
> A child [who is] at the knee of a man they draw forth.
> A noble [who is] at the house of his kindred they drive out.'

J. D. Davis, *Genesis and Sem. Trad.* 49.

See throughout, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* חַוָּה, Dillm. on Gn 3^{20} 4^{1}.

† Cf. T. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 4, 'he made as wel the great as the smal, and careth for euery of them equally.'

to everich * of you.' Cf. also Ex 35[10] 'every wise hearted among you.'

Trench (*On the Auth. Ver. of NT*, p. 63) points out that both 'each' and 'every' take occasionally plu. concords, as Ph 2[3] 'Let each esteem other better than themselves'; Rev 20[13] 'They were judged every man according to their works.' He adds, '"each" and "every," though alike implying many, alike resolve that many into its units, and refer to it in these its constituent parts, with only the difference that "each" segregates, and "every" aggregates, the units which comprise it.'

J. HASTINGS.

EVI (עֵוִי 'desire' (?)).—One of the five kings of Midian slain, Nu 31[8], Jos 13[21] (E*vl*) P.

EVIDENCE, EVIDENTLY.—Following Coverdale, AV has translated סֵפֶר, *sêpher* (lit. 'book') by 'evidence' in Jer 32[10. 11. 12. 14 *ter*. 16. 44]. The meaning is 'title-deeds.' Coke (1628) says, 'Writings under seale, as Charters and Deeds, and other writings without seale, as Court Rolles, Accounts, and the like . . . are called Evidences.' RV gives 'deed' throughout. Cf. T. Adams, *II Peter*, p. 23 (on 1[2]), 'Therefore a man should be often perusing and looking over his own evidence, as we review our assurances of worldly possessions, that he may be sure of the whole and every part of it: for it is dangerous to have any flaw or defect in our conveyance of salvation.'

'Evidence' is also the tr. of ἔλεγχος in its single occurrence in NT, He 11[1] (RV 'proving,' RVm 'test') 'Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' This is the Bishops' tr[n], Wyclif having 'an argument of thingis not aperynge,' Tind. 'a certayntie of thinges which are not sene,' Gen. 'sheweth evidently the things which are not sene.'

'Evidently' is the tr[n] of *φανερῶς*, Ac 10[3] 'He saw in a vision evidently about the ninth hour of the day an angel of God coming in to him' (RV 'openly'); and of the prep. *προ-* in *προεγράφη*, Gal 3[1] 'before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified' (RV 'openly'). In both places 'evidently' has the obsol. meaning of 'clearly,' 'distinctly,' as in Knox, *Hist.* 261, 'And lest that your Honors should doubt in any of these premises, we offer ourselves evidently to prove, That,' etc.

J. HASTINGS.

EVIL.—This word is likely to become obsolete except in the theological sense of the doctrine of evil (for which see SIN).† In AV it is freely used as subst., adj., and adverb. **1.** As subst., often in immed. antithesis to 'good,' as Gn 2[9] 'the tree of knowledge (RV 'the knowledge') of good and evil' (טוֹב וָרָע); 2 Es 2[14] 'I have broken the evil in pieces, and created the good' (malum et . . . bonum): sometimes in the plu., as Pr 14[19] 'The evil bow before the good' (שָׁחוּ רָעִים לִפְנֵי טוֹבִים). **2.** As adj. 'evil' is applied, not only to things, but even to persons, a usage now quite obsolete; thus Jer 12[14] 'all mine evil neighbours.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 283, 'He had a very evil woman to his wife.' For 'evil spirit' (Lk 7[21] 8[2], Ac 19[12. 13. 15. 16]) see DEMON. In Mt 5[37] 6[13] RV prefers 'the evil one' to AV 'the evil,' and in 1 Jn 5[19] for AV 'wickedness': see DEMON, and consult Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision*[2], pp. 269–323; Chase, *Lord's Prayer in Early Church* ('Texts and Studies,' I. iii.), pp. 71–167. The 'evil eye' is a Heb. expression for ENVY (which see). **3.** As adv. chiefly in the phrase 'evil entreat' (Ex 5[22], Dt 26[6], Job 24[21], To 10[12], Sir 7[20] 33[31], Ac 7[6]): the other phrases are 'went evil with' (1 Ch 7[23]); 'evil affected' (Ad. Est 13[5], Ac 14[2]); 'evil spoken of' (Sir 38[17], Ro 14[6], 1 Co 10[30]); 'fare evil' (Sir 3[26]). Cf. Grindal, *Letter to Q. Eliz.* (Parker Soc. ed. p. 381) 'Much like to the Popish Bishops in your father's time, who would have had the English translation of the Bible called in, as evil translated; and the new translating thereof to have been committed to themselves; which they never intended to perform.'

Evilfavouredness.—See FAVOUR.

J. HASTINGS.

EVIL-MERODACH (אֱוִיל מְרֹדַךְ) was the son and successor of the great Nebuchadrezzar on the throne of Babylon. According to 2 K 25[27-30], he promoted the captive king of Jerus., Jehoiachin, in the 37th year of his captivity, set his throne above the thrones of the kings who were with him in prison, changed his prison garments, and made him a guest at the royal table to the end of his life. The Sept. reads Εὐιαλμαρωδέκ, and Berosus Ἀμιλμαρούδοκος. The cuneiform equivalent of his name is *Amêl(Avêl)-Maruduk* (cf. Haupt in *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.* ii. 266 and 284 f.), 'man (servant) of Merodach.' According to Berosus, he administered the kingdom during his two years' reign (562–560) with indiscretion and wanton unrestraint. Tiele (*Bab.-Assyr. Ges.* pp. 457, 464) concludes, on the basis of this character of E.-M., that the benevolent act towards Jehoiachin should be attributed to his successor on the throne of Babylon. We possess as yet none of his annals, though several contract tablets date from his reign. In the year 560 his brother-in-law, Neriglissar (*Nergal-šar-uṣur*, 'Nergal preserve the king'), in a conspiracy, slew him and seized the throne.

LITERATURE.—Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 597; Delitzsch, *Heb. Lang.* p. 12; Boscawen, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* vol. vi. p. 1 ff.; and authorities above cited.

IRA M. PRICE.

EVIL SPEAKING. — See SLANDER. **EVIL SPIRIT.**—See DEMON.

EXACT.—**1.** The adj., only Sir 51[19] 'In my doings I was exact' (*ἐν ποιήσει μου διηκριβησάμην* A, but B has *ἐν ποιήσει λιμοῦ διηκριβασάμην*, 'in the doing of hunger (?) I was exact'; Fritzsche suggests, and most edd. adopt, *νόμου*, 'in the doing of the law'). Here 'exact' means 'strict,' 'particular,' as Shaks. *Troil. and Cres.* IV. v. 232—

> 'Now, Hector, I have fed mine eyes on thee;
> I have with exact view perused thee, Hector,'

and Herbert, *The Temple*: 'Faith,' l. 43—

> 'What though my bodie runne to dust?
> Faith cleaves unto it, counting every grain
> With an exact and most particular trust,
> Reserving all for flesh again.'

2. As verb frequently. Notice Ps 89[22] 'The enemy shall not exact upon him' (לֹא־יַשִּׁא בּוֹ, RVm 'do him violence'): the mod. phrase is 'impose exactions upon.' Cf. Burnet (1687), *Trav.* ii. 86, 'Innkeepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers.'

In Lk 3[13] RV has changed 'Exact no more than that which is appointed you,' into 'Extort no more,' etc. But 'exact' was surely strong enough; were they permitted to extort anything? Tind. has 'require.' Following the Vulg. *faciatis*, Wyclif has 'do ye no more,' and Rheims 'Doe nothing more,' which seems a natural reply to 'What shall we do?' But the Greek verbs are not the same, Τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν (TR *ποιήσομεν*) and Μηδὲν . . .

* 'Every' is 'ever each'; the above example shows it in process of formation; and the two words are often practically interchangeable, as Milton, *Comus*, 311—

> 'I know each lane and every alley green.'

† The loss of 'evil' seems to be the result of a discrimination in words with cognate meaning. The AV used 'evil,' 'bad,' 'naughty,' quite indiscriminately. Thus in Jer 24[2. 3] 'the other basket had very naughty figs, which could not be eaten, they were so bad . . . the good figs, very good; and the evil, very evil, that cannot be eaten, they are so evil.' This goes farther in the way of variety than the earlier versions by introducing 'bad.' The Heb. is the same throughout, and RV gives 'bad' throughout.

In Mt 21[41] the AV has followed the Bishops', 'he will miserably destroy those wicked men,' and has thus lost the force of the Greek (*κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς*). Tindale is no better, 'He will cruellye destroye those evyll persons.' But Wyclif, 'He schal lese (=destroy) yuel the yuele men'; Rheims, 'The naughtie men he will bring to naught'; and RV 'He will miserably destroy those miserable men,' all give the repetition its advantage.

πράσσητε; and πράσσειν has the sense of *exacting* both in class. Greek and in Lk 19[23] (EV 'require'). *Agere* is similarly used in Lat., and might have been chosen by Jerome here.

Exactly is found 2 Es 16[64] 'the Lord will exactly search out' (scrutinando scrutinabit), and Sir 16[25] 'declare his knowledge exactly' (ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ). The sense is the same as 'exact' above, *i.e.* 'precisely'; cf. Shaks. *Temp.* I. ii. 499—

> 'But then exactly do
> All points of my command.'

J. HASTINGS.

EXCEED.—The transitive use is now rare and almost confined to the sense of 'preponderate,' as Jowett, *Plato*[2], v. 76, 'Men always choose the life which exceeds in pleasure.' But in AV we find the sense of 'go too far,' without introducing a comparison, 1 S 20[41] 'They . . . wept one with another, until David exceeded' (הִגְדִּיל); Job 36[9] 'Then he showeth them their work, and their transgressions that they have exceeded' (יִתְגַּבָּרוּ, RV 'have behaved themselves proudly'); 2 Es 4[34] 'Do not thou hasten above the most Highest: for thy haste is in vain to be above him, for thou hast much exceeded' (*excessus tuus multus*, RV 'for he that is above [hasteneth] on behalf of many,' reading *Excelsus autem propter multos*, after Syr.): so Coverdale's tr. of Is 31[6] 'Therfore (O ye children of Israel) turne agayne, like as ye have exceaded in your goinge back' (AV and RV 'have deeply revolted'), and Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, II. ix. 3 (Selby's ed. p. 53) 'the scruples and superstitions of diet . . . in the law of Mahomet, do exceed.'

Exceeding is rare as an adj., only eight times,* while as adv. it is used 60 times at least, when it always qualifies an *adj.* Thus Mt 8[28] 'There met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce' (χαλεποὶ λίαν; so Rheims; but Tind. Cov. Cran. and Gen. 1557, 'out of measure fearce'; Gen. 1560 and Bishops', 'very fierce'; Wyc. 'ful wood').

Two cases of 'exceeding' as adv. demand attention: Jon 3[3] 'Nineveh was an exceeding great city,' and Ac 7[20] 'Moses . . . was exceeding fair.' The Heb. of Jon 3[3] is עִיר־גְּדוֹלָה לֵאלֹהִים, lit. 'a city great unto God,' as RVm; and the Gr. of Ac 7[20] is ἀστεῖος τῷ Θεῷ, lit. 'fair unto God,' as RVm again. AV and RV agree in taking both passages as a form of the superlative; and this is supported by 1 Ch 12[22] 'a great host, like the host of God.' But in the only other place where the identical expression occurs, Gn 10[9] (גִּבֹּר־צַיִד לִפְנֵי יהוה), AV and RV give 'a mighty hunter before the LORD'; and it is probable that in the three passages the intention is to express, not merely the superlative, but the *ideal* of might, greatness, beauty, such as could be admitted into the presence of the All-perfect. There are similar expressions in the Psalter, Ps 36[6] AV 'the great mountains,' RV as Heb. 'the mountains of God'; 65[9] 'the river of God,' AV and RV; 80[10] AV 'the goodly cedars,' RV as Heb. 'cedars of God'; 104[16] AV and RV 'the trees of the LORD'; but Perowne (*Jonah, l.c.*) is right in pointing out that in these passages the thought is different, being that of God's proprietorship, as indeed the last passage indicates, 'which he hath planted.'

Exceedingly also occurs some 50 times, being the form used with *verbs* (except Ac 26[11], Gal 1[14], passages in which AV first of Eng. versions uses this word). 'More exceedingly' is found Mk 15[14] (TR περισσότερως, edd. περισσῶς, RV 'exceedingly'), Gal 1[14] (περισσοτέρως); and 'exceedingly the more,' 2 Co 7[13] 'e. the more joyed we' (περισσοτέρως μᾶλλον ἐχάρημεν). Notice also 'very exceedingly,' Gn 27[33] 'And Isaac trembled very e.' (וַיֶּחֱרַד יִצְחָק חֲרָדָה גְּדֹלָה עַד־מְאֹד, lit., as AVm, 'trembled with a great trembling greatly'; LXX, ἐξέστη δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν μεγάλην σφόδρα; Geneva, 'Then Izhák was stricken with a meruelous great feare'; Bishops', 'And Isahac was greatly astonied out of measure'; Dillmann, 'Da erschrak Isaak grossen Erschreckens über die Massen'; other translations are less forcible). J. HASTINGS.

* The eight occurrences of 'exceeding' as an adj. are 2 Mac 8[27] 'yielding e. praise and thanks to the Lord' (περισσῶς εὐλογοῦντες καὶ ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Κυρίῳ, RV 'blessing and thanking the Lord exceedingly'); 15[6] 'in e. pride and haughtiness' (μετὰ πάσης ἀλαζονείας ὑψαυχενῶν, RV 'bearing himself haughtily in all vaingloriousness,' RVm 'carrying his neck high'); 2 Co 4[17] 'a far more e. and eternal weight of glory' (καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης, RV 'more and more exceedingly an eternal weight'); 9[14] 'for the e. grace of God' (διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν χάριν); Eph 1[19] 'the e. greatness of his power' (τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος); 2[7] 'the e. riches of his grace' (τὸ ὑπερβάλλον πλοῦτος); 1 P 4[13] 'that ye may be glad also with e. joy' (ἵνα καὶ . . . χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι); Jude [24] 'with e. joy' (ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, RV 'in e. joy'). Thus in every instance the meaning is 'surpassingly great'; the word never has the sense of excessive or immoderate, which we find, *e.g.*, in Sandys, (1585) *Sermons*, 315, 'Why was Anna so exceeding in craving children at the hands of God?

EXCELLENCY.—The verb to 'excel' occurs 13 times in AV, translating just as many different Heb. and Gr. words, but always distinctly with the sense of 'be pre-eminent over others,' 'surpass.' The idea of pre-eminence is seen even in Ps 103[20] 'ye his angels that excel in strength,' though the Heb. is גִּבֹּרֵי כֹחַ *gibbôrê kôaḥ*, lit. 'heroes of strength'; for, as Delitzsch says, it is because to the angel hosts belong strength unequalled that they are summoned now to praise God in company with the Church on earth, whose dignity surpasses every other created thing.

Pre-eminence is also the leading thought in the word 'excellency.' **1.** Sometimes the quality in which the pre-eminence appears is stated; thus Gn 49[3] 'the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power' (יֶתֶר שְׂאֵת וְיֶתֶר עָז), *i.e.* says Delitzsch, precedence, both in respect and in power, is due to Reuben above his brethren, because he is the first-born; Ezk 24[21] 'I will profane my sanctuary, the excellency of your strength,' *i.e.* the place of pre-eminent strength (Heb. גְּאוֹן עֻזְּכֶם, RV 'the pride of your power'); 1 Co 2[1] 'I . . . came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom' (καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας. 'The word ὑπεροχή denotes strictly the act of overhanging, or the thing which overhangs; hence superiority, pre-eminence: by Byzantine writers it is used in the sense "your Excellency" '—Godet); Ph 3[8] 'the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus' (τὸ ὑπερέχον); 2 Co 4[7] 'that the excellency of the power may be of God' (ἡ ὑπερβολή, RV 'exceeding greatness,' but 'superiority,' 'pre-eminence,' is always the meaning of the word). **2.** More often the 'excellency' is of no special quality; but even then the Eng. word, *as understood in* 1611, though less precise is not less forcible than its Heb. or Gr. equivalents, for it has always in it the sense of superiority, uniqueness. Cf. *Pref. to AV* 1611, 'for the worth and excellency thereof above the rest'; *Pr. Bk.* 1552 (Keeling, p. 382), 'Forasmuch then as your Office is of so great excellency, and of so great difficulty'; Bacon, *Adv. of Learn.* II. xxiii. 27 (Selby, p. 149), 'Julius Cæsar . . . at first was an orator or pleader; but when he saw the excellency of Cicero, Hortensius, Catullus, and others . . . he . . . transferred his designs to a martial greatness.' The two words chiefly translated 'excellency' in AV are: (1) גְּאוֹן *gâ'ôn* (Ex 15[7], Job 37[4], of J″; Ps 47[4], Am 6[8] 8[7], Nah 2[2], of 'Jacob'; Is 60[15] of Zion; Ezk 24[21] of the temple; Is 13[19] of the Chaldæans), a word which primarily means 'exaltation,' hence majesty which is pre-eminent; (2) גַּאֲוָה *ga'ăwâh* (Dt 33[26. 29], Ps 68[34], all of J″), a word of less honour than the preceding, being used indeed most frequently of 'pride' in a bad sense; still it is not inaptly translated 'excellency' in those passages, the reference being always to the unique 'dignity' of J″. (See also Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 1897, p. 238 f.).

In old writers 'excellence' and 'excellency' are both in use without difference of meaning. Shaks. uses 'excellence' 19 times, 'excellency' only thrice; AV has 'excellency' 29 times, 'excellence' not once. 'Excellency' has now given place to 'excellence,' and the word has greatly deteriorated: the only

use of 'excellency' is as a term of courtesy, 'your Excellency,' which may be applied to any petty governor; and 'excellence' itself has accepted the vague sense of general worth. The deterioration may be partly due to the still greater loss that has befallen the adj. **excellent.** In AV 'excellent' is probably never used without a distinct expression of comparison, 'superior,' 'pre-eminent.' Cf. T. Adams, *II Peter* (1633), p. 83, 'Jacob gave Reuben a blessing, but added, Thou shalt not be excellent'; and p. 83, 'Cain's outlawed stock were yet excellent in worldly things.' But comparisons are odious; Shaks. has a fondness for using it ironically, and in course of time it has dropped down to merely 'very good.' J. HASTINGS.

EXCELLENT, or rather **MOST EXCELLENT,** is the regular tr. in RV for the word *κράτιστος*, used as a title of respect four times, and always by St. Luke (Lk 1^3, Ac 23^{26} 24^3 26^{25}). In AV 'most noble' is substituted in the last two instances. In three of those passages we clearly have the formal address of a person of high rank: 'Claudius Lysias unto the most e. governor Felix'; 'most e. Felix'; 'But Paul saith, I am not mad, most e. Festus'; in the fourth (Lk 1^3) it is used in the address to Theophilus, to whom St. Luke dedicated both his works, and a question of some interest arises as to whether we can assert from the use of the term elsewhere that Theophilus must have been also of high rank and position. So Theophylact, *Arg. in Ev. sec. Luc*: 'He writes to Theophilus, a man of senatorial rank, and also a magistrate (*συγκλητικὸν ὄντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἴσως*), for the word *κράτιστος* was used of magistrates and governors (*ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡγεμόνων*), as also Paul says, addressing the governor Festus: "Most e. Festus."' The authority of a Byzantine commentator would, however, be delusive on such a question, as the meaning of language changes, and the question must be settled by contemporary usage.

1. There can be no doubt that from the 1st cent. onwards the word was an official title, but there is no proof that it was always so used. For instance in Jos., although in *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 4, XX. i. 2 we find the technical sense, in *Ant.* IV. vi. 8 (*ὦ κράτιστοι νεανιῶν*) it is certainly not so used, while in the dedication of the treatise against Apion to Epaphroditus, who was a freedman and procurator, the variation *κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν* seems to suggest a different tone (*c. Ap.* i. 1; *Vita*, 76). Cf. 2 Mac 4^{12}.

2. On the other hand, the usage of St. Luke seems more fixed. In those cases where the word occurs, it is certainly used as an official address, and is probably (we cannot say certainly) so used in the fourth instance. In any case there is certainly a difference in usage between St. Luke and Josephus, which makes it improbable that there is in this case any literary connexion between the two.

LITERATURE.—Otto, *De Epistola ad Diognetum*, 1845, p. 79, ed. ii. p. 51; Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 53; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 388. A. C. HEADLAM.

EXCEPT.—The verb occurs only 1 Co 15^{27} 'But when he saith all things are put under *him, it is* manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him,' that is, an exception is made in his favour, he is left out of account. This is Coverdale's tr^n, and illustrates the oldest meaning of the verb. Cf. Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* II. i. 281—

> 'Within the bond of marriage, tell me, Brutus,
> Is it excepted, I should know no secrets
> That appertain to you?'

In their Preface the translators of AV use 'except against' for take exception to; 'men not to be excepted against by them of *Rome*'; 'none of them feare to dissent from him, nor yet to except against him'; 'Truly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that we should needs to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, (for then the imputation of *Sixtus* had been true in some sort, that our people had bene fed with gall of Dragons in stead of wine, with whey in stead of milke); but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not iustly to be excepted against; that hath been our indeauour, that our marke.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 447, 'the sincerer sort of the Ministrie in England had not yet assaulted the jurisdiction and Church gouernement (which they did not till the year 1572, at which time they published their first and second admonition to the Parliament), but onely had excepted against superstitious apparell, and some other faults in the service Booke.'

As past ptcp. of the verb to except, we find *excepted*, as Kingesmyll, *Man's Est.* v. (1580) 21, 'They eate of the excepted tree'; and Milton, *PL* xi. 426—

> 'Some to spring from thee, who never touch'd
> Th' excepted tree.'

But more frequently *except* (as Tindale, *Works*, i. 213, 'Here is no man except, but all souls must obey'), and then very often *following* its subst., as Ac 26^{29} Cov. 'these bondes excepte'; Bacon, *Adv. Learn.* i. (Selby's ed. p. 62, l. 8), 'the divineness of souls except.' When this ptcp. *preceded* its subst. it came to be regarded as a prep., though it is obviously hard to say when the change took place. The earliest examples in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* quoted as a prep. are Langland, *Piers Plowman* (B), ix. 140, 'Alle shal deye . . . Except oneliche of eche kynde a couple'; Henry, *Wallace*, v. 1026, 'Thai entryt in, befor thaim fand no man, Excep wemen.' A little later began its use as a conj., introducing not a subst. but a clause, and being equivalent to 'unless.' In AV and RV it is used both as prep. and as conj., most frequently as conj. Once the conj. is strengthened by 'that,' Mk 13^{20} 'except that the Lord had shortened those days' (RV omits 'that'). Cf. Jn 3^5, Tind. 'except that a man be boren of water and of the sprete.'

The only use of 'except' that is now commended is as a preposition. Hodgson (*Errors in the Use of English*^{2}, 117 f.) quotes two examples from good modern writers of its use as a conj., but says that '*unless* would be generally held preferable'; Keble, *Memoir*^{2}, i. 81, 'Do not trouble yourself about writing to me, except you are quite in the humour for it'; Miss Mitford, *Letters and Life*, i. 150, 'It has no literary pretensions, except the total absence of all pretension may pass for one in these days of abundant conceit.' The Revisers have been somewhat sharply taken to task for using 'except' as a conj. (see esp. Moon, *The Revisers' English* (1882), 94–97, and *Ecclesiastical English* (1886), 205–207). In this, however, they are at one with previous versions and with the history of the word. In the Canonical Scriptures of AV except occurs 73 times, and 67 times it is a conjunction. The Revisers have made few changes. In Gn 47^{26} they prefer 'only,' and in Nu 16^{13} 'but'; twice (2 S 3^9, 1 Co 14^7) they turn 'except' into 'if . . . not,' twice (1 Co $14^{6.9}$) into 'unless,' and once (2 Co 13^5) into 'unless indeed.' It is only in connexion with Jn 8^{24} where they change 'if . . . not,' and 1 Co 15^2 where they change 'unless,' into 'except,' that they are open to criticism; but no doubt both came under the rule of 'uniformity in rendering.' J. HASTINGS.

EXCHANGER.—See MONEY.

EXCOMMUNICATION is the name applied to the temporary or permanent exclusion, for errors of doctrine or morals, of a member of a Church from the privileges of its communion. The word is not used either in AV or RV, but the practice which it describes meets us in NT, both in the case of the Jewish synagogue and in that of the Christian Church.

The practice in the Jewish synagogue is referred to in Lk 6^{22} (Blessed are ye when men 'shall separate you from their company,' *ἀφορίζω*), Jn 9^{22} (the case of the blind man cast out of the synagogue, *ἀποσυνάγωγος*), Jn 12^{42} (the rulers who feared to confess Christ), Jn 16^2 (Christ's prophecy concerning the disciples). It rests on the older practice, described in Ezr 10^8 (the case of those Isr. who at the Restoration refused to give up their idolatrous wives), which in turn is a modification of the still older *hērem* (חֵרֶם) or 'ban,' referred to in Lv 27^{29} and elsewhere. The word *hērem* means literally devoted, and is used in OT in the twofold sense of devoted to destruction (hence accursed) and devoted to God's service (hence consecrated). See CURSE.

The practice of excommunication as we find it among the Jews in the time of Christ is the outgrowth of the *ḥērem* in the first of these senses. In the early history of Israel the punishment of idolatry or other gross sins was physical death. Thus we find the prophets referring to the future triumph of Israel over their enemies as the wholesale devotion of them to destruction by J″ (so Is $34^{2.5}$, Mic 4^{13}, Jer 50^{21}), and Zech. looks forward to the happy time in the future when there shall be no more 'ban' (14^{11}). Temporary exclusion from the services of the sanctuary meets us only, in the case of ceremonial offences, as part of the general requirement of the ceremonial law. At the time of the Restoration we find a modification of the older practice in the interest of greater humanity. Those Isr. who had married foreign wives, and who refused at the command of Ezra to give them up, instead of being put to death had their substance confiscated, and were separated from the congregation of Israel (Ezr 10^{8}). In the time of Christ, exclusion from the synagogue was the regular punishment for serious moral and religious offences, and is distinguished by the Rabbis as *ḥērem* proper, the formal 'ban,' which could be inflicted by not fewer than ten persons, and which deprived him on whom it fell of all religious privileges, from the milder *niddûi* (נְדּוּי), which could be inflicted by a single person, and which merely cut off him who suffered it from conversation and contact for a period of thirty days. For a supposed third grade, the so-called *shammāthā* (שַׁמָּתָא), there seems to be no good authority.

The origin of Christian excommunication is often found in Christ's words to Peter (Mt 16^{19}), 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' (Cf. Mt 18^{18}, Jn 20^{23}.) But, whatever the particular view taken of this much disputed passage, the reference seems to be rather to the spiritual power which the Church is to exercise through her preaching and witness-bearing than to any formal ecclesiastical procedure. The passage Mt 18^{15-17} comes nearer to the mark, and with its threefold admonition, first privately, then in the presence of two or three witnesses (cf. Tit 3^{10}), and finally before the Church, reminds us somewhat of the graded procedure of the Jewish synagogue. Hence many critics believe that it represents less a direct utterance of Jesus Himself than the practice in the Jewish-Christian circles for which the Gospel of Matthew was written.

In the letters of St. Paul, besides general directions to 'admonish the disorderly' (1 Th 5^{14}; cf. 1 Ti 5^{20}), and to hold aloof from brothers who are fornicators, or covetous, or idolaters, or revilers, or drunkards, or extortioners (1 Co 5^{11}), or who refuse to obey the word of St. Paul by his letters (2 Th 3^{14}; cf. Ro 16^{17}), we have in the Church of Corinth at least one case, and possibly two cases, of ecclesiastical discipline. The first is that of the incestuous person, referred to in 1 Co 5, whom St. Paul delivers unto Satan 'for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus' (1 Co 5^{5}). The reference in v.[4] to the Corinthians as being gathered together, shows that whatever the exact nature of the punishment described as committing unto Satan, it had ecclesiastical significance. In v.[13] the Corinthians are expressly charged to put away the wicked man from among themselves. If 2 Co 2^{6-11} refer, as is most commonly supposed, to this same matter, it would follow that the exclusion from church fellowship was not permanent. 'Sufficient to such a one is this punishment, which was inflicted by the many; so that contrariwise ye should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up by his overmuch sorrow' (vv.[6.7]). If, however, as seems not unlikely, this passage refers to an entirely distinct case from that mentioned in 1 Co, we have a case of discipline administered by the Corinthians themselves without special instigation by St. Paul. Interesting and perplexing is the mention of Satan in 1 Co 5^{5} (cf. 2 Co 2^{11} 'that no advantage may be gained over us by Satan'; 1 Ti 1^{20} 'Hymenæus and Alexander, whom I delivered unto Satan that they might be taught not to blaspheme'). That St. Paul does not mean by the expression 'delivery unto Satan' a final cutting off from salvation, such as seems to be implied in the anathema of 1 Co 16^{22}, Gal $1^{8.9}$, Ro 9^{3}, is clear from the reference in v.[5] to the salvation of the spirit. On the other hand, that some suffering besides the formal exclusion from church fellowship is intended, seems equally clear from the reference to the destruction of the flesh. Hence the conjecture of some physical punishment miraculously inflicted upon the offender, possibly, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira, death itself. But the matter is too obscure to warrant a definite conclusion.

The Corinthian letters picture a loose organization, without formal officers, in which discipline is administered, now by the Corinthians, now by St. Paul himself. There is no definite rule of procedure. The general principle is laid down in 1 Co 5^{9-12}, and special application is made acc. to the circumstances of each case. In the Pastorals we have already a definite mode of procedure, with its public reproof, and its accusation before witnesses (1 Ti $5^{19.20}$). Not moral offences only, but a schismatic spirit may be the occasion for exclusion from church fellowship (Tit 3^{10} 'A man that is heretical [factious] after a first and second admonition, refuse.' Cf. 1 Ti 6^{3}, and esp. 2 Jn v.[10], where false doctrine is made the ground for absolute breach of intercourse). That excommunication might be inflicted by a faction, as well as by the Church at large, is clear from the case of Diotrephes (3 Jn $^{9.10}$). These later instances show that excommunication was not merely disciplinary, having as its end the penitence and subsequent restoration of the offender, but also protective, being designed to guard the infant Church from corruption. In no case, however, is it regarded as consigning the person cut off to eternal punishment, as later theories have sometimes held. That was the work of God alone, with which man had nothing to do. In general, this brief survey of the NT passages shows that we have to do only with the first beginnings, from which the later ecclesiastical procedure, with its elaborate process, was developed. In this matter, as in so many others of interest, the development was a gradual one, a part of that slow process by which the flexibility of early Christian institutions was gradually transformed into the fixed rules of a powerful ecclesiastical organization.

LITERATURE.—The art. in Smith, *DB*[2], by F. Meyrick, unchanged; and Herzog, *PRE*[2] 'Bann bei den Hebräern,' by Rüetschi, where the older literature is given. For the practice among the Jews, see Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.*; and Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* On the case of the Corinthian offender, cf. Weizsäcker, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*[2]. A full discussion of NT passages in their connexion is still a desideratum.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

EXECUTIONER.—Mk 6^{27} AV, of the officer sent by Herod to behead John the Baptist, RV 'a soldier of his guard.' The Gr. word σπεκουλάτωρ is a transliteration of Lat. *speculator*, and the *speculatores* were originally scouts or spies (*speculor*, to watch), and then the police or bodyguard of the Roman emperors and military governors. (The word is fully discussed in Benson, *Cyprian*, 505 f.)

Beheading was a Roman, not a Jewish punishment. See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS. J. HASTINGS.

EXERCISE.—As a *verb*: **1.** The primary meaning is to occupy oneself with, engage in, Ps 131[1] 'Neither do I exercise myself in great matters' (וְלֹא־הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי, lit. 'neither do I walk,' as RVm); Sir 50[28] 'Blessed is he that shall be exercised in these things' (*ἀναστραφήσεται*); 2 Es 15[8] 'those things in which they wickedly exercised themselves' (quæ inique exercent, RV 'which they wickedly practise'). Cf. Pref. to AV 1611, 'in Latine we haue been exercised almost from our verie cradle.' **2.** To put into practice, bring into use, as Knox (*Works*, ed. Laing, iv. 135), 'Even such, deare brethren, is the blessed Evangelie of our Lord Jesus; for the more that it be entreted, the more comfortable and puissant is it to such as do heare, reade, or exercise the same'; or as Dunbar (*The Thrissill and the Rois*, 16) uses *exerce*, the obsolete form of the verb, direct from *exercere*—

'Exerce justice with mercy and conscience.'

So Rev 13[12] 'he exerciseth all the power of the first beast' (*ποιεῖ*); Jer 9[24] 'I am the LORD, which exercise lovingkindness' (עֹשֶׂה 'doing'); To 12[9] 'Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life' (*ποιοῦντες*); Ezk 22[29] 'The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery' (וְעָשְׁקוּ עֹשֶׁק); Wis 16[4] 'It was requisite that upon them exercising tyranny should come penury' (*ἐκείνοις τυραννοῦσι*, RV 'in their tyrannous dealing'); and the passages in the Synoptics, Mt 20[25], Mk 10[42], Lk 22[25], where *κατακυριεύω* (Lk *κυριεύω*) and *κατεξουσιάζω* (Lk *ἐξουσιάζω*) are translated in AV 'exercise dominion' and 'exercise authority' in Mt, 'e. lordship' and 'e. authority' in Mk and Lk; RV gives 'lord it' for *κατακ.*, and 'e. authority' for *κατεξ.* in Mt and Mk, 'have lordship' and 'have authority' in Lk. **3.** To practise for training or discipline, Ac 24[16] 'And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man' (*ἀσκῶ*); 1 Ti 4[7] 'exercise thyself unto godliness' (*γυμνάζω*; so He 5[14] 12[11], 2 P 2[14]); 1 Mac 6[30] 'elephants exercised in battle' (*εἰδότες πόλεμον*, RV 'trained for war'); 2 Mac 15[12] 'exercised from a child in all points of virtue' (*ἐκμεμελετηκότα*). **4.** All those meanings belong to the Lat. *exercere*, and the influence of the Vulg. is conspicuous throughout. There are even two examples of 'exercise' in the sense of 'afflict,' 'torment,' which also belongs to *exercere*; Ec 1[13] 'this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith,' and 3[10]. The Heb. is עָנָה, 'to be bowed down.' Cf. Fuller, *Holy Warre* (ed. 1640, p. 155), 'they had to do with Meladine King of Egypt, who lay besides them, . . . exercising the Christians with continual skirmishes.' Milton has the same sense in *Par. Lost*, ii. 89—

'Where pain of unextinguishable fire
Must exercise us without hope of end';

and *Par. Reg.* i. 156—

'But first I mean
To exercise him in the wilderness.'

As a *subst.*: **1.** Wis 8[18] 'in the exercise of conference with her, prudence' (*ἐν συγγυμνασίᾳ ὁμιλίας*, RV 'assiduous communing,' RVm 'practice of communion'); 1 Ti 4[8] 'bodily exercise profiteth little' (*σωματικὴ γυμνασία*). **2.** In 1 Mac 1[14] and 2 Mac 4[9] the complaint is made that a Greek 'place of exercise' had been erected in Jerusalem. The Gr. is *γυμνάσιον*. See GAMES. In 2 Mac 4[14] *ἐν παλαίστρᾳ* is similarly translated 'in the place of exercise,' RV 'in the palæstra.' See PALÆSTRA.

J. HASTINGS.

EXILE.—See ISRAEL.

EXODUS AND JOURNEY TO CANAAN.—

i. Route of the Exodus.
ii. From Egypt to Sinai.
iii. From Sinai to Kadesh.
iv. From Kadesh to the Jordan.

i. ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.—The question of the route of the Exodus has had a good deal of light thrown upon it in recent times, from the standpoint both of archæology and of literature. On the one hand, the work of excavation of lost cities and monuments has gone far to negative certain hypotheses as to the Exodus, if not to render them impossible; and, on the other hand, the decipherment of inscriptions and papyri belonging to the time of the Exodus has furnished us with geographical and historical annotations of the highest value. It must not be supposed that the result is an unmixed confirmation of the biblical account. A recently-deciphered Egyptian inscription, for example, shows that the Bĕnê-Israel were already in Palestine at the time of the Exodus, so that the migration must have been partial and not national. But with this point we are not concerned in the present article, whose business is to indicate what was the route of the Exodus on the hypothesis that it actually took place.

Even though we are not yet in a position to completely vindicate the historical character of the Exodus, we may do much to extract a correct geography from the accounts, and so to prepare the way for accurate history. The researches, for instance, of Naville have practically settled the first stages in the line of march; and in the same way a closer knowledge of the Sinaitic peninsula encourages the belief that there is more to be urged in favour of the traditional Sinai than can be brought forward against it. [See SINAI.] We acquire in this way what are almost fixed points in the route, without being troubled by *à priori* considerations as to whether the whole of the story is historical or whether any of it is miraculous. Indeed this last consideration might altogether be omitted; for as regards such a question as the actual passage of the sea, the configuration of the land at the head of the Gulf of Suez and across the Isthmus is such that the shallow waters of the sea and detached lakes furnish exactly the situation for such a transit as is poetically called a passage 'in the heart of the Red Sea.' Moreover, the action of wind upon shallow water has been constantly the cause of phenomenal effects which are not far removed from the miraculous statements in Exodus. For example, the Russians in 1738 entered the Crimea, which was strongly fortified against them by the Turks, at the Isthmus of Perekop, by a passage made for them by the wind through the shallow waters of the Putrid Sea at the N.W. corner of the Sea of Azov. And Major-General Tulloch has recorded an instance even more to the point, when, as he himself observed, *under a strong east wind* the waters of Lake Menzaleh at the entrance to the Suez Canal receded for a distance of 7 miles (see *Journal of Victoria Institute*, vol. xxviii. p. 267). Other instances of the same effect, which would be counted miraculous if they had been biblical, may be found in a paper by Naville (*Jour. Vict. Instit.* xxvi. p. 12). We may therefore lay on one side any question of direct miraculous agency: where the phenomena are so nearly natural to the country, we may be content to say that they are not necessarily unhistorical, and that the question of miracle is merely one of interpretation. Nor need we be delayed in our inquiry by considerations as to whether the story has suffered from over-colouring; both the numbers of the persons involved and the length of their supposed stay in the desert may be deferred,

SINAI PENINSULA
AND
CANAAN
ILLUSTRATING THE EXODUS
English Miles
0 5 10 20 40 60
Probable Route of Children of Israel
GREAT SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
CANAAN
MOAB
LAND OF GOSHEN
WILDERNESS OF SHUR
WILDERNESS OF PARAN
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF AKABAH
MIZRAIM (EGYPT)
DELTA
PHILISTINES
AMORITES
GILEAD
MIDIAN
AMALEKITES
HOREB
Mt. Sinai
Wilderness of Sinai
Tyre
Accho
Sea of Chinnereth
Mt. Tabor
Dor
Mt. Gilboa
Dothan
Mt. Ebal
Shechem
Mt. Gerizim
Shalim
Succoth
R. Jabbok
Mahanaim
Mt. Gilead
Joppa
Bethel
Ai
Jericho
Gilgal
Heshbon
Mt. Nebo
SALEM
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Kirjath Arba
Hebron
Gaza
Gerar
Beersheba
SALT SEA
Dibon
Aroer
R. Arnon
Kir Moab
Brook Zered
Tophel
Bozrah
Hormah
Kadesh Barnea
Mt. Hor
Mt. Seir
Damietta or Pelusiac Mouth
Mendesian Mouth
Tanitic Mouth
Bay of Tinch or Pelusium
L. Sirbonis
Zoan
Tanis, Avaris
Sin Pelusium
Tahpanhes Daphne
Pithom, Patumos
Baal Zephon
Migdol
Succoth
Wilderness of Etham
Wells of Moses
Marah
Elim
Encampment by the Red Sea
Dophkah
Alush
Rephidim
Hazeroth
Ezion Geber
Eloth
Wilderness of Zin
J. Serbal
Wilderness of Sin
J. Um Shomer
Beer Ishai-roi
Kadesh Barnea
Brook of Egypt
R. Leontes
Dan or Laish
Beth Rehob
Waters of Merom

if thought fit, for future examination. The account is not to be judged from its weakest points.

The best way to form an idea as to what such a migration would be like, is to compare it with an annual phenomenon of a similar character, viz. the Mecca pilgrimage from Cairo. The analogy is a good one, inasmuch as the account in the Bk of Exodus expressly suggests that the Israelites wished to go into the wilderness for the purpose of a *haj* (the Heb. word in Exodus 10^9 *hag* is, in fact, the same that is applied to the modern festival, and to the route taken by the pilgrims). What point was aimed at in the proposed three days' journey into the wilderness must remain uncertain; it has been suggested that it was Sarbut el-Khadeem, on the northern road to Mt. Sinai, where the remains of famous Egyptian temples are still to be seen. But, wherever it was, the Israelites could do what the Mecca pilgrims are in the habit of doing; nor is there any *à priori* reason why we should regard the account of the migration as antecedently improbable.

We may go further, and say that whatever may be objected against the general facts of the Exodus, the list of stations (or *mansiones*) in the wilderness which is given in Nu has every appearance of being part of a conventional itinerary or pilgrim book, and is therefore susceptible of identification and verification, altogether apart from the history in which it is embedded. All that we have to do with such data is to make such literary and topographical investigations as will determine whether the routes indicated are possible, and the stages of the journey feasible.

One of the first things that will strike the careful reader of the account of the first stages of the Exodus is that there is a certain verisimilitude about the nomenclature. It is a mixture of Egyptian and Hebrew. Pithom and Pihahiroth are certainly Egyptian; Migdol and Baal-zephon as certainly Hebrew; Succoth will be shown to be a mere Heb. perversion of an Egyp. name; and there is even a suspicion that alternative names in the two languages are found in the narrative, as when the desert into which the Israelites go out is called in one place the desert of Etham, and in another the desert of Shur. This is as it should be, if we bear in mind that we are on the frontier of Egypt, that the country next the frontier on both sides is in the hands of a Semitic people, and that the fortifications and great cities are in the care of the Egyptian Government.

The locality from which the Israelites emigrated is defined by the two store-cities, **Rameses** and **Pithom,** which they built for Pharaoh. From Rameses they started, and their first encampment is **Succoth,** which Naville has shown to be the equivalent of Pithom. The identification of the two cities is of the first importance. According to Brugsch (*L'Exode et les monuments Égyptiens*, Leipzig, 1875), we are to identify Rameses with Zoan (Tanis), and to place Pithom and the district of Succoth in the N.E. corner of the Delta, between Tanis and Pelusium. He then adopts a surprising suggestion (previously ventured by Schleiden), that the Israelites passed along the shore of the Mediterranean on a neck of land between that sea and the ancient Serbonian lake; that the Egyptians followed them along the same course, but were overtaken by a rush of water from the Mediterranean and destroyed. On this hypothesis he identifies Etham with the fortification on the frontier of Egypt, **Migdol** with a Magdolon mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary as being 12 miles from Pelusium, and **Baal-zephon** with Mt. Casius; the supposed Red Sea (*yam ṣuph*) turns out to be the Serbonian lake, as is suggested by the name (*yam ṣuph*=sea of weeds). Unfortunately, this theory, which is stated with great confidence and simplicity by Brugsch, appears to be almost fatally vitiated by the fact that Pithom has been found somewhere else than on the Mediterranean seaboard, where Brugsch had located it. It is to Naville that we owe this important discovery. His excavation of the mounds known as Tell el-Mashkuta, in the Wady Tumilat, on the line of railway from Zagazig to Suez, and in close proximity to the modern Sweet-water Canal and to the line of the ancient Sweet-water Canal, has proved conclusively that this place is Pithom ['abode of Tum'], and that its secular name, or at all events the name of the adjacent district, is Thuket, which may be equated with the Heb. Succoth. It is curious that the French engineers had suspected this mound to be the site of Rameses, and had named the adjacent railway station accordingly. It seems probable that Rameses will be found in the excavation of the mound Tell el-Kebir; Tanis is clearly excluded by Naville's discoveries. We are thus led to conclude in favour of an exodus along the line of the ancient canal, and the fugitives following this course would soon reach the frontier of Egypt and be stopped by the fortifications which ran along the Isthmus from north to south. This is the station Etham, which appears to coincide with the Egyptian *χetem* or *fortification*, and to be the same thing as is meant by the Heb. *shur* or *wall*. [The only difficulty in this identification lies in the fact that we should have expected a stronger guttural in the beginning of the Heb. word]. The route is evidently one of the main roads out of Egypt; and we may compare it with a papyrus translated by Goodwin, which describes the pursuit of runaway slaves who follow this very road, and whose journey is described in very similar terms.

Several difficulties now present themselves. One of them relates to the question as to whether the head of the Gulf of Suez was not at the time of the Exodus much farther north than at present, and whether the sea was not actually connected with the Bitter Lakes. In that case the transit may very well have been made at the head of the Bitter Lakes. There is much to be said in favour of this hypothesis.

Unfortunately, none of the places mentioned in connexion with this part of the Exodus have been identified. Pihahiroth, Migdol, and Baal-zephon have all to be located. It has been suggested that Baal-zephon [Typhon] is the mountain Ataka to the S. of Suez, and that it is dedicated to the god of the north wind because Phœnician sailors used to pray for fair wind on their voyages down the Red Sea. Our own impression is that the case has not yet been made out for moving the head of the Red Sea so far north as the Bitter Lakes, and that it is more likely that the crossing took place not far north of the present Suez. [Its ancient Greek name *Clysma* appears to carry a tradition of the disaster]. The test for a true solution would appear to lie in a search for Baal-zephon, especially by examination of Mt. Casius on the shore of the Mediterranean, and of Jebel Ataka at the head of the Red Sea.

ii. From Egypt to Sinai.—After crossing the frontier of Egypt the Israelites go three days in the wilderness and find no water. It has been suggested that they went by the *haj* route right across the plateau of the Tih to Akabah, and that this Akabah (or Elath, as it is called in OT) is the Elim of the itinerary, where they found wells of water and palm trees, and from which they proceeded to a Mt. Sinai in Midian. We are not able to accept the theory of a Midianite Sinai. It seems more probable that the route described is

that taken by travellers to the traditional Sinai, which is the same as was taken by St. Silvia of Aquitaine in the 4th century. The route goes along the wilderness between the plateau of the Tih and the E. shore of the Red Sea. **Marah** (see sep. art.) is not identified with any reasonable probability; but **Elim**, which follows it, may very well be the Wady Ghurundel, where there are even at the present time wells and palms (see ELIM). From this point the road to Sinai bifurcates; the northern road goes by the Egyptian mines and temples of Sarbut el-Khadeem, the southern winds by the Wady Tayibeh until it strikes the seashore: this is, then, the **encampment by the sea** (see sep. art.) of Nu 33^{10}; following the shore, the ancient Egyptian port and road are reached, and the route turns inland, passing the entrance to the Wady Maghara, where are the oldest Egyptian mines. This is probably the station **Dophkah** (see sep. art.) of Numbers, Dophkah being a misreading of Mafkah, the Egyp. name for the blue stone which they obtained from the mines in this region. The next station, **Alush**, is not known; it was probably not far beyond the Wady Mukattab or 'written valley' through which the road now passes. The next stage is **Rephidim**, which is commonly identified with *Feiran*, the oasis of the peninsula, the ancient Faran and Paran, and from this point the road winds through the long Wady es-Sheykh, until by a long detour (or, if preferred, by a short cut through a pass called Nukb el-Hawa, or 'Pass of the Wind') the plain is reached at the foot of **Mt. Sinai**, where the Israelites are supposed to have assembled for the giving of the Law. The most striking identification on this route is the encampment on the seashore five days after having left it. But it is clear that, striking as this is, the same thing is true of the route of the Mecca pilgrims: so it can hardly be called a conclusive identification. It is a very weighty consideration that the name Sinai implies a place of sanctity [Sin=the Babylonian moon-god] from very early times; but no Babylonian signs or inscriptions have been found which would settle conclusively that the traditional Sinai is the same as the biblical one. The route described is an ancient trade route of Nabatæan traders before the Christian era and in the early years of the Christian era. It is *not* a road worked out by biblical explorers, as has sometimes been suggested. See further art. SINAI.

LITERATURE.—The student should consult, *inter alia*, Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841, 3rd ed. 1867); Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (2nd ed. Leipzig, 1881); Lepsius, *Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai in* 1845 (Eng. by Cottrell, London, 1846); Naville, *Store City of Pithom* (Publications of Egypt. Exploration Fund); Brugsch, *L'Exode et les Monuments Égyptiens* (Leipzig, 1875, Eng. tr. 1879); Gamurrini, *Peregrinatio Sylviæ* (Rome, 1887).

iii. FROM SINAI TO KADESH. — About this portion of the route little need be said. The account in Nu 10^{11} states that the first march from Sinai was into the wilderness of Paran. This is described in v.[33] as a three days' journey; and the places mentioned as on the route are Taberah (Nu 11^{3}), Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth ($11^{34.\ 35}$), whence they removed into the wilderness of Paran (12^{16}), and from this place (13^{3}) the spies were sent out. Taberah is not mentioned in the itinerary of Nu 33. In Dt 1^{2} the whole route from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea is described as eleven days' journey by the way of Mt. Seir. This indicates a route from Sinai by way of 'Aḳabah to Kadesh, and accordingly travellers have sought to identify Kibroth-hattaavah and Hazeroth with points in the route between Sinai and 'Aḳabah. Further particulars are given in the articles on those names; and for the names which follow Hazeroth in Nu 33, see iv. and the article on KADESH.

iv. FROM KADESH TO THE JORDAN. — The accounts of this part of the route are found in Nu 20. 21, Dt 1. 2, and in the itinerary of Nu 33. Nu 20. 21 are composite in character, as will be seen from the following analysis (taken from Driver's *LOT*[6] p. 66):—

P	20^{1a}		2	3b-4	6-13		22-29		4a	10. 11
JE		1b	3a		5	14-21		21^{1-3}	4b-9	
P			22^{1}							
JE	21^{12-35}									

The first verse of Nu 20 deserves special notice. Its first clause (as far as the word 'month') is due to P. According to that authority, the spies were sent out from the wilderness of Paran, and in *that* wilderness (Nu 14^{29}) the children of Israel remained until the rebellious generation had been consumed. They then moved in the first month (apparently of the fortieth year, and for the first time) into the wilderness of Zin. The next clause, 'and the people abode in Kadesh,' etc., is due to another source, which represents the stay in Kadesh as a prolonged one, and associates with that stay many events, but without assigning dates. Two of these events are recorded in Nu 20^{2-21}: the first, the judgment passed on Moses and Aaron at Meribah (vv.[2-13]), presents difficulties which cannot here be fully discussed, but the following considerations make it probable that this incident occurred at an early period of the sojourn at Kadesh: (*a*) the account is in many points similar to that in Ex 17^{1-7}; (*b*) lack of water would have been felt soon after the arrival at Kadesh, rather than at the close of their sojourn there; and the complaint, Nu $20^{4.\ 5}$, seems more appropriate in the mouths of those who remembered the fleshpots of Egypt, than of those who, having left Egypt in youth, had since passed forty years in the desert; (*c*) according to Dt 1^{37} the exclusion of Moses from the promised land was decreed about the same time as the general sentence was pronounced against the generation which came up out of Egypt. Hence two alternatives: either the account Nu 20^{2-13} which gives the reason for the exclusion must describe the same event as that referred to Dt 1^{37} (*i.e.* an event which happened soon after the return of the spies, and therefore at an early period of the journeyings), or there are two varying traditions as to when and why Moses was not permitted to cross the Jordan.

The second passage (Nu 20^{14-21}) records Edom's refusal to allow a passage through his territory to the children of Israel, in consequence of which they journeyed 'by the way to the Red Sea to compass the land of Edom' (Nu 21^{4}). Comparing this with Dt 2^{1}, very similar language is there used to describe a compassing of Edom, which is assigned to an earlier stage of the journeyings. It is reasonable to suppose that this circuitous route was adopted because a more direct course towards the E. side of the Dead Sea was not open; Edom's conduct, as described in Nu 20, though not recorded in Dt, was the cause of, and therefore prior to, the compassing mentioned in Dt. Hence both the events in Nu 20^{2-21}, though in their present connexion they appear as incidents of the fortieth year, may belong to an earlier period of the journeyings. Two distinct geographical pictures of the period are presented,—the one, that of JE, figures Kadesh as the scene of the middle portion of the journey, and is to be traced in Dt 1. 2 (with which the brief summary in Jg 11^{16-18} should be compared); the other, that of P, locates these events partly in Paran and partly in Zin. The combination of the two, with the introduction

of exact dates, has produced difficulties which are to be explained, not by the assumption of two places bearing the name of Kadesh, nor by the assumption of a second visit to Kadesh (which is nowhere indicated, and seems excluded by Dt 2^{14}), but by the resolution of the narrative into its original components.

In the list of stations (Nu 33) **Kadesh** does not occur until v.^{36}, where it is identified with **Zin**, immediately precedes Mt. Hor, and is only eight stations removed from the final settlement in the plains of Jordan. This itinerary makes the identification of Zin with Kadesh, which is implied in Nu 20, and refers to Kadesh for the first and only time towards the close of the journeyings. It might be expected that Paran would be found in an earlier part of the chapter, but it is not; the stations from Egypt, as far as Hazeroth, correspond closely with those mentioned in the narrative portions of Ex and Nu, but after Hazeroth [instead of either Paran or Kadesh] twelve stations are given (Rithmah . . . Hashmonah, vv.$^{18\text{-}29}$), the names of which occur only in these verses, and no event happening in connexion with these places is anywhere recorded. It has been suggested that Rithmah, or some other of these names, is a designation of Kadesh, but nothing in the nature of an argument has been advanced in favour of such a hypothesis.

The wilderness of Paran (Nu 13^{3}) is a vague indication of locality for the events described in Nu 13. 14, and it may be that more than one of these twelve stations were within that area, but there is no indication that such is the case. The list of Nu 33 has been incorporated with the narrative without specifying the place where the important events recorded in Nu 13. 14 and Dt 1 happened. In this respect the list is independent of the narrative, and any attempt to establish a connexion between the two must be conjectural.

The eight stations following Hashmonah (Moseroth–Mt. Hor) must next be considered. With the first four may be compared the fragment of an itinerary preserved in Dt $10^{6.\,7}$. They are as follows:—

Nu $33^{30\text{-}33}$.	Dt $10^{6.\,7}$.
Moseroth.	Beeroth Bene-jaakan
Bene-jaakan.	Moserah.
Hor-haggidgad.	Gudgodah.
Jotbathah.	Jotbathah.

There can be little doubt that the same four places are referred to in both passages, and it seems also reasonable to suppose that the same part of the journeyings is described in both. The inversion of order, Moseroth preceding Bene-jaakan in the one, and following in the other, may be attributed to an error of transcription, or explained by supposing that some of the wells of the Bene-jaakan were visited both before and after the encampment at Moseroth. **Moserah** is noted (Dt 10) as the place where Aaron died and was buried, and must therefore be close to Mt. Hor, probably the place of encampment at its base. Further, as Abronah and Ezion-geber follow these four places in Nu, and the position of Ezion-geber at the head of the Gulf of ʿAḳabah is known, it follows that these stations describe the journey from Mt. Hor down the Arabah to the Red Sea. Pursuing the journey from this point, as described Dt 2^{8}, the children of Israel passed 'from the way of the Arabah from Elath and from Ezion-geber.' This is generally explained by supposing that they completed the circuit of Edom by compassing it on its E. side. From the S. end of the Arabah a valley called Wady Ithem leads upwards in a N.E. direction to the high table-land which lies to the E. of Edom and Moab, across which runs the *Ḥaj* route from Damascus to Mecca. Along or near this route the children of Israel, after leaving the Arabah by Wady Ithem, passed in a N. direction until they reached **Iye-abarim** in the wilderness which is before Moab towards the sunrising (Nu 21), the next definite geographical indication afforded in the narrative.

But against accepting this view of the journey, it may be argued as follows: The two stations in Nu $33^{36\text{-}41}$ which follow Ezion-geber are the wilderness of Zin (Kadesh) and Mt. Hor. These verses imply that, after reaching the Gulf of ʿAḳabah, instead of bearing eastward as above described the children of Israel retraced their steps along the Arabah to visit Mt. Hor, on the occasion of Aaron's death and burial. Moseroth is separated by six stations from Mt. Hor, and, if the identity of Dt $10^{6.\,7}$ with Nu $33^{30\text{-}34}$ be maintained, there are two statements concerning the time and place of Aaron's death which cannot be reconciled. In order to harmonize the accounts, many commentators consider that the stations in Dt $10^{6.\,7}$ have nothing to do with the same names in Nu $33^{30\text{-}34}$, but must be supplied as part of the journey from Mt. Hor to Zalmonah (Nu 33^{41}). The omission of these stations in Nu 33 is explained by supposing that names which have been previously mentioned are not repeated in this list. Besides the double visit to Kadesh, two visits to Mt. Hor (for Moserah or Moseroth must be considered as equivalent to Mt. Hor) and two journeys down the Arabah to Ezion-geber must be assumed, before the narrative of Dt $2^{8\text{ff.}}$ can be combined with Nu 33 from Zalmonah onwards, as representing the final departure from the Arabah on the way to the E. of Moab. This reiterated duplication of events, inferred from combining the accounts, but nowhere indicated in the narrative, raises more than a suspicion that this harmonistic interpretation, though possible, does not represent the actual progress of the journey. The main difficulty arises from the position of Zin and Mt. Hor following Ezion-geber in Nu $33^{36\text{-}41}$. Ewald proposes (*Hist. of Isr.* ii. 201, Eng. tr.) to remove vv.$^{36b\text{-}41a}$ from where they now stand, and insert them after Hashmonah in ver.^{30}. The order of the stations would then be Hashmonah, Zin, Mt. Hor, Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-haggidgad, Jotbathah, Ebronah, Ezion-geber, Zalmonah, etc. The necessity for assuming the unproved duplication of events is removed, and the direction of the journey would be as traced above. The obvious criticism of Ewald's hypothesis is, that if the arrangement he proposes were the original one, it is difficult to understand why a change which introduces such difficulties should have been made. May a slight variation of his hypothesis be suggested? The verses which he would transpose differ in character from the rest of the chapter; instead of giving only names, they relate events and furnish details. May they be regarded as a later addition? If so, they may be either omitted or transferred, and the same result attained. One other alternative remains: the insertion of Zin and Mt. Hor after Ezion-geber indicates a movement up the Arabah northwards. This northern direction may have been continued to the Dead Sea, where a turn eastwards would bring the children of Israel to the E. side of Moab. The compassing of Edom would then be on its W. and N. border. In favour of this it may be suggested that an Israelite might understand the border of Edom to mean the border towards his own land. So long as the sites of Zalmonah and the stations following remain uncertain, this interpretation of the existing text of Nu $33^{41\text{ff.}}$ cannot be rejected as impossible, though it would represent a tradition different from that followed in Nu 21^{4} and (probably) Dt 2^{8}.

The concluding section from the E. of Moab

onwards is comparatively free from ambiguity, though definite identification of places is wanting here as in the preceding stages. The children of Israel cross the brooks Zered and **Arnon** (Nu 21[12. 13]). The latter is by general consent identified with the Wady Mojib, a stream which is fed by many tributaries, and falls into the Dead Sea about the middle of its E. side. The deep valley, about three miles broad, through which it passes, is a marked feature of the district, and forms a natural boundary line. It was the southern limit of the territory assigned to Israel on the E. of Jordan. The position of the brook **Zered** is uncertain. The Wady el-Ahsa, which runs into the Dead Sea at its S. extremity, is too far south to be identified with it, for Iye-abarim to the E. of Moab is reached before crossing it (Nu 21[11]). The Wady Feranjy, the upper portion of the stream passing by Kerak and reaching the Dead Sea at the promontory called El-Lisan, or the main affluent of Wady Mojib (that coming from the S.E.), may with greater probability be considered as the ancient Zered. The nomenclature of the tributaries of Wady Mojib is somewhat unsettled, but Bliss, when exploring the country of Moab in March 1895 (see his memoir in *PEFSt*, 1895) took special pains to ascertain the names assigned to them. He follows Tristram in giving the name of Wady Sa'ideh to the E. affluent of the Wady Mojib and not to the S.E. branch, which is generally so called in maps and commentaries. The description in Buhl (*Geog. d. Alten Palästina*, p. 51) is again different. Until arriving at the Arnon, the Israelites probably crossed the upper courses of the rivers and kept away from Moab towards the E. They would thus obey the injunction not to meddle with Moab, and find the rivers shallower, and more easy of passage. The deep and rugged sides of these streams for some distance from their outlets into the Dead Sea cause considerable difficulty to the modern traveller, and would have been impracticable for the hosts of Israel. But after crossing the Arnon it was necessary to turn W. and afterwards in a N.W. direction in order to reach **Dibon-Gad** and the mountains of **Abarim**—the high ridge to the E. of the N. extremity of the Dead Sea from which they descended into the plains of Jordan, opposite Jericho. The names given in Nu 21[18-20] are different from those in the itinerary of Nu 33, but the last-named place, 'the top of Pisgah that looketh toward Jeshimon' ('the desert' RV), indicates a spot on the Abarim range whence W. Palestine and the Jordan valley were visible. The last stage, Nu 22[1], is given with additional detail in Nu 33[48. 49].

LITERATURE.—Commentaries on the Books of Nu and Dt, especially those of Dillmann in the *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. z. Alten Testament* and Driver on Dt in the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*, may be consulted for further information. Trumbull's *Kadesh-Barnea* discusses the whole route from Egypt to Canaan, and contains a full list of ancient and modern works dealing with the subject. See also Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, and Köhler, *Biblische Geschichte A.T.s.*

J. RENDEL HARRIS AND A. T. CHAPMAN.

EXODUS (וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, or simply שְׁמוֹת; Ἔξοδος: see HEXATEUCH) is the 2nd Book in the Heb. Canon. It is also the 2nd division of the great composite work which contains in one complex whole all that has been preserved of old Heb. writings about the origins of the Isr. people. So much is here assumed, and, further, that it is generally possible, if not to distribute the material among four distinct documents, at least to assign it to one or other of four differing schools of writing, Jahwistic, Elohistic, Deuteronomic, and Priestly (referred to as J, E, D, P),* whose relative age is shown by the order of the names, the periods of the first two overlapping. For the proof of this, and for general matters of introduction, see HEXATEUCH.

Our aim here is to exhibit the results of such an analysis in detail, with a condensed account of the chief grounds on which it rests. For information about persons, places, things, events, institutions, laws, the student is referred to the separate articles.

The book covers the period from the death of Joseph to the erection of the Tabernacle, and is mainly historical, but contains important legislative sections. It falls readily into three parts—I. Israel in Egypt; II. From Egypt to Sinai; III. At Sinai. The method of treatment here adopted needs little explanation. In the Summary small reference letters show what documents contain the material next following: the sign ‖ preceding means that the parallel is to be found in another chapter or section. The numbers refer to the chapters.

Thus, by following J, E, and P through in turn, the main contents of the documents can be severally traced, and the amount of coincidence noted.

I. ISRAEL IN EGYPT: 1–13[16].

A. Summary.

1 [JEP]Increase, and [JE‖P]oppression of Israel. 2 [E]Birth and adoption of Moses; [J]his violence, flight, and [J‖E]marriage. 3–4 [JE]Theophany and [JE‖P]Commission of Mos. and Aar. [JE]Mos. returns, and [J]convinces the people by signs. 5 [JE]Freedom claimed, bondage increased. 6–7[7] [P‖JE]Commission of Mos. and Aar. 7[8]–12 Eleven [JEP] wonders —7[8-13] [P]Rod becomes serpent, magicians copy; 7[14-25] [JEP]Nile smitten, [P]magicians copy; 8[1-15] [JP]frogs, [P]magicians copy; 8[16-19] [P]lice, magicians fail; 8[20-32] [J]flies; 9[1-7] [J]murrain; 9[8-12] [P]blains, magicians suffer; 9[13-35] [JE]hail; 10[1-20] [JE]locusts; 10[21-29] [E]darkness; [J]banishment of Moses, who 11 [JE]prophesies death of firstborn and release of Isr. 12–13[16] [JP]Rules for Passover and Feast of Unleav. Bread; [J]death of firstborn, and [JEP]exodus of Isr.; [JP]law of firstlings.

B. Analysis.

r marks editorial revision; * shows supplements from documents of the same school; ' editorial insertions and expansions; " harmonizing and other relatively later additions by R^{Je}, R^{d}, and R^{P}; [ ] enclose *vv.* forming a displaced passage; ... show that something has dropped out; and if with [...] that the material is found elsewhere; a, b, etc., mark *vv.* subdivided.

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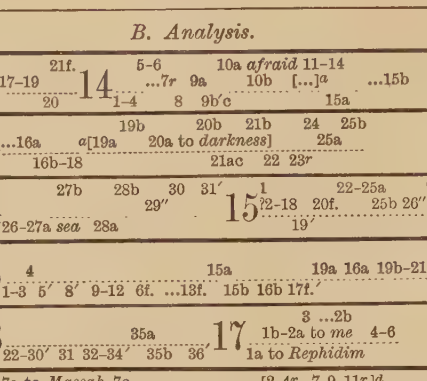
B. Analysis.



Displaced passages.—b is out of place here, and fits a later place in the narrative, as is shown by position assigned to Joshua at 33[7-11]. *c* is also subsequent to the legislation at Horeb, and preparatory to departure for Can., cf. [23]. *d* perhaps led up to Nu 10[29].

C. Parallels and Contrasts.

J—(a) *Moses leads Isr.* 15[22], a vast host (see I *C* c), but unarmed and helpless 14[11-14], with *the Pillar of fire and cloud* for guide 13[21] 14[19b. 24] Nu 14[14]; (b) straight for the Red Sea, perhaps because the Isthmus was fortified: Pharaoh pursues for reasons given 14[5]; (c) Moses uses no gesture, but brave words 14[13] cf. I *C* f; *Jehovah causes the sea to go back by a strong east wind* [21a], and then to *return to its wonted flow* [27b], and the crossing is by night [20b. 24. 27b], the Pillar moving to the rear and giving light to Isr. [19b. 20b] (read, *and it gave light by night*), while obscuring the Egyptians' path [24]; Jehovah fights for Isr. [14. 25b]; (d) Moses and Israel sing 15[1]; (e) Isr. *tempts* or *proves J''* 17[2. 7ac] Nu 14[22] cf. Dt 6[16] 9[22]; (f) see under P below; (g) the people *prove J''*, hence *the name Massah* or *proving* (see e above), and *murmur against Mos.* 15[24] 17[3] Nu 14[2] cf. Nu 20[5], for water 17[3. 2b. 7ac], which elsewhere in J is provided by natural causes, as 15[22ff. 27].

E—(a) *God leads* the people 13[17] (cf. Jos 24[6] E) few but armed [18]; (b) not by the Isthmus for fear of the Philistines [17], but presumably by the next nearest route to Can. (cf. Jos 24[6], and see I *C* e); the Egypt. pursue Isr. (Jos 24[6]), who cry out 14[10b] (Jos 24[7]); (c) the *rod* (I *C* k) is *lifted up* 14[16a] cf. Is 10[26]; the sea is crossed by day, for *the angel of God* (I *C* j) goes behind and interposes a barrier of darkness [19a. 20a] (Jos 24[7]), and then obstructs advance [25a] and overwhelms them (Jos 24[7]); (d) *Miriam* and *the women* sing responsively 15[20f.] cf. 1 S 18[6f.], which suggests that we have here an independent account not following on 15[1], which is thus left for J; (e) *God proves* Isr. 15[25b] 16[4] 20[2] Gn 22[1] cf. Jg 2[22] (Budde E) Dt 8[2. 16] 13[4] Jg 3[1. 4] (? R^d)*; (f) the *proving* is by the test of their reception of each *day's portion* (dabar) of *bread from heaven* 16[4], *the thing* (dabar) *which Jehovah commanded* being to gather only for daily use *every man according to his eating, i.e.* a variable amount ([16a. 19-21]) cf. Dt 8[2. 16]; *they knew not what it was*, and hence the name [15a] cf. Dt 8[3. 16], and it lasted *till they came to a land inhabited* [35a]; (g) *the people strive with Mos.* about lack of water, hence the name *Meribah* or *strife* 17[2a. 7b]; water comes by *smiting the rock* with Moses' *rod* [5f.] cf. 7[20b] and see I *C* k.

P—(a) *Moses and Aaron* lead *the whole congregation* 16[1-3] *with a high hand* 14[8]; (b) not by Isthmus because deliberately turned back 14[2-4] to give occasion for a wonder, and Pharaoh pursues because hardened [4. 8. 17] cf. I *C* l; (c) Moses' *hand* was *stretched* forth [16a. 21a. 26f], and *the waters were divided* miraculously, not by a wind, for they were *as a wall on their right hand and on their left* [21b. 22], and so the catastrophe followed [26. 27a. 28a]; (f) *the whole congregation murmurs* for *the fleshpots* of Egypt 16[2f.] (cf. Nu 11[4-6a] J); manna, a miraculous gift, is described [14. 23. 31] (cf. and ct. manna, a natural product, described Nu 11[6b-9] J); *the quails* are mentioned almost casually [13], manna being the main point (ct. Nu 11[13. 18-23. 31-34] J); a fixed amount of manna was to be gathered [16b]; manna is eaten *till they came unto the borders of the land of Can.* [35b]; the two commands about Sabbath observance [22ff.] and the memorial pot of manna [32f.] are not needed by the context of P, and may have been added after the union of J E P in order to supply clearer explanations of the *proving* of [4].

D. Other Clues.

J—Divine help by natural means 14[21] 15[22-25a] cf. I *C* e; *three days* 15[22] cf. I *C* e; *and they came to . . .* 15[23. 27] Heb.; *springs* (lit. *eyes*) *of water* 15[27] Gn 16[7ab] 24 (7 times) 49[32] Dt 8[7] 33[28] Nu 33[9] RP*.

E—*Joseph's bones* 13[19] Gn 50[25] Jos 24[32]; *statute and ordinance* 15[25b] Jos 24[25]; *they cried out unto Jehovah* 14[10b] Jos 24[7]; *one to another* 16[15] see I *D*; *pass on before the people* 17[5] Jos 8[6]; *Aaron and Hur* 17[10. 12] 24[14]; Moses' father-in-law Jethro, wife, and two sons 18, see I *C* h.

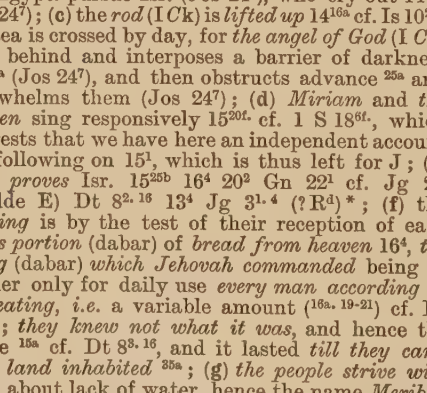
P—*I will get me honour* 14[4. 17f.] Lv 10[3]; *and the Egyptians pursued* 14[9. 23]; 15[19] RP cf. 14[22f. 28a]; date *after . . . departing out of the land of Egypt* 19[1] Nu 1[1] 9[1] 33[38] 1 K 6[1]†.

III. At Sinai: 19–40.

A. Summary.

19 JEPThe encampment at JPSinai Ethe mount of God; JEawful sights and sounds introduce a theophany; 20–23 God gives, i. E‖Dthe Decalogue, ii. E‖Jthe Book of the Covenant, iii. E‖Dthe Book of Judgments; 24 Ecovenant sacrifice and Jfeast before God, EPMoses ascends the mount, and Eremains 40 days; 25–31 PJ'' gives full directions for the tabernacle, its ornaments and furniture, its priests, their dress and consecration; EP‖JMoses receives the two tables; 32–34 Eidolatrous and Jmutinous conduct of the people; EMoses breaks the tables and destroys the golden calf; Jmassacre by Levites; JEintercession of Moses; E‖Pusage of tent of meeting; J‖Ethe ten Words of the Covenant Jwritten by Moses J‖EPon two tables; 35–40 Perection and furnishing of the tabernacle.

B. Analysis.



This section is the most complicated and difficult in the Hex. It is generally agreed that the sources are much dislocated, and that the material has been repeatedly revised by successive editors and compilers. Most critics abandon the attempt to carry through a systematic analysis or reconstruction. The scheme adopted here for the JE portions is that of Bacon, and its resort to the hypothesis of wholesale transpositions can only be

justified by the hopelessness of less drastic methods and the comparative harmony and order which it introduces. There is, however, a growing consensus of opinion in favour of the main conclusions on which the scheme rests. The sources are for clearness given again separately, in the order conjecturally suggested here. The presence of J^s and E^s is often felt, especially in 32–34, but cannot be clearly delimitated.

J = $19^{2b.}$ $20-22.$ $24.$ $11b-13.$ 25 . . . $24^{1f.\ 9-11}$ $34^{1-5r.\ 10-28r.}$ $32^{7-14r.\ 25r-29}$ $33^{1.\ 3}$ (Nu $11^{10c.\ 11f.\ 14f.}$) Ex 33^{12-23} 34^{6-9} . . .

E = $19^{3a.\ 9r-11a.\ 14-17.\ 19}$ 20^{1-21} 19^{6b-8} $24^{12-14.\ 18b}$ 32^{1-6} 31^{18b} $32^{16-24.\ 30-34}$ $33^{4.\ 6}$ . . . 20^{22-26} 23^{10-33r} (with 22^{29-31}) 24^{3-8} 18^{1-27r} 33^{7-11} and (after the E passages in Nu) 17^{8-16} the war with Amalek, and 21^{1}–23^{9} the Book of *Judgments*, whose original position is supposed to be now occupied by Dt.

P^h = 29^{42-46r} 31^{12-17r}.

P^g = 19^{1-2a} 20^{11} $24^{15b-18a}$ 25–27^{19} $28^{1-40.\ 42f.}$ $29^{1-20.\ 22-37}$ 31^{18a}.

P^s = $27^{20f.}$ 28^{41} 29^{38-46} 30–31^{11} 32^{15b-16} 35–40.

R^d (or R^{Je}) = $19^{3c-8a.\ 23}$ $20^{2b.\ 4b-6.\ 7b.\ 9f.\ 12b.\ 17b}$ $22^{21b-22.\ 24.\ 25b.\ 31}$ $23^{9.\ 11b.\ 12b-13.\ 15b.\ 17.\ 19a.\ 23-25a.\ 27.\ 31b-33}$ $32^{8.\ 13.\ 25b}$ $33^{2.\ 5}$ $34^{1b.\ 4a.\ 7b.\ 10b-13.\ 15.\ 23f.}$.

C. Parallels and Contrasts.

J—(a) *J″* $19^{11b.\ 18.\ 20ab.\ 21ab.\ 22ab.\ 24}$ etc., (b) *came down* (see I *D*) (c) *in fire* 19^{18} (cf. Gn 19^{24} Ex 3^{2}, and the *pillar of fire* II *C* a, c) (d) *upon Mount Sinai* $19^{11b.\ 18.\ 20.\ 23'}$ $34^{2.\ 4}$ (e) *in the* SIGHT *of all the people*, 19^{11b}, (f) *the* PRIESTS only being bidden to *sanctify themselves* 19^{22}, (g) *the people* being kept at a distance throughout, $19^{21.\ 24.\ 12f.}$ $24^{2b.}$ 34^{3}, (h) while *these* (so Heb.) 19^{13b}, *i.e.* Mos. and *the priests which come near*, were to *come up*, $^{22.\ 24}$ (read in ^{24} *and the priests*: *but let not the people* cf. j) 24^{1}, (i) *at the* BLAST *of the* RAMS-HORN 19^{13b} Heb. (j) *Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu* with 70 *elders* accordingly are called and go up, and (k) celebrate a covenant feast before *the God of Isr.* $24^{1f.\ 9f.}$ (this incident may have been incorporated by the author from another source, as it presents several peculiar features); (l) *Moses* is then summoned ALONE *to the top of the mount* $34^{2f.}$ (m) with *two tables of* STONES (so Heb.) which he is to *hew* $34^{1.\ 4ab}$; (n) *upon the tables* he is to *write* $34^{27f.}$ (cf. ^{1} where the change of one Heb. letter turns *I will* into *thou shalt write*) (o) *the Ten Words of the Covenant* as soon as he receives them $34^{27f.}$, (p) remaining with J″ 40 *days and* 40 *nights* apparently for the purpose of engraving them. (q) The rebellion of the people (32^{25}) being announced to him by J″ ($^{7.\ 9}$), Moses procures by intercession the repentance of Jehovah ($^{11-14}$), (r) and on descending quells revolt by means of *the sons of Levi* (32^{26-29}). (s) On learning he is to lead alone, Moses intercedes afresh, and procures a theophany, a revelation of mercy, and a promise of J″'s *presence* $33^{1.\ 3}$ (Nu $11^{10c.\ 11f.\ 14f.}$ which interrupt their present context, fit well here, and, after the great block of P is removed, are seen to lie near at hand) $^{12-23}$ 34^{6-9}. (t) Moses HAD ALREADY *made an ark of acacia wood, and puts the tables in the ark* (J's account, which Nu 10^{33-36} and the many references to the ark in Jos prove to have existed, but which is now displaced in favour of P's, is recovered from Dt 10^{1-5}), (u) but no trace remains of his allusions to *the tent of meeting*.

E—(a) *God* $19^{3a.\ 17.\ 19}$ $20^{1.\ 19.\ 20.\ 21}$ $21^{6.\ 13}$ $22^{8.\ 9ab.\ 11}$ in LXX ^{28} 24^{13} 31^{18b} (cf. *D*) (b) *comes* 19^{9} 20^{20} (c) *in a thick cloud* $19^{9.\ 16}$ $20^{18.\ 21}$ cf. 14^{20a} 33^{9} Nu 11^{25} 12^{5} Dt $31^{15\ E}$ (d) to *the mount of God* 24^{13} (cf. I *C* j), (e) *that the people may* HEAR $19^{9.\ 19}$ $20^{1.\ 19}$, (f) So Moses has to *sanctify the* PEOPLE $19^{10f.\ 14f.}$, (g) and they only *stand afar off* through fear 20^{21} (h) after Moses has brought them all near 19^{17}, (i) *when there is the* VOICE *of a* TRUMPET *going on and increasing much* $19^{16.\ 19}$ 20^{18}. (j) (see below y, x). Without any individuals drawing nearer, God speaks the Decalogue to the people $20^{1.\ 19}$, (k) (see below w, y), and the covenant is assented to by the people 19^{3b-8r} cf. 24^{3-8} Dt $27^{11ff.\ E}$ Jos 24^{16-27} 1 S 11^{14}–$12^{25\ E}$. (l) Moses is then summoned, and *goes up into the mount with Joshua his minister* $24^{13f.}$ cf. 33^{11} Nu 11^{28}, (m) that God may *give* him *the tables of* STONE *which* He has *written, and the law and the commandment that* he *may teach them* 24^{12} (with a slight transposition rendered necessary by an alteration presumably made when the Book of *Judgments* was thrust into the centre of the *Book of the Covenant* to make way for the Deuteronomic law given in the plains of Moab). (n) On the tables God has already written 24^{12} 31^{18b} (o) apparently the Decalogue, see Dt 5^{22}. (p) *Moses* remains *in the mount* 40 *days and* 40 *nights* for the purpose, it would seem, of receiving *the law and the commandment*, here supposed to refer to the material of the Book of Judgments 21–23^{9}. (q) On descending he discovers with surprise the idolatry of the people, (r) and breaks the tables, and destroys the golden calf $32^{15a.\ 17-20}$. (s) Moses then intercedes for the people, is bidden to *lead* them himself, but has promise of God's *angel* to go before him: there is a marked tone of severity in the words of J″ 32^{30-35}. (t) That E spoke of the ark here may be implied from his allusions in Jos *passim*, (u) and that he described the making of a simpler form of the *tent of meeting*, placed *without the camp*, and possibly adorned by aid of the abandoned ornaments, seems to follow from 33^{7-11} Nu $11^{16f.\ 24b-30}$ $12^{4f.}$ Dt $31^{14f.}$ with Ex 33^{6} 3^{22} $11^{2f.}$ (v) J″ gives the *Book of the Covenant* 20^{22-26} $22^{29f.}$ 23^{10-33r}; (w) the covenant is assented to by the people, see k above; (x) certain *young men* 24^{5} cf. 32^{6} and *Joshua* 33^{11}, ct. J under k, (y) offer a covenant sacrifice 24^{5} cf. 20^{24} 32^{6} Dt $27^{6f.}$.

P—(a) *J″* (so throughout) (b) makes His *glory* ($16^{7.\ 10}$ 29^{43} $40^{34f.}$ Nu 14^{10} $16^{19.\ 42}$ 20^{6} ct. the less local and physical use of the term $33^{18.\ 22}$ Nu 14^{21f} J, Dt 5^{24*}) to *appear* (c) *like devouring* FIRE (40^{38} Lv 9^{24} 10^{2} Nu $9^{15f.}$ 16^{35}) . . . *out of the midst of the* CLOUD (16^{10} $24^{15.\ 16ab.\ 17.\ 18}$ $40^{34.\ 35.\ 36.\ 37.\ 38}$ Lv 16^{2} Nu $9^{15ff.}$ 11 times $10^{11f.\ 34}$ 16^{42}) (d) *upon Mount Sinai* (e) *in the eyes of the children of Israel* $24^{15b-18a}$, (f) no priests having yet been consecrated 29 Lv 8–10, (g) all except Moses being kept at a distance; (l) Moses is *called*, and *goes up into the mount* 24^{16-18a}, (m) that he may receive *the two tables of the* TESTIMONY 31^{18a} $32^{15a'}$, (n) which had, *written on both their sides* 32^{15b}, (o) no doubt the Decalogue, a brief account of the giving of which may have been displaced by R^p in favour of the impressive narrative of JE, 20^{11} being perhaps the only fragment preserved. (p) Moses remains in the mount (prob. for 40 days and nights) to receive the pattern of the sanctuary (25–30), (s) with a promise of J″ to *meet with the children of Israel* (hence *tent of meeting*) and to *dwell among the children of Israel* (hence *Tabernacle* or *Dwelling*) 29^{42-46}. (t) Moses SUBSEQUENTLY ORDERS to be made an *ark of acacia wood, overlaid* and ornamented *with gold* 25^{10-22} 37^{1-9}, and *puts the testimony into the ark* 25^{16} 40^{20}; (u) he also prepares, erects, and furnishes a gorgeous *Dwelling* for J″, large and costly and needing a numerous body of priests and Levites to attend to it (35–40).

D. Other Clues.

J—*God*, when stress is on His nature, deity 24^{11} Gn 32^{28} 33^{10}; *stiff-necked* 32^{9} $33^{3.\ 5}$ 34^{9}, quoted Dt $9^{6.\ 13}$; *consume* $32^{10.\ 12}$ $33^{3.\ 5}$ Gn 41^{30} cf. Nu $16^{21.\ 45}$ P etc.; *and I will make of thee a great nation* 32^{10} Gn 12^{2} Nu 14^{12} ct. Heb. Gn 21^{18} 46^{3} E and Gn 17^{20} P; *face of the ground* 32^{12} 33^{16} Gn 2^{6} $43.^{14}$ $61.^{7}$ $74.^{23}$ $88.^{13}$ cf. Nu 12^{3} E^s and Dt 6^{15} 7^{6} 14^{2*}; *it repented J″* $32^{12.\ 14}$ Gn $6^{6f.}$ ct. Ex 13^{17} Nu 23^{19}; *land flowing*, etc. I *D*; *find grace* (*in the eyes of*) $33^{13ab.\ 16f.}$ 34^{9} Gn $6^{8.}$ $18^{3.}$ $19^{19.}$ $30^{27.}$ $32^{5.}$ $33^{8.\ 10.\ 15}$ 34^{11} 39^{4} $47^{25.\ 29}$ 50^{4} Nu $11^{11.\ 15}$ 32^{5} Dt 24^{1*}; *pass by* (of J″ or His glory) $33^{19.\ 22ab}$ 34^{6}; *proclaim* . . . 33^{19} 34^{6} (*thy*) *glory* $33^{18.\ 22}$ cf. *C* b under P; stress on *mercy* 33^{19} $34^{6f.}$ Nu 14^{19}; *I make a covenant* $34^{10.\ 27}$

E—*Prove*, 20^{20}, see II *C* e; *lord of* (*wife*, etc.), Heb. *ba'al*, RV *married, owner*, etc. $21^{3.\ 22.\ 28.\ 29ab}$ $34^{ab.\ 36}$ $22^{8.\ 11f.\ 14f.}$ 24^{14} Gn 20^{3} 37^{19} Nu 21^{28} Jos 24^{11}, in J only once, in the poem Gn 49^{13}; *bondwoman* 25 $21^{7.\ 20.\ 26f.\ 32}$ (Heb. word never used by J); stress on severity of God 23^{21} 32^{33} Nu 23^{19} Jos 24^{19}; *Aaron and Hur* 24^{14} $17^{10.\ 12}$; *rings* (*i.e.* for ears) $32^{2f.}$ Gn 35^{4} Jg $8^{24ff.}$ (perh. E); *sin* $32^{21.\ 30f.}$ Gn 20^{9*}; *Horeb* 3^{36}, see I *D*; *pillar of cloud* 33^{7-11}, see *C* c.

IV. The Laws in Exodus.

The four earliest Heb. codes occur in this section, all in an expanded form. The principal additions have been shown above (end of III *B*); they either interrupt the context, or contrast with it in phraseology or material, or seem to be quotations inserted from elsewhere. Limits of space forbid any further attempt to justify their excision from the orig. sources.

It is now generally agreed that E contained three out of the four codes. This confirms the view that this document, like others, represents the *end* of a long process, during which various elements were successively assimilated. Moreover, those who combined E with J (referred to as R^{Je}), who added D (R^{d}), who finally incorporated the whole in P (R^{p}), naturally in the case of such important material showed at its strongest the desire to preserve all they could. Is it unreasonable to conjecture that each fresh combination required some dislocation of the existing material to suit the new adjustment? In the text as we now have it, E's three codes form together the basis of the Covenant. It has been suggested above that in E, in its final form as a separate document, the Decalogue was the basis of the Covenant, the *Book of the Covenant* led up to the Renewal of the Covenant, while the Book of *Judgments* belonged to Moses' parting words in the plains of Moab. If R^{Je} used J's version of the Covenant to serve for the account of the Renewal of the Cov. (34^{1-28}), and, to preserve E's *Book of the Cov.*, put it back to form with the Decalogue the basis of the first Cov.; and if R^{d}, inserting D in the section about the plains of Moab, kept the Book of *Judgments* by incorporating it with the *Book of the Cov.*, then the very order which we now have would have been produced. That this actually took place is only conjecture; but it was worth while showing how the present state of the text might have arisen; and this solution has at least the merit that it only presupposes the action of causes which have been clearly traced at work elsewhere.

The Codes compared.

J—*The Ten Words of the Covenant* (III *C* 1-p above).—(The list given is only the one thought best of several possible ones. Parallels in E are marked by the corresponding number. Laws in 3 codes are in LARGE CAPITALS: laws given by both J and E in SMALL CAPITALS): (1) MONOLATRY COMMANDED; (2) IMAGES FORBIDDEN; (3) THE FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD, (4) THE SABBATH, (5) THE FEAST OF *weeks* OR FIRSTFRUITS, and (6) THE FEAST OF INGATHERING, COMMANDED; (7) BREAD WITH SACRIFICES TO BE UNLEAVENED; (8) THE *passover sacrifice* TO BE ALL CONSUMED; (9) FIRSTFRUITS REQUIRED; (10) SEETHING OF A KID IN ITS DAM'S MILK FORBIDDEN.

E—The Decalogue. (1) MONOLATRY COMMANDED; (2) IMAGES FORBIDDEN; false swearing forbidden; (4) THE SABBATH enjoined; reverence to parents commanded; murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and covetousness forbidden.

E—*The Book of the Covenant* (III *C* γ above). (1) MONOLATRY (?) COMMANDED; (2) IMAGES FORBIDDEN; altars to be built as ordered, (9) FIRSTFRUITS DEMANDED; also FIRSTLINGS (cf. $13^{11ff.}$ J); the Sabbatical year, and (4) THE SABBATH COMMANDED; also (3) THE FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD, (5) THE FEAST OF *harvest* OR FIRSTFRUITS, and (6) THE FEAST OF INGATHERING; (7) BREAD WITH SACRIFICES TO BE LEAVENED; (8) THE *fat of* God's *feast* TO BE ALL CONSUMED: (10) SEETHING A KID IN ITS DAM'S MILK FORBIDDEN.

[It will be observed that, while the Decalogue (which see) contains both religious and moral laws, the other two concern only religion and the cultus, and are very closely parallel to one another].

E—The Book of *Judgments* (21–23). This code contains a comprehensive series of laws, civil and criminal, all penetrated by a high ethical and religious spirit. They seem drawn up, perhaps originally in sets of 5 or 10, for use by judges and magistrates, but display no very definite order of arrangement. The appeal lies *before God*, *i.e.* (presumably) at the sanctuary, cf. 18^{13-26}. With this code should be carefully compared Dt 12–26, which is based on it, and Lv 17–26, the Holiness Legislation, which presents many parallels.

The chapters in P relating to the **Tabernacle** (which see) remain to be considered. They are not without difficulty, for a close inspection discovers reasons for believing that they are not all from the same hand. The full proof of the analysis given above (end of III *B*) cannot be reproduced here, but the nature of the principal line of argument can be seen from the accompanying table, which gives the sections in the order of 35–40 (Heb. text)=H^2, while on either side are given references to 25–31 (Heb. text)=H^1, and 35–40 (Gr. text)=G. The letters indicate by their alphabetical order the order of sections in the text referred to; and those sections in H^1 which are judged later than P^g are marked by an *italic* capital. A moment's comparison of H^1 and H^2 shows large variations of order. But while the changes of order in A to K and M to U can be readily accounted for by the mere fact that H^2 records the fulfilment and H^1 the ordering, the passages *L*, *W*, *X*, *Z*, *A'*, *B'* seem so out of place where they are that it is necessary to suppose them to be later than the context that would otherwise have contained them. The golden altar of incense (*W*=m) is the most important case. (1) It is out of its natural place in H^1; (2) the term *the altar* in 27^{1-8}, and 100 times elsewhere in P^g and (early) P^s, would be ambiguous if the altar were one of two, and is replaced in 38^{1} etc. by a distinctive term, *the altar of burnt-offering*, and so constantly in the later strata of P^s; (3) the incense altar is not mentioned in G; (4) in Lv 10 and Nu 16 we only read of censers for incense, and *the*

H^1	The Dwelling.	H^2	G
A. 25^{1-9}	gifts asked	a. 35^{4-9}	*a.* 35^{4-8}§
...	workmen invited	b. 10-19	*b.* 9-19‡
...	gifts presented	c. 20-29	*c.* 20-29
C'. 31^{1-11}	Bezalel, etc.	d. 36^{2-7}	*d.* 36^{2-7}
...	gifts finished	e. 36^{2-7}	*e.* 36^{2-7}
E. 26^{1-14}	curtains	f. 8-19	*k.* $37^{1f.}$‡
F. 15-30	boards	g. 20-34	*s.* 38^{18-21}‡
G. 31f.	veil	h. 35f.	*l.* $37^{3f.}$
I. 36f.	screen	i. 37f.	*m.* 5f.
B. 25^{10-22}	ark	j. 37^{1-9}	*p.* 38^{1-8}§
C. 23-30	table	k. 10-16	*q.* 9-12‡
D. 31.40	candlestick	l. 17-24	*r.* 13-17‡
W. 30^{1-5}	incense altar	m. 25-28	...
X. 6-10	its use	...	...
A'. 22-33	anointing oil	n. 29a	*u.* 25a
B'. 34-38	incense	o. 29b	*v.* 25b
J. 27^{1-8}	brazen altar	p. 38^{1-7}	*t.* 22-24‡
Z. 30^{17-21}	laver	q. 8	*w.* 26
K. 27^{9-19}	court	r. 9-20	*n.* 37^{7-18}
L. 20f.	oil for light	...	...
...	summary of gifts	s. 21-31	*o.* 37^{19-21}
			y. 39^{1-10}
M. 28^{1-5}			*a'*. 39^{13}‡
N. 6-12	priests' dress, ephod	t. 39^{1-7}	*f.* 36^{8-14}§
O. 28^{13-29}	breastplate	u. 39^{8-21}	*g.* 36^{15-29}
P. 30	Urim and Thummim	...	...
Q. 31-35	robe	v. 22-26	*h.* 30-34
S. 39-43	coats, etc.	w. 27-29	*i.* 35-37
R. 36-38	plate on mitre	x. 30f.	*j.* 38-40
...	summary	y. 32-43	*z.* $39^{11ff.}$‡
			b'. 14-23‡
...	order to erect, etc.	z. 40^{1-15}	*c'*. 40^{1-13}‡
...	brief execution	*a'*. 16	*d'*. 14
...	erection of dwelling	*b'*. 17-19	*e'*. 15-17
H. 26^{33-35}	furniture placed	*c'*. 20-30	*f'*. 18-26§
...	use of laver	*d'*. 31f.	*x*. 38[27]
...	erection of court	*e'*. 33	*g'*. 40[27]§
T. 29^{1-35}	consecration of Aaron and sons	Lv 8	...
U. 36f.	do. of altar	...	...
V. 38-42	daily sacrifice	..	...
Y. 30^{11-16}	atonement money	...	...

§ Part omitted. ‡ With omissions and variations.

altar is still the only one Nu 16^{38}. It may be noted that 28^{41} 29^{21} are late P^s because Aaron's sons receive anointing, contrary to the clear intention of P^g in $29^{7.\ 29\,f.}$, and so Lv 8^{12} etc. A further comparison of H^2 with G shows a second set of variations. It is held by many that the facts require us to suppose that the Greek tr. of 35–40 was made before the Heb. text had reached its present symmetrical and complete form. By means of the above table the student can readily test for himself the value of this suggestion.

V. Concluding Survey.

i. *The History.*—If we accept the results of this article as in the main correct, we have passed far beyond the boundary of a merely negative criticism. It might be called destructive work to show by detailed proof that we have no contemporary account of the Exodus and subsequent events. But when it is shown that the present narrative is made up of three, so far contrasting with one another as to prove themselves much later in date than the period of which they treat, and the work, not merely of different individuals, but of different schools of historical writing; and when the further step is taken of disentangling, with infinite pains of many labourers in many lands, the several threads of narrative, and recombining them in something like their original connexions, the work of constructive criticism must be held to have been well begun. The summaries will have shown on how many important points the three witnesses are at one. For fuller particulars see Moses, Israel.

But, while it is well to remember that contrasts are not always, or even usually, contradictions, it would be idle to try to belittle the extent of the change of view brought about. We may rather think of it as the drawing back of a veil of illusion which God wisely allowed to hang over the past, until the growth of truer ideas about history both took away the veil, and made men ready to make use of the facts, whose real relations were at last adequately discovered.

If, therefore, it has to be admitted that the Priestly history (P) has no independent value as a witness to the Mosaic period, and that the materials in E, and to a less extent in J, require careful sifting before being regarded as correctly representing an age which to them was already a distant age, we may set against that two things. First, an exact view of that epoch might have disappointed us, even as a field sown with corn has little beauty till the seeds have shot up into blade and stem. Secondly, we have instead three views of it, so influenced by the ideas of the writers' own times and circumstances as to reveal to us various stages in the after-growth, which was itself entirely dependent on that germinal time. On the face of it, the book tells of the Exodus of Isr. from the bondage of Egypt; in the soul of it, it speaks, to those who have ears to hear, of successive stages in the great outgoing, at once more glorious and more perilous, of the family of man from the bondage of superstition, ignorance, and sin. The events are not merely typical of spiritual realities; but the very fact that they were thus and then recorded, shows the faith of the men of other days in the God whose hand they loved to trace at work in the world.

ii. *The Leading Ideas.*—The Heb. writers are not mere annalists, but interpreters of history. Hence their permanent value. They may be criticised as chroniclers of outward events, but they sought and found God everywhere, and they abide to hand on their secret. In all three documents we find the same fundamental verities emphasized, which give to Ex its real unity. J″ is the supreme God, ruling in Egypt, and master over nature. He is the faithful God who made His choice of the fathers of the Heb. race, and will not draw back. He is the God of grace, and so loves to give guidance, counsel, help, food, drink, every needed supply. He is the Holy One, and requires obedience to His will, and takes steps to make known that will. He is the Jealous God, and demands that due worship shall be paid to Him, and to none else. He is the Covenant God, and the two sides of the Covenant are: J″ Israel's God, Israel J″'s people.

But each document has its individual standpoint, even as each of the synoptic Gospels presents its own picture of the life of Christ. The oldest, J, perhaps coming from the priestly circle connected with Solomon's temple, is written from the point of view of a highminded patriot, keenly interested in every detail of national history, so quick to see God's hand in providence as to be able to make his story religious with but little use of the miraculous, alive to all the shades of character in men, as well as to the richness of the Divine nature, in which *mercy rejoiceth against judgment*, valuing highly the common ordinances of religion, and recognizing the great opportunities of the priestly office. The document E, probably rather later, and originally coming from Ephraimite circles, reflects the views of the prophets. This work (extending from Gn to Kings) is a series of biographical studies of great prophetic heroes, with Moses as the central figure. Much stress is laid on morality. The people sin, and need to be called to repentance. God is righteous, and His requirements must not be despised. The miraculous element is heightened, of course unconsciously. The moral of each incident must be made clear, the reality of the Divine government set unmistakably forth. Sad experience of the faults of the priesthood leads to the priests being either passed over, or introduced for blame. Worship is strictly secondary to morality.

The priestly writer (P) has lost all hold upon the simplicities and roughnesses of the childhood of the nation. So possessed is he with reverence for the religious institutions of the now ruined temple, that he not only has already in the vision-chamber of his imagination elaborated them to an ideal perfection which they never had, but this ideal picture must be, he has become persuaded, the reflection of what actually existed in the primitive, the perfect days. Each new improvement is unhesitatingly added with the same formula of Divine inspiration, the argument being: 'We see this to be best now, therefore it must have been ordered and done then.' Granted, then, that this stately centralized worship was the Divine purpose for the Second Temple, we may surely accept the unhistorical form of the priestly legislation as being probably the only means by which it could have been successfully introduced. After all, the full corn in the ear *is* present in the seed, if not in miniature, at least in promise and potency.

The Bk. of Ex is like a grand symphony, which was once thought to give harmony without discord, but is now being found, in virtue of elements which by themselves are sharply discordant, to sound forth a yet richer harmony.

Literature.—See **Hexateuch**. B. W. Bacon's *The Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, and his arts. in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* (1890–93) have been of great service to the writer; and Bruston's essay, *Les quatre sources des lois d'Exode*, is plausible and suggestive. We still wait for a good Eng. com. on Exodus.

G. Harford-Battersby.

EXORCISM, EXORCIST.—The word ἐξορκίζω is a later form of the classical ἐξορκόω. The latter is employed in Demosthenes in the sense of 'administer an oath to a person.' The verb ἐξορκίζω is used by the high priest to Jesus 'I *adjure* thee by

the living God . . .' (Mt 26[63]), and corresponds to the Heb. הַשְׁבִּיעַ. Cf. Gn 24[3] LXX. The subst. *exorcist* is only once employed in the NT, viz. in Ac 19[13]. The passage is instructive, since it shows that exorcism in those days was practised as a profession by strolling Jews. The method which they pursued we might infer from the example of Eleazar, to which Josephus specially refers in the passage cited from *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5, in the article DEMON, p. 593[a]. The constant and essential element in all these exorcisms was the power wielded by the *recitation of special names.* In the instance recorded in Ac 19 the Jewish exorcists had observed the expulsions which Paul had effectuated through the pronunciation of the name of Jesus, and endeavoured, with ludicrously disastrous results, to work the same cures by saying, 'We adjure you (the evil spirit) by Jesus whom Paul preacheth.'

An example of the ancient Babylonian incantations has already been given above, p. 591. Illustrations of Jewish spells may be found in the Talmud. (Respecting these, see Brecher, *Das Transcendentale, Magie u. magische Heilarten im Talmud,* Vienna, 1850, pp. 195–203.) That these were ultimately derived from Babylonian magic can admit of no doubt. Some Aramaic inscriptions, published in the *Zeitsch. für Assyriologie* (Dec. 1893 and April 1894) by Wohlstein, contain instructive examples of these exorcising formulæ. They are inscribed on the interior surfaces of some ancient bowls that were brought from Baghdad in 1886 and placed in the Royal Museum in Berlin. The mode of expression in all of them possesses broad features of resemblance, but special details vary in each case. For the names of the angels which are recited in each bowl differ widely owing to the prevailing belief, which finds expression in the Jewish *Kabbala,* that the ruling angels are constantly changing, and those must be addressed who hold the reins of power at that time and place.

The first of the series (No. 2422), from which we shall quote, was evidently employed to exorcise the demon of a man who was suffering from leprosy.

'In thy name I form a heavenly cure for Achdebuj the son of Achathabu of Daithos, by the compassion of Heaven. Amen, Amen, Selah. Bound, bound, bound shall be all the male spirits and female Astartes* evil spirits, powers of opposition . . . all Satans from West and East, North and South. Bound, bound shall be all evil sorcerers and all who practise violence; bound and sealed shall be all . . . and curses and conjurations. Bound be the angels of wrath, the angels of the house of assembly . . . the mighty princes, the hard princes, the diseases without number, the sufferings, the abscess, the scab, the mange, the skin-eruption, malignant discharge, suppurating wounds, the spirit of the burial-place, the spirit of the dead, the spirit of diseases; bound and sealed up shall ye all be from Achdebuj, son of Achathabu. Go and withdraw yourselves to the mountains and the heights and the unclean cattle [Mt 8[32], Mk 5[12], Lk 8[32]]. If ye come on the first of Nisan [regarded as specially favourable for overcoming demons], go away from Achdebuj, son of Achathabu, in the name of Gabriel, who is called Elpassas, and in the name of Michael, who is called (Demu)thja, and in the name of Elbenmez, and in the name of Elba'baz . . .' [The inscription concludes with the formula Amen, Amen, Selah, which occurs in other incantations, sometimes with the addition of Hallelujah].

The exorcism No. 2416, transcribed by Wohlstein, is much longer, and other names of angels compounded with the name of deity El (as Nuriel, Chathiel, Sesagbiel, etc.) are quoted, with Myta-

* פתיכרי דיכרי ואיסתרתא נוקבתא. Note that in פתיכרי 'spirits' we have practically the same word as the Syriac ܦܬܟܪܐ 'idol.' The word איסתרתא is the *Ištarâti* 'goddesses' of the Assyrian. Similarly, the Talmudic flame-*demon* Reŝpâ is the Phœnician flame-*deity Rešeph* or *Rešpu* (see Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Relig.-gesch.* p. 50; Wiedemann, *Relig. der alten Ægypter,* p. 83). Cf. Beelzebub of the NT. These are instructive examples of the wholesale conversion of heathen deities into demons.

tron at their head, making seven in all. The formula אהיה אשר אהיה (from Ex 3[14]), ישראל and all variations on the names of deity, as יה and יהו, and the Athbash equivalent סע פץ, are pressed into the service.

These spells are ascribed to the 7th cent. A.D., though written in unpointed Hebrew. The characters are of the more recent square type, and a much earlier date than the above is hardly probable. Why they were inscribed in bowls cannot be explained. The bowls were not intended to hold water, otherwise the distinctness of the lettering would have been obscured.

Demonology and exorcism played a conspicuous part in the literature and practice of the Christian Church throughout the earlier period and during the Middle Ages. In the time of our Lord exorcism was regarded as one of the signs of the Messiahship (Mt 12[23]). It was the universal belief of the early church Fathers that a disciple of Jesus was able to exercise power over demons by uttering His name (Tertullian, *Apologet.* 23; Origen, *cont. Cels.* vii. 334). Naturally, bishops and other ordained clergy were considered to possess this charisma. But there was a special class of individuals who were so endowed without any ecclesiastical conferment (*Apost. Constit.* viii. 26, ἐξορκιστὴς οὐ χειροτονεῖται). They received formal episcopal recognition, but not ordination, as *exorcistæ per gratiam.* Nevertheless, we also find another class who did receive episcopal ordination, and were called *exorcistæ per ordinem.* In the ceremony of baptism the catechumen of adult age was obliged solemnly and publicly to renounce the devil and his works, but in the case of children the assistance of the exorcist was necessary. By the priest and attendant exorcist the ceremony of *exsufflatio* and *insufflatio* was performed on the child, who was regarded as a child of the devil, as being subject to inherited guilt. *Sacerdos exsufflat ter in faciem catechumeni semel dicens: Exi ab eo (ea) spiritus immunde et da locum spiritui sancto Paracleto. Hic in modum crucis habet in faciem ipsius et dicat: Accipe spiritum bonum per istam insufflationem et Dei benedictionem. Pax tibi.* According to the practice of the Romish Church at the present day, the separate existence of the exorcist is not recognized, but every priest, on ordination, receives previous consecration to the lower orders, including that of exorcist. In Can. 9 of the Fourth Council of Carthage we read: Exorcista quum ordinatur accipiat de manu episcopi libellum in quo scripti sunt exorcismi. At the present time the ordaining bishop places a missal in the priest's hands with the words: Accipe et commenda memoriæ et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum [*i.e.* ἐνεργούμενον, *sc.* ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων].*

Among the Reformers opinion and practice were divided respecting exorcism. Luther and Melanchthon favoured it, but it was decisively rejected by Zwingli and Calvin (*Instit.* iv. c. 15. 19). For further details respecting ecclesiastical practice the reader is referred to the article '*Exorcismus*' in the 2nd ed. of Herzog-Plitt's *Realencyklopädie,* from which the facts in Christian ecclesiastical tradition

* The Ritual for exorcism may here be appended. The priest, having arrayed himself in the official robes, first sprinkles the demoniac with holy water and then recites the prayer of the litany of all saints, the paternoster, and Ps 53; after this the two *orationes,* in which he makes the sign of the cross over the demoniac, and commands the evil spirit to depart by the power of the mysteries of the incarnation, passion, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, the gift of the Holy Ghost, and Christ's return to judge the world. After this follows the reading of Jn 1, Mk 16[15-18], Lk 10[17-19]. Then the priest lays both hands on the head of the demoniac and says, *Ecce crucem Domini. Fugite, partes adversæ: vicit leo de tribu Juda.* After this comes the Oratio, with the special formula of exorcism, *Exorcizo te, immunde spiritus,* while the priest crosses the brow and breast of the demoniac three times in the name of the Trinity. If the evil spirit does not then depart, the service is begun anew.

have been derived. The article '*Kabbalah*,' in the same dictionary, may also be consulted with advantage. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

EXPECT, EXPECTATION.—Following Lat. *expectare*, 'expect' meant in older Eng. not only 'look forward to,' but also simply 'wait,' or 'await.' Thus in Douay Bible the comment on Sir 11[8] is 'Expect the end of another mans speach, before you begin to answer. Expect also if anie that is elder, or better able wil answer first.' Expect is used in this way in Job 32[4]m., 2 Mac 9[25], and He 10[13] 'From henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.' The Gr. of last passage is *ἐκδέχομαι*, elsewhere in NT tr[d] 'wait for' (Jn 5[3], RV omits, Ac 17[16], Ja 5[7]), 'tarry for' (1 Co 11[33], RV 'wait for'), 'look for' (1 Co 16[11] RV 'expect,' He 11[10]). Cf. Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, i. (Selby's ed. p. 14, l. 35), 'The most active or busy man that hath been or can be, hath, no question, many vacant times of leisure, while he expecteth the tides and returns of business.'

Expectation is used throughout in the sense of looking forward to with hope. Thus even in Ps 62[5] 'My soul, wait* thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him,' the Heb. is *tiḳwah* (תִּקְוָה), similarly tr[d] in Ps 9[18] and in Pr, but most often tr[d] 'hope,' and the meaning is 'that which I hope for, my deliverance.' In Ro 8[19], Ph 1[20] 'earnest expectation' is an effort to bring out the full force of the Gr. word *ἀποκαραδοκία*, which is found nowhere else. It is formed from *δοκέω* in the sense of 'watch,' *κάρα*, the 'head,' and *ἀπό*, 'from,' so that it means (Sanday-Headlam) 'awaiting with outstretched head,' the prep. denoting 'diversion from other things and concentration on a single object.' The Vulg. has simply *expectatio*, whence Rhemish 'expectation.' Wyc. has 'abiding.' But in Ro 8[19] Tind. gives 'fervent desire,' and is generally followed (Cov. 'fervent longing'). 'Earnest expectation' is the Bishops' translation in both places.

J. HASTINGS.

EXPEDIENT is never found in AV in the sense of 'expeditious,' as so often in Shakespeare. On the other hand, it never means merely 'convenient' (opposed to what is rigidly right), as in modern English. The Greek is always *συμφέρει*, or (2 Co 12[1]) *συμφέρον* (='it is profitable,' as AV and RV elsewhere tr. the word, except in Mt 18[6] AV 'it were better,' and 19[10] AV 'it is not good,' RV 'it is not expedient'). So even Caiaphas (Jn 11[50] 'it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people') does not openly prefer, as a modern politician, the convenient to the just. His words are like those of Jeremiah (26[14] Cov.), 'Now as for me: I am in your handes, do with me as ye thinke expedient and good,' though his spirit is the opposite. J. HASTINGS.

EXPERIENCE, which is the result of 'experiment,' was sometimes used for the experiment itself, as Baker, *Jewell of Health*, 112[a] 'The Aucthour . . . hath both seen and done many experiences worthy memorie.' This is no doubt the meaning in Gn 30[27], where Laban says to Jacob, 'I have learned by experience that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.' It is the Douay translation. The Geneva has 'perceived,' but in marg. 'tried by experience.'

The Heb. (נִחַשְׁתִּי) means to observe omens, whence RV 'I have divined.' It is used of Joseph's divining by means of a cup (Gn 44[5. 15], with notes by Del. Dillm. Wade) and elsewhere. The ptcp. is found Dt 18[10] 'a diviner,' where see Driver's note.

J. HASTINGS.

* There is no suggested connexion between 'wait' and 'expectation,' as the Heb. for 'wait' is 'be silent unto God,' as RVm (Cheyne, 'be simply resigned to God').

EXPERIMENT is narrower and more concrete now than formerly. Occurring in AV in 2 Co 9[13] only, 'Whiles by the experiment of this ministration they glorify God,' its meaning is 'test,' 'proof,' as Wither (1618), *Motto, Nec Careo*, 533—

'I want not much experiment to show
That all is good God pleaseth to bestow.'

The Gr. is *δοκιμή* (tr[d] 'experience' in Ro 5[4] AV, but RV 'probation'). 'Experiment' is the Geneva word; RV 'seeing that through the proving of you by this ministration they glorify God,' which is a return to Wyclif, 'bi the preuynge of this mynysterie.' J. HASTINGS.

EXPIATION.—See ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION.

EXPOSURE.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

EXPRESS.—Only He 1[3] 'the express image of his person' (*χαρακτήρ*, RV 'the very image,' RVm 'the impress'); and Wis 14[17] 'they . . . made an express image of a king' (*ἐμφανῆ εἰκόνα*, RV 'a visible image'). On *χαρακτήρ* see Westcott, *in loc.* The tr. of RV is after Tind.; the Geneva ('ingraved forme') tries to bring out the sense of the Gr. word, which is properly what stands engraven on any object, as a seal (Davidson), and this is the meaning of AV 'express image'; cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 299, 'What a piece of work is a man! . . . in form and moving, how express and admirable,' which Aldis Wright explains thus: 'Exact, fitted to its purpose, as the seal fits the stamp.' *Exprimere* (ptcp. *expressus*) has the meaning among others of 'copy,' 'pourtray,' and from this the Eng. word was used before 1611 in the sense of 'exactly pourtrayed.' Thus Sir T. More, (1513) *Rich. III.* 'This is ye fathers own figure . . . ye playne expresse lykenes of ye noble Duke.'

J. HASTINGS.

EXQUISITE.—From Lat. *exquisitus*, ptcp. of *exquirere*, to search out, 'exquisite' is properly, and was originally, that which is elaborately devised, 'ingenious,' and its application might be good or bad. In the *Areopagitica* (Hales' ed. p. 16) Milton says Mr. Selden's volume 'proves . . . by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea, errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest.' Milton even uses the word *actively* of persons in *Comus*, 359,

'Peace, brother, be not over-exquisite
To cast the fashion of uncertain evils,'

as other writers had done before him. Exquisite occurs Sir 18[29] 'They . . . poured forth e. parables' (*παροιμίας ἀκριβεῖς*, RV 'apt proverbs'), and 19[25] 'There is an e. subtilty, and the same is unjust' (so RV, Gr. *πανουργία ἀκριβής*). J. HASTINGS.

EXTINCT.—Extinct (Lat. *extinctus*, ptcp. of *extinguere*, to extinguish) now only expresses a state, 'active and extinct volcanoes'; 'the volcano is extinct.' But formerly it expressed the action which produces the state, and so Job 17[1] 'my days are extinct' (יִנְעָכוּ), and Is 43[17] 'they are extinct, they are quenched as tow' (יִכְבּוּ). Cf. Shaks. *Rich. II.* I. iii. 222—

'My oil-dried lamp and time-bewasted light
Shall be extinct with age and endless night.'

'Extinguished' occurs, however, in Wis 2[3].

In the 16th cent. a verb 'to extinct' was coined, of which the past ptcp. was sometimes 'extincted' and sometimes 'extinct.' It is thus uncertain whether 'extinct' as ptcp. belongs to 'extinguish' or to this verb. Shaks. uses 'extinct' twice, 'extincted' once (*Oth.* II. i. 81, 'Give renew'd fire to our extincted spirits!'), but never 'extinguished.' He uses the verb 'extinguish' only once. J. HASTINGS.

EXTREME is used as an adv. in Sir 42[8] 'the

extreme aged' (ἐσχατόγηρος). So Bacon, *Essays* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 156), 'Acting in Song, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme Good Grace'; and p. 178, 'all Deformed Persons are extreme bold'; and again in *Advance. of Learning*, II. xxiii. 38, 'it [is] extreme hard to play an after game of reputation.'

J. HASTINGS.

EYE.—The verb occurs twice: **1.** Gn 29^{17} 'Leah was tender eyed' (עֵינֵי לֵאָה רַכּוֹת), RV 'L.'s eyes were tender'). Whether 'tender' is appreciatory or depreciatory is disputed. Modern commentators usually say depreciatory, after LXX (ἀσθενεῖς) and Peshiṭta. But others, the tender brightness of a child, after Onk. and Sa'adya, and quoting Gn 33^{13} 'My lord knoweth that the children are tender' (same Heb.). See Spurrell, *in loc.*; also Otts, *The Fifth Gospel*, p. 41 f.; and *Expos. Times*, v. 97. The Vulg. *lippis oculis*, 'blear-eyed,' is certainly wrong. **2.** 1 S 18^{9} 'And Saul eyed David from that day and forward' (וַיְהִי עֹיֵן, *Kĕrê* עַיִן, a denom. from עַיִן to eye). For the construction and Heb. parallels, see Driver, *in loc.* The meaning is to look on with envy (cf. *invidia*; and see the 'Evil Eye' under art. ENVY, and Trench, *NT Synonyms*, p. 106 f.), but there is no other example in English of the verb 'eye' in the sense of 'envy.'

J. HASTINGS.

EYE (עַיִן).—The eyes of Orientals are usually well formed, large, and lustrous, but deficient in that play of expression which accompanies thought, humour, and fancy.

As the chief of the organs of sense, the eye had a leading place in the *lex talionis*, 'eye for eye' (Ex 21^{24}). To put out the eyes of an enemy or prisoner was like breaking the teeth of a captured wild animal, the removal of the chief power to injure. It was also a great degradation (Jg 16^{21}, 1 S 11^{2}, 2 K 25^{7}). Among the begging classes of Palestine, blindness, next to the revolting spectacle of leprosy, makes the strongest claim upon the charity of the benevolent. Blind men are sometimes known to decline the offer of the medical missionary, as restored sight would mean a loss of privilege (see **Blindness** under MEDICINE).

The fig. references to the eye are many and varied. As the chief means of contact with the outer world, the eye is the source of pleasurable sensations and the principal avenue of temptation (Gn 3^{6}, Pr 27^{20}, Ezk 24^{21}, 1 Jn 2^{16}). Knowledge is the opening of the eyes (Gn 3^{7}, Ps 119^{18}, Eph 1^{18}).

The prophet was first called the 'seer' (רֹאֶה) 1 S 9^{9}, and his message a 'vision' (חָזוֹן) Is 1^{1}, Ezk 7^{26} etc. In connexion with the feelings, sorrow is associated with a consumed or wasted eye (Ps 6^{7}), and satisfaction in worldly prosperity with an eye standing out with fatness (Ps 73^{7}).

Tear-bottles are often found in the ancient tombs, as affecting tokens of regret and grief. This memorial act may be referred to in Ps 56^{8} 'Put thou my tears into thy bottle.' (See BOTTLE.) To have the eyes delivered from tears takes rank with the deliverance of the soul from death and the feet from falling (Ps 116^{8}); to have all tears wiped from the eyes (Rev 21^{4}), is part of the riches in glory.

As a judge of what is pleasant or offensive, the eye indicates an intention of favour or hostility. Thus in an Arabic salutation, in answer to the opening inquiry as to health, the usual reply is, 'Well, by your looking upon me' (favour of your eye), and the conventional parry of politeness is to say, 'By God's looking upon you.' A similar thought of the eye's protective favour lies in the words *providence, episcopos, overseer*. On the other hand, there is the widespread and deeply-rooted superstition about the power of the evil-eye, and one of the chief uses of the amulet (wh. see) is to obtain protection against it.

The **Eyelids** (עַפְעַפִּים) are mentioned as a means of seduction employed by the 'evil woman' (Pr 6^{25}), and not infrequently appear in poetical language as a synonym for, or parallel with, the eyes (Job 16^{16}, Jer 9^{18}, Ps 11^{4} 132^{4}, Pr 6^{4} 30^{13}). By a beautiful metaphor in Job 3^{9} 41^{18} the first rays of dawn are called the 'eyelids of the morning.'

Eye-paint (פּוּךְ, Arab. *kuḥl*; cf. פָּחַל Ezk 23^{40}) was a paste made of antimony powder, giving a brown-black burnished stain to the eyelashes. The practice which is depicted on the monuments still continues in Egypt (see Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*^{5} i. 45 f.). The paint is kept in a small horn or ornamental metal vase with a thin rod for applying it. It makes the eyes look larger and more lustrous (2 K 9^{30}, Jer 4^{30}, Ezk 23^{40}). One of Job's daughters was called *Keren-happûkh*, 'horn of eye-paint' (Job 42^{14}).

HORN FOR EYE-PAINT.

The **Eye-salve** (κολλούριον, *collyrium*) of Rev 3^{18} was a preparation used for healing or strengthening the eye (cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 30; Epict. *Diss.* ii. 21. 20, iii. 21. 21; Cels. vi. 6. 7). (See MEDICINE.)

G. M. MACKIE.

EYESERVICE.—This is a literal tr. in Eph 6^{6}, Col 3^{22} of the Greek ὀφθαλμοδουλεία, and seems to have been coined by Tindale, although he uses it only in Col, in Eph giving 'service in the eye sight.' The word was at once adopted into the language, Crowley (1550), *Last Trump*, 163, having 'Se thou serue him . . . not wyth eye-seruice fainedly.' The AV of 1611 is, however, the first Version that has eye service in Eph (it writes two separate words as all the Versions do in Col). The Greek word is found nowhere else: 'This happy expression,' says Lightfoot, 'would seem to be the apostle's own coinage.'

J. HASTINGS.

EZBAI (עֶזְבַּי). — The father of Naarai, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{37}). The parallel passage 2 S 23^{35} reads 'Paarai the Arbite' (פַּעֲרַי הָאַרְבִּי) for 'Naarai the son of Ezbai' (נַעֲרַי בֶּן־אוֹבַי). It is impossible to decide with any confidence between the rival readings. (See Kittel's note on 1 Ch 11^{37} in Haupt's *Sacred Bks. of OT*).

J. A. SELBIE.

EZBON (אֶצְבֹן, אֶצְבוֹן).—**1.** Eponym of a Gadite family (Gn 46^{16}), called in Nu 26^{16} **Ozni** (which see). **2.** A grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch 7^{7}). See GENEALOGY.

EZEKIAS. — **1.** (A Ἐζεκίας, B Ἐζεΐας, AV **Ezechias**) 1 Es 9^{14} = JAHZEIAH, Ezr 10^{15}. **2.** (Ἐζεκίας, AV **Ezecias**) 1 Es 9^{43}.—Called HILKIAH, Neh 8^{4}.

EZEKIEL (Vulg. *Ezechiel*, LXX Ἰεζεκιήλ, Heb. יְחֶזְקֵאל 'God is strong,' or 'God strengthens'), the son of Buzi, was one of the temple priests who shared the exile of Jehoiachin in B.C. 597 (Ezk 1$^{2, 3}$, cf. 2 K 24$^{14-16}$). His work as a prophet commenced in the fifth year of his banishment (1^{2}), and extended over a period of not less than 22 years (592–570); the latest date in the book being the 'seven and twentieth year' of his sojourn in Babylonia (29^{17}). This part of his life was spent (so far as appears) in a Jewish settlement at Tel-Abib (1^{1} 3^{15}), an unknown place near the 'river Chebar' (כְּבָר), which was probably a canal or a tributary of the Euphrates in the vicinity of Babylon,—certainly not the Ḫaboras (חָבוֹר 2 K 17^{6}) in N. Mesopotamia. The life of this colony of expatriated Jews is but dimly reflected in the pages of

Ezk; the picture is partly supplemented by the 29th ch. of Jer. Those carried captive were the *élite* of the nation; and they seem to have lived in tolerably easy circumstances, enjoying a large measure of freedom and self-government, forming a little world of their own, and cherishing a passionate interest in the concerns of their native land. They kept up by some means an active intercourse with Jerus.; and, in spite of intense mutual antipathy between them and the ruling classes at home, they never ceased to regard themselves as part and parcel of the Heb. nation, confidently expecting that some great political upheaval would speedily restore them to their old place at the head of the state. This delusion was fostered by the rise of prophets of the same type as Jeremiah's opponents in Jerus.,—an event which was hailed with immense satisfaction, not unmixed with surprise, by the exiled community (Jer 29^{15}). The false patriotism thus engendered threatened to bring down the heavy arm of Nebuchadnezzar on the captives, and Jer., though his sympathies were with the patrician exiles rather than with the people left in the land (Jer 24^{1-8}), endeavoured to allay the dangerous political excitement which blinded them to their true position. Altogether, it would seem that the main currents of feeling and opinion prevalent in Pal. were reproduced with remarkable fidelity in the community where E. was destined to labour.

Although little is known of E.'s previous life, it cannot be doubted that he found himself from the first in an uncongenial social atmosphere. In spite of the statement of Jos. (*Ant.* X. vi. 3, παῖς ὤν), he was probably no longer a young man when deported to Babylon. The meaning of 'the 30th year' in ch. 1^{1} is too obscure to throw light on the matter, but his familiarity with the technical details of the temple and its ritual seems to show that he had officiated for a considerable time in the national sanctuary. The numerous points of contact between him and Jer. would indicate that he had come early under the influence of that great prophet, and from the whole trend of his thinking it seems probable that he had belonged to the reforming party in the state, which sought to purify the national religion in accordance with the requirements of the Deuteronomic legislation. That party had been powerless since the death of Josiah, and it is reasonable to suppose that E.'s stern and even embittered attitude towards the people was in part the fruit of the years of reaction and disappointment spent under the reign of Jehoiakim. As we have seen, there was nothing in the state of mind of his fellow-exiles to draw him into sympathy with them, although he certainly agreed with Jer. in regarding them as superior to those left behind (11^{14-21}). Accordingly, at the time of his consecration as a prophet, he appears with his convictions matured as to the character of his countrymen and the reception he may expect at their hands (2. 3 *pass.*). They are, to use one of his stereotyped phrases, a 'rebellious house,' brazen-faced and stiff-hearted children, a people that refuse to hear J", separated from Him by a moral and spiritual barrier more formidable than that caused by a strange language ($2^{3.4}$ 3^{5-7}). Although these facts are expressed in the form of divine communications to the prophet, they are not to be regarded as a new revelation of the disposition of his compatriots; they are rather the settled convictions of his life assuming definite shape in the light of his commission to speak the word of the Lord. They show, at all events, how fully he recognized the depth of the antagonism that prevailed between the prophetic conception of religion and the impulses that swayed the national mind both in Judæa and in Babylonia.

The actual circumstances of E.'s prophetic career are greatly obscured for us by the difficulty we have in separating what is real from what is merely imagined, in the representation given by the book. That everything did not happen literally as it is recorded, is evident enough from several indications. The symbolic actions described as performed by the prophet are in some instances incapable of a literal acceptation (see, *e.g.* $4^{5ff.}$ $5^{1ff.}$ 12^{18} etc.); yet there is no external criterion by which these can be distinguished from others which are possible. A similar uncertainty hangs over the events that are mentioned. These are never introduced for their own sake, but only as the setting of some idea which the writer wishes to enforce, and it is frequently impossible to determine how far the allusions correspond with actual experiences. In such incidents as the death of the prophet's wife ($24^{15ff.}$) or the opening of his mouth in the presence of 'the fugitive' (24^{27} 33^{22}), fact and symbolism seem to be so intimately blended that we cannot tell where the one ends and the other begins. The book, in short, is not an autobiography, but a systematic exposition of prophetic ideas, and any attempt to extract historical information from it has to be made with a certain measure of caution. At the same time, it is quite incredible that the whole representation should be nothing but an elaborate fiction, without any basis in fact. There can be no reasonable doubt that E. really exercised an oral public ministry amongst his fellow-captives, or that its main outlines may be gathered from the thin thread of narrative that runs through the book. His work was divided into two sharply contrasted periods by the overthrow of the Jewish state in the year 586; or, to speak more accurately, the first period ends with the commencement of the siege of Jerus. (Jan. 587, cf. 24^{1}), and the second opens with the reception in Babylon of the tidings of its fall (Jan. 585, cf. 33^{21}).* During the interval of two years, his public activity appears to have been suspended. Throughout the first period the almost exclusive theme of his preaching was the approaching destruction of Jerus., and the lessons of that event for the nation. His reiterated predictions of that inconceivable calamity made no impression on the mind of the exiles, and the prophet felt his energies cramped and paralyzed by the stolid incredulity which his message encountered. It is probable, however, that from the outset his character commanded respect; we read of visits paid to him in his own house by the 'elders' to inquire the word of the Lord (8^{1} 14^{1} 20^{1}), and there is no reason to dismiss these as dramatic inventions. Still less can we doubt the popularity of his public orations; for the picture of the people beguiling the tedium of their exile by listening to his fervid eloquence (33^{30-32}) is one of the notices which convey an irresistible impression of historical reality. In the second part of his career the tension between him and his hearers is greatly relaxed. The people were crushed by the terrible disaster that had befallen their nation, and the immediate effect was a feeling of despair expressed in such woeful utterances as those of 33^{10} 37^{11}. The prophet on his part adopts a more conciliatory attitude towards them, as he addresses himself to the task of setting forth the hopes and ideals on which the formation of a new Israel depended. The circle of his immediate auditors was probably widened at this time by the arrival of the new bands of captives from Judæa, amongst whom there must have been

* The MT gives as the date 'the 12th year' of Jehoiachin's captivity, *i.e.* 584. But it is hardly credible that the transmission of the news should have been delayed so long as 18 months, and hence the reading '11th year' found in the Syr. and some Heb. MSS is generally regarded as correct.

at least a few adherents of Jer., who would naturally rally round E. as the representative of their master's teaching. It has even been surmised that it was through this channel that E. first became acquainted with the writings of Jer., which have left so deep a mark on his thinking. This is unlikely, because it is hardly credible that he should have recast the substance of his oral prophecies under the literary influence of another prophet; and, moreover, he must have had abundant opportunity of knowing Jeremiah's teaching before his own captivity. But it must be admitted that with regard to all that took place after the fall of the city we are left almost entirely in the dark. There is but one allusion in the book to the relations between the earlier exiles and the later ($14^{22f.}$); and if it is at all coloured by the prophet's actual impressions after the event, it certainly does not encourage the notion that he found the new-comers hopeful material to work upon. It was probably not very long after the commencement of the second phase of his work that E. prepared the first written edition of his prophecies (see below). There is an interval of about 13 years (584–572) from which no prophecy is dated. What his occupations were during this period is of course unknown, but there are some signs that chs. 1–39 had been edited practically in their present form before the composition of 40–48. This last section may reveal the direction in which the prophet's thoughts had been moving in those years; and a still later oracle ($29^{17ff.}$) shows that he did not cease to be a close observer of public events.

While the character of E.'s ministry does not differ essentially from that of his predecessors, it presents some exceptional features of a very instructive kind. The mere fact of his being an exile accounts for much that is peculiar in his method of working and his conception of his office. To say that he was no prophet at all, but merely a pastor exercising the cure of souls amongst those who came under his personal influence, is an exaggeration, but it is the exaggeration of a truth. His insistence on the independence of the individual soul before God (18. $33^{12ff.}$), and his comparison of himself to a watchman responsible for each person who perishes through not being warned of his danger ($3^{17ff.}$ $33^{1ff.}$), suggest that the care of the individual must have occupied a larger place in his work than was the case with the pre-exilic prophets. At a time when the unity of the nation was broken up, and the new kingdom of God had to be born in the hearts of those who embraced the hope set before them by the prophets, it was inevitable that a religious teacher should devote much of his attention to the conversion and spiritual direction of individuals. This, however, is a side of E.'s activity which does not directly come to light in the book; there are more subtle indications of the effect which his position as an exile had on his prophetic mission. It was by no means a matter of course, according to the ideas of the age, that prophecy could be transplanted to a foreign soil, and in reality it could not flourish there without losing some of its most characteristic functions. The older prophets had all more or less been religious politicians, in touch with the pulsations of a vigorous popular life, and bringing the word of God to bear directly on those national problems which arose out of the relation between J″ and the community of Israel. E.'s audience, on the other hand, was but a dismembered limb of the body politic; his political interests were remote and secondary, and the whole cast of his thinking betrays a sense of isolation from the main current of national life. This appears most clearly in his habit of treating the exiles as representatives of the larger Israel, with whose destinies he never ceased to concern himself. From the first he recognized that his mission had a double aspect: on the one hand he was sent to 'them of the Captivity'; and on the other hand he was a prophet to the whole house of Israel (cf. 3^{11} with 2^3 3^4). Thus he had two audiences, one real and present and the other ideal; and for the most part they are identified to such a degree that in addressing the exiles or their elders he fancies himself speaking to the idealized nation, whose members were then scattered far and wide over the world. It is an extension of the same tendency when he delivers imaginary discourses to those left in the land, or apostrophizes the mountains of Israel (6. 36), or exhibits the whole religious history of the people in elaborate allegories (16. 23), or even calls up from the past the vanished cities of Samaria and Sodom, and treats them as if they had a present existence, and a real interest in the unfolding of the divine purpose ($16^{46ff.}$ $23^{36ff.}$). It is obvious that oratory of this description comes very near being independent of an audience altogether; and some perception of this fact is perhaps revealed by the too facile appreciation which it received from the immediate hearers. And although E. never abandoned the practice of public speaking, it is undoubtedly the case that in his hands prophecy became far more of a literary occupation than it had hitherto been. A perusal of the book shows that it has been carefully planned with an eye to literary effect; and if the prophet had simply worked out his conceptions in the solitude of his chamber, the result would hardly have differed much from what we actually find. More than any of his predecessors he lives in a world of abstract ideas, which are more vividly real to his imagination than the circumstances of his everyday life; though now and then an echo from the outer world breaks in to remind us that after all he was no mere recluse, but a man of large experience, keenly observant of the life of his time. Several things, indeed, go to show that his intellectual interests reached far beyond the Jewish world in which he lived. His long and accurate enumeration of the natural and industrial products of different countries (27), exhibits a knowledge of contemporary commerce which is surprising in a Heb. prophet. It is probable also that he had gained some new impressions from his sojourn amidst the monuments of a strange civilization in the Euphrates valley. The conception of the cherubim in chs. 1. 10 appears to borrow some of its features from the composite animal figures of Babylonian art; and in other parts of the book some striking phraseological coincidences have been thought to suggest a direct influence of the cuneiform inscriptions (Müller, p. 56 ff.).

There is, however, another feature of E.'s work which cannot be wholly explained by the novelty of his position, and has sometimes been regarded as the result of abnormal physical states to which the prophet was subject. Amongst the most perplexing references in the book are those to a spell of 'dumbness,' which lay upon him from near the commencement of his ministry till the announcement of the fall of Jerus. (cf. $3^{26f.}$ 24^{27} 33^{22}). Closely akin to this is the representation of his being bound with ropes (3^{25}), and lying immovable for months together on one side or the other for a sign to the house of Israel, although at the same time performing actions which formed a necessary part of the sign ($4^{4ff.}$) There seems no strong reason why all these descriptions should not be treated as of a piece with the general symbolism which runs through the book. But to some recent interpreters they have suggested the theory that

throughout the earlier part of his ministry E. laboured under nervous diseases of the most distressing kind, and utilized his symptoms as a means of impressing certain truths on the minds of his fellow-exiles. This view was first expounded, with great learning and ingenuity, by Klostermann, who found in E.'s condition all the marks of catalepsy, hemiplegia, alalia, hallucination, and so forth. It is difficult to believe that he has advanced the cause of sober and scientific interpretation of Scripture. The truth would seem to lie rather with those writers who regard these representations as imaginative symbols, interesting as illustrations of the prophet's mode of thought, but not answering to anything external in his life. The 'dumbness' is but a strong figure for the sense of restraint and defeat caused by the incredulity of the people, lasting till the prophet's authority was established by the fulfilment of his main prediction (cf. 29^{21}). So the actions of ch. 4 symbolize partly the siege of Jerus., and partly the captivity of the two branches of the house of Israel; and their meaning as signs is inconsistent with the supposition that they were exhibitions of a bodily malady, unless we are to assume a miracle, to which the history of OT prophecy furnishes no parallel. It is, of course, equally inconceivable that the signs should have been enacted in pantomime, either in presence of the people or in solitude; and the same remark applies to many others of the symbolic actions which are described. Except in so far as the suggestions may have originated in an ecstatic state of mind, they do not appear to differ from the ordinary operations of the fancy in bodying forth mental processes by means of sensible imagery.

The Book of Ezekiel (save for a somewhat corrupt text) exists in the form in which it left the hands of its author, differing in this respect from the two other great prophetical collections, which took shape through the labours of successive editors. Neither the unity nor the authenticity of Ezekiel has been questioned by more than a very small minority of scholars.* Not only does it bear the stamp of a single mind in its phraseology, its imagery, and its mode of thought, but it is arranged on a plan so perspicuous and so comprehensive that the evidence of literary design in the composition becomes altogether irresistible. Critics are divided as to the best principle of classification, some preferring a twofold, others a threefold or even a fourfold division; but all are agreed that the work falls into certain large sections intended to represent successive phases of Ezekiel's ministry. Within the general scheme the order is on the whole chronological, although it may be doubted how far the chronology is to be taken literally, or how far it is meant to separate different groups of oracles.

CONTENTS.—i. The first division (chs. 1–24) embraces about a half of the book, and corresponds to the first period of E.'s work, consisting almost exclusively of prophecies of judgment, such as he uttered before the destruction of Jerusalem. These have no doubt been considerably altered and amplified in the course of writing, and it is possible that here and there traces of a later point of view may be apparent. Minor sections are partly suggested by the dates prefixed to certain chapters (see 8^1 20^1); in other cases they can be recognized by internal indications. **1.** Chs. 1–3 describe the ecstatic experiences by which the prophet was prepared for his work, including, *first*, an elaborate description of the divine chariot which occupies so prominent a place in the book (cf. 3^{23} 8^4 43^3), and the glory of Him who sat on it (ch. 1); *second*, his commission to declare the word of God to Israel, his inspiration being set forth under the symbol of eating the roll of a book (chs. 2^1–3^{15}); *third* (after an interval of 7 days), a more precise definition of his office as that of a watchman to warn every individual of his danger ($3^{16\text{-}21}$); *lastly*, a second ecstasy, in which he receives the command to shut himself up within his house, and to appear in public only when charged with a special message to the people ($3^{22\text{-}27}$). It has been supposed that this last passage refers to a time considerably later than the inaugural vision, and marks the close of a tentative phase of the prophet's work, in which he sought to exercise the function of a public censor, until compelled to desist by the obstinate resistance of the community. It is more probable, however, that the verses merely express on its negative side the same conception of his office as is given in vv.$^{16\text{-}21}$; the prophet is a watchman, because the function of a 'reprover' is denied to him from the outset by his peculiar situation. **2.** In chs. 4–7 the fate of the city and nation is set forth, first, dramatically in a complicated series of symbols (4^1–5^4), then in three impassioned orations addressed to the city ($5^{5\text{ff.}}$), the land (6), and the people (7). In the signs of ch. 4 the prophet appears to represent simultaneously two facts—the siege of Jerus. and the captivity of the two branches of the Heb. nation. The time of Judah's exile is fixed as 40 years,—a round number for the period of Chaldæan supremacy,—that of N. Israel at 390 years in the MT, but 190 according to the LXX. Since the destruction of Samaria preceded that of Jerus. roughly speaking by a cent. and a half, and since both captivities terminate simultaneously, the latter figure must be accepted as the orig. reading. **3.** The next group of prophecies (chs. 8–11) is an account of a vision of the destruction of Jerus., which is important for the glimpses it gives into the state of things in the city at that time. After reciting the abominations practised in the temple (8), it describes, under symbols, the slaughter of the people (9), and the burning of the city (10), and ends with the departure of the Lord from the sanctuary, in token that city and temple were abandoned to their fate (11). The visionary form in which these truths are clothed is remarkable; the prophet falls into a trance in presence of the elders of Judah, the scenes mentioned pass before his inward eye, and he awakes with a special message of consolation to the exiles, who felt keenly the reproach of being cast out from J″'s heritage. **4.** A new section begins with ch. 12, and extends apparently to the end of ch. 19. The fundamental theme is still the same, but the treatment of it is more discursive and theological. The author appears to have in view various false ideals to which the people clung, and which he seeks to demolish as obstacles to the reception of his message. Thus in $12^{1\text{-}20}$ 17. 19 he announces the fate of the king (Zedekiah), on whom the people naturally looked as the anointed of J″ (cf. La 4^{20}), but who, by his perfidy to the king of Babylon (17), had brought ruin on himself and his kingdom. A certain sympathy with the misfortunes of the royal house is manifested by the beautiful dirge of ch. 19. Another section (12^{21}–14^{11}) deals with the wrong use of prophecy, and the existence of false prophets, as causes of the popular unbelief. Ch. 15 (Israel a charred and worthless vine branch) strikes a blow at the false patriotism which sustained the people's pride under their accumulated national calamities, and ch. 16 exhibits in an allegory the true character of Jerus. as the ungrateful and unfaithful spouse of J″. Ch. 18 asserts the absolute righteousness of God in His dealings with individual men, and thus indirectly assails the prevalent doctrine of the solidarity of the nation, which had begotten a cynical temper of mind expressed by the proverb: 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are blunted' (v.^{2}). But it must be admitted that this group of discourses hardly differs in general character from that which follows. **5.** The last division (chs. 20–24) contains three oracles (20. 22. 23) of the nature of formal arraignments of the people of Israel, in which the moral necessity of its destruction is shown from its past history and its present condition. The keynote of ch. 20 is found in the remarkable purpose attributed to the people, that they would assimilate themselves to the heathen, worshipping wood and stone (v.^{32}). It is impossible to say whether this refers to a particular current of opinion beginning to prevail among the exiles, or whether it is an expression of the spirit manifested by the nation at all times of its history. In either case the argument of the chapter is directed to show that the destinies of Israel had been determined by a power higher than its own natural proclivities,—namely, J″'s regard for the glory of His name,—and that that power would yet break the idolatrous tendencies of the nation, and make Israel to be in fact, as it was in name, the people of J″. Ch. 22 is an enumeration of the religious and social corruptions prevalent in Jerus., now on the eve of its destruction; ch. 23 is an allegory, in the manner of ch. 16, exhibiting the immoralities of the two profligate sisters, **Ohola** (Samaria) and **Oholibah** (Jerus.). The two remaining discourses were composed under the immediate influence of contemporary events. Ch. 21 (containing the wild 'song of the sword,' vv.$^{14\text{-}21}$ [EV $^{9\text{-}17}$]) refers to the march of Nebuchadnezzar's army against Jerus. Ch. 24 records the dramatic close of the first period of E.'s activity. On the very day when the Chaldæans invested Jerus. he uttered a final oracle announcing its fate. The death of the prophet's wife on the evening of the same day becomes the occasion of a symbol of the despair and bewilderment that will seize on the exiles when they receive tidings of the fall of the city.

ii. The next eight chapters (25–32) consist of prophecies against the foreign nations (seven in number) lying immediately round the land of Canaan; viz. Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines (25), Tyre (26–28^{19}), Sidon ($28^{20\text{-}26}$), and Egypt (29–32)

* The chief exceptions are Zunz, who first (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, 1832) assigned the book to the early Pers. period, and afterwards (*ZDMG* xxvii. 676 ff.) brought it down to the years 440–400 (the earlier view, however, is allowed to stand in the posthumous ed. of the *Vorträge*, 1892); Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 23), who held a similar view; and Seinecke (*Gesch. d. V. Israel*, i. p. 138, 1876), who placed the author as late as B.C. 164–163.

The insertion of these oracles in this place is an instance of the constructive skill which planned the order of the book. They fill up the interval of silence which separates the two periods of E.'s public ministry; and although most of them no doubt belong chronologically to the two years of retirement, there are some which bear a later date (see 29^{17} $32^{1.17}$), showing that the principle of arrangement is literary and not historical. The section, moreover, embodies a distinct idea in the prophet's eschatological scheme. The motive of the judgments announced is to prepare the way for the restoration of Israel, by removing the evil influences which had sprung from the people's contact with its heathen neighbours in the past ($28^{24\text{-}26}$ 29^{16}). Historically, these judgments are conceived as taking place within the 40 years of the Chaldæan dominion (29^{13}), and of Israel's banishment. In the case of Tyre and Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar is expressly named as the instrument of J‴'s purpose; the extinction of the smaller nationalities is ascribed to other agencies, which, however, are probably indirect consequences of a Bab. invasion. The supplementary oracle on Tyre ($29^{17\text{-}21}$) was written after the 13 years' siege of that city by Nebuchadnezzar, and was evidently intended to counteract the impression produced by the non-fulfilment of the original prediction.

iii. Chs. 33-39 contain the discourses delivered in the period immediately succeeding the arrival of the 'fugitive' with the intelligence of Jerusalem's fall, when the prophet's mouth was again opened to declare the word of J″ (33^{21}f.). The collection is prefaced ($33^{1\text{-}20}$) by a re-statement of the function of the prophet under the figure of a watchman, as in 3^{17} ff.; then comes the account of his meeting with the bearer of the evil tidings, and the oracles uttered (apparently) on that occasion ($33^{21\text{-}33}$). These are followed by three distinct and complete pictures of the redemption and restitution of Israel: (*a*) the ideal monarchy as contrasted with the corrupt administration of the pre-exilic kings (34); (*b*) the land, reclaimed from the Edomites, endowed with supernatural fertility, purified from its ceremonial defilement, shall be given as an eternal possession to Israel (35 f.); (*c*) the people, now scattered and dead like dry bones, shall arise to a new life, Ephraim and Judah being united under one sceptre for ever (37). Ch. 38 f. describe the final assault on the kingdom of God by the distant nations of the world under Gog from the land of Magog, and their annihilation on the mountains of Israel, resulting in a demonstration of the might of J″ to all the ends of the earth. This remarkable prophecy, representing the utmost limit of E.'s prophetic horizon, has the appearance of being intended as a conclusion to the book. This fact, taken in connexion with the long period of silence which follows, and a certain change of view manifested in 40 ff., strongly suggests that the first edition of the prophecies really ended here, the remaining section having been added afterwards as an appendix.

iv. Chs. 40-48, a vision of the ideal theocracy, with the institutions by which the holiness of the redeemed people is to be expressed and maintained. There is, first, a description of the sanctuary where J″ is to dwell in visible splendour (40–43); then, regulations as to the ministers of the temple, the duties and revenues of the priests and the 'prince,' and the system of ritual to be observed (44–46); lastly, a delimitation of the holy land,—which is transformed by a miraculous river issuing from the sanctuary,—and a new disposition of the tribes within it (47 f.). Although these chapters may have been a later addition to the volume, they rest throughout on the teaching of the earlier part of the book, and are the development of principles there enunciated. The chief point of difference relates to the position of the prince, whose office is hedged about with constitutional safeguards and restrictions, hardly applicable to the perfect Ruler spoken of in ch. 34.

Literary Style.—The style of the book exhibits a falling off from the idiomatic purity of earlier writers, like Amos or Isaiah. The influence of Aramaic is more perceptible than in any previous prophet; the construction is loose, and, as a rule, prosaic; the constant recurrence of mannerisms and set phrases is at times monotonous, although the lack of variety is often compensated by a large rhythmic movement of the thought, running like a ground-swell through some of the longer orations. It is, on the whole, the careful and elaborate style of a literary man rather than that of a public speaker in living touch with his audience. With obscurity it cannot fairly be charged, for the serious difficulties which the book presents are mostly due to the imperfect condition of the text.

Of the higher qualities of E.'s genius the most striking is a powerful and grandiose imagination, which reveals itself in a variety of directions, now revelling in weird mythological conceptions (28. 32), and at other times clothing itself in the peculiar artificial realism which has been already remarked as a feature of the book. That there was a vein of true poetry in his nature is proved by his effective use of the *ḳînāh* or dirge (especially in the beautiful lament over the banished princes of the royal house, ch. 19), as well as by the many fine images which occur throughout the book. His first conceptions, indeed, are almost invariably beautiful and true, although to our minds their æsthetic effect is frequently lost through over-elaboration. E. is perhaps not more deficient in plastic power than Heb. writers generally; but in his case the defect is more apparent from his love of detail, and his anxiety to exhaust the didactic significance of every conception before he can persuade himself to let it go. Thus the comparison of Tyre to a stately vessel, moored by the shore (27), which Isaiah might have presented in a verse or two, is spread out over a long chapter by the help of an inventory of the ship's cargo, which is really a valuable statistical survey of Phœn. imports. Again, the image of Jerus. as a foundling child (16) is intrinsically as beautiful as any to be found in prophecy; but when drawn out into an allegory of the whole history of the nation, its unity is dissipated by the multitude of details that have to be crowded into it. A similar criticism has often been passed on his description of his opening vision, as contrasted with the sixth chapter of Isaiah. On the other hand, the prophet's talent for lucid and methodical exposition appears to advantage when he comes to deal with practical and technical matters, as in the description of the sanctuary (40 ff.) A certain architectonic faculty is, in truth, a marked characteristic of his intellect, being visible alike in his plan of the temple buildings, in his sketch of the theocratic institutions, and in the orderly arrangement and division of the book.

Religious Teaching.—E.'s rank as a religious teacher may be summed up under two general aspects. In the first place, he gave definite and almost dogmatic expression to the great religious truths which were the presuppositions of all previous prophecy, combining these into a comprehensive theory of the divine providence; and, in the second place, by giving a peculiar direction to the Messianic hope, he made it a practical ideal in the life of the nation, and the starting- oint of a new religious development.

The first of these aspects is abundantly illustrated by the contents of chs. 1-39. While the substance of these chapters presents no single element which may not be traced in the writings of earlier prophets, there is none which does not receive a more distinct intellectual expression in the hands of Ezekiel. He is concerned to exhibit the immanent logic of the abstract principles involved in the relations between God and the world; and, as we read, the outlines of a grand theological system are gradually disclosed to the mind. Only a few outstanding features of this system can here be mentioned. 1. The prophet's idea of God, which is expressed by the visions in chs. 1. 8. 10. 43, has more of a transcendental character than that of his predecessors. Those divine attributes which we call metaphysical, expressing the relation of the Godhead to created existence as a whole, are emphasized more than by previous writers, and are those chiefly symbolized by the heavenly chariot of the visions. And this view of God enters deeply into the fibre of E.'s teaching. While he does not lose hold of the truth that J″ is a moral person having the attributes of anger, jealousy, pity, etc., he is never weary of insisting that the activity of the divine being must be self-centred, the supreme motive of all His dealings with men, whether in mercy or in judgment, being the manifestation of His own Godhead ('They shall know that I am J″'). It is easy to exaggerate this doctrine in a way that would misrepresent the prophet's meaning; but

the reiterated assertion of it shows that it is a truth to which he himself attaches the utmost importance. **2.** Another instance of the same tendency to rigorous and even extreme statement of a prophetic principle is found in his conception of Israel. In opposition to Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, he denies that there was any good time in the nation's past, tracing the idolatrous proclivities of the people back to the sojourn in the wilderness and the oppression in Egypt ($20^{8.\ 24}$ 23^{2}). Thus, while all the prophets teach or assume that the relation between J″ and Israel rests on a free elective act of God, E. takes the further step of assigning as the positive ground of this relationship J″'s regard for the glory of His name in the eyes of the nations (20 *pass.*). **3.** From this position an important consequence follows. Since the honour of J″ is historically identified with the destinies of Israel, the final disclosure of His divinity can be accomplished only by the restoration of this people to its own land, under conditions which reflect the holy nature of J″. E. is alive to the false impression of the God of Israel naturally produced on the heathen mind by the great national calamity of the Exile (36^{20}). This effect must be wiped out when the lesson of the history is complete (39^{23}). The same principle of the divine action which caused the temporary rejection of Israel becomes the guarantee of its ultimate redemption. The prophet is thus led to a conception of salvation in which everything depends on the sovereign irresistible grace of God, which breaks the stubborn heart of the people, and produces in them an abiding sense of shame and self-contempt, and bestows on them a new spirit, causing them to walk in His statutes and keep His judgments to do them (6^{9} 11^{19} 16^{63} 20^{43} $36^{26ff.}$ 37^{14} $39^{28f.}$). **4.** The doctrine which is usually considered E.'s most distinctive contribution to theology is the doctrine of the freedom and responsibility of the individual soul before God. But even here he builds on the foundation laid by his predecessors. The conception of religion as personal fellowship between the individual and God is implicitly contained in the consciousness which all the prophets have of their own relation to J″; and in Jer the truth is enunciated that what had hitherto been the possession of the prophets is the form which the perfect religion must assume universally. It was reserved for E., however, to formulate the principle logically, showing that neither the burden of hereditary guilt nor the sins of a man's past can hinder the action of God's forgiving mercy towards the penitent sinner (18).

But the part of Ezekiel's work that was destined to have the most direct and powerful historical influence was the ideal embodied in the vision of chs. 40–48. The unique significance of that remarkable creation lies in the fact that under the form of a Messianic prophecy it presents the scheme of a politico-religious constitution in which the fundamental idea of holiness is applied to the regulation of every part of the national life. It is a picture of the kingdom of God in its final and perfect state as this prophet was led to conceive it. The ruling conception is that of J″ dwelling in visible glory in His sanctuary in the midst of His people, and the practical purpose of the vision is to set forth the conditions on Israel's part which such a relation involves. That the institutions prescribed are mainly of a priestly character is partly due to the fact that E. was himself a priest, deeply imbued with the traditions of his office; but still more to his perception of the inherent fitness of the priestly idea of holiness to be the formal principle of a theocratic polity giving expression to the essential character of Israel as the people of J″. How fully the ideal met the needs of the time is shown by its operation in all the best tendencies of the Restoration period. This is not the place to discuss the bearing of E.'s ideal legislation on the development of the pentateuchal laws (see HEXATEUCH). The view of most recent critics is that he occupies a position intermediate between the Book of Deut. and the composition of the so-called Priestly Code; and it can hardly be denied that the peculiar features of E.'s system are more fully explained on this theory than on any other (see esp. the regulations as to the status of the Levites, ch. 44). But, setting aside the purely critical question, the fact is clear that the whole movement by which the new Israel was consolidated proceeded on the lines foreshadowed in E.'s vision. His position in this respect may be compared with that of Augustine in the history of the Latin Church. What the *civitas Dei* was to mediæval Christendom, that the vision of E. was to post-exilic Judaism: each furnished the ideal that moulded the polity of the age that followed. To what extent this section of the Book of E. was adopted as a legislative programme by the leaders of the Return cannot be precisely determined from the somewhat meagre records at our disposal (see Smith, *OTJC*[2] p. 442 f.) But it is important to observe that the Messianic hope as set forth by E. formed one of the most powerful impulses that made for the reconstruction of the Jewish state. We learn from Hag and Zec that the erection of the second temple was carried through under the conviction that that unpretentious edifice was to be the centre of a renovated world, and the earnest of the latter-day glory just about to dawn; while the expectation that the Lord would suddenly come to His temple meets us nearly a cent. later in the book of Malachi. These are conceptions which it would be difficult to understand otherwise than as consequences of the work of Ezekiel.

As compared with his master Jeremiah, or Is 40 ff., Ezekiel's teaching as a whole appears lacking in breadth of sympathy and evangelical freedom, and to be a preparation for an age of legalism rather than for the fulness of the Christian dispensation. He is not quoted expressly by any NT writer, and it is doubtful if he has directly influenced any except the author of the Apoc., who was familiar with the book and has drawn largely on its imagery. But while all this is true, there are many things in E. which give him a high place amongst the heralds of Christ in OT. His clear assertion of the value of the individual soul and of the efficacy of repentance, his profound sense of sin as ingratitude, and of the need of a new heart in order to fulfil the law of God, his impassioned vindication of the character of God as merciful and eager to forgive, are amongst the brightest gems of spiritual truth to be found in the pages of prophecy.

LITERARY HISTORY.—Of the literary history of the book little needs to be said. It is mentioned by the son of Sirach (49^{8}) in a connexion which shows that it formed part of the prophetical Canon in his time (*c.* B.C. 200). In the order given by the Talmudic treatise *Baba bathra* (14^{b}) it stands second amongst the greater prophets, being preceded by Jer and followed by Isaiah. A further statement in the same source that the book was written (like Dn, Est, and the Twelve Prophets) by 'the men of the Great Synagogue,' has no significance, unless it be an inference from the theory that no prophetic book could be written outside of the Holy Land (so Rashi, quoted by Ryle, *Canon of OT*, p. 263 f.). According to Jerome (*præfatio ad Ezech.*), certain parts of it were, on account of their obscurity, forbidden to be read by any Jew under the age of 30 years; and its deviations from the Mosaic Law caused doubts to be expressed as

to its canonical authority as late as the 1st cent. A.D. According to one tradition, it narrowly escaped being 'hidden' (*i.e.* reduced to the rank of an apocryphal work) for this reason, but was saved from that fate by one Hananiah ben-Hezekiah, who reconciled the discrepancies. Unfortunately, the works of this self-sacrificing scholar have perished as completely as the 300 measures of oil which he is reported to have consumed in their preparation.

LITERATURE.—Ewald, *Proph. d. A.B.* vol. ii. (1841, 1868); Hävernick, *Comm. über den Pr. E.* (1843); Hitzig, *der Pr. E. erklärt* (1847); Fairbairn, *Exposition of the Book of E.* (1851); Henderson, *The Book of the Pr. E. transl.* etc. (1855); Hengstenberg, *Der Pr. E.* (1867); Keil, *Der Pr. E.* (1868); Currey, *Speaker's Comm.* vol. vi. (1876); Klostermann in *SK* (1877); Smend, *Der Pr. E.* (1880); Cornill, *Der Pr. E.* (1882), and *Das Buch des Pr. E.* (1886); v. Orelli, *Kurzgef. Commentar* (1888); Gautier, *La mission du Pr. E.* (1891); Davidson, *Camb. Bible for Schools* (1892); Skinner, *Expositor's Bible* (1895); Müller, *Ezechiel-Studien* (1895); Bertholet, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Hes.* (1896); and *Das Buch Hes. (Kurzer Handkom.* 1897). See also Kuenen, *Onderzoek, Godsdienst van Israël*, and *Profeten en Profetie*; Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*; Horst, *Levit.* 17–26 *und Hezekiel*; articles by Schrader, Diestel, and Orelli in the Encyclopædias of Schenkel, Riehm, and Herzog: and by Black in *Encyc. Brit.*[9] J. SKINNER.

EZEL (הָאֶזֶל [הָאֶבֶן] '[stone of] departure').—The spot where Jonathan arranged to meet David before the latter's final departure from the court of Saul (1 S 20[19]). The place is not mentioned elsewhere, and it is now generally admitted that the Heb. text of this passage is corrupt. The true reading seems to have been preserved by the LXX, which renders v.[19] *καὶ καθήσῃ παρὰ τὸ Ἐργὰβ* (A, *ἔργον*) *ἐκεῖνο*, and again, at v.[41] *end* (where the same place is mentioned), renders *καὶ Δαυεὶδ ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργὰβ* (A, *τοῦ ὑπνοῦ*). The translators evidently had the same word before them in both verses, and did not understand it; they therefore simply transliterated the Hebrew. If, then, we restore from the LXX in v.[19] הָאַרְגֹּב הַלָּז (הַלָּאו) = 'yonder cairn,' for האבן האול; and in v.[41] מֵאֵצֶל הָאַרְגֹּב = 'from beside the cairn,' for מאצל הנגב, the unknown 'Ezel' of v.[19] disappears, and the indefinite terms of v.[41] are replaced by a suitable reference to v.[19] (so Thenius, Wellh., Driver, Budde; cf. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 80 f.).

J. F. STENNING.

EZEM (עֶצֶם), 1 Ch 4[29].—See AZMON.

EZER.—**1.** (אֵצֶר) A Horite 'duke' (Gn 36[21], 1 Ch 1[38]). In the latter passage AV has **Ezar.** **2.** (אֶזֶר) A son of Ephraim who, acc. to 1 Ch 7[21], was slain by the men of Gath. **3.** A Judahite (1 Ch 4[4]). **4.** A Gadite chief who joined David (1 Ch 12[9]). **5.** A son of Jeshua who helped to repair the wall (Neh 3[19]). **6.** A priest who officiated at the dedication of the walls (Neh 12[42]). J. A. SELBIE.

EZION-GEBER, עֶצְיֹן גֶּבֶר, is mentioned amongst the stations of the Israelites (Nu 33[35] and Dt 2[8]). In the latter passage and elsewhere in the OT it is coupled with Elath in such a way as to imply that the one was in the immediate neighbourhood of the other. This circumstance enables us to fix the situation of Ezion-geber with tolerable confidence. It lay in the extreme south of the territory of Edom, at the head of the *Ælanitis Sinus* or Gulf of Akabah. Edom having been subjugated by David (2 S 8[14]), Solomon naturally utilized E. for ship-building purposes, and made it the port for his navy, which was engaged in the gold trade with Ophir (1 K 9[26]). His success encouraged Jehoshaphat to undertake a similar enterprise, but with disastrous results. 'Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; but they went not, for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber' (1 K 22[48] and 2 Ch 20[36. 37]). Ezion-geber is mentioned also by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 4), who tells us that it was afterwards known by the name of Berenice. E. is prob. the modern *'Ain el-Ghudyan* (Robinson, i. 169 f.). See further, Driver on Dt 2[8].

J. A. SELBIE.

EZNITE.—See ADINO.

EZORA ('Εζωρά, AV Ozora).—The sons of Ezora, in 1 Es 9[34], take the place of the strange name Machnadebai (or Mabnadebai, AVm) in Ezr 10[40], where there is no indication of a fresh family. The first part of the phrase in Es (*ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν*), representing an original מבני, seems to show that the name in the canonical book is due to the running together of two or more words; it is, in any case, a proof that 1 Es is independent of the Greek Ezra, which has *Μαχαδναβού*.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

EZRA (עֶזְרָא).—**1.** The famous leader connected with Israel's Return. Our sources of information concerning him are Ezr 7–10, Neh 8–10, and the apocryphal books.* Some writers have preferred the apocr. 1 Esdras to the canonical Ezra, but on quite insufficient grounds.† The apocr. books are useful in showing the views held about Ezra at a later time, but we must in the main rely upon the canonical books.

E. is called the priest, the priest-scribe, and in 2 Es the prophet. He was of a priestly family, but, as his work was chiefly that of the scribe, that designation gradually supersedes the others. E. represents in a way the transition from the prophet to the scribe, but his prophetic functions are not conspicuous except in the apocr. literature.‡

The Exile had been a period of considerable literary activity. One of the greatest prophets heralded the deliverance of Cyrus (Deutero-Isaiah); Ezekiel had produced his book in Babylonia, drawing up an elaborate scheme for the new state, which he declared would arise upon the ruins of the old; and many noble psalms come from this time. But the period was characterized not so much by the creation of a new literature as by the study of what already existed. E. the 'ready scribe in the law of Moses' was not a mere copyist, nor the author of the law, but a diligent student of the law.

E. longed to go to Jerus. and put the law into effect there, to establish a real hagiocracy, 'the law' being the supreme authority in civil and religious affairs alike. Artaxerxes was not so tolerant of foreign religions as Cyrus had been, nevertheless E. won his goodwill, and secured a royal edict, clothing him with ample authority to carry out his purpose. This edict has been preserved in Aramaic (Ezr 7[12–26]); and while many regard this as a Jewish version, it is in the main trustworthy.§ All Jews who felt so inclined were free to depart from Babylon; E. was authorized to carry the offerings for the temple made by the king and by the Jews; to purchase sacrificial animals, and to use the rest of the money as he and his brethren saw fit; to draw upon the royal treasury in the province of Syria for further necessary supplies; to exempt the temple officers and servants from the Persian tax; to appoint officers to execute the law of God, teaching such as were unacquainted with it; and to enforce the law of God and of the Persian king by penalty even to fines, imprisonment, banishment, or death.

In the year B.C. 458 E. gathered a caravan of some 1800 males, including 38 Levites who had been persuaded to join the company. E. had said so much to the king about God's ample protection to His servants that he was ashamed to ask for the

* On the Apocr. see Bensly, *Fourth Book of Ezra*, p. 86.
† Kuenen, *Relig. of Israel*, ii.; see discussion in *Academy*, 1895–96.
‡ On Ezra the scribe see *OTJC*[2] p. 42 f.; *PRE*[2] iv. 335.
§ See under art. EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

usual escort. After fasting and praying for a safe journey, the company set out, and in four months reached the holy city.

E. did not find a community ready and eager for the new government which he was authorized to establish. Many of the people were prosperous (Hag 1^4), but there was not that spirit of simple devotion to the God of Israel which the zealous E. regarded as essential. E. was informed that many Jews, including even priests and princes, had taken foreign wives. He knew the story of Solomon's decline (1 K 11); he perceived the danger now of a relapse into idolatry; above all, he feared the consequences of further disobedience of the law of God (Dt 7^3). Shecaniah, as the representative of the people who had been much moved by the prayer which E. poured forth in their presence (9^{6-15}), proposed that the people should put away the foreign wives and their children. E. accepted the proposition, and exacted an oath on the spot that the offenders would comply with this agreement. A decree was issued by the princes and elders that all the people should assemble at Jerus. within three days, under penalty of confiscation of goods and excommunication. But the assembly found the task too great to be accomplished in an open-air meeting during a severe winter storm, and the matter was referred to a divorce court, with E. at its head.* After three months' labour, and not without opposition apparently (Ezr 10^{15} RV),† the work of the court was finished, and many innocent women and children were cast out, as Hagar and Ishmael had been.

The account of E.'s formal institution of the law is found in Neh 8–10. Neh. had come to Jerus. in B.C. 444. His first work was the rebuilding of the walls. According to the compiler of Ezr-Neh (see further on the BOOKS OF EZR AND NEH), it was after this event that E. read the law to the people assembled at Jerus., and obtained their pledge to observe it. It is singular that E., who had brought the law to Jerus. for the purpose of making it the code of the community, should not have promulgated it sooner. It may be that Stade is right in supposing that E. had aroused the hostility of the people by the compulsory divorce, and that the times were not ripe before (*Gesch.* ii. 173 f.); or it may be that the chronology is not exact, as the compilation was made long after the events described, and the description of the reading of the law interrupts Nehemiah's narrative (cf. $7^{4.5}$, $11^{1.2}$).‡

On the second day's reading the people heard the directions for observing the feast of booths. Steps were taken at once to celebrate this feast, and the reading of the law was continued on each day of its observance. Two days later a great fast was held, the people separating themselves from strangers, and confessing their sin. E. gave utterance to a remarkable prayer,§ praising God for His great goodness to Israel, deploring the apostasy and disobedience of the people, and tracing the past misfortunes of the nation, as well as their present condition of vassalage, to their great sins.‖

The relation of E. and Neh. is one of the perplexing problems of this period. Neh. in his memoirs mentions E. but once (12^{36}). ¶ In the E. portions of Neh, Nehemiah is mentioned but once (8^9).**

There is scant justification for Ewald's statement that 'the chronicler unites these two men very closely in his representations' (*Hist.* v. 161). E. and Nehemiah were granted high authority in the Judæan colony, and that in the same sphere. Yet Nehemiah entirely ignores E.* Their purposes were different, it is true, one desiring to promote especially the religious welfare of the colony, the other the political; but among the Jews these spheres overlapped or rather interlaced at all points. It is probable that E.'s chief work in Jerus. was accomplished before Nehemiah's arrival.†

E. made a lasting impression upon the Jewish people. The development of the later Jewish life followed the lines laid down by him. This is due, not so much to his keen foresight in forecasting the future, as to the fact that his influence shaped Jewish life and thought in a way from which it never wholly departed. He gave the law an authority which it had never had before in Jewish history. This zeal was contagious, and accounts for that enthusiasm for the letter of the law which characterizes later ages.

LITERATURE.—Besides works referred to above, see *PRE*[2] art. 'Esra und Nehemia'; *OTJC*[2] p. 168; Wellhausen, *Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* 130 ff.; see also literature at end of foll. art.

2. The eponym of a priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel, Neh $12^{1.12.33}$ = AZARIAH of Neh 10^2. L. W. BATTEN.

EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, THE BOOKS OF.—There is much gain in treating these two books together. They present similar problems; they deal with the same period; they were originally one in the Jewish canon; and they were put into their present form by the same hand.

That Ezr-Neh constituted but one book in the early Jewish canon is indisputable. The Massoretes have appended notes to the end of each book of OT, stating the number of verses, etc. There are no such notes at the end of Ezr, but those at the end of Neh include both books: 'the book of Ezr contains 685 verses, and the middle verse is ובין עלית הפנה' (Neh 3^{32}). The Massoretic sections show that our two books were regarded as one, one section being Ezr 8^{35}–Neh 2^1.‡ The twenty-two sacred books do not allow Neh to be reckoned as a separate book. The Talm., in giving the origin of the various books, says that 'Ezra wrote his book,' and does not mention Neh, manifestly including it with Ezr. In LXX the two are included under Esdras B in Swete's ed.; under Esdras A in the ed. of Lagarde.§

Ezr-Neh precedes Ch in the Heb. Bible, but follows it in the LXX. The illogical order of the Heb. has been attributed to the earlier acceptance of Ezr-Neh into the canon. It is by no means certain that the present Heb. order is original. The OT was divided into three portions. At the end of each portion the Massoretes placed notes similar to those found after the separate books. The notes on the Kethubim or Hagiographa are found at the end of Ezr-Neh, not at the end of Ch. Moreover, as Ezr-Neh is a continuation of Ch, and in its present form has come from the same hand, it is altogether unlikely that the original arrangement was so unmindful of chron. order.

A. CONTENTS.—A review of the following outline reveals the striking fact that Ezr-Neh is far from a complete history of the restoration. We find rather a short sketch of a few important events in that history. There are long periods,—one of more than a half-century (515 to 458),—about which our book is absolutely silent. The whole time covered by this book, from the return of the first exiles in 537 to the second visit of Neh. in 432 is more than a cent., but as a matter of fact the actual time covered by the narrative is scarcely more than one-tenth of this time.

* Reading, after Ewald (*Hist.* v. 142 n. 4), לוֹ גִּבְּדֵל, Ezr 10^{16}.

† See Bertheau-Ryssel, *Ezr., Neh., Est.*, in 'Kurzg. Ex. Handbuch,' *in loc.*

‡ On this reading of the law see Trumbull's *Yale Lectures on the Sunday School*, 1888, p. 7.

§ Following LXX, which prefixes the words 'and Ezra said' to 9^6. On this passage see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

‖ E. established the canonicity of the Pent. by those readings; see *OTJC*[2] p. 171.

¶ The Ezra of Neh $12^{1.13.33}$ is another person.

** The best Gr. versions lack the title Tirshatha (8^9); 1 Es has the title, but lacks the name (9^{49}); Lagarde's ed. agrees with Heb. The Neh. of 10 is the same as that of Ezr 2^2.

* See Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* p. 168 n.; Kuenen, *Critique de L'Ancien Test.* p. 510.

† There is an article in *TSBA* ii. pt. 1, in which the writer argues from the chronology that E. and Neh. came to Jerus. together. The argument is more ingenious than convincing.

‡ See Baer, *Libri Danielis Ezræ et Neh*, pp. 130, 133; Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 8.

§ See further Oettli, 'Die Gesch. Hagiogr. und d. Buch Daniel,' 1889, in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgef. Kom.*; Cornill, *Einleit*[2] 45; *PRE*[2] iv. 332 ff.; Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 134 f.

I.—(1) Ezr 1–4⁵.—The return of the first company of exiles; the register of the heads of houses; the setting up of the altar; the establishment of the sacrifices; the efforts to rebuild the temple, and the opposition of the Samaritans, B.C. 537. (2) Ezr 5, 6.—Stimulated by the prophets Hag. and Zec., the people begin the rebuilding of the temple under the lead of Zerubbabel and Joshua; their enemies try to stop the Jews, but Darius respects the decree of Cyrus, and the temple is completed in his sixth year, B.C. 515. (3) Ezr 7–10.—The return of Ezra and his company with a firman from Artaxerxes; the divorcing of the foreign wives, B.C. 458. (4) 4⁶⁻²³.—Successful efforts of the enemies of Judah to prevent the rebuilding of the city walls, mainly in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B.C. 465–425.

II.—(1) Neh 1–7⁷³ᵃ.—Neh., learning of the bad condition of affairs in Jerus., obtains permission from Artaxerxes to go to Judah as its governor, and to rebuild its walls. He reaches Jerus., inspects the walls by night, organizes the people for the work, and, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the enemies of Judah, succeeds in fortifying the city by the complete reconstruction of its walls, B.C. 444. (2) 7⁷³ᵇ–10.—Ezra promulgates the law, and the people 'seal unto it,' B.C. 444. (3) 11¹–12²⁶.—Lists of those who dwelt in Jerus., and of the Levites who had come to Jerus. with Zerubbabel. (4) 12²⁷–13³.—The dedication of the walls; regulation of the temple services, B.C. 443. (5) 13⁴⁻³¹. Nehemiah's second visit to Jerus., and the reforms accomplished at that time, B.C. 432.

B. SOURCES.—Modern criticism has shown that Heb. literature, like other Sem. literature,* is usually the result of compilation. No trained critical eye is required to see that the book under discussion has reached its present form by compilation from several different sources, and it is not difficult to analyze the book into its constituent elements, though it is not always possible to trace these elements back to their origin. In some cases we must be content with probabilities, and in others must confess ignorance. In the analysis of the book the results will be clearer if we follow an order which disregards the present arrangement of chapters.

The casual reader will not fail to notice that considerable portions, especially of Neh, are written in the first person. The 'I' refers to Ezra everywhere in Ezr, and to Nehemiah everywhere in Neh. The first person is used in Ezr 7²⁷–9¹⁵, Neh 1¹–7⁷³ᵃ 12²⁷⁻⁴³ 13⁴⁻³¹. These are portions of memoirs written by Ezra and Neh. respectively. They are for the most part preserved in their original form. It is evident that considerable parts of the memoirs have been lost. Ezra's narrative has no proper beginning; he came to Jerus. to establish the law, but his own narrative tells us nothing about the accomplishment of this design. Neh.'s narrative breaks off abruptly; the sequel to 7⁵ is not found in his account; 13⁴ begins *in medias res*; 13⁶ must originally have had another connexion. But, imperfect as they are, these personal records of the two great leaders in the restoration of the Jewish state are of the greatest value. For convenience these memoirs will hereafter be designated by the symbols E and N respectively.†

The other portions dealing with the work of Ezra and Neh. are not original parts of their memoirs, though in part based on them. Ezr 7¹⁻¹⁰ is an introduction to the story of Ezra written by the compiler. For Ezra is spoken of in the third person: the genealogy of Ezra omits his immediate ancestors, Seraiah, who is named as his father, having been put to death by Nebuchadnezzar in 586; Ezra would hardly have spoken of himself as 'an expert scribe'; this introduction anticipates matter found in E. (See further in Driver, *LOT*⁶ p. 549).

Ezr 7¹²⁻²⁶ is the firman which Artaxerxes gave Ezra as his authority for governing the Jewish colony. V.¹¹ is an introduction due to the compiler. The letter itself is in Aramaic, and held by many to be in its original form. Such a document would naturally be written in Aram., and the Jewish colouring, which is so apparent in the edict of Cyrus (Ezr 1²⁻⁵), is not conspicuous in this passage. Cornill's statement that 'in details it is of such specific Jewish colouring that it at least must have been strongly retouched,'* is not justified by facts; and Driver's, that 'it may have been cast into its present form by one familiar with the terminology of the Jewish sacred books,'† is quite consistent with the view that we have the orig. edict signed by the king, in the preparation of which it is not inconceivable that Ezra himself may have had a hand. At all events, its preservation was probably due to its incorporation by Ezra in his memoirs, for the thanksgiving with which E. begins is naturally connected with the royal edict.

Ezr 10 is the proper continuation of the preceding section of E, but Ezra is spoken of in the third person. All efforts to explain this change of person as due to Ezra have been hopeless failures.‡ The force of the fact lies in the change taking place right in the middle of the narrative without any explicable cause. Moreover, we find one conspicuous anachronism: a room in the temple is called after Jehohanan, the son of Eliashib (10⁶); but Eliashib was a prominent priest in 432 (Neh 12²² 13⁴), and a room could not have been called his son's in 458.§ Yet there are points of resemblance with E. The passage is probably a revision and abbreviation of E, the work of the compiler.

Neh 7⁷³ᵇ–10. Of this portion 9⁶–10³⁹ is regarded by Stade‖ as an original portion of E. The prayer 9⁶⁻³⁸ is suited to Ezra, and the words prefixed in the LXX 'and Ezra said' may be an original note of the compiler's to explain his extract from E. The remainder of the section, 7⁷³ᵇ–9⁵, is usually accounted for in the same way as Ezr 10, to which it bears striking resemblance. There is room for grave doubt about the chronology.¶ There is practically no guide except the position of the passage. A comparison of 7⁷³ and Ezr 3¹ shows that the compiler has made a false connexion of this passage with N, and he does not appear to have been an expert in chronology. The section took its present form long after the events described, so that confusion of order was easily possible. Sayce has pointed out that the names in Neh 10 are for the most part found also in Ezr 2.** He regards this section as the work of 'a layman,' and not a priest like Ezra, since he classes himself with 'the people' (19³²·³⁷·³⁸). ††

Neh 11¹–12²⁶ is made up of lists extracted from the temple registers, with explanatory notes by the compiler. Ch. 11 is closely connected with 7⁵, and may be based on N. König says that ch. 11 'might indeed have been incorporated by Neh. into his writings,' but that 12¹⁻²⁶ 'on account of Jaddua (12²²) falls into the time of Alexander the Great.' ‡‡

Neh 12⁴⁴–13³ cannot be from N, for it uses the expression 'in the days of Neh.' (12⁴⁷), as of a time long past. König admits that 12⁴⁴⁻⁴⁷ comes from a later hand, but holds that N begins with 13¹ instead of 13⁴, as most critics maintain. W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² p. 427 n., suggests that 13¹·² originally stood between Ezr 10⁹·¹⁰.

There remains for consideration Ezr 1–6. Ch. 1 is very likely due to the compiler, though he may have used written sources. . . Vv.¹⁻³ᵃ are found also in 2 Ch 36²²ᶠ. The differences are very slight,

* Sayce, *HCM* c. 2.
† So Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des AT.*

* *Einl.* p. 264. See also Kuenen, *Critique de L'A. T.* p. 507, for details of the alleged colouring.
† *LOT*⁶ p. 550.
‡ See, *e.g.*, Keil, *Ezra, Neh., Esth.* 1873, p. 12ᶠ.
§ See Cornill, *Einl.* p. 266.
‖ *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* ii. 153 ff.
¶ See art. EZRA.
** *Introd. to Ezra, Neh., and Est.* 1885, p. 69.
†† *Ib.* p. 30.
‡‡ *Einl. in das AT*, 1893, p. 278. On the relation of Neh 11 to 1 Ch 9³·²², see Sayce, *Introd.* p. 32; Oettli, *op. cit.* p. 150; Bertheau-Ryssel, 'Kgf. Exeg. Handb. z. AT,' 1887, *Ezr., Neh., u. Est.* p. 12.

and are due to accident in copying, Vv.[2-4] contain the edict of Cyrus. From a comparison with the inscriptions of Cyrus,* it appears to be strongly coloured by Jewish ideas. Cyrus attributes his success to Merodach, not to J″.

2[1]–3[1a] is found also in Neh 7[6-73]. In the latter place it is appended to Nehemiah's memoirs with this preface: 'And I found the book of the genealogy of those who first came up: and I found written in it' (7[5]). There are more than a hundred variations in the two versions. The numbers esp. differ oftener than they agree.† Such variation is always found in duplicates. Cf. Pss 14 and 53, Ps 18 and 2 S 22. This does not destroy identity of origin. It appears from the large number of such lists that the Jews were in the habit of keeping registers of important names. From such a register the Chronicler has incorporated the list into its present place. These lists have been but poorly preserved in the transmission of the original documents, as we find many errors wherever we have data to test them. This list was already a part of a narrative when copied by Neh., since both versions end with narrative. This ending in Ezr introduces the assembling at Jerus. for the setting up of the altar, in Neh the assembling for the promulgation of the law.

3[1]–4[5] is very generally assigned to the Chronicler (so Cornill, Schrader, Ryssel, Driver, etc. For the grounds of this see *LOT*[6] 547 f.).

4[6f.] These are two fragments from unknown sources. They cannot be from the Chronicler, for they are out of joint with the context. V.[6] contains a statement about an accusation made against the Jews in the beg. of the reign of Xerxes. There is no hint of this elsewhere. 4[7] may have been placed here on the supposition that it was introductory to the passage following, but we shall see that this is not so. There is no reason, however, to doubt the genuineness or authenticity of these verses.

4[8]–6[18]. This passage is written in the Aram. language, and is a portion of a more or less complete history of these times written originally in Aramaic.‡ The compiler, finding his best sources for this period in Aramaic, incorporated considerable portions without translation. In its present arrangement, however, the course of the history is very much obscured, as will be more fully pointed out below. The section falls into two parts, both of which present critical problems of considerable intricacy. For convenience these problems will be discussed in this connexion.

4[8-24]. According to the present arrangement of our book, this part describes the securing of a decree from Artaxerxes to stop the rebuilding of the temple. But, as a matter of fact, the passage has nothing to do with the temple, and is evidently misplaced. According to 4[7] Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of his companions 'wrote a letter to king Artaxerxes in Aramaic.' This letter is not the one found in the verses following, for that was written by Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe; moreover, the letter which begins with v.[11] is overloaded with introductions in the Aram. passage vv.[8-10]. Since Artaxerxes reigned from 465 to 425, this passage can have nothing to do with the times of Zerubbabel. The correction of Xerxes v.[6] to Cambyses (reigning 529–522), and Artaxerxes to Gomates (pseudo-Smerdis),§ is out of the question, since the contents agree with the date assigned in the text. The letter says that the Jews are rebuilding the rebellious and bad city, and have finished the walls, and repaired the foundations. It further declares that if this city is rebuilt and the walls finished, the Jews will rebel and refuse to pay tribute, 'and in the end it will endamage the king.' The building of the temple cannot be the point of attack, for that would not signify rebellion. If the temple were the matter at issue, the Jews would have appealed to the decree of Cyrus as they did later. The king's answer agrees with this view. He orders that this city be not built, until a decree shall be made by him, but makes no allusion to the temple. If a royal decree had been issued forbidding the rebuilding of the temple, the people would have had ample excuse for their neglect when Haggai reproaches them so sharply. . . Zerubbabel and Joshua would scarcely have ventured to renew the work on the temple with such a decree in force. Finally, Tattenai would not have failed to make use of such a good weapon if it had been at hand.

The passage refers to an attempt to rebuild the walls of the city, which must have occurred in the first part of the reign of Artaxerxes before the coming of Nehemiah. 'The Jews which have come up from thee' (12) refers either to Ezra and his company, or to some other band concerning which the history is silent. V.[24] does refer to the building of the temple, and is the effort of the compiler to harmonize the passage with the history with which he has erroneously connected it.*

5, 6. This section gives a consistent account of the rebuilding of the temple, but difficulties arise in its relation to ch. 3, and to Hag and Zec. In 3[1-7] we are told that Joshua and Zerub. set up the altar soon after the arrival of the first pilgrims. The required sacrifices were at once started. Then the actual work of rebuilding the temple was begun (3[8ff.]). The text is somewhat confused, but it is clear that the writer says that the foundations of the temple were laid at this time; see esp. v[10] 'and the builders laid the foundation of the temple of J″.' The work thus begun was stopped by the adversaries, who 'weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building, and hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia' (4[4. 5]).

Hag. and Zech., contemporary prophets under whose inspiration the work of rebuilding was taken up and carried to completion, give no hint anywhere that the temple building was but the resumption of a task already begun and laid aside with good reason. Hag. speaks of 'the house that lieth waste' (1[4. 9]); he attributes the unprosperous condition to the neglect of the temple; he denies the validity of the excuse that the time was not suitable. The unsuitableness of the time pleaded by the people does not refer to the hostility of their neighbours, but to their poverty. But some of this prophet's utterances go further. He says: 'Lay to heart from this day back to the time before one laid stone upon a stone in the temple of J″' (2[15])—a time evidently within his recent experience. He gives the date upon which the foundation was laid in a prophecy delivered that very day; 'from this day forward, from the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, from the day that the foundation of J″'s temple is laid' (2[18]).

Zech. says: 'The hands of Zerub. have laid the foundation of this house: his hands shall also finish it' (4[9]), referring to the laying of the foundation just accomplished. Two years later he said: 'Let your hands be strong, ye that hear in these days these words from the mouths of the prophets, which were in the day that the foundation of the temple of J″ of hosts was laid' (8[9]). The prophets must have been Hag. and himself.

A large part of the letter sent to Darius is taken up with the defence of the Jews. They urge that they were only doing what Cyrus had authorized. Sheshbazzar had been appointed governor, and he came to Jerus., 'and laid the foundations of the house of God which is in Jerus.; and since that time even until now hath it been in building, and yet it is not completed' (Ezr 5[16]). Hag 2[3] shows the contempt for the new temple felt by those old men, who still remembered the glory of the temple of Solomon. We find the same feelings expressed in Ezr 3[12. 13]. It seems impossible that these two passages do not refer to the same event.

In Ezr 5[1] we read that 'Zerub. and Josh. stood up and began to build the house of God.' Nothing is said about completing a work begun before; the inference is plainly that a new task was taken up. The question of Tattenai in v.[3], 'Who gave you a decree to build this house?'† and his subsequent action imply not a resumption of a work which had been forcibly stopped, but the coming up of a new issue. The passage in 5[16] already quoted, which may appear to harmonize with the resumption theory, does not do so, for it proves too much; its statement that the temple had been in process of building ever since the decree of Cyrus had been issued, is contrary to all that we know from other sources. It may be a sufficient explanation of this inaccuracy to note that it is contained in the letter, and Tattenai may have misunderstood the Jews, who might have said that from the time of Cyrus they had purposed to build the temple, but had not been able to do so. König holds that Ezr 3[1]–4[5] contains fragments which, by tradition, have been received into the original picture of the temple-building story. It is quite possible that we have here, in fact, poorly preserved fragments of an orig. Heb. account of the rebuilding of the temple. The passage would then be parallel with the Aram. section cc. 5, 6; and in that case the troublesome passage 4[6-23] would not be seriously out of place; that is, it originally would

* See *RP*, new ser. v. 144 ff.

† The sum-total in each case is the same, but varies by 12,000 from the sum of the detailed numbers. (See further Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* ii. 178).

‡ On Renan's view that the Aram. section is from the Targums, see *Expos. Times*, iv. 546.

§ Ewald advocated this position, *Hist.*, Eng. tr. iv. 106.

* Sayce's view that v.[24] properly follows v.[5], 'as indicated by the grammatical construction of the original Chaldee,' and that the whole passage is introduced here episodically, is quite untenable. See his *Introd.* p. 22.

† The words following 'and to finish this wall' do not support the view of an earlier work on the temple. אשרנא rendered 'wall' is a word of doubtful meaning. Kautzsch, *Gram. des Bib. Ar.* § 62, suggests the emendation אתנא 'foundations' as v[16]. Bleek held that the word refers to the walls of the city, *Einl.*[5] p. 207. Bertheau-Ryssel interprets after LXX the wooden framework for the building.

have stood just before the beginning of the history of Ezra. Its present position would simply be further evidence of the limited critical insight of the compiler. For further discussion of this question, see König, *Einl.* p. 281 ff.; Driver, *LOT*[6] p. 547 (where other references will be found); Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.* p. 400.

To this Aramaic portion a fragment is added in Hebrew, 6^{19-22}. It is peculiar in that it applies the term 'king of Assyria' to Darius. It may be due to the Chronicler, who felt the importance of the celebration of the Passover festival after the dedication of the new temple.

We have seen above that the books under consideration were originally one in the Jewish canon. The editor who put the material into its present shape undoubtedly left the book as a unit. This editor, however, found the process of compilation already begun. He did not find all the various sources scattered and independent, but they were already gathered in two main documents, the material having clustered about the stories of the two chief figures in the community. The last editor may have rearranged his sources acc. to his own ideas; he probably made additions from other sources, and we fear omitted portions which we should appreciate more than he did; certainly, he made additions from his own pen. The convincing evidence of the existence of two separate books before the last revision, is found in the presence of the duplicate lists Ezr 2 and Neh 7. The lists were already a fixed part of the narrative in which they are imbedded, so that the Chronicler could not omit either one without disjointing his narrative. The list may have been attached to N by Neh. himself, though it is more likely that a later hand, who felt the propriety of the connexion, is responsible for the addition. When the material was collected for the life of Ezra and the time preceding, the list was naturally placed where it properly belongs.

The first part of these books was undoubtedly the genuine memoirs E and N. To these, other material was added from time to time, to complete as far as possible the history of the restoration. It is highly probable that Neh 8–10, which we have seen reason to believe a revised edition of portions of E, was originally a part of the Bk. of Ezra, and was later transferred from chron. considerations. In the apocr. Esdras, which is preferred by some writers to the canonical Ezr,* a brief account of the promulgation of the law follows immediately the story of the great divorce (see 1 Es 9^{37}).

There can be little doubt that the final editor of Ezr-Neh was the author of the Bk. of Chronicles.† He gathered material, and prepared a history, written acc. to his own point of view from Adam to Nehemiah. His work was one long piece, Ezr-Neh being a part of Chronicles. But the latter had a considerable struggle to get into the canon. The Chronicler's novel treatment of the history, already covered by other books, did not win favour at once. But Ezr-Neh was the only source of information for the important period of the restoration. Moreover, the Chronicler's peculiar methods were not conspicuous in the later history. In fact, his Bk. of Chronicles is an attempt to read the conditions of the later times into the earlier. The later portion was therefore separated from the earlier, and found its place in the canon. In the separation, a few verses were retained in each part (Ezr 1^{1-3a}, 2 Ch $36^{22f.}$).

The hist. value of these books is very great; for they stand alone for an important epoch, and they contain documents of great importance. But all parts are not equally reliable. The Chronicler was not a discriminating critic. He uses his sources as if all were alike trustworthy. Naturally, E and N are the most reliable. The personal narrative of eye-witnesses and principal participants is of the highest value. Next in importance as hist. sources are the memoirs which have been worked over by the compiler, designated by Kautzsch *e* and *n*: *e* Ezr 10, Neh 8–10; *n* Neh 11^{3-36} (acc. to Kautzsch). Of great value also are the Aram. documents in Ezr 4^{8}–6^{18} 7^{12-26}. The other sources are too far corrupted from their original form to be of primary value.

Notwithstanding the inferior trustworthiness of some portions, and the incompleteness of the whole, it is possible with the aid of the prophetic and poetic literature of the period to form a tolerably clear and connected idea of the times.* If much is lacking which we should like to know, that is but common to all periods of history, and there is compensation in the preservation of precious original documents. The case would be different if the Chronicler had worked over the whole of E and N, so that we could only infer their existence, and if he had translated and revised the Aram. documents.

[Since the above was in type, the question of the credence due to the Chronicler's narrative and of the historicity of the Jews' Return under Cyrus has been discussed afresh by Kosters in the *ThT* (1897), 518 ff. See also the *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897), 71, 200, 268, 320, 351 (the last by Van Hoonacker), ix. 66.—EDITOR.]

LITERATURE.—(*A*) INTRODUCTION.—Driver, *LOT*[6] 540 ff.; Sayce, *Introd. to Ezr. Neh. and Est.*; Kuenen, *Hist.-Krit. Einleit.*[2] §§ 29, 33–35; Cornill, *Einleit.*[2] 262 ff.; Wildeboer, *Alttest. Litteratur*, 404 ff.; König, *Einleit.*; Wellhausen-Bleek, *Einleit.*[4]; Ewald, *Hist.* i. (*B*) HISTORY.—Stade, *Ges. d. Volk. Isr.* ii.; Renan, *Hist. of People of Israel*, Bk. vii.; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Ges.*; Ewald, *Hist.* v.; Meyer, *Ges. d. Alterth.* i. (*C*) COMMENTARIES.—Ryle, 'Ezr. and Neh.,' in *Camb. Bible*; Rawlinson, in *Pulpit Com.*, *Speaker's Com.*, and in *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Men of the Bible series); Keil, *Ezr. Neh. and Est.*; F. W. Schultz in *Lange's Commentary*; Bertheau-Ryssel in *Kgf. exeg. Hdbch.*; Oettli in Strack and Zöckler's *Kgf. Kom.*; Kamphausen, *Hagiog. d. Alt. Bund.* (*D*) MISCELLANEOUS.—Smend, *List. d. BB. Ezr. u. Neh.*; Hunter, *After the Exile*; Schrader, *COT*[2]; Sayce, *HCM*[5]; Baer, *Dan. Ezr. et Neh.* (valuable for the text and Aram. paradigms; cf. Marti, *Gramm.* Preface, and Kautzsch, p. 54 n.); Kosters, *Het Herstel v. Isr.*; Van Hoonacker, *Nouv. Étud. s. l. Restaur. Juive* (mainly a reply to Kosters); Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*; cf. Wellhausen's review of this book in *GGA* (1897), ii. 89 ff., and the reply of Meyer, *Julius Wellhausen u. meine Schrift*, etc. For the Aramaic language see Grammars of Winer (1882), Kautzsch (1884), Strack (1895), and Marti (1896). For critical translations see *Scriptures Heb. and Christian*, by J. P. Peters; Kautzsch, *Heil. Schr. d. AT* (in which the sources are indicated by letters in the margin); Reuss, *Alt. Test.* iv.

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EZRAH (עֶזְרָה, AV Ezra).—A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{17}). See GENEALOGY.

EZRAHITE (אֶזְרָחִי, LXX Ἰσραηλείτης).—A name given to Heman in the title of Ps 88, and to Ethan in Ps 89. It is used also of Ethan in 1 K 4^{31}, where LXX (B) reads Ζαρείτης. It is best understood as=Zerachite, cf. 1 Ch 2^{6}, in which Ethan and Heman are termed sons of Zerah. A double tradition concerning Ps 88 appears to be embodied in the title; it is called a 'Psalm-song of the Korahites,' and 'a meditation by Heman the Ezrahite.' There were also a Heman and an Ethan, Merarites, of the tribe of Levi, according to 1 Ch 15^{17}; the Ezrahites belonged to the tribe of Judah.

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EZRI (עֶזְרִי).—David's superintendent of agriculture (1 Ch 27^{26}).

EZRIL (B Ἐζρείλ, A -ί-, AV Esril), 1 Es 9^{34}; AZAREL in Ezr 10^{41}.

* See Sayce, *HCM* p. 537.

† See the able discussion by Reuss, *Das Alte Test.* p. 8 ff.

* On the value of these books, see Ryle, *Ezra and Neh.* Introd. § 11.

F

FABLE is usually defined (with Dr. Johnson in his life of Gay) to be 'a narrative in which beings, irrational and sometimes inanimate, are, for the purposes of moral instruction, feigned to act and speak with human interests and passions'; and hence, as such beings do not present analogies to man in the spiritual region, it differs from other tropes (see ALLEGORY) in that its lessons are confined to the sphere of practical worldly prudence. Accepting this prevailing usage, we find (and the rarity is not surprising) but two instances of fable in sacred literature: (1) Jotham's fable of the trees choosing their king (Jg 9[8-15]); and (2) the fable of the thistle and the cedar of Lebanon, in the answer of Jehoash to Amaziah (2 K 14[9]). In neither of these cases, however, is the story described by any appellation. Indeed the word *fable* does not occur in the canonical OT, nor is μῦθος (its Apocr. and NT equivalent) certainly found in the LXX, except in Sir 20[19] ('a man without grace is as a *tale* out of season'), where in the next verse παραβολή appears as the parallel, 'a wise saw.' The compound μυθόλογος, *author of fables*, is used in Bar 3[23]; and here the parallel, *searcher out of understanding*, suggests a similar interpretation. Accordingly, we may conclude that the nearest approach in the OT to the idea of μῦθος is found in *māshāl*, the *dark saying*, *parable*, *proverb*, *adage*, in which Orientals clothed their deeper thoughts (Ps 49[4] 78[2], Ezk 17[2]), and which sometimes appears to stand for a *warning example* (Jer 24[9] [Judah] 'a reproach and a *proverb*' παραβολή, LXX). This does not differ materially from the Homeric and almost purely poetical use of μῦθος,—found once or twice also in Plato,—from which the connotation of truth had not yet been entirely banished.

But in Greek prose, as a rule, and even occasionally in poetry as early as that of Pindar (*O.* 1. 47, *N.* 7. 34), μῦθος was the Latin *fabula*, connoting *fiction*, sometimes (in opposition to πλάσμα) spontaneously growing, as, in religious tradition, the *myth* of god or hero (Plato, *Legg.* 9. 865 D); sometimes deliberately composed, like Æsop's Fables (Plato, *Phæd.* 60 C), and then opposed to λόγος, the historic story, or to ἀλήθεια, actual fact (Plato, *Phæd.* 61 B; Aristot. *Hist. An.* 9. 12). It is to this usage that the NT μῦθος allies itself (1 Ti 1[4] 4[7], 2 Ti 4[4], Tit 1[14], 2 P 1[16]).

In 2 P 1[16] the word apparently bears the general sense of *fiction*, 'what we tell you as to the power and coming of the Lord is not cunningly devised fiction, but sober truth.' But the *fables* referred to in the Pastoral Epp. as already endangering the soundness of the faith and the health of the churches in Ephesus and Crete, are of a special kind. They are 'Jewish' (Tit 1[14]); they are 'profane and anile' 1 Ti 4[7] (cf. Plat. *Rep.* 1. 350); they are connected with *genealogies*, 1 Ti 1[4] (cf. Plato, *Tim.* 22 A, as to the offspring of Deucalion and Pyrrha), with *fightings about the law* (Tit 3[9]) and with *commandments of men* (Tit 1[14]). The two last expressions and the epithet *Jewish* find some explanation in the rigid asceticism of abstaining from meats and forbidding to marry (1 Ti 4[3]), which was doubtless founded upon Jewish law, and was a characteristic of that side of Gnosticism which was afraid of matter, even as licence (Tit 1[15. 16]) was the characteristic of that other side which affected to despise its power; the 'genealogies' remind us of the worship of angels at Colossæ (Col 2[18]), and the Gnosticism which bridged the gulf between God and the world by means of angelic intermediaries generated from the *pleroma* and from one another; and when we read also elsewhere in these epistles of the 'gnosis falsely so-called' (1 Ti 6[20]), of the 'resurrection past already' (2 Ti 2[18]), of the 'enchanters' (2 Ti 3[13]), and of the 'doctrines of demons' (1 Ti 4[1]), we are irresistibly drawn towards the belief that the *fables* of these epistles are closely akin to the teachings of Ophite Gnosticism—that earliest Gnosticism of Asia Minor, which was a strikingly similar mixture of Jewish and heathen speculation, ritual, and practice. See GNOSTICISM.

LITERATURE.—Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. s.* μῦθος and γενεαλογία; Trench, *Parables*, p. 2; Goebel, *Parables of Jesus*, 6 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, 244 ff.; *Encyc. Brit.*[9] and Smith, *DB*[2] *s.v.*; and see ALLEGORY; on the 'fables' of Past. Epp. see Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 411 ff.; (on the other side—that the heresy is simply Judaistic—Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, Lect. 7).

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FACE is AV tr. of **1.** אַף, for which RV in several instances substitutes more exact renderings, such as 'nose' (Gn 24[47]), 'nostrils' (Ezk 38[18]). **2.** עַיִן, lit. 'eye' (*e.g.* Ex 10[5. 15], Nu 22[5] 'the face of the earth'). RV rightly gives 'eyes' instead of 'face' in 1 K 20[38. 41], 2 K 9[30], Jer 4[30]. **3.** פָּנִים very frequent both in a lit. and a metaphorical sense (*e.g.* עַל פְּנֵי 'upon the face of'). The shewbread (see BREAD, p. 318[b]) was called לֶחֶם פָּנִים, lit. 'bread of the face, *i.e.* presence' (see next paragraph). With a personal pronoun 'my (thy, his, etc.) face' may be simply a circumlocution for 'me (thee, him,' etc.). Hence the substitution by RV of 'them' for 'their face' in Ex 14[19], and of 'thee' for 'thy face' in Gn 30[33], Dt 9[3] 28[7]. Conversely, in Jer 17[16] AV has 'thee' and RV 'thy face.'

The face or countenance as the noblest part of the person was used to mean *presence*, and is often so translated. From the implied invitation or permission to approach (Est 4[16]), it came to mean *favour*, *acceptance*. On the other hand, the withheld or averted face was equivalent to disapproval or rejection (Ps 13[1] 27[9] 88[14] 143[7] etc.). Such favour was called the light of the countenance, giving life and refreshment like that of the sun (Ps 89[15] etc.). Among the Arabs, a fit of anger or the sudden effect of hearing bad news is called the darkening of the sky on the face. To 'respect persons' is generally נָשָׂא פָּנִים, but in Dt 1[17] 16[19], Pr 24[23] 28[21] it is הִכִּיר פָּנִים, lit. to recognize the presence of one (*sc.* unjustly).

To spit in the face was the strongest possible expression of scorn and aversion (Nu 12[14], Dt 25[9], Job 30[10], Is 50[6], Mt 26[67] 27[30], Mk 10[34] 14[65], 15[19], Lk 18[32]). In heated altercation, an Oriental often uses an ejaculation which means 'I spit in your face,' at the same time spitting on the ground at the feet of the person he is quarrelling with. Modesty, humility, worship, self-abasement, are expressed by the veils of women (Gn 24[65]), the reverential shrouding of the face with the mantle (1 K 19[13]), the wings with which the seraphim covered the face (Is 6[2]), and the face bowed to the ground (Gn 42[6] etc.). To have the face covered by another, as in the case of Haman (Est 7[8]), was a sign of doom; the napkin drawn over the face and wound round the head was part of the covering of the dead (Jn 11[44] 20[7]).

G. M. MACKIE.

FACT.—A 'fact' (Lat. *factum*) is any act or deed, good or bad; and this was the commonest

meaning of the word till about the beginning of the present century. Thus Spenser, *FQ* I. iv. 34—

'But, when the furious fit was overpast,
His cruel facts he often would repent.'

Similarly Bunyan, *PP* (Clar. Pr. ed. p. 42), 'falling down upon his knees, he [Christian] asked God forgiveness for that his foolish fact.' So T. Adams, *II Peter* (Pur. Divines), p. 3, 'Theodosius excused a foul fact, because David had done the like.' This is the meaning in 2 K 10 (heading) 'Jehu by his letters causeth seventy of Ahab's children to be beheaded: he excuseth the fact by the prophecy of Elijah'; and 2 Mac 4^{36} 'Certain of the Greeks that abhorred the fact also' (Gr. *συμμισοπονηρούντων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, RV 'the Greeks also joining with them in hatred of the wickedness.' This is the only example of *συμμ.*, though *μισοπονηρέω* is found 2 Mac 4^{49} [A *-εύω*] 8^{4}). The present use of 'fact' for something that has actually occurred, an undeniable truth, though quite classical for *factum*, and belonging to all the Romanic equivalents (Fr. *fait*, It. *fatto*, Sp. *hecho*), is not found in English before 1632.

J. HASTINGS.

FAIN is properly 'glad,' as Dyke, *Worthy Commun.* 56, 'Then full faine wilt thou be to have Christ Jesus receive thy soule'; or 'gladly,' as Jn 12^{21} Tind. 'Syr, we wolde fayne se Jesus.' But the commonest meaning has always been 'glad under the circumstances,' and that is its meaning in AV: Job 27^{22} 'he would fain flee out of his hand' (בָּרוֹחַ יִבְרַח, AVm 'in fleeing he would flee'): 1 Mac 6^{54} 'they were fain to disperse themselves' (*ἐσκορπίσθησαν*, RV 'they were scattered'); Lk 15^{16} 'he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat' (*ἐπεθύμει*). Cf. Shaks. *Lear*, IV. vii. 38—

'and wast thou fain, poor father,
To hovel thee with swine, and rogues forlorn,
In short and musty straw?'

From this the word easily slipped into the sense of 'obliged,' 'compelled,' as in *Pref.* to AV 'he was fain to make this answer, I cannot [read the book] for it is sealed'; Is 1^{7} Cov. 'Youre londe lieth waist . . . and ye must be fayne to stonde and loke upon it'; and Defoe, *Crusoe*: 'When the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labour; for I was fain to go for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much.'

To the three examples in AV, RV adds two: Lk 13^{31} 'Herod would fain kill thee' (*θέλει σε ἀποκτεῖναι*; AV 'will kill thee,' the tr^{n} of all previous Eng. VSS [Wyc. 'will slay thee']); and Ac 26^{28} 'With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian' (Ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι; AV 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian,' following TR *γενέσθαι* for *ποιῆσαι*).

The reading, *ποιῆσαι* or *γενέσθαι*, is discussed in WH 'Select Readings,' *ad loc.* The best argument for *ποιῆσαι* is its difficulty: to simplify the construction, *γενέσθαι* may have been taken in from the next verse.

The translation is, on either reading, nearly impossible. The AV is a combination of the Geneva NT (1557), 'Almost thou persuadest me to become a Christian,' and the Bishops', 'Somwhat thou perswadest me to be a Christian.' But it gives an unknown sense to *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, besides following the less probable *γενέσθαι*. The RV is new, and is got (1) by mentally supplying *πόνῳ* (?) 'labour' after *ἐν ὀλίγῳ*; (2) by translating *πείθεις* 'wouldest fain,' so as to bring out the sense, which it certainly has, of '*attempt* to persuade'; and (3) by supplying *ὥστε* before *ποιῆσαι*. It is adversely criticised by Field, *Otium Norv.* iii. *ad loc.* But Rendall, *Acts of Apos. in Greek and English* (1897), accepts it, rendering, 'At little cost thou wouldest fain persuade me to make me a Christian!' (The exclamation mark is intended to suggest the irony in Agrippa's voice).

J. HASTINGS.

FAINT.—From *feint* the ptcp. of Old Fr. *feindre* to feign, faint signified first 'feigned,' 'pretended,' as Earl Rivers, *Dictes*, 144, 'He that loueth the with feynt loue.' But it passed early into the sense of weak: whether (1) as a purely *physical* state, as Gn 25^{29} 'Esau came from the field, and he was faint' (עָיֵף, so 25^{30}, Dt 25^{18}, Jg $8^{4.5}$, Is 29^{8}; עוּף 1 S $14^{28.31}$, 2 S 21^{15}; פִּגֵּר 1 S $30^{10.21}$; יָעֵף 2 S 16^{2}, Is 40^{29}; *ἐκλύομαι* 1 Mac 3^{17}); or (2) as chiefly *moral*, almost='cowardly,'* which occurs only in the phrase **faint-hearted**, Dt 20^{8} (רַךְ הַלֵּבָב, lit. 'soft-hearted'); Is 7^{4} (וְלִבָּבְךָ אַל־יֵרַךְ, RV 'neither let thine heart be faint'), Jer 49^{23} (נָמֹגוּ, RV 'they are melted away'), Sir 4^{9} (*μὴ ὀλιγοψυχήσῃς*, so 7^{10}); or (3) as *spiritual*, through sorrow, Jer 8^{18}, La 1^{22} (both נַּגִּי) 1^{13} 5^{17} (both הָוָה), or calamity, Is 1^{5} (נַּגִּי).

The verb is derived from the adj. It is used in the foregoing senses, and also in the modern physical sense of 'swoon' (Dn 8^{27}, Ad. Est 15^{7}). **Faintness** is used physically in Ad. Est 15^{15} and spiritually in Lv 26^{36}.

J. HASTINGS.

FAIR.—**1.** *Beautiful*, as Sus v.^{2} 'a very fair woman' (*καλὴ σφόδρα*); Sir 24^{18} 'I am the mother of fair love' (*τῆς ἀγαπήσεως τῆς καλῆς*). So frequently in OT; but in NT only Ac 7^{20} [Moses] 'was exceeding fair' (*ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ*, lit. 'fair to God,' see under EXCEEDING. The adj. occurs also He 11^{23} and again of Moses; AV 'proper'; RV 'goodly,' the word in Ex 2^{2} where the Heb. is טוֹב 'good'). **2.** *Unspotted*, Zec $3^{5\,bis}$ 'a fair mitre' (טָהוֹר). Cf. Pr. Bk. (1552) 'a fayre white lynnen clothe'; Ezk 1^{7} Cov. 'fayre scoured metall'; Wesley (1737), *Works*, i. 46, 'a paper book; all the leaves thereof were fair, except one.' Wyclif's tr. of Zec 3^{5} is (1382) 'a cleene cappe' (1388, 'a cleene mytre'); Douay, 'a cleane mitre.' Coverdale gives 'fair,' and the other VSS follow him. Amer. RV restores 'clean.' **3.** *Plausible*, Gal 6^{12} 'to make a fair show' (*εὐπροσωπῆσαι*); elsewhere only of speech. In Sir 6^{5} 'fair speaking' is used in a good sense, 'a fair-speaking tongue will increase kind greetings' (*εὔλαλος*). The modern form 'fair-spoken' had also a good meaning once, as Capgrave (1460), *Chron.* 81, 'He was . . . fayre-spokyn, but he spak but seldam.'

In Ezk $27^{12\text{-}14.\,16.\,19.\,22\text{-}27}$ '**fairs**,' *i.e.* markets, is used in AV (after Wyc. in v.^{12} and Geneva throughout) as tr. of Heb. עֲזָבוֹן, which is evidently 'wares' as AV has it in v.^{33}, the only other occurrence of the word. RV gives 'wares' (wh. see) throughout.

J. HASTINGS.

FAIR HAVENS (Καλοὶ Λιμένες), one of the places mentioned in connexion with St. Paul's voyage to Rome (Ac $27^{8\text{-}12}$), is a small bay, two leagues E. of Cape Matala, on the S. coast of Crete. There does not seem to have been a town at the place, but there was one near it, called Lasea. Neither Fair Havens nor Lasea is mentioned in classical writings, but the former name survives in the modern Gr. dialect as Λιμεῶνας Καλούς, and archæological research has confirmed the identity of both places. It has been suggested that the name is euphemistic, and the fact that an attempt was made to reach Phœnix, the modern Lutro, a considerable distance W. along the coast, in the circumstances mentioned in Ac, adds emphasis to the statement that the haven was not commodious to winter in. On the other hand, it proved a welcome shelter to St. Paul and those who were with him, for a considerable time, at a most critical part of their voyage. The difference between Fair Havens and Phœnix was, that while the former was sheltered only from the N. and N.W. winds, the latter was 'the only secure harbour in all winds on the S. coast of Crete.'

W. MUIR.

FAIRS.—See FAIR, WARES.

* Cf. H. Smith, *Works*, ii. 219, 'The faint spies that went to the land of Canaan.'

FAITH.—I. The Philological Expression of Faith. — The verb 'to believe' in AV of OT uniformly represents the Heb. הֶאֱמִין, Hiph. of אָמַן, except, of course, in Dn 6^{23} where it represents the corresponding Aramaic form. The root, which is widely spread among the Semitic tongues, and which in the word 'Amen' has been adopted into every language spoken by Christian, Jew, or Mohammedan, seems everywhere to convey the fundamental ideas of 'fixedness, stability, steadfastness, reliability.' What the ultimate conception is which underlies these ideas remains somewhat doubtful, but it would appear to be rather that of 'holding' than that of 'supporting' (although this last is the sense adopted in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*). In the simple species the verb receives both transitive and intransitive vocalization. With intransitive vocalization it means 'to be firm,' 'to be secure,' 'to be faithful,' and occurs in biblical Hebrew only in the past participle, designating those who are 'faithful' (2 S 20^{19}, Ps 12^{1} 31^{23}). With transitive vocalization it occurs in biblical Hebrew only in a very specialized application, conveying the idea, whether as participle or verbal noun, of 'caretaking' or 'nursing' (2 K $10^{1.5}$, Est 2^{7}, Ru 4^{16}, 2 S 4^{4}, Nu 11^{12}, Is 49^{23}, La 4^{5}; cf. 2 K 18^{16} 'pillars' and [the Niphal] Is 60^{4}), the implication in which seems to be that of 'holding,' 'bearing,' 'carrying.' The Niph. occurs once as the passive of transitive Qal (Is 60^{4}): elsewhere it is formed from intransitive Qal, and is used very much in the same sense. Whatever holds, is steady, or can be depended upon, whether a wall which securely holds a nail (Is $22^{23.25}$), or a brook which does not fail (Jer 15^{18}), or a kingdom which is firmly established (2 S 7^{16}), or an assertion which has been verified (Gn 42^{20}), or a covenant which endures for ever (Ps 89^{28}), or a heart found faithful (Neh 9^{8}), or a man who can be trusted (Neh 13^{13}), or God Himself who keeps covenant (Dt 7^{9}), is נֶאֱמָן. The Hiphil occurs in one passage in the primary physical sense of the root (Job 39^{24}). Elsewhere it bears constantly the sense of 'to trust,' weakening down to the simple 'to believe' (Ex 4^{31}, Ps 116^{10}, Is 7^{9} 28^{16}, Hab 1^{5}). Obviously it is a subjective causative, and expresses the acquisition or exhibition of the firmness, security, reliability, faithfulness which lies in the root-meaning of the verb, in or with respect to its object. The מַאֲמִין is therefore one whose state of mind is free from faintheartedness (Is 7^{9}) and anxious haste (Is 28^{16}), and who stays himself upon the object of his contemplation with confidence and trust. The implication seems to be, not so much that of a passive dependence as of a vigorous active commitment. He who, in the Hebrew sense, exercises faith, is secure, assured, confident (Dt 28^{66}, Job 24^{22}, Ps 27^{13}), and lays hold of the object of his confidence with firm trust.

The most common construction of הֶאֱמִין is with the preposition ב, and in this construction its fundamental meaning seems to be most fully expressed. It is probably never safe to represent this phrase by the simple 'believe'; the preposition rather introduces the person or thing in which one believes, or on which one believingly rests as on firm ground. This is true even when the object of the affection is a thing, whether divine words, commandments, or works (Ps 106^{12} 119^{66} 78^{32}), or some earthly force or good (Job 39^{12} 15^{31} 24^{22}, Dt 28^{66}). It is no less true when the object is a person, human (1 S 27^{12}, Pr 26^{25}, Jer 12^{6}, Mic 7^{5}) or superhuman (Job 4^{18} 15^{15}), or the representative of God, in whom therefore men should place their confidence (Ex 19^{9}, 2 Ch 20^{20}). It is above all true, however, when the object of the affection is God Himself, and that indifferently whether or not the special exercise of faith adverted to is rooted in a specific occasion (Gn 15^{6}, Ex 14^{31}, Nu 14^{11} 20^{12}, Dt 1^{32}, 2 K 17^{14}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, Ps 78^{22}, Jon 3^{5}). The weaker conception of 'believing' seems, on the other hand, to lie in the construction with the preposition ל, which appears to introduce the person or thing, not on which one confidingly rests, but to the testimony of which one assentingly turns. This credence may be given by the simple to every untested word (Pr 14^{15}); it may be withheld until seeing takes the place of believing (1 K 10^{7}, 2 Ch 9^{6}); it is due to words of the Lord and of His messengers, as well as to the signs wrought by them (Ps 106^{24}, Is 53^{1}, Ex $4^{8.9}$). It may also be withheld from any human speaker (Gn 45^{26}, Ex $4^{1.8}$, Jer 40^{14}, 2 Ch 32^{15}), but is the right of God when He bears witness to His majesty or makes promises to His people (Is 43^{10}, Dt 9^{23}). In this weakened sense of the word the proposition believed is sometimes attached to it by the conjunction כִּי (Ex 4^{5}, Job 9^{16}, La 4^{12}). In its construction with the infinitive, however, its deeper meaning comes out more strongly (Jg 11^{20}, Job 15^{22}, Ps 27^{13}), and the same is true when the verb is used absolutely (Ex 4^{31}, Is 7^{9} 28^{16}, Ps 116^{10}, Job 29^{24}, Hab 1^{5}). In these constructions faith is evidently the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen.

No hiphilate noun from this root occurs in OT. This circumstance need not in itself possess significance; the notions of 'faith' and 'faithfulness' lie close to one another, and are not uncommonly expressed by a single term (so *πίστις*, *fides*, faith). As a matter of fact, however, 'faith,' in its active sense, can barely be accounted an OT term. It occurs in AV of OT only twice: Dt 32^{20} where it represents the Heb. אֱמֻן, and Hab 2^{4} where it stands for the Heb. אֱמוּנָה; and it would seem to be really demanded in no passage but Hab 2^{4}. The very point of this passage, however, is the sharp contrast which is drawn between arrogant self-sufficiency and faithful dependence on God. The purpose of the verse is to give a reply to the prophet's inquiry as to God's righteous dealings with the Chaldæans. Since it is by faith that the righteous man lives, the arrogant Chaldæan, whose soul is puffed up and not straight within him, cannot but be destined to destruction. The whole drift of the broader context bears out this meaning; for throughout this prophecy the Chaldæan is ever exhibited as the type of insolent self-assertion ($1^{7.11.16}$), in contrast with which the righteous appear, certainly not as men of integrity and steadfast faithfulness, but as men who look in faith to God and trustingly depend upon His arm. The obvious reminiscence of Gn 15^{6} throws its weight into the same scale, to which may be added the consent of the Jewish expositors of the passage. Here we have, therefore, thrown into a clear light the contrasting characteristics of the wicked, typified by the Chaldæan, and of the righteous: of the one the fundamental trait is self-sufficiency; of the other, faith. This faith, which forms the distinctive feature of the righteous man, and by which he obtains life, is obviously no mere assent. It is a profound and abiding disposition, an ingrained attitude of mind and heart towards God which affects and gives character to all the activities. Here only the term occurs in OT; but on this its sole occurrence it rises to the full height of its most pregnant meaning.

The extreme rarity of the noun 'faith' in OT may prepare us to note that even the verb 'to believe' is far from common in it. In a religious application it occurs in only some thirteen OT books, and less than a score and a half times. The thing believed is sometimes a specific word or work of God (La 4^{12}, Hab 1^{5}), the fact of a divine revelation (Ex 4^{5}, Job 9^{16}), or the words or commandments of God in general (with ב Ps 106^{12} 119^{66}). In Ex 19^{9} and 2 Ch 20^{20} God's prophets

are the object of His people's confidence. God Himself is the object to which they believingly turn, or on whom they rest in assured trust, in some eleven cases. In two of these it is to Him as a faithful witness that faith believingly turns (Dt 9^{23}, Is 43^{10}). In the remainder of them it is upon His very person that faith rests in assured confidence (Gn 15^{6}, Ex 14^{31}, Nu 14^{11} 20^{12}, Dt 1^{32}, 2 K 17^{14}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, Ps 78^{22}, Jon 3^{5}). It is in these instances, in which the construction is with ב, together with those in which the word is used absolutely (Ex 4^{31}, Is 7^{9} 28^{16}, Ps 116^{10}), to which may be added Ps 27^{13} where it is construed with the infinitive, that the conception of religious believing comes to its rights. The typical instance is, of course, the great word of Gn 15^{6}, 'And Abram believed in the LORD, and he counted it to him for righteousness'; in which all subsequent believers, Jewish and Christian alike, have found the primary example of faith. The object of Abram's faith, as here set forth, was not the promise which appears as the occasion of its exercise; what it rested on was God Himself, and that not merely as the giver of the promise here recorded, but as His servant's shield and exceeding great reward (16^{1}). It is therefore not the assensive but the fiducial element of faith which is here emphasized; in a word, the faith which Abram gave J″ when he 'put his trust in God' (*ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ*, LXX), was the same faith which later He sought in vain at the hands of His people (Nu 14^{11}, cf. Dt 1^{32}, 2 K 17^{14}), and the notion of which the Psalmist explains in the parallel, 'They believed not in God, and trusted not in his salvation' (Ps 78^{22}). To believe in God, in the OT sense, is thus not merely to assent to His word, but with firm and unwavering confidence to rest in security and trustfulness upon Him.

In the Greek of the LXX *πιστεύειν* takes its place as the regular rendering of הֶאֱמִין, and is very rarely set aside in favour of another word expressing trust (Pr 26^{25} *πείθεσθαι*). In a few cases, however, it is strengthened by composition with a preposition (Dt 1^{32}, Jg 11^{20}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, cf. Sir 1^{15} 2^{10} etc., 1 Mac 1^{30} 7^{16} etc., *ἐμπιστεύειν*; Mic 7^{5}, *καταπιστεύειν*); and in a few others it is construed with prepositions (*ἔν τινι*, Jer 12^{6}, Ps 78^{22}, Dn 6^{23}, 1 S 27^{12}, 2 Ch 20^{20}, Mic 7^{5}, Sir 35^{21}; *ἐπί τινα*, Is 28^{16} (?), 3 Mac 2^{7}; *ἐπί τινι*, Wis 12^{2}; *εἴς τινα*, Sir 38^{31}; *κατά τινα*, Job 4^{18} 15^{15} 24^{22}).

It was by being thus made the vehicle for expressing the high religious faith of OT that the word was prepared for its NT use. For it had the slightest possible connexion with religious faith in classical speech. Resting ultimately on a root with the fundamental sense of 'binding,' and standing in classical Greek as the common term for 'trusting,' 'putting faith in,' 'relying upon,' shading down into 'believing,' it was rather too strong a term for ordinary use of that ungenial relation to the gods which was characteristic of Greek thought, and which was substantively expressed by *πίστις*—the proper acknowledgment in thought and act of their existence and rights. For this *νομίζειν* was the usual term, and the relative strength of the two terms may be observed in their use in the opening sections of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (I. i. 1 and 5), where Socrates is charged with not believing in the gods whom the city owned (*νομίζειν τοὺς θεούς*), but is affirmed to have stood in a much more intimate relation to them, to have trusted in them (*πιστεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς*). Something of the same depth of meaning may lurk in the exhortation of the Epinomis (980 C), *Πιστεύσας τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχου*. But ordinarily *πιστεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς* appears as the synonym of *νομίζειν τοὺς θεούς*, and imports merely the denial of atheism (Plut. *de Superst.* ii.; Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 17). It was only by its adoption by the writers of the LXX to express the faith of OT that it was fitted to take its place in NT as the standing designation of the attitude of the man of faith towards God.

This service the LXX could not perform for *πίστις* also, owing to the almost complete absence of the noun 'faith' in the active sense from OT; but it was due to a Hellenistic development on the basis of OT religion, and certainly not without influence from Gn 15^{6} and Hab 2^{4} that this term, too, was prepared for NT use. In classical Greek *πίστις* is applied to belief in the gods chiefly as implying that such belief rests rather on trust than on sight (Plut. *Mor.* 756 B). Though there is no suggestion in this of weakness of conviction (for *πίστις* expresses a strong conviction, and is therefore used in contrast with 'impressions'), yet the word, when referring to the gods, very rarely rises above intellectual conviction into its naturally more congenial region of moral trust (Soph. *Oed. Rex*, 146, 147). That this, its fuller and more characteristic meaning, should come to its rights in the religious sphere, it was necessary that it should be transferred into a new religious atmosphere. The usage of Philo bears witness that it thus came to its rights on the lips of the Greek-speaking Jews. It is going too far, to be sure, to say that Philo's usage of 'faith' is scarcely distinguishable from that of NT writers. The gulf that separates the two is very wide, and has not been inaptly described by saying that with Philo, faith, as the queen of the virtues, is the righteousness of the righteous man, while with St. Paul, as the abnegation of all claim to virtue, it is the righteousness of the unrighteous. But it is of the utmost significance that, in the pages of Philo, the conception is filled with a content which far transcends any usage of the word in heathen Greek, and which is a refraction of the religious conceptions of OT. Fundamental to his idea of it as the crowning virtue of the godly man, to be attained only with the supremest difficulty, especially by creatures akin to mortal things, is his conception of it as essentially a changeless, unwavering 'standing by God' (Dt 5^{31}), —binding us to God, to the exclusion of every other object of desire, and making us one with Him. It has lost that soteriological content which is the very heart of faith in OT; though there does not absolutely fail an occasional reference to God as Saviour, it is, with Philo, rather the Divinity, *τὸ ὄν*, upon which faith rests, than the God of grace and salvation; and it therefore stands with him, not at the beginning but at the end of the religious life. But we can perceive in the usage of Philo a development on Jewish ground of a use of the word *πίστις* to describe that complete detachment from earthly things, and that firm conviction of the reality and supreme significance of the things not seen, which underlies its whole NT use.

The disparity in the use of the terms 'faith' and 'believe' in the two Testaments is certainly in a formal aspect very great. In contrast with their extreme rarity in OT, they are both, though somewhat unevenly distributed and varying in relative frequency, distinctly characteristic of the whole NT language, and oddly enough occur about equally often (about 240 times each). The verb is lacking only in Col, Philem, 2 P, 2 and 3 Jn, and the Apocalypse; the noun only in the Gospel of John and 2 and 3 Jn: both fail only in 2 and 3 Jn. The noun predominates not only in the epistles of St. Paul, where the proportion is about three to one, and in St. James (about five to one), but very markedly in the Epistle to the Hebrews (about sixteen to one). In St. John, on the other hand, the verb is very frequent, while the noun occurs only once in 1 Jn and four times in the Apocalypse. In the other books the proportion between the two is less noteworthy, and may

fairly be accounted accidental. In OT, again, 'faith' occurs in the active sense in but a single passage; in NT it is the passive sense which is rare. In OT in only about half the instances of its occurrence is the verb 'to believe' used in a religious sense; in NT it has become so clearly a technical religious term, that it occurs very rarely in any other sense. The transitive usage, in which it expresses entrusting something to someone, occurs a few times both in the active (Lk 16^{11}, Jn 2^{24}) and the passive (Rev 3^2, 1 Co 9^{17}, Gal 2^7, 1 Th 2^4, 1 Ti 1^{11}, Tit 1^3); but besides this special case there are very few instances in which the word does not express religious believing, possibly only the following: Jn 9^{18}, Ac 9^{26}, 1 Co 11^{18}, Mt $24^{23.\ 26}$, Mk 13^{21}, 2 Th 2^{11}, cf. Ac 13^{41} 15^{11}, Jn 4^{21}, 1 Jn 4^1. The classical construction with the simple dative which prevails in the LXX retires in NT in favour of constructions with prepositions and the absolute use of the verb; the construction with the dative occurs about forty-five times, while that with prepositions occurs some sixty-three times, and the verb is used absolutely some ninety-three times.

When construed with the dative, *πιστεύειν* in NT prevailingly expresses believing assent, though ordinarily in a somewhat pregnant sense. When its object is a thing, it is usually the spoken (Lk 1^{20}, Jn 4^{50} 5^{47} 12^{38}, Ro 10^{16}, cf. 2 Th 2^{11}) or written (Jn 2^{22} 5^{47}, Ac 24^{14} 26^{27}) word of God; once it is divine works which should convince the onlooker of the divine mission of the worker (Jn 10^{38}). When its object is a person it is rarely another than God or Jesus (Mt $21^{25.\ 32}$, Mk 11^{31}, Lk 20^5, Jn 5^{46}, Ac 8^{12}, 1 Jn 4^1), and more rarely God (Jn 5^{24}, Ac 16^{34} 27^{25}, Ro $4^{2\ (17)}$, Gal 3^6, Tit 3^8, Ja 2^{23}, 1 Jn 5^{10}) than Jesus (Jn 4^{21} $5^{38.\ 46}$ 6^{30} $8^{31.\ 45.\ 46}$ $10^{37.\ 38}$ 14^{11}, Ac 17^8, 2 Ti 1^{12}). Among these passages there are not lacking some, both when the object is a person and when it is a thing, in which the higher sense of devoted, believing trust is conveyed. In 1 Jn 3^{23}, for example, we are obviously to translate, not 'believe the name,' but 'believe in the name of his Son, Jesus Christ,' for in this is summed up the whole Godward side of Christian duty. So there is no reason to question that the words of Gn 15^6 are adduced in Ro 4^2, Gal 3^6, Ja 2^{23} in the deep sense which they bear in OT text; and this deeper religious faith can scarcely be excluded from the belief in God adverted to in Ac 16^{34}, Tit 3^8 (cf. Jn 5^{24}), or from the belief in Jesus adverted to in 2 Ti 1^{12} (cf. Jn 5^{38} 6^{30}), and is obviously the prominent conception in the faith of Crispus declared in Ac 18^8. The passive form of this construction occurs only twice—once of believing assent (2 Th 1^{10}), and once with the highest implications of confiding trust (1 Ti 3^{16}). The few passages in which the construction is with the accusative (Jn 11^{26}, Ac 13^{41}, 1 Co 11^{18} 13^7, 1 Jn 4^{16}) take their natural place along with the commoner usage with the dative, and need not express more than crediting, although over one or two of them there floats a shadow of a deeper implication. The same may be said of the cases of attraction in Ro 4^{17} and 10^{14}. And with these weaker constructions must be ranged also the passages, twenty in all (fourteen of which occur in the writings of St. John), in which what is believed is joined to the verb by the conjunction *ὅτι*. In a couple of these the matter believed scarcely rises into the religious sphere (Jn 9^{18}, Ac 9^{26}); in a couple more there is specific reference to prayer (Mk $11^{23.\ 24}$); in yet a couple more it is general faith in God which is in mind (He 11^6, Ja 2^{19}). In the rest, what is believed is of immediately soteriological import—now the possession by Jesus of a special power (Mt 9^{28}), now the central fact of His saving work (Ro 10^9, 1 Th 4^{14}), now the very hinge of the Christian hope (Ro 6^8), but prevailingly the divine mission and personality of Jesus Himself (Jn 6^{69} 8^{24} $11^{27.\ 42}$ 13^{19} 14^{10} $16^{27.\ 30}$ $17^{8.\ 21}$ 20^{31}, 1 Jn $5^{1.\ 5}$). By their side we may recall also the rare construction with the infinitive (Ac 15^{11}, Ro 14^2).

When we advance to the constructions with prepositions, we enter a region in which the deeper sense of the word—that of firm, trustful reliance—comes to its full rights. The construction with *ἐν*, which is the most frequent of the constructions with prepositions in the LXX, retires almost out of use in NT; it occurs with certainty only in Mk 1^{15}, where the object of faith is 'the gospel,' though Jn 3^{15}, Eph 1^{13} may also be instances of it, where the object would be Christ. The implication of this construction would seem to be firm fixedness of confidence in its object. Scarcely more common is the parallel construction of *ἐπί* with the dative, expressive of steady, resting repose, reliance upon the object. Besides the quotation from Is 28^{16}, which appears alike in Ro 9^{33} 10^{11}, 1 P 2^6, this construction occurs only twice: Lk 24^{25}, where Jesus rebukes His followers for not 'believing on,' relying implicitly upon, all that the prophets have spoken; and 1 Ti 1^{16}, where we are declared to 'believe on' Jesus Christ unto salvation, *i.e.* to obtain salvation by relying upon Him for it. The constructions with prepositions governing the accusative, which involve an implication of 'moral motion, mental direction towards,' are more frequently used. That with *ἐπί*, indeed, occurs only seven times (four of which are in Ac). In two instances in Ro 4, where the reminiscence of the faith of Abraham gives colour to the language, the object on which faith is thus said relyingly to lay hold is God, described, however, as savingly working through Christ—as He that justifies the ungodly, He that raised Jesus our Lord from the dead. Elsewhere its object is Christ Himself. In Mt 27^{42} the Jewish leaders declare the terms on which they will become 'believers on' Jesus; in Ac 16^{31} this is the form that is given to the proclamation of salvation by faith in Christ—'turn with confident trust to Jesus Christ'; and appropriately, therefore, it is in this form of expression that those are designated who have savingly believed on Christ (Ac 9^{42} 11^{17} 22^{19}). The special NT construction, however, is that with *εἰς*, which occurs some forty-nine times, about four-fifths of which are Johannine and the remainder more or less Pauline. The object towards which faith is thus said to be reliantly directed is in one unique instance 'the witness which God hath witnessed concerning his Son' (1 Jn 5^{10}), where we may well believe that 'belief in the truth of the witness is carried on to personal belief in the object of the witness, that is, the Incarnate Son Himself.' Elsewhere the object believed on, in this construction, is always a person, and that very rarely God (Jn 14^1, cf. 1 Jn 5^{10}, and also 1 P 1^{21}, where, however, the true reading is probably *πιστοὺς εἰς θεόν*), and most commonly Christ (Mt 18^6, Jn 2^{11} $3^{16.\ 18.\ 36}$ 4^{39} $6^{29.\ 35.\ 40}$ $7^{5.\ 31.\ 38.\ 39.\ 48}$ 8^{30} $9^{35.\ 36}$ 10^{42} $11^{25.\ 25.\ 45.\ 48}$ $12^{11.\ 37.\ 42.\ 44.\ 44.\ 46}$ $14^{1.\ 12}$ 16^9 17^{20}, Ac 10^{43} 14^{23} 19^4, Ro $10^{14.\ 14}$, Gal 2^{16}, Ph 1^{29}, 1 P 1^8, 1 Jn 5^{10}, cf. Jn 12^{36} 1^{12} 2^{23} 3^{18}, 1 Jn 5^{13}). A glance over these passages will bring clearly out the pregnancy of the meaning conveyed. It may be more of a question wherein the pregnancy resides. It is probably sufficient to find it in the sense conveyed by the verb itself, while the preposition adjoins only the person towards whom the strong feeling expressed by the verb is directed. In any event, what these passages express is 'an absolute transference of trust from ourselves to another,' a complete self-surrender to Christ.

Some confirmation of this explanation of the strong meaning of the phrase *πιστεύειν εἰς* may be

derived from the very rich use of the verb absolutely, in a sense in no way inferior. Its absolute use is pretty evenly distributed through the NT, occurring 29 times in John, 23 times in Paul, 22 times in Acts, 15 times in the Synoptics, and once each in Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, and Jude; it is placed on the lips of Jesus some 18 times. In surprisingly few of these instances is it used of a non-religious act of crediting,—apparently only in our Lord's warning to His followers not to believe when men say '"Lo, here is the Christ," or "here"' (Mt 24[23. 26], Mk 13[21]). In equally surprisingly few instances is it used of specific acts of faith in the religious sphere. Once it is used of assent given to a specific doctrine—that of the unity of God (Ja 2[19]). Once it is used of believing prayer (Mt 21[22]). Four times in a single chapter of John it is used of belief in a specific fact—the great fact central to Christianity of the resurrection of Christ (Jn 20[8. 25. 29. 29]). It is used occasionally of belief in God's announced word (Lk 1[45], Ac 26[27]), and occasionally also of the credit given to specific testimonies of Jesus, whether with reference to earthly or heavenly things (Jn 3[12. 12] 1[50], Lk 22[67]), passing thence to general faith in the word of salvation (Lk 8[12. 12]). Twice it is used of general soteriological faith in God (Jude[5], Ro 4[18]), and a few times, with the same pregnancy of implication, where the reference, whether to God or Christ, is more or less uncertain (Jn 1[7], Ro 4[11], 2 Co 4[13. 13]). Ordinarily, however, it expresses soteriological faith directed to the person of Christ. In a few instances, to be sure, the immediate trust expressed is in the extraordinary power of Jesus for the performance of earthly effects (the so-called 'miracle faith'), as in Mt 8[13], Mk 5[36] 9[23. 24], Lk 8[50], Jn 4[48] 11[40]; but the essential relation in which this faith stands to 'saving faith' is clearly exhibited in Jn 4[48] compared with v.[53] and 9[38], and Jn 11[40] compared with v.[15] and 12[39]; and, in any case, these passages are insignificant in number when compared with the great array in which the reference is distinctly to saving faith in Christ (Mk 9[42] 15[32] [Jn 3[15]], Jn 3[18] 4[41. 42. 53] 5[44] 6[36. 47. 64. 64] 9[38] 10[25. 26] 11[15] 12[39] 14[29] 16[31] 19[35] 20[31], Ac 2[44] 4[4. 32] 5[14] 8[13] 11[21] 13[12. 39. 48] 14[1] 15[5. 7] 17[12. 34] 18[8. 27] 19[2. 18] 21[20. 25], Ro 1[16] 3[22] 10[4. 10] 13[11] 15[13], 1 Co 1[21] 3[5] 14[22] 15[2. 11], Gal 3[22], Eph 1[13. 19], 1 Th 1[7] 2[10. 13], 2 Th 1[10], He 4[3], 1 P 2[7]). A survey of these passages will show very clearly that in the NT 'to believe' is a technical term to express reliance on Christ for salvation. In a number of them, to be sure, the object of the believing spoken of is sufficiently defined by the context, but, without contextual indication of the object, enough remain to bear out this suggestion. Accordingly, a tendency is betrayed to use the simple participle very much as a verbal noun, with the meaning of 'Christian': in Mk 9[42], Ac 11[21], 1 Co 1[21], Eph 1[13. 19], 1 Th 1[7] 2[10. 13] the participial construction is evident; it may be doubted, however, whether *οἱ πιστεύσαντες* is not used as a noun in such passages as Ac 2[44] 4[32], 2 Th 1[10], He 4[3]; and in Ac 5[14] *πιστεύοντες* is perhaps generally recognized as used substantively. Before the disciples were called 'Christians' (Ac 11[26], cf. 26[28], 1 P 4[16]) it would seem, then, that they were called 'believers,'—those who had turned to Christ in trusting reliance (*οἱ πιστεύσαντες*), or those who were resting on Christ in trusting reliance (*οἱ πιστεύοντες*); and that the undefined 'to believe' had come to mean to become or to be a Christian, that is, to turn to or rest on Christ in reliant trust. The occasional use of *οἱ πιστοί* in an equivalent sense (Ac 10[45], Eph 1[1], 1 Ti 4[3. 12], 1 P 1[21], Rev 17[14]), for which the way was prepared by the comparatively frequent use of this adjective in the classically rare active sense (Jn 1[27], Ac 16[1], 1 Co 7[14], 2 Co 6[15], Gal 3[9], 1 Ti 4[10] 5[16] 6[2], Tit 1[6]), adds weight to this conclusion; as do also the use of *ἄπιστοι* of 'unbelievers,' whether in the simple (1 Co 6[6] 7[12-15] 10[27] 14[22-24], 1 Ti 5[8]) or deepened sense (2 Co 4[4] 6[14f.], Tit 1[15], cf. Jn 20[27], Mt 17[17], Mk 9[19], Lk 9[41]), and the related usage of the words *ἀπιστία* (Mk 9[24] (16[14]), Mt 13[58], Mk 6[6], Ro 4[20] 11[20. 23], 1 Ti 1[13], He 3[12. 19]), *ἀπιστέω* (Mk 16[11 (16)], Lk 24[11. 41], Ac 28[24], 1 P 2[7]), and *ὀλιγόπιστος* (Mt 6[30] 8[26] 14[31] 16[8], Lk 12[28]), *ὀλιγοπιστία* (Mt 17[20]).

The impression which is thus derived from the usage of *πιστεύειν* is only deepened by attending to that of *πίστις*. As already intimated, *πίστις* occurs in NT very rarely in its passive sense of 'faithfulness,' 'integrity' (Ro 3[3] of God; Mt 23[23], Gal 5[22], Tit 2[10], of men; cf. 1 Ti 5[12] 'a pledge'; Ac 17[31] 'assurance'; others add 1 Ti 6[11], 2 Ti 2[22] 3[10], Philem[5]). And nowhere in the multitude of its occurrences in its active sense is it applied to man's faith in man, but always to the religious trust that reposes on God, or Christ, or divine things. The specific object on which the trust rests is but seldom explicitly expressed. In some six of these instances it is a thing, but always something of the fullest soteriological significance—the gospel of Christ (Ph 1[27]), the saving truth of God (2 Th 2[13]), the working of God who raised Jesus from the dead (Col 2[12], cf. Ac 14[9] 3[16]), the name of Jesus (Ac 3[16]), the blood of Jesus (Ro 3[25]), the righteousness of Jesus (2 P 1[1]). In as many more the object is God, and the conception is prevailingly that of general trust in God (Mk 11[22], Ro 14[22], 1 Th 1[8], He 6[1], 1 P 1[21], cf. Col 2[12]). In most instances, however, the object is specified as Christ, and the faith is very pointedly soteriological (Ac 20[21] 24[24] 26[18], Gal 2[16. 16. 20], Ro 3[22. 26], Gal 3[22. 26], Eph 1[15] 3[12] 4[13], Ph 3[9], Col 1[4] 2[5], 1 Ti 1[14] 3[13. 15], 2 Ti 1[13] 3[15], Philem[5], Ja 2[1], Rev 2[13] 14[12]). Its object is most frequently joined to *πίστις* as an objective genitive, a construction occurring some seventeen times, twelve of which fall in the writings of Paul. In four of them the genitive is that of the thing, viz. in Ph 1[27] the gospel, in 2 Th 2[13] the saving truth, in Col 2[12] the almighty working of God, and in Ac 3[16] the name of Jesus. In one of them it is God (Mk 11[22]). The certainty that the genitive is that of object in these cases is decisive with reference to its nature in the remaining cases, in which Jesus Christ is set forth as the object on which faith rests (Ro 3[22. 26], Gal 2[16. 16. 20] 3[22], Eph 3[12] 4[13], Ph 3[9], Ja 2[1], Rev 2[13] 14[12]). Next most frequently its object is joined to faith by means of the preposition *ἐν* (9 times), by which it is set forth as the basis on which faith rests, or the sphere of its operation. In two of these instances the object is a thing—the blood or righteousness of Jesus (Ro 3[25], 2 P 1[1]); in the rest it is Christ Himself who is presented as the ground of faith (Gal 3[26], Eph 1[15], Col 1[4], 1 Ti 1[14] 3[13], 2 Ti 1[13] 3[15]). Somewhat less frequently (5 times) its object is joined to *πίστις* by means of the preposition *εἰς*, designating, apparently, merely the object with reference to which faith is exercised (cf. especially Ac 20[21]); the object thus specified for faith is in one instance God (1 P 1[21]), and in the others Christ (Ac 20[21] 24[24] 26[18], Col 2[5]). By the side of this construction should doubtless be placed the two instances in which the preposition *πρός* is used, by which faith is said to look and adhere to God (1 Th 1[8]) or to Christ (Philem[5]). And it is practically in the same sense that in a single instance God is joined to *πίστις* by means of the preposition *ἐπί* as the object to which it restingly turns. It would seem that the pregnant sense of *πίστις* as self-abandoning trust was so fixed in Christian speech that little was left to be expressed by the mode of its adjunction to its object.

Accordingly, the use of the word without specified object is vastly preponderant. In a few of such instances we may see a specific reference

to the general confidence which informs believing prayer (Lk 18[8], Ja 1[6] 5[15]). In a somewhat greater number there is special reference to faith in Jesus as a worker of wonders—the so-called 'miracle faith' (Mt 8[10] 9[2. 22. 29] 15[28] [17[20]] [21[21]], Mk 2[5] 4[40] 5[34] 10[52], Lk 5[20] 7[9] 8[25. 48] 17[19] 18[42], Ac 3[16] 14[9])—although how little this faith can be regarded as non-soteriological the language of Mt 9[2], Mk 2[5], Lk 5[20] shows, as well as the parallelism between Lk 7[50] (cf. 8[48] 17[19]) and Mt 9[22], Mk 5[34]. The immense mass of the passages in which the undefined πίστις occurs, however, are distinctly soteriological, and that indifferently whether its implied object be God or Christ. Its implied reference is indeed often extremely difficult to fix; though the passages in which it may, with some confidence, be referred to Christ are in number about double those in which it may, with like confidence, be referred to God. The degree of clearness with which an implied object is pointed to in the context varies, naturally, very greatly; but in a number of cases there is no direct hint of object in the context, but this is left to be supplied by the general knowledge of the reader. And this is as much as to say that πίστις is so used as to imply that it had already become a Christian technical term, which needed no further definition that it might convey its full sense of saving faith in Jesus Christ to the mind of every reader. This tendency to use it as practically a synonym for 'Christianity' comes out sharply in such a phrase as οἱ ἐκ πίστεως (Gal 3[7. 9]), which is obviously a paraphrase for 'believers.' A transitional form of the phrase meets us in Ro 3[26], τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ; that the Ἰησοῦ could fall away and leave the simple οἱ ἐκ πίστεως standing for the whole idea, is full of implications as to the sense which the simple undefined πίστις had acquired in the circles which looked to Jesus for salvation. The same implications underlie the so-called objective use of πίστις in the NT. That in such passages as Ac 6[7], Gal 1[23] 3[23] 6[10], Ph 1[25], Jude[3. 20] it conveys the idea of 'the Christian religion' appears plain on the face of the passages; and by their side can be placed such others as the following, which seem transitional to them, viz.: Ac 16[5], 1 Co 16[13], Col 1[23], 1 Ti 1[19] 4[1. 6] 5[8], Tit 1[13], and, at a slightly further remove, such others as Ac 13[8], Ro 1[5] 16[26], Ph 1[25], 1 Ti 3[9] 6[10. 12], 2 Ti 3[8] 4[7], Tit 1[4] 3[15], 1 P 5[9]. It is not necessary to suppose that πίστις is used in any of these passages as *doctrina fidei*; it seems possible to carry through them all the conception of '*subjective* faith conceived of *objectively* as a power,'—even through those in Jude and 1 Timothy, which are more commonly than any others interpreted as meaning *doctrina fidei*. But this generally admitted objectivizing of subjective faith makes πίστις, as truly as if it were understood as *doctrina fidei*, on the verge of which it in any case trembles, a synonym for 'the Christian religion.' It is only a question whether 'the Christian religion' is designated in it from the side of doctrine or life; though it be from the point of view of life, still 'the faith' has become a synonym for 'Christianity,' 'believers' for 'Christians,' 'to believe' for 'to become a Christian,' and we may trace a development by means of which πίστις has come to mean the religion which is marked by and consists essentially in 'believing.' That this development so rapidly took place is significant of much, and supplies a ready explanation of such passages as Gal 3[23. 25], in which the phrases 'before the faith came' and 'now that faith is come' probably mean little more than before and after the advent of 'Christianity' into the world. On the ground of such a usage, we may at least re-affirm with increased confidence that the idea of 'faith' is conceived of in the NT as the characteristic idea of Christianity, and that it does not import mere 'belief' in an intellectual sense, but all that enters into an entire self-commitment of the soul to Jesus as the Son of God, the Saviour of the world.

II. The Historical Presentation of Faith.—It lies on the very surface of the NT that its writers were not conscious of a chasm between the fundamental principle of the religious life of the saints of the old covenant and the faith by which they themselves lived. To them, too, Abraham is the typical example of a true believer (Ro 4, Gal 3, He 11, Ja 2); and in their apprehension 'those who are of faith,' that is, 'Christians,' are by that very fact constituted Abraham's sons (Gal 3[7], Ro 4[16]), and receive their blessing only along with that 'believer' (Gal 3[9]) in the steps of whose faith it is that they are walking (Ro 4[12]) when they believe on Him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead (Ro 4[24]). And not only Abraham, but the whole series of OT heroes are conceived by them to be examples of the same faith which was required of them 'unto the gaining of the soul' (He 11). Wrought in them by the same Spirit (2 Co 4[13]), it produced in them the same fruits, and constituted them a 'cloud of witnesses' by whose testimony we should be stimulated to run our own race with like patience in dependence on Jesus, 'the author and finisher of our faith' (He 12[2]). Nowhere is the demand of faith treated as a novelty of the new covenant, or is there a distinction drawn between the faith of the two covenants; everywhere the sense of continuity is prominent (Jn 5[24. 46] 12[38. 39. 44], 1 P 2[6]), and the 'proclamation of faith' (Gal 3[2. 5], Ro 10[16]) is conceived as essentially one in both dispensations, under both of which the law reigns that 'the just shall live by his faith' (Hab 2[4], Ro 1[17], Gal 3[11], He 10[38]). Nor do we need to penetrate beneath the surface of the OT to perceive the justice of this NT view. Despite the infrequency of the occurrence on its pages of the terms 'faith,' 'to believe,' the religion of the OT is obviously as fundamentally a religion of faith as is that of the NT. There is a sense, to be sure, in which all religion presupposes faith (He 11[6]), and in this broad sense the religion of Israel, too, necessarily rested on faith. But the religion of Israel was a religion of faith in a far more specific sense than this; and that not merely because faith was more consciously its foundation, but because its very essence consisted in faith, and this faith was the same radical self-commitment to God, not merely as the highest good of the holy soul, but as the gracious Saviour of the sinner, which meets us as the characteristic feature of the religion of the NT. Between the faith of the two Testaments there exists, indeed, no further difference than that which the progress of the historical working out of redemption brought with it.

The hinge of OT religion from the very beginning turns on the facts of man's sin (Gn 3) and consequent unworthiness (Gn 3[2-10]), and of God's grace (Gn 3[15]) and consequent saving activity (Gn 3[4] 4[5] 6[8. 13ff.]). This saving activity presents itself from the very beginning also under the form of promise or covenant, the radical idea of which is naturally faithfulness on the part of the promising God with the answering attitude of faith on the part of the receptive people. Face to face with a holy God, the sinner has no hope except in the free mercy of God, and can be authorized to trust in that mercy only by express assurance. Accordingly, the only cause of salvation is from the first the pitying love of God (Gn 3[15] 8[21]), which freely grants benefits to man; while on man's part there is never question of merit or of a strength by which he may prevail (1 S 2[9]), but rather a constant sense of unworthiness (Gn 32[10]), by virtue of which

humility appears from the first as the keynote of OT piety. In the earlier portions of the OT, to be sure, there is little abstract statement of the ideas which ruled the hearts and lives of the servants of God. The essence of patriarchal religion is rather exhibited to us in action. But from the very beginning the distinctive feature of the life of the pious is that it is a life of faith, that its regulative principle is drawn, not from the earth but from above. Thus the first recorded human acts after the Fall—the naming of Eve, and the birth and naming of Cain—are expressive of trust in God's promise that, though men should die for their sins, yet man should not perish from the earth, but should triumph over the tempter; in a word, in the great promise of the Seed (Gn 3^{15}). Similarly, the whole story of the Flood is so ordered as to throw into relief, on the one hand, the free grace of God in His dealings with Noah (Gn $6^{8.\ 18}$ $8^{1.\ 21}$ 9^{8}), and, on the other, the determination of Noah's whole life by trust in God and His promises (Gn 6^{22} 7^{5} 9^{20}). The open declaration of the faith-principle of Abraham's life (Gn 15^{6}) only puts into words, in the case of him who stands at the root of Israel's whole national and religious existence, what not only might also be said of all the patriarchs, but what actually is most distinctly said both of Abraham and of them through the medium of their recorded history. The entire patriarchal narrative is set forth with the design and effect of exhibiting the life of the servants of God as a life of faith, and it is just by the fact of their implicit self-commitment to God that throughout the narrative the servants of God are differentiated from others. This does not mean, of course, that with them faith took the place of obedience: an entire self-commitment to God which did not show itself in obedience to Him would be self-contradictory, and the testing of faith by obedience is therefore a marked feature of the patriarchal narrative. But it does mean that faith was with them the precondition of all obedience. The patriarchal religion is essentially a religion, not of law but of promise, and therefore not primarily of obedience but of trust; the holy walk is characteristic of God's servants (Gn $5^{22.\ 24}$ 6^{9} 17^{1} 24^{40} 48^{15}), but it is characteristically described as a walk 'with God'; its peculiarity consisted precisely in the ordering of life by entire trust in God, and it expressed itself in conduct growing out of this trust (Gn 3^{20} 4^{1} 6^{22} 7^{5} 8^{18} 12^{4} 17^{23} $21^{12.\ 16}$ 22). The righteousness of the patriarchal age was thus but the manifestation in life of an entire self-commitment to God, in unwavering trust in His promises.

The piety of the OT thus began with faith. And though, when the stage of the law was reached, the emphasis might seem to be thrown rather on the obedience of faith, what has been called 'faith in action,' yet the giving of the law does not mark a fundamental change in the religion of Israel, but only a new stage in its orderly development. The law-giving was not a setting aside of the religion of promise, but an incident in its history; and the law given was not a code of jurisprudence for the world's government, but a body of household ordinances for the regulation of God's family. It is therefore itself grounded upon the promise, and it grounds the whole religious life of Israel in the grace of the covenant God (Ex 20^{2}). It is only because Israel are the children of God, and God has sanctified them unto Himself and chosen them to be a peculiar people unto Him (Dt 14^{1}), that He proceeds to frame them by His law for His especial treasure (Ex 19^{5}; cf. Tit 2^{14}). Faith, therefore, does not appear as one of the precepts of the law, nor as a virtue superior to its precepts, nor yet as a substitute for keeping them; it rather lies behind the law as its presupposition. Accordingly, in the history of the giving of the law, faith is expressly emphasized as the presupposition of the whole relation existing between Israel and J″. The signs by which Moses was accredited, and all J‴s deeds of power, had as their design (Ex 3^{12} $4^{1.\ 5.\ 8.\ 9}$ $19^{4.\ 9}$) and their effect (Ex 4^{31} $12^{28.\ 34}$ 14^{31} $24^{3.\ 7}$, Ps 106^{12}) the working of faith in the people; and their subsequent unbelief is treated as the deepest crime they could commit (Nu 14^{11}, Dt 1^{32} 9^{23}, Ps $78^{22.\ 32}$ 106^{24}), as is even momentary failure of faith on the part of their leaders (Nu 20^{12}). It is only as a consequent of the relation of the people to Him, instituted by grace on His part and by faith on theirs, that J″ proceeds to carry out His gracious purposes for them, delivering them from bondage, giving them a law for the regulation of their lives, and framing them in the promised land into a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. In other words, it is a precondition of the law that Israel's life is not of the earth, but is hid with God, and is therefore to be ordered by His precepts. Its design was, therefore, not to provide a means by which man might come into relation with J″, but to publish the mode of life incumbent on those who stand in the relation of children to J″; and it is therefore that the book of the law was commanded to be put by the side of the ark of the covenant of the LORD, that it might be a witness against the transgressions of Israel (Dt 31^{26}).

The effect of the law was consonant with its design. Many, no doubt, looked upon it in a purely legalistic spirit, and sought, by scrupulous fulfilment of it as a body of external precepts, to lay the foundation of a claim on God in behalf of the nation or the individual, or to realize through it, as a present possession, that salvation which was ever represented as something future. But, just in proportion as its spirituality and inwardness were felt, it operated to deepen in Israel the sense of shortcoming and sin, and to sharpen the conviction that from the grace of God alone could salvation be expected. This humble frame of conscious dependence on God was met by a twofold proclamation. On the one hand, the eyes of God's people were directed more longingly towards the future, and, in contrast with the present failure of Israel to realize the ordinances of life which had been given it, a new dispensation of grace was promised in which the law of God's kingdom should be written upon the heart, and should become therefore the instinctive law of life of His people (Jer 24^{7} $31^{31f.}$, Ezk $36^{25f.}$; cf. Ezk 16^{60}, Jl 3, Hos $2^{9f.}$). It lay in the very nature of the OT dispensation, in which the revelation of God was always incomplete, the still unsolved enigmas of life numerous, the work of redemption unfinished, and the consummation of the kingdom ever yet to come, that the eyes of the saints should be set upon the future; and these deficiencies were felt very early. But it also lay, in the nature of the case, that the sense of them should increase as time passed and the perfecting of Israel was delayed, and especially as the whole national and religious existence of Israel was more and more put in jeopardy by assaults from without and corruption from within. The essence of piety came thus to be ever more plainly proclaimed as consisting in such a confident trust in the God of salvation as could not be confounded either by the unrighteousness which reigned in Israel or by J‴s judgments on Israel's sins,—such a confidence as, even in the face of the destruction of the theocracy itself, could preserve, in enduring hope, the assurance of the ultimate realization of God's purposes of good to Israel and the establishment of the everlasting kingdom. Thus hopeful waiting upon J″ became more and more the centre of Israelitish

piety, and J″ became before all 'the Hope of Israel' (Jer 14^8 17^{13} 50^7, cf. Ps 71^5). On the other hand, while thus waiting for the salvation of Israel, the saint must needs stay himself on God (Is 26^3 50^{10}), fixing his heart on J″ as the Rock of the heart (Ps 73^{26}), His people's strength (Ps 46^1) and trust (Ps 40^4 65^5 71^5, Jer 17^7). Freed from all illusion of earthly help, and most of all from all self-confidence, he is meanwhile to live by faith (Hab 2^4). Thus, along with an ever more richly expressed corporate hope, there is found also an ever more richly expressed individual trust, which finds natural utterance through an ample body of synonyms bringing out severally the various sides of that perfect commitment to God that constitutes the essence of faith. Thus we read much of trusting in, on, to God, or in His word, His name, His mercy, His salvation (בָּטַח), of seeking and finding refuge in God or in the shadow of His wings (חָסָה), of committing ourselves to God (גָּלַל), setting confidence (בָּטַל) in Him, looking to Him (הִבִּיט), relying upon Him (נִשְׁעַן), staying upon Him (נִסְמַךְ), setting or fixing the heart upon Him (הֵכִין לֵב), binding our love on Him (חָשַׁק), cleaving to Him (דָּבַק). So, on the hopeful side of faith, we read much of hoping in God (קָוָה), waiting on God (יָחַל), of longing for Him (חָפָה), patiently waiting for Him (הִתְחוֹלֵל), and the like.

By the aid of such expressions, it becomes possible to form a somewhat clear notion of the attitude towards Him which was required by J″ of His believing people, and which is summed up in the term faith. It is a reverential (Ex 14^{31}, Nu 14^{11} 20^{12}) and loving faith, which rests on the strong basis of firm and unshaken conviction of the might and grace of the covenant God and of the trustworthiness of all His words, and exhibits itself in confident trust in J″ and unwavering expectation of the fulfilment of, no doubt, all His promises, but more especially of His promise of salvation, and in consequent faithful and exclusive adherence to Him. In one word, it consists in an utter commitment of oneself to J″, with confident trust in Him as guide and saviour, and assured expectation of His promised salvation. It therefore stands in contrast, on the one hand, with trust in self or other human help, and on the other with doubt and unbelief, despondency and unfaithfulness. From J″ alone is salvation to be looked for, and it comes from His free grace alone (Dt 7^7 8^{18} 9^5, Am 3^2, Hos 13^6, Ezk 20^6, Jer 39^{18}, Mal 1^2), and to those only who look solely to Him for it (Is 31^1 57^{13} 28^{16} 30^{15}, Jer 17^5 39^{18}, Ps 118^8 146^3 20^7, 1 S 17^{45}, Ps 28^{25} 11^{28}, Job $22^{23.\,24}$ 31^{24}, Ps 52^9). The reference of faith is accordingly in the OT always distinctly soteriological; its end the Messianic salvation; and its essence a trusting, or rather an entrusting of oneself to the God of salvation, with full assurance of the fulfilment of His gracious purposes and the ultimate realization of His promise of salvation for the people and the individual. Such an attitude towards the God of salvation is identical with the faith of the NT, and is not essentially changed by the fuller revelation of God the Redeemer in the person of the promised Messiah. That it is comparatively seldom designated in the OT by the names of 'faith,' 'believing,' seems to be due, as has been often pointed out, to the special place of the OT in the history of revelation, and the adaptation of its whole contents and language to the particular task in the establishment of the kingdom of God which fell to its writers. This task turned on the special temptations and difficulties of the OT stage of development, and required emphasis to be laid on the majesty and jealousy of J″ and on the duties of reverence, sincerity, and patience. Meanwhile, the faith in Him which underlies these duties is continually implied in their enforcement, and comes to open expression in frequent paraphrase and synonym, and as often in its own proper terms as is natural in the circumstances. Especially in the great crises of the history of redemption (Gn 15, Ex 4^5 19^9, Is 7) is the fundamental requirement of faith rendered explicit and prominent.

On the coming of God to His people in the person of His Son, the promised Messianic King, bringing the salvation, the hope of which had for so many ages been their support and stay, it naturally became the primary task of the vehicles of revelation to attract and attach God's people to the person of their Redeemer. And this task was the more pressing in proportion as the form of the fulfilment did not obviously correspond with the promise, and especially with the expectations which had grown up on the faith of the promise. This fundamental function dominates the whole NT, and accounts at once for the great prominence in its pages of the demand for faith, by which a gulf seems to be opened between it and the OT. The demand for faith in Jesus as the Redeemer so long hoped for, did indeed create so wide a cleft in the consciousness of the times that the term faith came rapidly to be appropriated to Christianity and 'to believe' to mean to become a Christian; so that the old covenant and the new were discriminated from each other as the ages before and after the 'coming of faith' (Gal $3^{23.\,25}$). But all this does not imply that faith now for the first time became the foundation of the religion of J″, but only suggests how fully, in the new circumstances induced by the coming of the promised Redeemer, the demand for faith absorbed the whole proclamation of the gospel. In this primary concern for faith the NT books all necessarily share; but, for the rest, they differ among themselves in the prominence given to it and in the aspects in which it is presented, in accordance with the place of each in the historical development of the new life; and that is as much as to say in accordance with the historical occasion out of which each arose and the special object to subserve which each was written.

Indeed, the word 'to believe' first appears on the pages of the NT in quite OT conditions. We are conscious of no distinction even in atmosphere between the commendation of faith and rebuke of unbelief in Exodus or the Psalms and the same commendation and rebuke in the days just before the 'coming of faith' (Lk $1^{20.\,45}$); these are but specific applications of the thesis of prophetism, expressed positively in 2 Ch 20^{20} and negatively in Is 7^9. Already, however, the dawn of the new day has coloured the proclamation of the Baptist, the essence of which Paul sums up for us as a demand for faith in the Coming One (Ac 19^4), and which John reports to us (Jn 3^{36}). In the synoptic report of the teaching of Jesus, the same purpose is the dominant note. All that Jesus did and taught was directed to drawing faith to Himself. Up to the end, indeed, He repelled the unbelieving demand that He should 'declare plainly' the authority by which He acted and who He really was (Mt 21^{23}, Lk 22^{67}); but this was only that He might, in His own way, the more decidedly confound unbelief and assert His divine majesty. Even when He spoke of general faith in God (Mk 11^{22}), and that confident trust which becomes men approaching the Almighty in prayer (Mt 21^{22} ‖ Mk 9^{24}, Lk 18^8), He did it in a way which inevitably directed attention to His own person as the representative of God on earth. And this accounts for the prevalence, in the synoptic report of His allusions to faith, of a reference to that exercise of faith which has sometimes been somewhat sharply divided from saving faith under the name of 'miracle faith' (Mt $8^{10.\,13}$ ‖ Lk 7^9; Mt 9^2; Mt

9^{22} || Mk 5^{34}, Lk 8^{48}; Mt $9^{28.29}$; Mt 15^{21}; Mt 17^{20} || Mk 9^{20}; Mt $21^{21.22}$, cf. Lk 17^{6}; Mk 4^{40}; Mk 5^{36} || Lk 8^{50}; Mk 10^{52} || Lk 18^{42}; Lk 7^{19}). That in these instances we have not a generically distinct order of faith, directed to its own peculiar end, but only a specific movement of that entire trust in Himself which Jesus would arouse in all, seems clear from the manner in which He dealt with it,—now praising its exercise as a specially great exhibition of faith quite generally spoken of (Lk 7^{9}), now pointing to it as a manifestation of that believing to which 'all things are possible' (Mk 9^{23}), now connecting with it not merely the healing of the body but the forgiveness of sins (Mt 9^{2}), and everywhere using it as a means of attaching the confidence of men to His person as the source of all good. Having come to His own, in other words, Jesus took men upon the plane on which He found them, and sought to lead them through the needs which they felt, and the relief of which they sought in Him, up to a recognition of their greater needs and of His ability to give relief to them also. That word of power, 'Thy faith hath saved thee,' spoken indifferently of bodily wants and of the deeper needs of the soul (Lk 7^{50}), not only resulted, but was intended to result, in focusing all eyes on Himself as the one physician of both body and soul (Mt 8^{17}). Explicit references to these higher results of faith are, to be sure, not very frequent in the synoptic discourses, but there are quite enough of them to exhibit Jesus' specific claim to be the proper object of faith for these effects also (Lk $8^{12.13}$ 22^{32}, Mt 18^{6} || Mk 9^{42}, Lk 7^{50}), and to prepare the way for His rebuke, after His resurrection, of the lagging minds of His followers, that they did not understand all these things (Lk $24^{25.45}$), and for His great commission to Paul to go and open men's eyes that they might receive 'remission of sins and an inheritance among the sanctified by faith in Him' (Ac 26^{18}).

It is very natural that a much fuller account of Jesus' teaching as to faith should be given in the more intimate discourses which are preserved by John. But in these discourses, too, His primary task is to bind men to Him by faith. The chief difference is that here, consonantly with the nature of the discourses recorded, much more prevailing stress is laid upon the higher aspects of faith, and we see Jesus striving specially to attract to Himself a faith consciously set upon eternal good. In a number of instances we find ourselves in much the same atmosphere as in the Synoptics (4^{21} sq. ^{48} sq. 9^{35}); and the method of Jesus is the same throughout. Everywhere He offers Himself as the object of faith, and claims faith in Himself for the highest concerns of the soul. But everywhere He begins at the level at which He finds His hearers, and leads them upward to these higher things. It is so that He deals with Nathanael (1^{51}) and Nicodemus (3^{12}); and it is so that He deals constantly with the Jews, everywhere requiring faith in Himself for eternal life ($5^{24.25.38}$ $6^{35.40.47}$ 7^{38} 8^{24} $10^{25.38}$ $12^{44.46}$), declaring that faith in Him is the certain outcome of faith in their own Scriptures ($5^{46.47}$), is demanded by the witness borne Him by God in His mighty works ($10^{25.36.37}$), is involved in and is indeed identical with faith in God ($5^{25.38}$ $6^{40.45}$ 8^{47} 12^{44}), and is the one thing which God requires of them (6^{29}), and the failure of which will bring them eternal ruin (3^{18} 5^{38} 6^{64} 8^{24}). When dealing with His followers, His primary care was to build up their faith in Him. Witness especially His solicitude for their faith in the last hours of His intercourse with them. For the faith they had reposed in Him He returns thanks to God (17^{8}), but He is still nursing their faith (16^{31}), preparing for its increase through the events to come (13^{19} 16^{29}), and with almost passionate eagerness claiming it at their hands ($14^{1.10.11.12}$). Even after His resurrection we find Him restoring the faith of the waverer (20^{29}) with words which pronounce a special blessing on those who should hereafter believe on less compelling evidence—words whose point is not fully caught until we realize that they contain an intimation of the work of the apostles as, like His own, summed up in bringing men to faith in Him ($17^{20.21}$).

The record in Ac of the apostolic proclamation testifies to the faithfulness with which this office was prosecuted by Jesus' delegates (Ac $3^{22.23}$). The task undertaken by them was, by persuading men (Ac 17^{4} 28^{24}), to bring them unto obedience to the faith that is in Jesus (Ac 6^{7}, Ro 1^{5} 16^{26}, cf. 2 Th 1^{8}, 2 Co 10^{5}). And by such 'testifying faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ' (Ac 20^{21}, cf. 10^{43}) there was quickly gathered together a community of 'believers' (Ac 2^{44} $4^{4.32}$), that is, of believers in the Lord Jesus Christ (Ac 5^{14} 9^{42} 11^{17} 14^{23}), and that not only in Jerus. but beyond (8^{12} 9^{42} 10^{45} 11^{21} 13^{48} 14^{1}), and not only of Jews (10^{45} 15^{1} 21^{20}) but of Gentiles (11^{21} 13^{48} 14^{1} 15^{7} $17^{12.34}$ 18^{27} 19^{18} 21^{25}). The enucleation of this community of believers brought to the apostolic teachers the new task of preserving the idea of faith, which was the formative principle of the new community, and to propagate which in the world, pure and living and sound, was its chief office. It was inevitable that those who were called into the faith of Christ should bring into the infant Church with them many old tendencies of thinking, and that within the new community the fermentation of ideas should be very great. The task of instructing and disciplining the new community soon became unavoidably one of the heaviest of apostolic duties; and its progress is naturally reflected in their letters. Thus certain differences in their modes of dealing with faith emerge among NT writers, according as one lays stress on the deadness and profitlessness of a faith which produces no fruit in the life, and another on the valuelessness of a faith which does not emancipate from the bondage of the law; or as one lays stress on the perfection of the object of faith and the necessity of keeping the heart set upon it, and another on the necessity of preserving in its purity that subjective attitude towards the unseen and future which constitutes the very essence of faith; or as one lays stress on the reaching out of faith to the future in confident hope, and another on the present enjoyment by faith of all the blessings of salvation.

It was to James that it fell to rebuke the Jewish tendency to conceive of the faith which was pleasing to J" as a mere intellectual acquiescence in His being and claims, when imported into the Church and made to do duty as 'the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Glory' (2^{1}). He has sometimes been misread as if he were depreciating faith, or at least the place of faith in salvation. But it is perfectly clear that with James, as truly as with any other NT writer, a sound faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as the manifested God (2^{1}) lies at the very basis of the Christian life (1^{3}), and is the condition of all acceptable approach to God (1^{6} 5^{15}). It is not faith as he conceives it which he depreciates, but that professed faith (λέγῃ, 2^{14}) which cannot be shown to be real by appropriate works (2^{18}), and so differs by a whole diameter alike from the faith of Abraham that was reckoned unto him for righteousness (2^{23}), and from the faith of Christians as James understood it (2^{1} 1^{3}, cf. 1^{22}). The impression which is easily taken from the last half of the second chapter of James, that his teaching and that of Paul stand in some polemic relation, is nevertheless a delusion, and arises from an insufficient realization of the place oc-

cupied by faith in the discussions of the Jewish schools, reflections of which have naturally found their way into the language of both Paul and James. And so far are we from needing to suppose some reference, direct or indirect, to Pauline teaching to account for James' entrance upon the question which he discusses, that this was a matter upon which an earnest teacher could not fail to touch in the presence of a tendency common among the Jews at the advent of Christianity (cf. Mt 3^9 7^{21} 23^3, Ro 2^{17}), and certain to pass over into Jewish-Christian circles: and James' treatment of it finds, indeed, its entire presupposition in the state of things underlying the exhortation of 1^{22}. When read from his own historical standpoint, James' teachings are free from any disaccord with those of Paul, who as strongly as James denies all value to a faith which does not work by love (Gal 5^6, 1 Co 13^2, 1 Th 1^3). In short, James is not depreciating faith: with him, too, it is faith that is reckoned unto righteousness (2^{23}), though only such a faith as shows itself in works can be so reckoned, because a faith which does not come to fruitage in works is dead, non-existent. He is rather deepening the idea of faith, and insisting that it includes in its very conception something more than an otiose intellectual assent.

It was a far more serious task which was laid upon Paul. As apostle to the Gentiles he was called upon to make good in all its depth of meaning the fundamental principle of the religion of grace, that the righteous shall live by faith, as over-against what had come to be the ingrained legalism of Jewish thought now intruded into the Christian Church. It was not, indeed, doubted that faith was requisite for obtaining salvation. But he that had been born a Jew and was conscious of the privileges of the children of the promise, found it hard to think that faith was all that was requisite. What, then, was the advantage of the Jew? In defence of the rights of the Gentiles, Paul was forced in the most uncompromising way to validate the great proposition that, in the matter of salvation, there is no distinction between Jew and Gentile,—that the Jew has no other righteousness than that which comes through faith in Jesus Christ (Gal $2^{15\,sq.}$), and that the Gentile fully possesses this righteousness from faith alone (Gal $3^{7\,sq.}$); in a word, that the one God, who is God of the Gentiles also, 'shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith' (Ro 3^{30}). Thus was it made clear not only that 'no man is justified by the law' (Gal 2^{16} 3^{11}, Ro 3^{20}), but also that a man is justified by faith apart from law-works (Ro 3^{28}). The splendid vigour and thoroughness of Paul's dialectic development of the absolute contrast between the ideas of faith and works, by virtue of which one peremptorily excludes the other, left no hiding-place for a work-righteousness of any kind or degree, but cast all men solely upon the righteousness of God, which is apart from the law and comes through faith unto all that believe (Ro $3^{21.\,22}$). Thus, in vindicating the place of faith as the only instrument of salvation, Paul necessarily dwelt much upon the object of faith, not as if he were formally teaching what the object is on which faith savingly lays hold, but as a natural result of his effort to show from its object the all-sufficiency of faith. It is because faith lays hold of Jesus Christ, who was delivered up for our trespasses and was raised for our justification (Ro 4^{25}), and makes us possessors of the righteousness provided by God through Him, that there is no room for any righteousness of our own in the ground of our salvation (Ro 10^3, Eph 2^8). This is the reason of that full development of the object of faith in Paul's writings, and especially of the specific connexion between faith and the righteousness of God proclaimed in Christ, by which the doctrine of Paul is sometimes said to be distinguished from the more general conception of faith which is characteristic of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This more general conception of faith is not, however, the peculiar property of that epistle, but is the fundamental conception of the whole body of biblical writers in OT and in NT (cf. Mt 6^{25} 16^{23}, Jn $20^{29.\,31}$, 1 P 1^8), including Paul himself (2 Co 4^{18} 5^7, Ro $4^{16\text{-}22}$ 8^{24}); while, on the other hand, the Epistle to the Hebrews, no less than Paul, teaches that there is no righteousness except through faith (10^{38} 11^7, cf. 11^4).

That in the Epistle to the Hebrews it is the general idea of faith, or, to be more exact, the subjective nature of faith, that is dwelt upon, rather than its specific object, is not due to a peculiar conception of what faith lays hold upon, but to the particular task which fell to its writer in the work of planting Christianity in the world. With him, too, the person and work of Christ are the specific object of faith ($13^{7.\,8}$ 3^{14} 10^{22}). But the danger against which, in the providence of God, he was called upon to guard the infant flock, was not that it should fall away from faith to works, but that it should fall away from faith into despair. His readers were threatened not with legalism but with 'shrinking back' (10^{39}), and he needed, therefore, to emphasize not so much the object of faith as the duty of faith. Accordingly, it is not so much on the righteousness of faith as on its perfecting that he insists; it is not so much its contrast with works as its contrast with impatience that he impresses on his readers' consciences; it is not so much to faith specifically in Christ and in Him alone that he exhorts them as to an attitude of faith—an attitude which could rise above the seen to the unseen, the present to the future, the temporal to the eternal, and which in the midst of sufferings could retain patience, in the midst of disappointments could preserve hope. This is the key to the whole treatment of faith in the Epistle to the Hebrews—its definition as the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen (11^1); its illustration and enforcement by the example of the heroes of faith in the past, a list chosen and treated with the utmost skill for the end in view (11); its constant attachment to the promises ($4^{1.\,2}$ 6^{12} $10^{36.\,38}$ 11^9 13^{39}); its connexion with the faithfulness (11^{11}, cf. 10^{23}), almightiness (11^{19}), and the rewards of God ($11^{6.\,26}$); and its association with such virtues as boldness (3^6 4^{16} $10^{19.\,35}$), confidence (3^{14} 11^1), patience (10^{36} 12^1), hope (3^6 $6^{11.\,18}$ 10^{23}).

With much that is similar to the situation implied in Hebrews, that which underlies the Epistles of Peter differs from it in the essential particular that their prevailingly Gentile readers were not in imminent danger of falling back into Judaism. There is, accordingly, much in the aspect in which faith is presented in these epistles which reminds us of what we find in Hebrews, as, for example, the close connexion into which it is brought with obedience (1 P $1^{2.\,22}$ 2^7 3^1 4^{17}), its prevailing reference to what is unseen and future (1 P $1^{5.\,7\text{-}10.\,21}$), and its consequent demand for steadfastness (5^9, cf. 1^7), and especially for hope (1^{21}, cf. $1^{3.\,13}$ $3^{5.\,15}$). Yet there is a noteworthy difference in the whole tone of the commendation of faith, which was rooted, no doubt, in the character of Peter, as the tone of his speeches recorded in Acts shows, but which also grew out of the nature of the task set before him in these letters. There is no hint of despair lying in the near background, but the buoyancy of assured hope rings throughout

these epistles. Having hearkened to the prophet like unto Moses (Dt $18^{15.19}$, Ac $3^{22.23}$), Christians are the children of obedience (1 P 1^{14}), and through their precious faith (1 P 1^{7}, 2 P 1^{1}) possessors of the preciousness of the promises (1 P 2^{7}). As they have obeyed the voice of God and kept His covenant, they have become His peculiar treasure, a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (Ex 19^{5}, 1 P 2^{9}). Naturally, the duty rests upon them of living, while here below, in accordance with their high hopes (1 P 1^{13}, 2 P 1^{5}). But in any event they are but sojourners and pilgrims here (1 P 2^{11} $1^{1.17}$), and have a sure inheritance reserved for them in heaven (1^{4}), unto which they are guarded through faith by the power of God (1^{5}). The reference of faith in Peter is therefore characteristically to the completion rather than to the inception of salvation ($1^{5.9}$ 2^{6}, cf. Ac 15^{11}). Of course this does not imply that he does not share the common biblical conception of faith: he is conscious of no difference of view from that of OT (1 P 2^{6}); and, no less than with James, with him faith is the fountain of all good works (1 P $1^{7.21}$ 5^{9}, 2 P 1^{5}); and, no less than with Paul, with him faith lays hold of the righteousness of Christ (2 P 1^{1}). It only means that in the circumstances of his writing he is led to lay special emphasis on the reference of faith to the consummated salvation, in order to quicken in his readers that hope which would sustain them in their persecutions, and to keep their eyes set, not on their present trials, but, in accordance with faith's very nature, on the unseen and eternal glory.

In the entirely different circumstances in which he wrote, John wished to lay stress on the very opposite aspect of faith. For what is characteristic of John's treatment of faith is insistence not so much on the certainty and glory of the future inheritance which it secures, as on the fulness of the present enjoyment of salvation which it brings. There was pressing into the Church a false emphasis on knowledge, which affected to despise simple faith. This John met, on the one hand, by deepening the idea of knowledge to the knowledge of experience, and, on the other, by insisting upon the immediate entrance of every believer into the possession of salvation. It is not to be supposed, of course, that he was ready to neglect or deny that out-reaching of faith to the future on which Peter lays such stress: he is zealous that Christians shall know that they are children of God from the moment of believing, and from that instant possessors of the new life of the Spirit; but he does not forget the greater glory of the future, and he knows how to use this Christian hope also as an incitement to holy living (1 Jn 3^{2}). Nor are we to suppose that, in his anti-Gnostic insistence on the element of conviction in faith, he would lose sight of that central element of surrendering trust which is the heart of faith in other portions of the Scriptures: he would indeed have believers know what they believe, and who He is in whom they put their trust, and what He has done for them, and is doing, and will do, in and through them; but this is not that they may know these things simply as intellectual propositions, but that they may rest on them in faith and know them in personal experience. Least of all the NT writers could John confine faith to a merely intellectual act: his whole doctrine of faith is rather a protest against the intellectualism of Gnosticism. His fundamental conception of faith differs in nothing from that of the other NT writers; with him, too, it is a trustful appropriation of Christ and surrender of self to His salvation. Eternal life has been manifested by Christ (Jn 1^{4}, 1 Jn $1^{1.2}$ 5^{11}), and he, and he only, who has the Son has the life (1 Jn 5^{12}). But in the conflict in which he was engaged he required to throw the strongest emphasis possible upon the immediate entrance of believers into this life. This insistence had manifold applications to the circumstances of his readers. It had, for example, a negative application to the antinomian tendency of Gnostic teaching, which John does not fail to press (1 Jn 1^{5} $2^{4.15}$ 3^{6}): 'whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God' (1 Jn 5^{1}), and 'whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin' (1 Jn 3^{9}). It had also a positive application to their own encouragement: the simple believer was placed on a plane of life to which no knowledge could attain; the new life received by faith gave the victory over the world; and John boldly challenges experience to point to any who have overcome the world but he that believes that Jesus is the Son of God (1 Jn $5^{4.5}$). Accordingly, it is characteristic of John to announce that 'he that believeth hath eternal life' (Jn 3^{36} 5^{24} $6^{47.54}$, 1 Jn $3^{14.15}$ $5^{11.12.13}$). He even declares the purpose of his writing to be, in the Gospel, that his readers 'may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, they may have life in his name' (20^{31}); and in the First Epistle, that they that believe in the name of the Son of God 'may know that they *have* eternal life' (1 Jn 5^{13}).

III. The Biblical Conception of Faith.—By means of the providentially mediated diversity of emphasis of the NT writers on the several aspects of faith, the outlines of the biblical conception of faith are thrown into very high relief.

Of its *subjective nature* we have what is almost a formal definition in the description of it as an 'assurance of things hoped for, a conviction of things not seen' (He 11^{1}). It obviously contains in it, therefore, an element of knowledge (He 11^{6}), and it as obviously issues in conduct (He 11^{8}, cf. 5^{9}, 1 P 1^{22}). But it consists neither in assent nor in obedience, but in a reliant trust in the invisible Author of all good (He 11^{27}), in which the mind is set upon the things that are above and not on the things that are upon the earth (Col 3^{2}, cf. 2 Co 4^{16-18}, Mt 6^{25} 16^{23}). The examples cited in He 11 are themselves enough to show that the faith there commended is not a mere belief in God's existence and justice and goodness, or crediting of His word and promises, but a practical counting of Him faithful (11^{11}), with a trust so profound that no trial can shake it (11^{35}), and so absolute that it survives the loss of even its own pledge (11^{17}). So little is faith in its biblical conception merely a conviction of the understanding, that, when that is called faith, the true idea of faith needs to be built up above this word (Ja $2^{14ff.}$). It is a movement of the whole inner man (Ro $10^{9.10}$), and is set in contrast with an unbelief that is akin, not to ignorance but to disobedience (He $3^{18.19}$, Jn 3^{36}, Ro $11^{20.30}$ 15^{31}, 1 Th 1^{8}, He $4^{6.2}$, 1 P $1^{7.8}$ $3^{1.20}$ 4^{18}, Ac $14^{2.1}$ 19^{9}), and that grows out of, not lack of information, but that aversion of the heart from God (He 3^{12}) which takes pleasure in unrighteousness (2 Th 2^{12}), and is so unsparingly exposed by our Lord (Jn 3^{19} 5^{44} 8^{47} 10^{26}). In the breadth of its idea, it is thus the going out of the heart from itself and its resting on God in confident trust for all good. But the scriptural revelation has to do with, and is directed to the needs of, not man in the abstract, but sinful man; and for sinful man this hearty reliance on God necessarily becomes humble trust in Him for the fundamental need of the sinner—forgiveness of sins and reception into favour. In response to the revelations of His grace and the provisions of His mercy, it commits itself without reserve and with abnegation of all self-dependence, to Him as its sole and sufficient Saviour, and thus, in one act, empties itself of all

claim on God and casts itself upon His grace alone for salvation.

It is, accordingly, solely from its *object* that faith derives its value. This object is uniformly the God of grace, whether conceived of broadly as the source of all life, light, and blessing, on whom man in his creaturely weakness is entirely dependent, or, whenever sin and the eternal welfare of the soul are in view, as the Author of salvation in whom alone the hope of unworthy man can be placed. This one object of saving faith never varies from the beginning to the end of the scriptural revelation; though, naturally, there is an immense difference between its earlier and later stages in fulness of knowledge as to the nature of the redemptive work by which the salvation intrusted to God shall be accomplished; and as naturally there occurs a very great variety of forms of statement in which trust in the God of salvation receives expression. Already, however, at the gate of Eden, the God in whom the trust of our first parents is reposed is the God of the gracious promise of the retrieval of the injury inflicted by the serpent; and from that beginning of knowledge the progress is steady, until, what is implied in the primal promise having become express in the accomplished work of redemption, the trust of sinners is explicitly placed in the God who was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself (2 Co 5^{19}). Such a faith, again, could not fail to embrace with humble confidence all the gracious promises of the God of salvation, from which indeed it draws its life and strength; nor could it fail to lay hold with strong conviction on all those revealed truths concerning Him which constitute, indeed, in the varied circumstances in which it has been called upon to persist throughout the ages, the very grounds in view of which it has been able to rest upon Him with steadfast trust. These truths, in which the 'Gospel' or glad-tidings to God's people has been from time to time embodied, run all the way from such simple facts as that it was the very God of their fathers that had appeared unto Moses for their deliverance (Ex 4^{5}), to such stupendous facts, lying at the root of the very work of salvation itself, as that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God sent of God to save the world (Jn 6^{69} 8^{24} $11^{21.\ 42}$ 13^{19} $16^{27.\ 30}$ $17^{8.\ 21}$ 20^{31}, 1 Jn 5^{15}), that God has raised Him from the dead (Ro 10^{9}, 1 Th 4^{14}), and that as His children we shall live with Him (Ro 6^{8}). But in believing this variously presented Gospel, faith has ever terminated with trustful reliance, not on the promise but on the Promiser,—not on the propositions which declare God's grace and willingness to save, or Christ's divine nature and power, or the reality and perfection of His saving work, but on the Saviour upon whom, because of these great facts, it could securely rest as on One able to save to the uttermost. Jesus Christ, God the Redeemer, is accordingly the one object of saving faith, presented to its embrace at first implicitly and in promise, and ever more and more openly until at last it is entirely explicit and we read that 'a man is not justified save through faith in Jesus Christ' (Gal 2^{16}). If, with even greater explicitness still, faith is sometimes said to rest upon some element in the saving work of Christ, as, for example, upon His blood or His righteousness (Ro 3^{25}, 2 P 1^{1}), obviously such a singling out of the very thing in His work on which faith takes hold, in no way derogates from its repose upon Him, and Him only, as the sole and sufficient Saviour.

The *saving power* of faith resides thus not in itself, but in the Almighty Saviour on whom it rests. It is never on account of its formal nature as a psychic act that faith is conceived in Scripture to be saving,—as if this frame of mind or attitude of heart were itself a virtue with claims on God for reward, or at least especially pleasing to Him (either in its nature or as an act of obedience) and thus predisposing Him to favour, or as if it brought the soul into an attitude of receptivity or of sympathy with God, or opened a channel of communication from Him. It is not faith that saves, but faith in Jesus Christ: faith in any other saviour, or in this or that philosophy or human conceit (Col $2^{16.\ 18}$, 1 Ti 4^{1}), or in any other gospel than that of Jesus Christ and Him as crucified (Gal $1^{8.\ 9}$), brings not salvation but a curse. It is not, strictly speaking, even faith in Christ that saves, but Christ that saves through faith. The saving power resides exclusively, not in the act of faith or the attitude of faith or the nature of faith, but in the object of faith; and in this the whole biblical representation centres, so that we could not more radically misconceive it than by transferring to faith even the smallest fraction of that saving energy which is attributed in the Scriptures solely to Christ Himself. This purely mediatory function of faith is very clearly indicated in the regimens in which it stands, which ordinarily express simple instrumentality. It is most frequently joined to its verb as the dative of means or instrument (Ac 15^{9} 26^{18}, Ro 3^{28} 4^{20} 5^{2} 11^{20}, 2 Co 1^{24}, He $11^{3.\ 4.\ 5.\ 7.\ 8.\ 9.\ 11.\ 17.\ 20.\ 21.\ 23.\ 24}$ ‖ $^{27.\ 28.\ 29.\ 30.\ 31}$); and the relationship intended is further explained by the use to express it of the prepositions ἐκ (Ro $1^{17.\ 17}$ $3^{26.\ 30}$ $4^{16.\ 16}$ 5^{1} $9^{30.\ 32}$ 10^{6} $14^{23.\ 23}$, Gal 2^{16} $3^{7.\ 8.\ 9.\ 11.\ 12.\ 27.\ 28}$ 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{5}, He 10^{38}, Ja 2^{24}) and διά (with the genitive, never with the accusative, Ro $3^{22.\ 25.\ 30}$, 2 Co 5^{7}, Gal 2^{16} $3^{12.\ 26}$ 3^{7}, 2 Ti 3^{15}, He 6^{12} $11^{23.\ 39}$, 1 P 1^{5}),—the fundamental idea of the former construction being that of source or origin, and of the latter that of mediation or instrumentality, though they are used together in the same context, apparently with no distinction of meaning (Ro $3^{25.\ 26.\ 30}$, Gal 2^{16}). It is not necessary to discover an essentially different implication in the exceptional usage of the prepositions ἐπί (Ac 3^{16}, Ph 3^{9}) and κατά (He $11^{7.\ 13}$, cf. Mt 9^{29}) in this connexion: ἐπί is apparently to be taken in a quasi-temporal sense, 'on faith,' giving the occasion of the divine act, and κατά very similarly in the sense of conformability, 'in conformity with faith.' Not infrequently we meet also with a construction with the preposition ἐν which properly designates the sphere, but which in passages like Gal 2^{20}, Col 2^{7}, 2 Th 2^{13} appears to pass over into the conception of instrumentality.

So little indeed is faith conceived as containing in itself the energy or ground of salvation, that it is consistently represented as, in its *origin*, itself a gratuity from God in the prosecution of His saving work. It comes, not of one's own strength or virtue, but only to those who are chosen of God for its reception (2 Th 2^{13}), and hence is His gift (Eph 6^{23}, cf. $2^{8.\ 9}$, Ph 1^{29}), through Christ (Ac 3^{16}, Ph 1^{29}, 1 P 1^{21}, cf. He 12^{2}), by the Spirit (2 Co 4^{13}, Gal 5^{5}), by means of the preached word (Ro 10^{17}, Gal $3^{2.\ 5}$); and as it is thus obtained from God (2 P 1^{1}, Jude ^{3}, 1 P 1^{21}), thanks are to be returned to God for it (Col 1^{4}, 2 Th 1^{3}). Thus, even here all boasting is excluded, and salvation is conceived in all its elements as the pure product of unalloyed grace, issuing not from, but in, good works (Eph 2^{8-12}). The place of faith in the process of salvation, as biblically conceived, could scarcely, therefore, be better described than by the use of the scholastic term 'instrumental cause.' Not in one portion of the Scriptures alone, but throughout their whole extent, it is conceived as a boon from above which comes to men, no doubt through the channels of their own activities, but not as if it were an effect of their energies, but rather, as it has been finely phrased, as a gift which God lays in the lap of the soul. 'With the heart,' indeed, 'man believeth unto righteousness'; but this be-

lieving does not arise of itself out of any heart indifferently (Mt 13[1]), nor is it grounded in the heart's own potencies; it is grounded rather in the freely-giving goodness of God, and comes to man as a benefaction out of heaven.

The *effects* of faith, not being the immediate product of faith itself but of that energy of God which was exhibited in raising Jesus from the dead and on which dependence is now placed for raising us with Him into newness of life (Col 2[12]), would seem to depend directly only on the fact of faith, leaving questions of its strength, quality, and the like more or less to one side. We find a proportion, indeed, suggested between faith and its effects (Mt 9[29] 8[13], cf. 8[10] 15[28] 17[20], Lk 7[9] 17[6]). Certainly there is a fatal doubt, which vitiates with its double-mindedness every approach to God (Ja 1[6-8], cf. 4[8], Mt 21[21], Mk 11[23], Ro 4[20] 14[23], Jude 22). But Jesus deals with notable tenderness with those of 'little faith,' and His apostles imitated Him in this (Mt 6[30f. 20] 14[31] 16[8] 17[20], Lk 12[28], Mk 9[24], Lk 17[5], cf. Ro 14[1. 2], 1 Co 8[7], and see DOUBT). The effects of faith may possibly vary also with the end for which the trust is exercised (cf. Mk 10[51] *ἵνα ἀναβλέψω* with Gal 2[16] *ἐπιστεύσαμεν ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν*). But he who humbly but confidently casts himself on the God of salvation has the assurance that he shall not be put to shame (Ro 11[11] 9[33]), but shall receive the end of his faith, even the salvation of his soul (1 P 1[9]). This salvation is no doubt, in its idea, received all at once (Jn 3[36], 1 Jn 5[12]); but it is in its very nature a process, and its stages come, each in its order. First of all, the believer, renouncing by the very act of faith his own righteousness which is out of the law, receives that 'righteousness which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is from God on faith' (Ph 3[9], cf. Ro 3[22] 4[11] 9[30] 10[3. 10], 2 Co 5[21], Gal 5[5], He 11[7], 2 P 1[1]). On the ground of this righteousness, which in its origin is the 'righteous act' of Christ, constituted by His 'obedience' (Ro 5[18. 19]), and comes to the believer as a 'gift' (Ro 5[17]), being reckoned to him apart from works (Ro 4[6]), he that believes in Christ is justified in God's sight, received into His favour, and made the recipient of the Holy Spirit (Jn 7[39], cf. Ac 5[32]), by whose indwelling men are constituted the sons of God (Ro 8[13]). And if children, then are they heirs (Ro 8[17]), assured of an incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading inheritance, reserved in heaven for them; and meanwhile they are guarded by the power of God through faith unto this gloriously complete salvation (1 P 1[4. 5]). Thus, though the immediate effect of faith is only to make the believer possessor before the judgment-seat of God of the alien righteousness wrought out by Christ, through this one effect it draws in its train the whole series of saving acts of God, and of saving effects on the soul. Being justified by faith, the enmity which has existed between the sinner and God has been abolished, and he has been introduced into the very family of God, and made sharer in all the blessings of His house (Eph 2[13ff.]). Being justified by faith, he has peace with God, and rejoices in the hope of the glory of God, and is enabled to meet the trials of life, not merely with patience but with joy (Ro 5[1ff.]). Being justified by faith, he has already working within him the life which the Son has brought into the world, and by which, through the operations of the Spirit which those who believe in Him receive (Jn 7[39]), he is enabled to overcome the world lying in the evil one, and, kept by God from the evil one, to sin not (1 Jn 5[19]). In a word, because we are justified by faith, we are, through faith, endowed with all the privileges and supplied with all the graces of the children of God. (See further the articles on the several stages of the saving process.)

LITERATURE.—Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT* (includes a section on 'Der Glaube vor Jesus') is the most comprehensive work on the biblical idea of faith. The general subject is also treated by Lutz, *Biblische Dogmatik*, 312; H. Schultz, 'Gerechtigkeit aus dem Glauben im A. u. NT' (in *JDTh*, 1862, p. 510); Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 381; Riehm, *Lehrbr. d. Hebräerbr.* 700; Cremer, *Bib. Theol. Lex. s. πίστις, πιστεύω*; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 83. For OT, cf. the relevant sections in the treatises on *OT Theology*, especially those of Oehler, H. Schultz, Riehm, Dillmann; and the commentaries on the passages, especially Delitzsch on Genesis and Habakkuk. For NT, cf. Huther, 'ζωή und πιστεύειν im NT' (in *JBDTh*, 1872, p. 182), and the relevant sections in the general treatises on *NT Theology*, especially those of Neander (*Pflanzung*, etc.), Schmid, Reuss, Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, and in the treatises on the theology of the several NT writers, such as Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*; Usteri, *Paulinischer Lehrbegr.*; Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*; Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*; Lipsius, *Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*; Schnedermann, *De fidei ratione ethica Paulina*; Hausleiter, 'Was versteht Paulus unter christlichem Glauben?' (in *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 159); Riehm, *Lehrbegr. d. Hebräerbr.*; Reuss, 'Die Johan. Theologie' (in *Beiträge zur d. Theol. Wissenschaft*, i. 56); Köstlin, *Lehrbegr. Johann.*; Weiss, *Der Johann. Lehrbegr.*; Stevens, *The Johannine Theology*; Weiss, *Der Petrin. Lehrbegr.*: also such commentaries as Rückert on *Romans*; Sanday - Headlam on *Romans*; Lightfoot on *Galatians*; Haupt on *1 John*; Mayor on *James*; Spitta on *James*. The whole body of doctrinal discussion may be reviewed in De Moor, *Commentarius in J. Marckii Compendium*, iv. 287 f.; cf. also John Ball, *A Treatise of Faith* (3rd ed. London, 1637), Julius Köstlin, *Der Glaube, sein Wesen, Grund und Gegenstand* (1889), and *Der Glaube und seine Bedeutung für Erkentniss, Leben und Kirche* (1891). For some interesting historical notes, see Harnack, 'Die Lehre von der Seligkeit allein durch den Glauben in der alten Kirche' (in *Zeitschrift. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1895, p. 88); E. König, *Der Glaubensact des Christen* (1891); and for a general survey, Cunningham, *Historical Theology*, ii. pp. 56 ff.

B. B. WARFIELD.

FAITHLESS occurs only Mt 17[17], Mk 9[19], Lk 9[41], Jn 20[27], and always in the sense of 'unbelieving' (*ἄπιστος*). So Shaks. describes Shylock (*Mer. of Ven.* II. iv. 37) as 'a faithless Jew,' *i.e.* not 'untrustworthy,' but 'infidel,' an unbeliever in Christianity.

J. HASTINGS.

FALCON.—RV tr. of אַיָּה *'ayyâh*, Lv 11[14], Dt 14[13] (AV 'kite'), Job 28[7] (AV 'vulture'). See GLEDE, HAWK, KITE, VULTURE.

G. E. POST.

FALL.—In the sense of *happen*, 'fall' is both a Heb. and an Eng. idiom. It occurs Ru 3[18] 'Sit still, my daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall'; and 2 Es 13[58] 'such things as fall in their seasons.' Cf. Mt 18[13], Wyc. 'if it fall that he find it,' and Shaks. *Jul. Cæs.* III. i. 243—

'I know not what may fall; I like it not.'

Fall away is used in two senses. **1.** To lose a position of goodness or of grace. The Greek is either *ἀφίστημι*, Sir 16[7] 'the old giants who fell away in the strength of their foolishness' (RV 'revolted'), Lk 8[13] 'in time of temptation fall away'; or *παραπίπτω* which occurs in the LXX of Est 6[10], Wis 6[9] 12[2], Ezk 14[13] 15[8] 18[24] 20[27] 22[4], and 2 Mac 10[4] [A], and once in NT, He 6[6] 'it is impossible for those who were once enlightened . . . if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance,' where the meaning is more than is found in the LXX, not merely falling into grievous sin, but renouncing the faith of Christ wholly (see Davidson, *in loc.*). 'A falling away' (RV 'the falling away') is the Eng. tr. of *ἡ ἀποστασία*, 2 Th 2[3], on which see MAN OF SIN. **2.** To 'fall away to,' varied with 'fall to,' or 'fall unto' (2 K 7[4] 'let us fall unto the host of the Syrians'), is to desert to an enemy. It is again both a Heb. and an Eng. idiom. See 2 K 25[11] = Jer 52[15], 1 Ch 12[19 bis], Jer 21[9] 37[13. 14] 38[19] 39[9], as well as 1 S 29[3], where the Heb. (if אֶל or עַל is added after LXX *πρός με*) is the same, always some part of נָפַל to fall. For the Eng. cf. Shaks. *Henry VIII.* II. i. 129—

'Where you are liberal of your loves and counsels,
Be sure you be not loose; for those you make friends,
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from ye.'

Again, *Henry VIII.* III. iii. 209—

'And as for Clarence, as my letters tell me,
He's very likely now to fall from him.'

J. HASTINGS.

FALL (*παράπτωμα*, a word used of Adam's transgression in Wis 10[1], though not restricted to this anywhere in OT or NT).—Few chapters of the Bible have affected religious speculation more continuously and more deeply than the chapter which records the temptation and the weakness of primeval man. It would be out of place here to discuss all the topics which arise out of Gn 3, as to do so would be to write a treatise on Christian Theology. We can only consider—(i.) the character of the record, and its relation to other accounts of man's primitive state, which have come down to us from early times; (ii.) the influence of the story of Paradise and the Fall upon Hebrew belief as to man's destiny and his condition in the sight of God; (iii.) the inferences drawn by the NT writers, and notably by St. Paul, from the story of Adam's sin, read in the light of Christ's redemption. It will be impossible to give more than the briefest summary (iv.) of the interpretations of St Paul's doctrine of the Fall which have most widely affected Christian thought; but something must be said, in conclusion, (v.) of the bearing of modern theories of the origin and development of man upon the general doctrine of the Fall explained in Scripture and received by the Church.

i. We briefly recapitulate the leading points of the narrative in Gn 2^4–3, which forms the first section in Gn incorporated from the source described by critics as the Prophetical Code (J). Adam and Eve, the parents of the human family, are represented as living in innocence and peace in a fair garden where sin had not entered, and where death had no power, for in its midst stood the Tree of Life, of which they were permitted freely to eat. The fruit of one tree alone, the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil, was forbidden to them; and death was declared to be the penalty of disobedience. But their happy condition of purity and of fellowship with God did not remain undisturbed. The serpent seduced the woman to disobey the divine command; she, in turn, tempted her husband to his fall. And then came upon the guilty pair the consciousness of sin and the fear of the divine wrath, which they vainly tried to evade by excuses for their fault. The voice of God is heard, pronouncing a curse upon the serpent, and declaring a perpetual strife between it and mankind; the man and the woman, for their sin, are for ever subjected to pain in the fulfilment of their destiny, the woman in her childbearing, the man in his daily labour for daily bread. They are both expelled from Eden, and the Cherubim guard its gates against them, lest, eating of the tree of life, they should live for ever. The picture, however, is lightened by one ray of hope; for the seed of the serpent shall not finally prevail over the seed of the woman. 'It shall bruise thy head,' though 'thou shalt bruise his heel.'

Traditions of a state of primeval innocence, of man's fall from his pristine purity, and of the consequent entrance of death into the world, have, it is said, been gathered by travellers from races far removed from Hebrew literature or its sources.* Striking parallels to Gn 3 are to be found in the Zoroastrian legends as to the beginning of man's career. Yima, the first man, is said to have passed his days in a primeval paradise. But after a time he committed sin, was cast out of Paradise, and delivered up to the serpent (identified with an evil spirit), who finally brought about his death. A later version of the story is told in connexion with the first pair Masha and Mashyâna. The lying spirit grew bold, and, presenting himself a second time, brought them fruits, which they ate. As a punishment, of the hundred privileges they formerly enjoyed only one was left to them.* Few of the parallel stories that are adduced are, however, so exactly recorded as these; and we are inclined to believe that the similarities to the Bible narrative are often overstated. The fact that many people in many lands have sought to explain the existing disorders in the world as the consequence of man's lapse from a higher condition is deeply significant, and we shall return to it again. But the details of the legends in which such belief is embodied are not, as a rule, interesting save to the curious student of folk-lore, and they throw little light upon Scripture. It is to Assyria and the East that we naturally look for illumination. And it has been pointed out that the mythology of Babylonia and Assyria presents some curious parallels to the story of the serpent in the garden of which we read in Gn 3. On Assyrian inscriptions are found the names *Diglat* = Hiddekel, and *Bura* = Euphrates, in connexion with the word *Idinu* or 'field,' which is identified with Eden. Coniferous sacred trees appear frequently on Assyr. bas-reliefs and Bab. representations of a mythological character. On a Bab. stone cylinder, now in the British Museum, two human figures are depicted with a serpent behind them, having their hands stretched out towards the fruit that hangs from a neighbouring tree.† And the serpent figure is conspicuous in the legend of the Chaldæan tablets in which the evil serpent, Tiamat, is overthrown by Merodach. (See COSMOGONY, p. 505.) If the third Creation Tablet were not so extremely difficult to decipher as it is reported to be (partly in consequence of its fragmentary condition), it is probable that we should be able to trace in the story which it records even more striking similarities to the Scripture narrative. But Oriental scholars are not as yet entirely in agreement as to the translation of some of the more interesting portions of it; and the inferences that may be derived from the passage now to be cited must therefore be regarded as somewhat uncertain. The following is the rendering of Boscawen‡:—

'In sin one with the other in compact joins,
The command was established in the garden of the God,
The Asnan (fruit) they ate, they broke in two;
Its stalk they destroyed;
The sweet juice which injures the body.
Great is their sin. Themselves they exalted;
To Merodach their Redeemer he appointed their fate.'

If this translation be trustworthy, we have here something very like the biblical story of the forbidden fruit; but the rendering given by Pinches differs in some significant particulars. We recall, for our warning, that an inscription interpreted by Geo. Smith as a Bab. version of the story of the Fall turned out, when closely examined by Oppert, to be a hymn to the Creator.§ Making all due allowances, however, for uncertainty of translation, it seems probable, when we bear in mind the affinity of the earlier Creation Tablets to Gn 1, as well as the other points of contact with

* See Baring Gould's *Legends of OT Characters*, i. 26–39, and the references there given.

* Compare Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, i. 30 ff.

† There is a photograph of this in Boscawen's *Bible and the Monuments*, p. 89. It is to be borne in mind that there is nothing to suggest that the figures are not both males. And, as Schrader (*KAT*[2] p. 37) points out, a specific feature of the Bible narrative, viz. that the woman gave the fruit to the man, is not indicated.

‡ *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, iv. 251. Another translation by Pinches is given at p. 32. See also Sayce, *Ancient Monuments*, 65, 104; and Davis, *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, p. 65, who questions the accuracy of Boscawen's rendering, and urges that we have here no true parallel to the Genesis narrative.

§ See, for original, Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*[2], p. 91.

the story of Eden to which we have adverted, that a legend of the fall of man, resembling in external features the account of Gn 3, was widely spread in Mesopotamia. Indeed, in another passage cited by Boscawen we are inevitably reminded of the victory over the serpent of Gn 3[15]—

> 'Tiamat, whom he had bound, then turned backward:
> So Bel trampled on the belly of Tiamat;
> With his club unslung he smote her brain,
> He broke it, and caused her blood to flow;
> The north wind bore it away to secret places.'*

There is nothing to surprise reason or to embarrass faith in the fact—if it be a fact—that traditional beliefs about the origins of human history should have been utilized in a purified form by the compiler of the Pent. or taken up into the Prophetical Code. It must be remembered that the period with which we are dealing is strictly prehistoric, and also that legendary history is not necessarily false or misleading. The truly remarkable circumstance is, that the early narratives in Gn are free from the extravagant and grotesque mythological accretions which generally gather round ancient beliefs among primitive peoples; and that every touch in these narratives as we have them conveys a deep religious truth. The 'inspiration of selection' is a phenomenon which every candid student of Scripture must recognize; and nowhere is its presence more instructive than in the first pages of OT, which present the early history of man in a form that can be understood by the simplest, and yet may be studied with spiritual benefit by the wisest of mankind.

We believe, then, that we have in the biblical record of the Fall a purified form of legendary narrative concerning man's early history which had wide currency among Semitic peoples. In an uncritical age it was interpreted literally, and it has been counted historical for many generations by the majority of those, whether Jews or Christians, who accept the authority of the OT. But another method of interpretation, viz. the allegorical, has had many adherents. Thus, of the account of the Fall, Philo asserts: *ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πλάσματα μύθων, οἷς τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ σοφιστικὸν χαίρει γένος, ἀλλὰ δείγματα τύπων ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν παρακαλούντων κατὰ τὰς δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεις* (*De mundi opificio*, § 56), *i.e.* 'These things are not mere fabulous myths, but rather types shadowing forth some allegorical truth.' And, accordingly, he explains that Adam represents the rational and Eve the sensuous part of man, the serpent being the symbol of pleasure. The Christian teachers of Alexandria, Clement and Origen, favoured this allegorical mode of interpretation; but Tertullian and Irenæus defended the literal truth of the narrative, as also did Augustine, who did not, however, reject the typical significance of OT history; and through the scholastic philosophy it passed into the dogmatic theology of the Reformation. But the opinion that, however the story was intended to be taken by the compiler of the Bk. of Genesis, it might be interpreted as a parable of spiritual truth, has been defended by great names in every age of the Church.†

There are, then, these several methods of interpretation—(1) that the narrative of the Fall is literal history; (2) that it is a legend, which conveys truth under mythological disguise; (3) that it is, and was only intended to be, an allegory. The first and third can hardly be adopted in the present condition of exegesis, and it is probable that the second view of the narrative is that which is now most generally accepted by those who have studied the subject. That the biblical form of the legend should represent the facts as they actually took place more closely than the parallel stories which have been collected from the literature of the ancient world, is not surprising to any believer in the unique character of Scripture; but it is not to be forgotten that it is the great religious truths which underlie the narrative that are of real importance, and these are brought out in the Bk. of Genesis in a quite unique fashion.

ii. The allusions in OT to the story of Gn 3 are few and uncertain. If the rendering of the RV may be pressed, there are indeed two undoubted references to the Fall, viz., 'If *like Adam* I covered my transgressions' (Job 31[33]), and, 'But they *like Adam* have transgressed the covenant' (Hos 6[7]). But it seems that, at least in the former passage, כְּאָדָם should be rendered 'after the manner of men,' and this rendering would also be admissible in Hos 6[7]; so that we have to look elsewhere for allusions to the Paradise narrative on which stress may be laid. The 'garden of Eden' is mentioned several times by the prophets of the Captivity (Ezk 28[13] 31[9], Is 51[3], cf. Jl 2[3]); and the Bk. of Proverbs occasionally mentions a 'tree of life' (see esp. Pr 3[18] 11[30]). Ps 90[3] and Ec 12[7] have been supposed to take up the language of Gn 3[19]. It is possible also that we have a reminiscence of the curse upon the serpent (Gn 3[14]) in Mic 7[17] 'They shall lick the dust like a serpent,' and in Is 65[25] 'Dust shall be the serpent's meat,' though the latter passage may be derived from Micah. The conception of a personal tempter of mankind appears in the story of Job and also in 1 Ch 21[1] (see also Zec 3[1]); but it is not until a later period that we come upon any explicit identification of 'Satan' or the 'Adversary' with the 'serpent,' the first trace of such being Wis 2[24]. Cf. also Rev 12[9] and Ro 16[20] 'The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly,' which manifestly has reference to Gn 3[15].*

So far, then, as the language of OT is concerned, we have not convincing evidence that the story of the Fall as given in Gn 3 was much in the thoughts of the sacred writers. But were we to conclude, therefore, that the doctrine of a Fall formed no part of their religious beliefs, we should be seriously mistaken. If there is one idea which is throughout conspicuous in OT, it is the idea of *sin*. No other nation of antiquity was possessed with so intense a consciousness of the wickedness of mankind, and of the sin of man as an offence against God. 'Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me' (Ps 51[5]). 'There is none that doeth good, no, not one' (Ps 14[3]). These and many similar passages express the abiding sense of the Hebrew race, that man, as he is, is not in the condition which his Creator purposed for him. The contrast between such a conception of man and that, *e.g.*, present to the mind of a Greek, who viewed man as in his normal, healthy state, is only to be accounted for by a belief such as that which is presupposed and taught in the story of the Fall.

That this belief was, as a matter of fact, definitely, if not consistently, connected with the Paradise narrative in the later ages of Hebrew national life, is proved by the testimony of the books called *Apocrypha* and the literature of the Roman period. This testimony is so important that it will be well to present it in some detail.

(*a*) It is unnecessary to multiply passages which speak of the *depravity of human nature*; but 2 Es 4[11] 'How can he that is already worn out with the corrupted world understand incorruption?' is significant. Cf. also 2 Es 7[68].

(*b*) This depravity was traced to Adam's fall. The classical passage is 2 Es 3[21. 22]. The seer has

* *Bible and the Monuments*, p. 90.

† See an interesting note in Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, p. 171 (ed. Bohn).

* It may be observed that the temptation of the Second Adam by the devil (Mt 4, Lk 4) explains beyond doubt who was understood by the serpent which tempted the first Adam.

been speaking of the creation of Adam, his dwelling in Paradise, the one commandment which he transgressed, and the consequent entrance of death into the world. He goes on: 'For the first Adam, bearing a wicked heart, transgressed, and was overcome; *and not he only*, but all they also that are born of him. Thus disease was made permanent; and the law was in the heart of the people along with the wickedness of the root; so the good departed away, and that which was wicked abode still.' Again: 'A grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time!' (2 Es 4^{30}). And once more: 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee' (2 Es 7^{118}). In this late book are recognized the moral consequences of Adam's sin; in the much earlier work of Ben-Sira there is an allusion to the curse of Gn 3^{19} 'Great travail is created for every man, and a heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam' (Sir 40^{1}).

(*c*) That sin came through the *woman* is explicitly stated in Sir 25^{24} 'From a woman was the beginning of sin, and because of her we all die.'

(*d*) That man's seduction was due to the serpent, now for the first time in Jewish literature identified with Satan, is alluded to in Wis 2^{24} 'By the envy of the devil death entered into the world.'

(*e*) The connexion between *death* and *sin* is not so clearly conceived, and there was, apparently, no consistent doctrine on the subject;* but the generally prevailing view seems to have been that of 2 Es 3^{7} 'Unto him thou gavest thy one commandment: which he transgressed, and immediately thou appointedst death for him and in his generations.' Cf. also Wis 2^{24}, Sir 25^{24}. The same view is found in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (xvii. 3, xxiii. 4) and in the *Book of Enoch* (xcviii. 4).

(*f*) Side by side with passages such as these we have others not less significant, which assert the *personal responsibility* of the sinner. *E.g.* 'They that inhabited the city did evil, in all things doing as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also bare a wicked heart' (2 Es 3^{25}). Cf. also 2 Es 8^{59} and 9^{11}, and, above all, *Apoc. Baruch* liv. 19: 'Non est ergo Adam causa, nisi animæ suæ tantum; nos uero unusquisque fuit animæ suæ Adam.'

It might be urged that 2 Es is a very late book, perhaps belonging to Christian times; but, at all events, that the author of the chapters from which our quotations are drawn was a non-Christian Jew is tolerably certain. And thus we may use the book in support of our conclusion that the Jews, at least from the Captivity onward, conceived of the sin of Adam as having left a permanent trace from the effects of which all mankind were suffering and to suffer.

iii. When we come to the NT, and especially to the Pauline Epistles, we find that this doctrine of the effects of Adam's fall receives at once explanation and relief in the facts of the Incarnation and the Atonement. If we take the points in the order followed in the last section, we see (*a*) that the universal depravity of mankind is everywhere presupposed, and is the basis of the argument of the Ep. to the Romans. To (*b*) we shall return again, and only cite here 1 Co 15^{22} 'As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive.' (*c*) finds illustration in two passages: 'the serpent beguiled Eve in his craftiness' (2 Co 11^{3}), and 'Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not beguiled, but the woman being beguiled hath fallen into transgression' (1 Ti 2^{14}). (*d*) St. Paul refers to the 'bruising of Satan' in Ro 16^{20}; and the devil is spoken of as 'a murderer from the beginning' in Jn 8^{44}. Cf. also 1 Jn 3^{8-12}. We then come to (*e*), as to which the classical passage in NT is Ro 5^{12-21}. A commentary on these difficult verses cannot be written here; but certain broad principles laid down by St. Paul, who is undoubtedly following and interpreting the narrative in Gn 3, can hardly be mistaken.* That through one man sin entered into the world is his starting-point. Death came through sin (cf. Ro 6^{23} and Ja 1^{15}); and hence death is the common lot of man, first, because of his own personal sin; and, secondly, because it is part of the inheritance which Adam has transmitted to his descendants. At the same time, St. Paul is careful to insist (*f*) that man's personal responsibility for his own acts, and for his own acts alone, remains unimpaired. He does not supply any theory by which the two complementary truths of man's inherited tendency to evil and man's free will may be reconciled; but he leaves them side by side as equally parts of the doctrine which it has been given him to teach. And he goes on to show that the distinctive feature of the gospel is that 'if by the trespass of the one the many died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abound unto the many.' Thus the theology of St. Paul is inextricably bound up with the doctrine of the Fall. The whole point of the comparison and contrast of the first and second Adam is lost, if the destinies of the human race were not deeply affected by a backward step at the beginnings of human history, if it be not true that man's growth in holiness may be described as a recovery effected through grace.

iv. The interpretations of St. Paul's language which have from time to time been accepted by Christians are various; and they depend in part on the view that is taken as to the state of unfallen man, and the divine intention for him. It would be agreed by most theologians that, to use the language of the Church, the 'original righteousness' of which Adam was deprived, was, although in part natural, yet in part *supernatural*. That is to say, he is represented as divinely endowed with a virtuous character, without any such bias towards evil as we experience in ourselves. This is what constituted the unique perversity and heinousness of the first sin, and it is because of this that his sin is counted a 'fall' from a higher spiritual condition. His sin had a disturbing influence on the whole future development of the race, but the character of the disturbance has been differently estimated in different schools of thought. Speaking broadly, the Greek view was simply that the 'original righteousness' of the race was lost; the effect of Adam's sin was a *privatio*, an impoverishment of human nature which yet left the power of the will unimpaired. But the Latin writers who followed Augustine took a darker view of the consequences of the Fall. It is, for them, a *depravatio naturæ*; the human will is disabled; there is left a bias towards evil which can be conquered only by grace. And this is, undoubtedly, nearer to the language of Scripture than the former mode of representing the facts; but it was not always remembered, *e contra*, in Augustinian theology that the 'image of God' remained in man even after the Fall (Gn 9^{6}). It is therefore contrary to Scripture to represent man as *wholly* corrupt. And a deep

* See Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 165 ff.

* For St. Paul's argument, as also for the witness of the *Apocrypha* to the doctrine of man's corruption, see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans* (ch. v.).

and serious question arises here as to the relation between the Fall and the Incarnation. It may well be, as the Scotists taught, that it is unjustifiable to represent the high destiny which man may find in Christ as an after-thought in the divine counsels. The Incarnation may have been, for anything we can tell, the predestined climax of humanity, independently of human sin. Bearing these considerations in mind we return to Ro 5^{12-21}, and the various theories which have been proposed in explanation. They may be classified thus—*

(*a*) It is urged that St. Paul's language requires us to conceive of the human race as *in Adam* potentially, in the same sense as the oak is in the acorn. Hence, for what he did, we may be counted responsible. The race, not the individual, is the true unit; it is with this unit that God deals. Thus, *e.g.*, David sinned in numbering Israel, but his people were the sufferers from the divine punishment. The words of our Lord in Lk 13^{2-4} suggest to us that there is such a thing as *national* responsibility, apart from the guilt of individuals. Most apposite of all, Levi is said to have paid tithes 'through Abraham' (He $7^{9.\ 10}$). And in this conception of the solidarity of mankind there is, beyond question, a profound truth which is becoming more intelligently and sincerely accepted as the social teaching of the Incarnation is being opened out. 'As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive' (1 Co 15^{22}), are words which point to the unity of the human race as the root of the universality both of sin and of redemption. But we must be careful not to state this so as to do violence to our God-given sense of justice. This is the fault, *e.g.*, of teaching like that of Jonathan Edwards, who spoke of a psychological no less than a physical unity between Adam and his posterity. Ultimately based, as in Augustine, on a mistranslation of Ro 5^{12} (*in quo* as the rendering of ἐφ' ᾧ) and on the adoption in the Vulg. of the word *imputare*, familiar from its use in the courts of Roman law, this teaching may readily become either ultra-mystical or ultra-rationalistic. It becomes ultra-mystical, if the unity of the human race be so spoken of as to conceal the all-important fact that it is only for a person that morality has any intelligible meaning. It becomes ultra-rationalistic, when the phrases 'imputation of sin' and the correlative 'imputation of righteousness' are used as if sin and righteousness were transferable from one person to another. Sin is predicable only of a *person*, not of human *nature*; and the warning of Ezekiel, 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die,' needs to be ever kept in view. St. Paul does not teach that we are accomplices in Adam's sin or partakers of his guilt without a co-operation of our own will, although it be at the same time awfully true that we inherit from him a degraded nature. The abiding truth in the interpretation given by Augustine of St. Paul's teaching as to the Fall, is the truth of the unity of mankind. In this Adam is τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος.

(*b*) Again, the effect of Adam's fall upon his posterity has been explained by speaking of Adam as *representative* of the race. 'The covenant was made with Adam as a public person, not with himself only, but for his posterity.' But the question arises, How could Adam, in justice, bind his posterity to a covenant of which they were not cognizant? A federal compact of this sort could only bind us, if we had empowered Adam to act on our behalf. And if it be urged that in Adam's case we should have done the same as he, and therefore may justly be punished for what he did, it may be replied that this is a gratuitous assumption, which goes perilously near to depriving the original transgression of moral blame by representing it as inevitable. Here is an important consideration which must not be overlooked. All profitable speculation on the subject of the Fall must recognize frankly its voluntary character. Adam was not necessitated to act as he did; otherwise his action would not involve moral responsibility.

(*c*) We come, then, to the view which is at once most widely accepted and most consonant to all the facts. It is, substantially, the view expounded by John of Damascus. We inherit from our first parents a degraded nature, so degraded that it is for us much harder to overcome sin than it was for Adam. For this inherited depravity of nature we are not responsible; we have inherited it in spite of ourselves. Hence the world is in a 'state of ruin,' and can be remedied only through grace. But we are not, therefore, *guilty*; guilt is incurred only when the evil is voluntarily embraced, when we take up Adam's sin by repeating it, as it were, in our own persons. The rule of Augustine, *Peccatum pœna peccati*, continually receives verification. Coleridge has pressed this view somewhat further. 'It belongs,' he says, 'to the very essence of the doctrine that in respect of original sin *every* man is the adequate representative of *all* men' (*Aids to Reflection*, p. 194). And he holds that Adam's fall is a typical experience repeated afresh in every son of Adam. *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.* The corruption, he urges, 'must be self-originated.' There is an important sense in which this is true; but it is not the whole truth. It is deficient in recognition of the far-reaching character of the first sin. We are not at all in the same spiritual condition as that of the first man; we do not enter on the conflict with evil on the same terms. Our whole attitude to God is different from that of Adam, although we be still 'sons of God.' As the schoolmen put it, in the case of Adam the *person* corrupted the *nature*; with us it is the *nature* which corrupts the *person*. Man is still free, but man is *sick* with a sickness which is displeasing to the All-pure; and for healing of this sickness only a supernatural remedy will suffice. As our Lord taught in the Sermon on the Mount (cf. also Mt 15^{19}), the real seat of sin is within, the heart is the seat of the moral life (cf. Ps 78^{37}, Pr 4^{23}), although the translation of thought into act involves a fresh and distinct step in responsibility.* The advocates of the more rigorous Augustinian doctrine have been accustomed to designate this view as semi-Pelagianism; but it is free from the essential fault of the teaching of Pelagius, on which we say a final word.

(*d*) Pelagius is represented as having held that the infant enters on life crippled in no appreciable degree by any inherited infirmity or waywardness of the will. He begins the world with powers sufficient to cope with the machinations of the evil one. And thus, in so far as he does wrong, it is his own fault; in so far as he does right, he is deserving of approbation. It would seem that Pelagius and his disciples seriously underestimated the influence of Adam's fall on human nature at large. That this nature as corrupt and the seat of sin must be of itself and when unregenerate displeasing to the All-holy, they did not perceive with clearness. And though men, happily, do not always push their opinions to their logical conclusions, the result of such teaching as this would be the denial of any need of grace or of redemption.†

v. We pass on to the question, How far is the

* See for a fuller classification, Schaff in Lange's *Romans* (Eng. tr. p. 191).

* See Hort's *Life and Letters*, ii. 330 *f.*; see also i. 78.

† See Neander's *Church History*, iv. 331 ff.

doctrine of the Fall affected by modern theories as to the evolution of the human species from lower and less developed types? It has been too often hastily assumed that the belief in the continuity of animal forms is inconsistent with belief in any special prerogative of man, and is still more incompatible with a doctrine which represents his history as having been retrogressive at one point. But neither of these positions can be established.

The doctrine of the evolution of species is not yet to be counted as more than an extremely probable hypothesis, by which the phenomena of life and growth become intelligible. Many details are, as yet, very obscure, and the laws of inheritance have not by any means been clearly and fully expounded. See HEREDITY. And the application of this doctrine to the descent of man is beset with peculiar difficulties, which cannot be said, as yet, to have been solved. But we are, nevertheless, content in this article to treat of the subject of man's early history in the light of this wonderful law. Evolution may not be the final word of science as to the laws of growth; but it expresses well the results to which investigation has so far attained. We conceive, then, of primeval man as a creature descended from brute ancestors, some of whom he closely resembled in instinct and habit as well as in structure. But there was one marked difference. In him there was present the faculty of self-consciousness; he was conscious of a reason which can make provision for a foreseen future, and of a will which is not necessarily determined by the strongest physical desire. Man is made *in the image of God*, although his bodily lineage be that of the ape-like creatures whom he sees round him. If we may illustrate the facts of his growth by a mathematical illustration, we shall say that the curve of his progress is a continuous curve, upon which he has come to a critical point. At this critical point the curvature seems to change its character; in other words, the man finds himself possessed of faculties which are not, so far as he can judge, the direct product of his former history. They are, to use at once the simplest and the truest words, the gift of God. There may be, perhaps, absolute and visible continuity between the bodily form of the man and of the higher apes; but continuity cannot be so exactly traced in his mental development. There has been a *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*, however it has come about. Henceforth he is not only an animal, but a man. If it be said that it is not scientific to postulate a *saltus* of this kind, it may be asked, Why not? The law of continuity is not a fetish before which we are called to prostrate ourselves; it is nothing more than a convenient working hypothesis, which we find it necessary to desert in this instance, as in others where it will not serve our purpose. And, indeed, it is by no means certain that to the Supreme Mind there is here apparent any breach of continuity whatever. The law may be obeyed, in fact, though the sequence may not be within our observation.

A creature thus emerging from a lower animal condition, even though endowed with the divine gifts of self-conscious reason and free will, would not, indeed, be perfect. He would be, at the earliest stage of a new period of growth, already raised above the ape, but still far removed from the civilized European of modern life. But then we remark that the narrative of Genesis nowhere describes the first man as perfect. When South said that 'Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise,'* he was not drawing his picture from Scripture. Neither OT nor NT speak of Adam as perfect, though they speak of him as innocent and pure (cf. Ec 7^{29}). And this was perceived by early Christian commentators. Theophilus of Antioch says that God placed Adam in Paradise *διδοὺς αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴν προκοπῆς ὅπως αὐξάνων καὶ τέλειος γενόμενος*, *κ.τ.λ.* (*Ad Autol.* ii. 24); and Clement of Alexandria states (*Strom.* vi. 12. 96) that Adam 'was not made perfect in respect of his constitution, but in a fit condition to receive virtue.'* This relation to God has been well described as not a state of perfection or a mere disposition, but 'a living commencement which contained within itself the possibility of a progressive development and a fulfilment of the vocation of man.'†

Such a state of things is so far removed from anything of which we have experience that we find ourselves continually at fault in the effort to imagine or to describe it. But we must, at least, suppose it to have been a condition in which man obeyed freely the law of that nature to which he had attained; the ideas 'right' and 'wrong' hardly presented themselves to his mind with full meaning, for 'the knowledge of good and evil' was not yet his. It may well have been that the image of God was a gift only germinally bestowed and gradually realized. Man did not come all at once into his splendid inheritance. In the Paradise narrative he is depicted as still at an early stage in his history. He is represented as living a life of communion with God, conscious, as it would seem, that he 'ought' to obey the laws of God, which, as yet, were presented in the simplest and most elementary form; but the consciousness of moral obligation could only be half realized where the knowledge of evil was not present. So far there is nothing in the story which would conflict with the teaching of science, whether physical or mental. In his primitive condition, man would have been able to recognize only the simplest moral commands. He was forbidden to taste of the fruit of 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil': for so perilous an experience he was not prepared. And, in the absence of temptation from without, it was perhaps possible that this state of purity should have continued. The man's nature, though not developed to perfection, though not strong with the discipline which time and experience bring, was perfectly balanced; and in obeying its dictates he would obey the dictates of his Creator.

How into such a world could evil enter? That is the question which has vexed philosophy from generation to generation. It is a question to which no final or complete answer has been given. But the record of revelation at least puts the difficulty one step further back; it points to the region where the solution is to be sought. In the Bible the fall of the angels precedes the fall of man (Jude[6]). Temptation came into human life through the machination of a spirit of evil distinct from man. The invitation to sin came from the serpent in the garden, and it took the form of a suggested violation of the command known to be divine. Sin is not an indigenous product, but is brought in *ab extra*, somewhat as it has been suggested that life was first brought to the earth in a meteoric stone. According to the Bible, the origin of evil is to be sought outside human nature.

We are not now in a region where science has anything to tell us. We have only the brief phrases of Scripture as our guide. And it will be observed that we cannot say positively that the temptation would not have been self-suggested, as the man grew in faculty and in strength, had there been no malign influence external to himself.

* Sermon on Gn 1^{27}.

* See Gibson, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 366.
† Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, § 78.

We do not know, and cannot know. What is told is this. The man was in a state of innocence and purity, and the suggestion to sin came, as a matter of fact, in the first instance from a personal agency of evil outside the domain of his own will.

Here, then, is ignorance of evil dispelled, whichever course the man adopted. For the conscious refusal of evil, no less than its acceptance, would in a measure involve a knowledge of evil. An apostolic writer speaks of the τέλειος, or perfect man, as one 'who by reason of use has his senses exercised to discern good and evil' (He 5^{14}). True, there would be no personal realization of evil were it not consciously embraced. But its existence must henceforward be definitely conceived. And we may notice that whether man yielded to the temptation or overcame it, in any case he would have advanced a step in knowledge. To yield was a spiritual fall; to resist would have been a spiritual rise. But in any case the new experience would be an intellectual rise. This is a principle which has formed the starting-point of some remarkable speculations as to the Fall both in mediæval and modern times. The philosopher Erigena seems to have had a confused perception of this truth when he taught that sin was relatively necessary for the development of human nature. Schiller, again, interpreted the Fall as the necessary transition of reason from the state of nature to that of culture. The necessity of evil is a prominent feature in the Hegelian philosophy, according to which the life of the world is conceived as inevitably developing itself through antagonism and conflict. This is the *Divina Commedia* of human history, the perpetual tragedy of life. And theologians have pointed out that in Scripture itself the origin of the arts of civilization and of peace is traced to fallen and not to unfallen man. Tubal-cain, 'the forger of every cutting instrument in brass and iron,' and Jubal the father of musicians, are the descendants of Cain (Gn $4^{21.22}$). The truth which seems to underlie speculations such as these is that man would not begin to progress rapidly, in an intellectual point of view, until he became conscious of the resistance to his energies which evil presents. But this consciousness would not have been less intense had he overcome the temptation which assailed him instead of yielding to it. It is only the man who has successfully battled with evil that is conscious of its full strength, for upon him alone has it spent all its powers. And thus to assert that *sin* was relatively necessary for the development of human nature, is to confuse the yielding to temptation with the experience of it. Had primeval man been strong when evil presented itself, we know not to what heights of intellectual, as of spiritual excellence, the race might not have now attained. In this view only is it true that the first temptation marks the 'beginning and the foundation of the development of *mind*, the birth of man's intellectual nature.'*

We find, then, that the doctrine of the Fall, when subjected to examination, is in no way inconsistent with the theory of the evolution of man from lower types, and his growth 'from strength to strength' as the centuries have gone by. There has been a continuous intellectual development. When the pre-Adamite ancestor of the human family was fitted to receive the divine gift of reason, it was granted to him. Like Christ, Adam came *in the fulness of time*, when all things were ready. Up to this point the evolution had been unconscious; henceforward it was to be conscious, and partly assisted by voluntary effort.

* See Matheson, *Can the Old Faith live with the New*, p. 219 ff., where the argument of this paragraph is developed at length.

And the first experience of evil, explicitly recognized as evil, would afford a fresh starting-point for his growth. For such experience of evil, as has been said, would in any event—whether it was conquered or the conqueror—involve a rise in the intellectual scale. Had it been overcome, as it might have been overcome (for the act of Adam is represented as one of free choice), there would have been a rise in the spiritual scale as well. But in the event there was intellectual growth, accompanied by a descent to a lower spiritual level, from which it would be impossible for man to rise without the aid of divine grace. And so the Incarnation and the Atonement mark in the history of mankind a crisis as real, and introduce a force as potent, as when God *created man in His own image*.

Such a view of man's progress is in the strictest harmony alike with the Bible and with the teaching of modern science. For it is to be remembered that what science teaches us is that the history of man has been a history of development, but it does not and could not teach that this development has proceeded along the best conceivable lines.* It is no postulate of modern philosophy that this is the best of all possible worlds. And the Christian doctrine, that man as he presents himself to us in history and in life, though his education through the centuries has been divinely ordered, is not in the condition which was the divine intention for him, is a doctrine which receives verification from daily observation. The divine will has been thwarted, so to speak, by the perversity of the human will. And this has been recognized as the key to the problem of evil by men of all races and creeds. For what is the spectacle which the world of men presents? Newman has described it well in a splendid passage of his *Apologia* (ch. v.): 'To consider the world in its length and its breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts; and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things, as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of man, his far-reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary, hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the apostle's words, "having no hope and without God in the world,"—all this is a vision to dizzy and appal; and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery, which is absolutely beyond human solution. What shall be said to this heart-piercing, reason-bewildering fact? I can only answer, that either there is no Creator, or this living society of men is in a true sense discarded from His presence.' The 'outcast man' is, in short, the Great Exception. While every other living thing is striving for its good, man alone is found choosing what he knows to be for his hurt. And so to the believer in God his own experience confirms the eternal truth of the doctrine of the Fall. As Pascal says, 'De sorte que l'homme est plus incon-

* See Gore, *Lux Mundi*[10], pp. 535, 536, and the passage there cited from Aubrey Moore's *Evolution and Christianity*: 'the change which took place at the Fall was a change in the moral region; but it could not be without its effect elsewhere. Even the knowledge of nature becomes confused without the governing truth of the relation of man to God.'

cevable sans ce mystère, que ce mystère n'est inconcevable à l'homme.' That doctrine is indeed a *datum* of revelation; but it harmonizes well with what we know of ourselves and of others. There has been somewhere a backward step in the history of man, who was at the first created 'very good.' And the teaching of St. Paul about sin, stated in terms of the story of Gn 3, but based on the broad ground of observation and experience, gives, as we have seen, the *rationale* of this fact, and brings it into line with the revelation of the gospel. There are two points on which it is necessary to add a few concluding remarks.

(1) St. Paul, following Gn 2^{17} and 3^{19}, states that death came through sin (Ro $5^{12.\ 14}$). It is tolerably plain that by 'death' he means physical death, although it has been interpreted of the death of the soul (see Sanday, *in loc.*). And he here seems to come into collision with natural science, which teaches that death must have been known upon the earth long before the human species appeared. For ages before the creation or evolution of man, death in the case of the lower animals must have been a necessary concomitant and condition of life. It is not apparent, however, that this touches St. Paul's argument; for he is speaking of the death of *man*. And in the case of man it may well be that had he remained faithful to the law of his being, as communicated to him by his Creator, death would have had no dominion over him. As has been said already, of the condition of primeval man we have little information; it was so utterly unlike anything of which we have experience that confident statements would be out of place. But, at all events, the death of a being made *in the image of God* is a phenomenon of an order entirely different from the death of a beast. Death is the portion of the latter; it is part of the divine intention for him. Not so, for man. For him there is a further destiny in store. And his sin, as it involves alienation from God, involves the withdrawal of that higher life which has been the assurance of immortality. We do not assert of Adam the *non posse mori*, but the *posse non mori*, as long as his fellowship with God, the source of life, was unbroken. But sin reduced him to the state of a lower animal, and thus man became the prey of death. It may well be that, as has been surmised by many of the profoundest of Christian philosophers, there is some intimate connexion between moral evil and physical decay for a composite being such as Scripture represents man to be. And in the Fall of Adam his whole race were thus involved; death passed upon them, not indeed as a *punishment* for something which a remote ancestor had done, but as the inevitable *consequence* of the sin of the head of the race. They inherit a degraded nature, which is subject to the laws of physical dissolution as is the nature of a beast. But 'man's normal condition, according to the OT, is not mortality, with the possibility of attaining immortality by a later gift; but life in God's fellowship, with the possibility of losing it and falling into a condition of an existence which is not life.'* It is not by any means clear that it is within the power of natural science to negative this view.

(2) What may prove a more serious difficulty arises in connexion with the origin of the human race from a single pair, which seems to be presupposed in St. Paul's exposition of the parallelism between Adam and Christ. True, the unity of the race is not disproved by science; and it is believed by many on purely scientific grounds to be more probable than the hypothesis that mankind are descended from several pairs. But if the latter doctrine should command at any time the assent of the scientific world, it would be necessary to modify in some degree what has been said. This article has been written on the assumption that there is nothing contradictory to science in the doctrine of the unity of the human race as descended from common parents. This is certainly the doctrine expounded by St. Paul. But it is a matter which comes within the province of science; and should it ever be disproved, it would be necessary to admit that the apostle was using an illustration not scientifically apt in all respects. It must be observed, however, that in essentials nothing would have to be changed. The great truths, that sin began with the beginning of our race, that its baneful influence has been transmitted from generation to generation, that it is as widespread as mankind itself, that it cannot be eradicated without a gift of grace, are unaffected whether 'Adam' be taken as the name of a single individual, or as a term descriptive of the forefathers of the human species. The universality of sin is a sufficient indication that human nature has been corrupted at its base, whether by the fall of one or of several; and it would still remain true that 'as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.' So much it has been deemed necessary to say, although at present the balance of evidence seems distinctly to favour the doctrine that mankind are descended from one common stock, and so to confirm the analogy drawn out by St. Paul. See also ADAM, ATONEMENT, JUSTIFICATION, HEREDITY, PARADISE, SACRIFICE, SIN.

* Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, p. 220.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the books already mentioned, the following may be consulted with profit: Ryle, *Early Narratives of Genesis*; Orr, *Christian View of God and the World*; Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man*; Müller, *Christian Doctrine of Sin*. The subject is discussed in all treatises on Systematic Theology.

J. H. BERNARD.

FALLOW-DEER.—This word occurs in the AV among the clean animals (Dt 14^5), and in the list of game furnished for Solomon's daily table (1 K 4^{23}). In each list *'ayyâl*, *ẓĕbî*, and *yaḥmûr* occur in the same order. The first is correctly translated, both in AV and RV, *hart* (see HART). The second is incorrectly tr. in AV *roebuck*, and correctly in RV *gazelle* (see GAZELLE). The third is incorrectly tr. in AV *fallow-deer*, and, we think, correctly in RV *roebuck* (see ROEBUCK).

G. E. POST.

FALSE WITNESS.—See LYING, OATH.

FAME.—The Gr. word *φήμη* (from *φημί*, to declare, say) was used for a divine voice, oracle, and then for a report or common saying. The Lat. word *fama*, beginning, where *φήμη* left off, with rumour or report, added to that the meaning of reputation or renown. The Eng. word 'fame,' though it once had all the meaning of Lat. *fama*, now retains only the sense of renown or celebrity. Thus in modern Eng. 'fame' is never a fair equivalent for *φήμη*.

That in 1611 'fame' had the meaning (1) of report, and (2) also of renown, is certain. Thus: (1) Sir T. Elyot, *The Governour*, 1531 (Croft's ed. ii. 291), says, 'all Greece was in great fear for the fame that was sprad of the commynge of the Persians with an infinite armye.' So Tindale's tr. of Mt 24^6 (ed. of 1534) is, 'Ye shall heare of warres, and of the fame of warres' (Gr. *ἀκοάς*; Wyc. 'openyouns'; Tind. 1526 'noyse'; Cran. 'tidinges'; Rhem. 'bruites'; Gen., Bish., AV, RV 'rumours'). And Bacon (*Adv. of Learning*, II. xxiii. 19) says, 'General fame is light, and the opinions conceived by superiors or equals are deceitful; for to such men are more masked; *verior fama e domesticis emanat*.' Again (2) in Shaks. (*Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 228), Achilles says—

'I see my reputation is at stake;
My fame is shrewdly gored';

and in *Henry V.* III. ii. 13, Pistol sings, 'And sword and shield, In bloody field, Doth win immortal fame'; to which the Boy replies, 'Would I were in an ale-house in London! I would give all my fame for a pot of ale and safety.'

In AV both meanings appear, but the former most frequently. The only manifest examples of the meaning 'renown' are 1 K 4^{31}, 1 Ch 14^{17} 22^{5}, Zeph 3^{19}, where the Heb. is *shêm* 'a name.' When the Heb. is *shêma'* (Nu 14^{15}, 1 K 10^{1}, 2 Ch 9^{1}, Job 28^{22}, Is 66^{19}), *shôma'* (Jos 6^{27} 9^{9}, Est 9^{4}, Jer 6^{24}), or *shĕmû'ah* (1 K 10^{7}, 2 Ch 9^{6}), the meaning is not very distinctly marked, but the Heb. words are properly report, tidings (lit. 'hearing'); and in Job 28^{22} (RV 'rumour') as well as in Jer 6^{24} that is manifestly the sense. It is evident also that in the only remaining OT passage, Gn 45^{16} (where the Heb. is *qôl*, lit. 'voice'), the sense is report. In NT that sense is probably the only one that occurs. The Gr. words are (1) *φήμη*, Mt 9^{26}, Lk 4^{14}, the only examples of the word, which is nearly as rare in LXX (Pr 16^{2} [for *shĕmû'ah*], 2 Mac 4^{39}, 3 Mac 3^{2}, 4 Mac 4^{22}), with the verb *διαφημίζω*, Mt 9^{31} (*διεφήμισαν αὐτόν*, 'they . . . spread abroad his fame'; Wyc. 1380 'thei . . . defameden hym,' 1388 'thei . . . diffameden hym,' from Vulg. *diffamaverunt eum*). (2) *ἀκοή*, lit. 'hearing,' Mt 4^{24} 14^{1}, Mk 1^{28} (RV always 'report'). (3) *ἦχος*, 'echo,' Lk 4^{37} the only occurrence of this meaning (RV 'rumour'). (4) *λόγος*, 'word,' Lk 5^{15} (RV 'report'), which has this meaning also in Mt 28^{15}, Jn 21^{23} (EV 'saying'). In Apocr., on the other hand, we find only 1 Mac $3^{26.41}$, both with the mod. sense of renown (Gr. *ὄνομα*, 'name').

RV adds Jer 50^{43} (Heb. *shêma'*) for AV 'report.' 'Fame' is the Wyclifite tr^{n} of 1388 here, 'report' having come from the Geneva Bible of 1560.

J. HASTINGS.

FAMILIAR.—'Familiar spirit' is the tr. in EV of Heb. *'ôbh* wherever it occurs (except Job 32^{19} where in plu. it means 'skin-bottles,' EV 'bottles,' RVm 'wine skins'), on which see Driver on Dt 18^{11} and art. DEMON; also Van Hoonacker, 'Divination by *'Ob*,' in *Expos. Times*, Jan. 1898. 'Familiar' has in this phrase the sense of the Lat. *familiaris*, belonging to one's family, and so to oneself, ready to serve one as a *famulus* or servant. The oldest example in *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* is Stow, *Chron.* (1565) 107, 'A familiar spirit which hee had . . . in likenesse of a Catte.' But it is found in Geneva Bible of 1560, 1 S $28^{7\ bis.\ 8}$ etc., whence it passed into AV. Similar phrases seem to be older, as *Prose Legends* in *Anglia*, viii. 146 (14—), 'Hir famylier aungel thet hadde hir in kepynge'; and Capgrave, *Chron.* 25 (1460), 'That same familiar devel.'

In Jer 20^{10} we find the subst. 'familiars' (Lat. *familiares*), 'All my familiars watched for my halting,' for which RV gives 'familiar friends' as the same Heb. is tr. in Ps 41^{9} AV and RV.

The Heb. is lit. 'man (or men) of my peace.' It occurs also Jer 38^{22}, Ob 7. The most instructive occurrence is no doubt Ps 41^{9}, and the meaning is there at least not simply 'acquaintances, those to whom I should give the ordinary salutation, Peace be with you' (Streane); but rather, as Cheyne, those who are specially attached to me by a covenant.

Illustrations of the subst. 'familiars' are Knox, *Hist.* 38, 'they would chop their familiars on the cheeke with it [the New Testament]'; and Hos 10^{14} Cov. 'All thy stronge cities shalbe layed waist, euen as Salmana was destroyed with his familiers.'

J. HASTINGS.

FAMILY.—i. SCOPE, TERMS, AND DATA.—The term *family* is used in many different senses: (*a*) For larger or smaller groups of persons connected by blood or marriage, from the family in the narrowest sense—a man with his wives and children, and sometimes his mother—to the widest aggregate of kinsfolk between whom relationship is traced—the clan, tribe, nation, or even the human race. (*b*) In a looser sense for communities living in close and permanent intercourse, from the household—including dependants as well as kinsfolk—to the clan, etc., including persons not of the main stock. (*c*) In various fig. senses with which we are not concerned here. OT recognizes and connects the groups denoted by *family* in (*a*) and (*b*), but has no single term for them; still less has it any term corresponding to the Eng. *family*. בַּיִת *house*, approaches most closely to the range of meaning of *family* in (*a*) and (*b*); in Gn 7^{1} Noah with his wife and sons and daughters-in-law are called his *house*; we have also the *house* of David 2 S 3^{1}, of Levi (*i.e.* tribe) Nu 17^{8}, of Israel (*i.e.* the nation) Ex 16^{31}. In P and Ch בֵּית אָב, RV *fathers' house*, is a technical term for a subdivision of a tribe. The origin of these terms in the concrete dwelling connects them with (*b*), cf. similar use of אֹהֶל *tent*, in Ps 78^{67} 83^{6}. So also מִשְׁפָּחָה, EV *family*, is explained (Ges., Fuerst) as etymologically a *union*, obsolete √ שׁפח *to join*, but Buhl connects with Arab. *sapaha, to pour out*, and with שְׁפָחָה. מ is strictly a *clan*, and is used in P and late writings (Nu 2, etc.) for the largest division of a tribe; but its meanings also range from the clan to the tribe (Jg 13^{2}) and the nation (Jer 33^{24}). Other terms are derived from the physical tie between kinsfolk, and connect with (*a*), זֶרַע seed (Gn 12^{7}), עֶצֶם bone (Gn 29^{14}), בָּשָׂר flesh (Gn 29^{14}), שְׁאֵר flesh (Lv 18^{12}), with its derivative שְׁאֵרָה (Lv 18^{17}), in the sense of blood-relation; the compounds of ילד bear, beget, מוֹלֶדֶת offspring (Gn 48^{6}), kinsfolk (Gn 31^{3}), תּוֹלְדוֹת clans (Nu 1^{20}). Also, young children collectively are נַף, √ נפף *take quick short steps*. נְאֻלָּה (Ezk 11^{15}) is a misreading (Cornill, etc. *i.l.*).

This brief statement as to terms shows how the family was bound up with all the social and political arrangements of Israel. Hence it is difficult to draw any natural line of division between the family and other social and political groups, whose institutions are expressed in terms of the family, and derived in fact or theory from it. Moreover, it is often maintained that the idea of the family originated in a social group larger than and different from that consisting of a single man with his dependent women and children. If this is in any measure true, the relations between the family (in the narrower modern sense) and the larger social groups will be still more complicated. This article will be confined, as far as possible, to the family proper, and the larger social groups will be dealt with in the art. TRIBE; but it will be necessary to make some allusion to the relations of the family to the clan, etc.

The data for our subject are the narratives of the family life, esp. of the patriarchs, of Ruth, of David, and of Tobit; the laws dealing with the family; and the various allusions to the subject. OT narratives are, of course, valid authorities for the manners of the times in which they originated, whatever view may be held as to their historicity. Unfortunately, however, both narratives and—in a less degree—laws mostly treat of royal, noble, or wealthy families and their slaves, and we have little direct information as to the poorer free Israelites. Doubtless, the same general principles governed family life amongst all classes, and the wealthy families and their dependants constituted a large proportion of the population; but we have always to bear in mind that the familiar OT pictures are concerned chiefly with certain classes, and that for other cases we must allow for the effect of inferior rank and smaller means.

ii. MEMBERS.—The members of a Heb. family or household included some or all of the following:

the man, as supreme head of the household; his mother, if residing with him after the death of his father; his wives; his concubines; the wives' children; the concubines' children; children of other women, *e.g.* Jephthah (Jg 11[1]); daughters-in-law; sons-in-law, for example, Jacob with Laban; other free Isr. relatives, friends, or dependants; *gerim* or resident foreigners, EV 'the stranger that is within thy gates' (see GER); male and female slaves, Isr. and foreign, home-born and purchased. Thus the ancient Heb. was larger than the modern family; polygamy increased the number of women and children dependent on a single man; married sons and their families often remained in their father's household; the insecurity of primitive life led individual resident aliens, etc., to attach themselves to households.

(*a*) *Husband's Mother.*—חָמוֹת *ḥāmôth*, AV and RV *mother-in-law*. In Mic 7[6] (quoted Mt 10[35], Lk 12[53]) the *ḥāmôth* is perhaps the wife of the living head of the household; in Ru, Naomi, herself a widow, is the *ḥāmôth* of widows. But the *ḥāmôth* attained special importance and dignity when, after the death of her husband, her son became the head of the family. She was then the most important and influential woman in the household; a man had many wives, only one mother; he had been trained in deference and obedience to his mother; his wives were his property, and absolutely subject to his authority. They had often been selected by his mother, *e.g.* Ishmael's wife by Hagar (Gn 21[21], cf. 2 Es 9[47]). In the history of the families best known to us—the royal houses of Isr. and Judah—there are numerous indications of the exalted position of the mother of the reigning king. She bears the title גְּבִירָה *mistress*. Her name is regularly given in the paragraph describing an accession, while nothing is said about the wives. Maacah, Jezebel, Athaliah, and Nehushta (2 K 24[8. 12. 14], cf. Jer 22[26]) appear as exercising great influence in the reigns of their sons. The analogy of modern Eastern life fully warrants us in taking the position of the queen-mother as representing that of the mother of the head of any ordinary family. Sometimes a widow herself appears as head of a household, *e.g.* Micah's mother (Jg 17[1ff.]), Naomi in Ru, the Shunammite (2 K 8[1-6]), Tobit's grandmother (To 1[8]); cf. also the position of the mother of our Lord during His ministry.

(*b*) *Husband, Wives and Concubines.* — The generic terms אִישׁ, אֱנוֹשׁ *man*, אִשָּׁה *woman*, are commonly used for husband and wife, as in most languages. This usage recognizes the fundamental nature of sexual characteristics. In spite of the similarity of the two words, *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* speaks of 'the impossibility of deriving אִישׁ and אִשָּׁה from the same root'; consequently, all deductions based on the reference of the two words to the same root are without any true foundation. The husband is בַּעַל *master*, as supreme over his wives, who are slaves acquired by capture in war (Dt 21[10-14]), or by purchase (Gn 34[16], Ex 22[16], Dt 22[29], Ru 4[10]). It would be misleading to apply the term 'freewoman' to any Israelitess, except perhaps to a widow. Even in the Mishna, 'women, slaves, and children' are constantly grouped together, *e.g. Berachoth*, iii. 3, and 'a woman is always under the authority of her father until she is placed under the authority of her husband,' *Ketuboth*, iv. 3. The wife as in subjection to the *ba'al* is *be'úlâh* (Is 54[1]). The rights of a husband over his wives were limited by affection and custom, by the terms of the marriage covenant or contract (Gn 31[49. 50], To 7[14]), by the influence of the wife's family, also by certain specific laws. The marital supremacy involved the right of divorce at the husband's discretion. This is laid down in Dt 24[1], which, however, imposes certain vague and obscure conditions, probably intended to discourage capricious divorce (Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 346). Is 50[1], Jer 3[8] show that it was usual to give the divorced woman סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוּת 'a bill of divorce,' doubtless that she might be able to resist any attempt on his part to reclaim his rights over her, a divorced woman being in a sense an emancipated slave. Dt forbids a man to divorce his wife, if he has falsely charged her with unchastity before marriage (22[13. 19]), or if he himself seduced her and had been compelled to marry her in consequence (22[28. 29]). These enactments and the protest in Mal 2[16] point to a frequency of divorce. A wife could not divorce her husband (Benzinger, 341). Other limitations of the husband's rights were that he might not marry a sister of one of his living wives (Lv 18[18]); if a man hears his wife make a vow and does not disallow it at once, he may not do so afterwards (Nu 30[11]). Even if a woman has been purchased from her parents as a concubine (לְאָמָה) and he does not wish to retain her, he may not sell her to strangers; he must either let her kinsfolk buy her back, or betroth her to one of his sons. If he takes another wife or concubine, he must either maintain the first in her full rights, or let her go free without payment (Ex 21[7-11]). Even a captive who has been taken to wife may not be sold as a slave, but if sent away must be dismissed free of payment (Dt 21[10ff.]). Similarly, in modern Arabia it is held disgraceful to sell a concubine. The rights of a wife would necessarily include those of a concubine.

No very clear information is given as to the relative status of wives and concubines. אִשָּׁה *woman*, is sometimes used as a general term for a wife or concubine (Gn 30[4]); sometimes for wife as distinguished from concubine (1 K 11[3]). The words אָמָה (in Hex., chiefly ED), שִׁפְחָה (in Hex., chiefly JP), and יַלְדָּה, seem to be practically synonymous when used of concubines. In households where the person of every female slave was—with few exceptions—at the disposal of the master (Benzinger, 162), and where the relative status of the women depended chiefly on his favour, definite and nicely graduated distinctions were impossible. Amongst modern Mohammedans, a man may cohabit with any of his female slaves who is a Mohammedan, a Christian, or a Jewess; and, conversely, he cannot have as a slave a woman whom he acknowledges to be within the prohibited degrees of marriage (Lane, *Arabian Nights*, i. 55, 56). The only definite advantage claimed by wives over concubines is that their children should inherit a larger share, or even the whole, of their father's property, *e.g.* Sarah's claim for Isaac (Gn 21[10]). Nevertheless the wife, because her position was the result of her husband's favour, and was often guaranteed by powerful relatives, would often enjoy superior consideration, and exercise a greater influence. Sarah, Rachel, and Leah had slave-girls, שִׁפְחוֹת (*shĕphāḥôth*), who were their own property; and when these became concubines, they were still under the authority of their mistresses. Polygamy is both recognized by the law and described in the history; nearly all the kings and judges of whom we have particulars have a large harem. Acc. to Justin (*Trypho*, 134), even in his time Jewish teachers permitted each man to have four or five wives (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 2; Mishna, *Kedushin*, ii. 7, etc.). But considerations of expense and the approximately equal numbers of the two sexes place narrow limits on polygamy. Nowack (*Heb. Arch.* i. 159) points out that Abraham and Elkanah have two wives, that צָרָה 'adversary' is a technical term for one of two wives, and that Dt 21[15ff.] speaks of two wives, one beloved, the other hated. He thinks that such

bigamy would be very common. In the nature of the case, a large proportion of the population must have been monogamous; cf. the cases of Adam (Gn 2^{22-24}), Noah and his sons (6^{18} 7^{13} 8^{18}), Lot (19^{15}), Isaac, and Joseph. Probably, the monogamy of these patriarchs is narrated as an example. The family quarrels arising out of polygamy are sufficiently illustrated from the familiar examples of Sarah and Hagar, Rachel and Leah, Hannah and Peninnah, and the family history of David (cf. Sir 37^{11} 26^{7} where ἀντιζήλου = צָרָה). On the other hand, Heb. family life must be judged from the point of view of the ancient East, and not from that of the modern West. From the former, there was nothing immoral in polygamy, and the status of wives and concubines was neither regarded by others nor felt by themselves to be humiliating. The acrostic on the Capable Woman, *'ēsheth ḥayil* (Pr 31^{10-31}), testifies to the honourable position of the faithful wife.

We have little information as to the marriages of slaves; apparently, the tie between them was not very binding. A couple who had come into a master's possession as a married couple were to be released together at the end of six years; but if, after a man became a slave, his master married him to another slave, and children were born, the man either went away alone, or remained a slave for the sake of his family (cf. MARRIAGE, WOMAN).

(*c*) *Parents and Children.*—The etymologies of אָב *father*, אֵם *mother*, are quite uncertain; they are common to most Sem. languages, are apparently connected with the terms for *father* and *mother* in the Aryan and other families of languages, and are probably older than the triliteral roots. בֵּן *son* and its *fem.* בַּת have been somewhat improbably connected with בָּנָה *to build*; they too, also, are probably older than the triliteral roots. The father was supreme over the children; he could dispose of the daughter in marriage (Gn 29), [but (Lv 19^{29}) he might not make her a prostitute], and arrange his son's marriage (Gn 24), or sell his children as slaves (Ex 21^{7})—where, however, the father is forbidden to sell his daughter to a stranger (Neh 5^{5}). The power of life and death is attested by the proposed sacrifice of Isaac, the case of Jephthah's daughter, and the practice of sacrificing children to Molech (Lv 18^{21} 20^{2-5}, 2 K 23^{10}, Jer 32^{35}). The utmost respect and obedience to both father and mother are insisted on in Ex 20^{12}, Lv 19^{3}, Dt 5^{16}, Pr 1^{8} 6^{20} 19^{26} 20^{20} 23^{22} 28^{24} $30^{11.\ 17}$, cf. Ezk 22^{7}, Mic 7^{6}. Similarly, Ex $21^{15.\ 17}$, Lv 20^{9} direct that any one smiting or cursing father or mother shall be put to death; Dt 27^{16} invokes a curse upon any one who is disrespectful to father or mother. Pr 13^{24} etc. insist on the duty of strict domestic discipline, though doubtless the 'rod' may be understood as including other chastisement besides corporal punishment (cf. Pr 17^{10}). Dt 21^{18-21} directs that a stubborn and rebellious son, a glutton and a drunkard, is to be stoned to death by his fellow-citizens, on the testimony of his father and mother given before the elders. Such laws really imposed limits on the authority of the father; he must not himself put his son to death, but must procure his punishment by a public legal process. The constant co-ordination of father and mother in such passages practically places the mother on the same level with the father with regard to the children. Indeed, polygamy makes each mother much more important to her own children than their father is. In a polygamous family, each mother and her children form a sub-family,—Jacob's wives and concubines have separate tents (Gn 31^{33}),—the management of which is in the hands of the mother. Hence the early education and training of children was mostly given by the mother. Children were named by the mother, *e.g.* Jacob's sons (Gn 29, 30); sometimes also by the father, *e.g.* Ishmael (Gn 16^{15}), Isaac (Gn 21^{3}). The long period of suckling—infants were not weaned till the second or third year—must have constituted an added bond between mother and children. The religious instruction appointed in Ex 12^{21-27} 13^{5-9}, Dt 4^{9} $6^{7.\ 20-25}$ 11^{19} would probably be given by the mother. The sayings of king Lemuel (Pr 31^{1-9}) were taught him by his mother. On the other hand, Pr constantly refers to the *mûsār* (RV 'instruction') of the father, as well as to the *tôrâh* (RVm 'teaching') of the mother (1^{8}). Acc. to the rank and wealth of the family, the care of the children would devolve in whole or in part on female slaves. Rebekah (Gn 24^{59}) and Joash ben-Ahaziah (2 K 11^{2}) had each a foster-mother *mêneḳeth* (RV 'nurse'), though Rebekah, at any rate, had a mother living. Mephibosheth ben-Jonathan had an *'ômeneth* (RV 'nurse,' 2 S 4^{4}). The grandmother, on either side, would, by all analogy, have much to say about the training of the children; Naomi became the *'ômeneth* of Ruth's baby (Ru 4^{16}). We also have the masculine *'ômēn* (RV 'nursing father, Nu 11^{12}, Is 49^{23}). From the analogy of the guardians of the sons of Ahab (2 K $10^{1.\ 5}$), and of Nathan (2 S 12^{25}), this would appear to have been a kind of tutor or παιδαγωγός. Schools for children are first mentioned in Josephus (*Ant.* XV. x. 5) and Mishna (*Shab.* i. 3). Acc. to Talm. Jerus. (*Kethub.* viii. 11) the first school for children was established by Simeon ben-Shetach, a century before Christ (Stapfer, 141); acc. to Talm. Bab. *Baba Bathra* (Nowack, i. 172), a system of schools in every town was established by Jesus ben-Gamla, who became high priest in A.D. 64. In such schools reading and writing would be taught; any other instruction would mainly consist of committing Scripture, etc., to memory, by repeating passages after the teacher.

(*d*) *Brothers and Sisters.*—The circumstances of Israelite life—the need of labour to till the soil, and of warriors to defend the homestead from the raids of neighbouring tribes, rendered a large family a great blessing (Ps $127^{4.\ 5}$). The natural checks—war, famine, and pestilence—prevented all danger of over-population. The labour of girls in the household, the price that might be obtained for them as wives or concubines, and the alliances with powerful neighbours that might result from their marriages, gave a certain value to daughters; but the Isr. father's chief desire was for sons; it was the first-born sons who were sacred to J″ (Ex 22^{29}). The physical token—circumcision—of the national covenant with J″ is such as can be borne only by males; a mother is unclean for 14 days after bearing a daughter, but only for 7 after the birth of a son. Daughters are very rarely mentioned by name.

Each sub-family of full brothers and sisters, the children of one mother, had interests of its own, which clashed with those of the other sub-families. Domestic friction was specially strong in the numerous smaller households where there were two wives, *e.g.* Hannah and Peninnah [cf. the term צָרָה (Dt 21^{15-17}), and for two wives in a large household, Sarah and Hagar]. The relative status of the sub-families depended on the family relationships of the mother, the favour shown her by her husband, and in some measure on her being wife or concubine. We have already seen that claims were sometimes made that the children of a wife should oust those of a concubine from all or part of their share of the family inheritance. But these claims are not sustained by any legal ordinance or even by any general custom. The sons of Jacob's concubines rank as ancestors of tribes. It is true

that they are reckoned in a sense as children of their mothers' mistresses, but the same was true of Ishmael, who was excluded from the seed of the promise. There was no difference of legitimacy in our sense between the sons of wives and concubines; even Jephthah, the son of a *zônâh* or prostitute, is brought up in his father's house, and his expulsion is evidently regarded as an act of unjust violence (Jg $11^{1.7}$) (Benzinger, 148, 135). Apparently, all a man's acknowledged children were legitimate, without regard to the status of their mother. The bastard, *mamzēr* (Dt 23^3 [EV ^{2}], Zec 9^6), is generally regarded as the offspring of incest or adultery (Dillm. and Driver on Dt 23^2). Possibly, however, *mamzēr* may include children of prostitutes, whose fathers were unknown or did not acknowledge them.

In earlier times polygamous sub-families were so distinct that brothers married half-sisters, *e.g.* Abraham and Sarah (Gn 20^{12}). In 2 S 13^{13} Tamar thinks that David would certainly sanction her marriage with her half-brother. Such unions are, however, forbidden by Lv 18^9.

The same causes which rendered the mother more important to her children than the father, often rendered the brothers the special guardians of their full sisters, *e.g.* Laban of Rebekah, Simeon and Levi of Dinah (Gn 34), Absalom of Tamar. So, children often maintained a close connexion with their mother's family, Jacob (Gn 27^{43}), Abimelech ben-Gideon (Jg 9^1), Absalom (2 S 3^3, 13^{37}).

The sons were the heirs, but in the absence of sons the daughters might inherit, and after the daughters other male relatives in order of kinship (Nu 27^{1-11}). A special birthright and a larger share of the inheritance were given to the first-born, both in the history (Gn 49^3) and the law (Ex 22^{29}); but the *bĕkhôrâh*, or right of the first-born, was not purely a matter of priority of birth, it might be sold, *e.g.* by Esau to Jacob, or bestowed on a younger son by a partial father, Dt 21^{17}—which forbids such a practice. Side by side, however, with the first-born, the youngest son constantly appears as the object of special favour, both from God and his parents, *e.g.* Abraham, Isaac, Bethuel, Jacob, Joseph, Ephraim, Moses, David, Solomon (cf. HEIR).

(*e*) *Married Children, Daughters-in-law, Sons-in-law.*—A married son would remain part of the father's family, though not necessarily of his household, while the father lived. He would still be in some measure subject to his authority. The patriarchs were married men with families when Isr. went down into Egypt, but Jacob was still the head of the family (cf. Job 1). So the daughter-in-law joined her husband's family and came under the authority of her father-in-law (To 10^{12}), to whom she was subject even after her husband's death, *e.g.* Judah and Tamar (Gn 38). If her father-in-law was dead, she belonged to her brother-in-law or husband's next-of-kin (Dt 25^5, Ru 3^{13}), or might remain with her mother-in-law (Ru 1^6). Sometimes, however, a man joined his wife's family, at any rate for a time, and fell under the authority of his father-in-law, *e.g.* Jacob (Gn 29–31), Moses (Ex 2^{20-22} 4^{18}, cf. Gn 24^5; see § v.).

(*f*) *Other free Dependants.* — Doubtless, more distant relatives, cousins, etc., friends and free servants, would sometimes form part of the family in the narrower sense; but we have hardly any information on the subject. Little is said as to hired servants; probably they were hired only for short periods, and did not form part of the employer's family. Micah's Levite, indeed, was hired to be a priest permanently at a regular stipend, 'and the young man was unto him as one of his sons' (Jg 17^{11}). The resident alien, *gēr* (RV 'stranger'), *tôshābh* (RV 'stranger' or 'sojourner'), is constantly referred to, and is commended to the good offices of the Israelites. The *gēr* is mentioned in close connexion with the other dependent members of the household (Ex 20^{10}, Lv 25^6). He seems to have placed himself under the protection of the family rather than the clan; he probably rendered some services in return for protection and sustenance, and may often have been a hired servant; he was evidently a familiar figure in Isr. society. The *gēr* was united to his hosts by close ties. His legal status and personal safety depended upon their protection, and they were bound by the sacred obligations of Eastern hospitality to care for him as for one of their own kin. He was entitled to the Sabbath rest (Ex 20^{10}), and to eat the passover if he became circumcised (Ex 12^{48}). See GER, HIRED SERVANT, STRANGER.

(*g*) *Slaves.*—The slave was substantially one of the family. The master's authority over him did not differ essentially from that over wives and children, and the wife was purchased like the slave. Conversely, a female slave might become a concubine, and a male might marry his master's daughter (1 Ch $2^{34.35}$), or become his heir (Gn 15^3). Slaves were circumcised and ate the passover. The *yĕlîdh bayith*, or home-born slave, would have the closest, and the purchased Isr. slave, who had to be released at the end of six years, the loosest ties to his master's family. We gather, however, from Jer 34^{14} that the custom of releasing Isr. slaves was not strictly observed. See SLAVE.

iii. MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY. — In primitive times the family, in a narrower or wider sense, was the efficient social organization; and such functions of modern government as were discharged at all were represented by the mutual claims and duties of kinsfolk. Many laws and customs of Isr. are a legacy from this primitive system. In ancient times the only protection for life or property lay in men's willingness to defend and avenge their kinsmen. This right and duty is still recognized in OT; the next-of-kin, *gō'ēl*, must punish his kinsman's murderer, marry his widow if the deceased was childless, and may inherit his property. See GOEL, and section on Levirate Marriage under MARRIAGE. One would suppose that this strong sense of family duty would have led kinsfolk to provide for destitute relatives. But men were often obliged to sell themselves or their children for slaves, and widows and orphans are constantly spoken of as poor, helpless, and oppressed. Doubtless, the ordinary calamities —drought, dearth, famine, pestilence, invasion— would often ruin whole clans at the same time; but it is also clear that family feeling was no adequate substitute for legal provision for the poor.

iv. FAMILY RELIGION.—As the nation had its religious symbol of circumcision, its sanctuaries, sacrifices, priests, and festivals, so the family had its special *sacra*. According to Benzinger, 137, and Nowack, 154, following Stade, etc., the Israelite family was essentially a society bound together by common religious observances, *Cultgenossenschaft*. Thus, in the patriarchal narratives, the patriarchs, as head of the family, erect altars and offer sacrifices; similarly, the passover was a family rite, observed in the home, often, of course, temporary. In 1 S 20^{29} we read of clan-sacrifice, *zebaḥ mishpāḥâh*, at Bethlehem. The family burying-place is sacred (Gn 23). Benzinger and Nowack see in the cutting off of the hair and the self-mutilation forbidden in Dt $14^{1ff.}$, Lv $19^{27.28}$, remains of ancient ancestor worship; cf. the practice of necromancy (1 S 28). Teraphim are usually understood to have been images or symbols of ancestors. In later times the instruction directed to be given in Dt 6 would be matter for the family; and the regulations as to ceremonial cleanness

tended to make the whole personal and family life a continuous series of religious observances. The later system, however, differed from the former in that in primitive times each family had rites peculiar to itself, in later times all families practised the same rites.

v. Early History of the Family.—Under the monarchy, the family was constituted under the headship of the father, who was supreme over wives and children, and primogeniture was recognized in the transmission of authority (royal, priestly, etc.) and property. The Hex. traces these institutions back to the origin of the human race in Adam and Eve; at the same time it preserves many incidents which have been held to point to an altogether different state of affairs in early times. It is maintained by W. R. Smith and others that the head of the family was originally the mother (mother-right, matriarchate), and that descent was traced only through the mother. Marriage was then polyandrous (of which the levirate marriage is supposed to be a relic), and *be'ena* marriage, in which the man becomes one of the wife's family, and goes into her tent (cf. § 7 and Gn 2^{24}), as opposed to *ba'al* marriage, where the wife enters her husband's family. This view is based partly on parallels amongst other primitive peoples, and esp. amongst the Arabs; and partly on various traces in OT, some of which have been already mentioned. In connexion with this theory, it has also been maintained that exogamous totem-clans existed in ancient Israel. Such clans are united by the use of a common badge, connected with some animal or plant after which the clan was named; intermarriage between members of the clan is regarded as incest, and the totem may not be eaten. One example cited is the clan Caleb (dog), the dog being unclean (Dt $14^{4.5}$), and its flesh forbidden food. Even if it should ultimately be proved that such theories are partly true, it is clear that *be'ena* marriages and totemism were obsolete and forgotten in historic Israel, and that they can be traced only in customs whose original significance was no longer understood.

vi. The Family in Apocr. and NT.—Throughout the Bible, but esp. in the later books of OT, in Apocr., and in NT, the sacred history refers incidentally to the family institutions of numerous Gentile nations; but any general treatment of these would be beyond the scope of biblical archæology. Various subjects raise special questions of this nature, and these are dealt with in the articles on those subjects.

Our data do not point to any regular development in the later history of the Jewish family. Its character and principles were as permanent as social institutions mostly are in the East. Features of OT family life reappear in Apocr., NT, and Talm., and still persist amongst modern Arabs and Syrians. The family history of the Herods is very similar to that of David.

The Pent.—some of whose laws embody the most primitive customs of Israel—remained to the last the authoritative code of Judaism. Probably, however, much of the Pent. legislation was always a mere counsel of perfection, and other portions were obsolete in NT times. Often discussions in the Talm. are purely academic arguments on regulations which had no bearing on actual life. But if there was no continuous development of Jewish life, it would still vary with varying circumstances. For instance, under a strong, well-organized government, like that of some of the Jewish kings, of the Herods and the Romans, the jurisdiction of the head of the family and private blood-revenge would be controlled and limited. The settlement of a large Gentile population in Pal., and the dispersion of the Jews throughout the ancient world, would sometimes modify, sometimes also accentuate, the observance of Jewish customs. Probably, Western influences reinforced the tendency to monogamy, which we have already noticed in OT. It is doubtful whether 1 Ti $3^{2.12}$, Tit 1^{6} inculcate monogamy, cf. 1 Ti 5^{9}. Our Lord's limitation of divorce (Mt $5^{31.32}$) followed the teaching of Shammaï.

Literature.—For the early history of the family, W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and 'Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in OT' in *Journ. of Philology*, vol. ix.; J. F. M'Lennan, *Primitive Marriage*, and the essay on 'Totem-Clans in OT' in Joseph Jacobs' *Studies in Bibl. Archæology*; Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Isr. u. Jud. z. d. Fremden*, esp. pp. 1–80. For the Bible history, the sections on the Family, and the laws of Marriage, Divorce, Parents and Children, etc., in Ewald, *Alterthümer*[3] (Eng. tr. *The Ant. of Isr.* from 1st ed. 1844); Keil, *Handb. der Bibl. Arch.*[2] 1875; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 1894; Nowack, *Lehrb. der Heb. Arch.* 1894; J. F. McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. and the Monuments*, ii. 36–77; Dillmann and Driver on the passages from Pent., for OT; Schürer, *HJP*, for NT; also art. in Herzog's *RE*; Schenkel's *Bibellex.*; Riehm's *HWB.*

W. H. Bennett.

FAMINE (רָעָב, λιμός) in Syria and Egypt in past times may be attributed to four causes—

i. Want of water, *i.e.* rainfall or inundations, in due season.
ii. Destruction of corn and fruit by hail and rain out of season.
iii. " of all growing crops by locusts and caterpillars.
iv. " of food supplies by the hand of man.

i. Owing to the want of water in due season the famine might be widespread in extent, but in other cases it would be only partial and local. In the train of famine always comes sickness, which develops into pestilence and other scourges according to the intensity of the want and privation to which the people and flocks and herds are subjected. In prehistoric times famines may have been due to a failure of rain at any time of the year, as the people were dependent upon the spontaneous vegetation for the sustenance of themselves, their herds, and their flocks; but, after agriculture was introduced, the severity of famines could be much mitigated by storing up reserves of corn, thus enabling the bulk of the people to live independently of their herds and flocks; and famines would result more from the failure of rain in due season, that is to say, at the time when it was required for the early growth of the corn. For the plenteous years cf. Lv $26^{4ff.}$ 'Then I will give your rains in their season, and the land shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit. And your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time; and ye shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land safely.' The opposite condition of things is described in Lv $26^{19f.}$ 'And I will make your heaven as iron and your earth as brass; and your strength shall be spent in vain: for your land shall not yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruit.' In countries which depend upon the natural rainfall for the growth of cereals, and not upon irrigation and inundations, recurrence of rain in due season is a matter of the utmost importance; and scarcity of wheat and barley may be due, not to any want of rain, but to its fall at a wrong season—for example, in summer time, instead of during the winter and spring.

The Wilderness of the Wanderings or Desert of Arabia Petræa, in common with those east of Pal., differs greatly from Syria and Egypt in its food supplies; but it is only in comparison with the extraordinary fertility of Syria and Egypt that it can be considered as a desert. It has, from the earliest time, consisted of arid tablelands, mountainous districts, and sandy dunes, intersected by fertile valleys and plains and cultivable tablelands, and its present parched and barren condition is due in a great measure to the action of the Turkish Government in drawing a revenue from the destruction of trees. There are in all directions ruins of vineyards and terraces on the slopes of hills, indicating former cultivation; and there are yet tablelands where corn is cultivated, and plains where there are thousands of date trees. The nomadic tribes do not exist

solely on the produce of their herds and flocks, but from the earliest historic times have used corn for food, and have cultivated corn for themselves, either in conjunction with neighbouring villages or by means of slave labour. There is a scanty herbage at all times over a great portion of this wilderness, and in January and February water and grasses are found everywhere, and the flocks can roam about at will. During November, December, and March there are dense mists and fogs and heavy dews, which saturate the shrubs and even deposit moisture on the rocks, so that flocks do not require to go to water. These mists depend upon the direction of the wind, and alternate with intense droughts. As the summer advances the pasture is confined principally to the broad water-courses, which give good herbage for many weeks: as the drought increases the inhabitants are reduced to great straits, having to live with their flocks on pastures many miles (sometimes twenty miles) from water. The flocks are driven over to the water once or twice a week, and a small quantity is brought back for the use of the encampment. These nomads and their flocks are of the most hardy nature, and can go without water for many hours or even for days; but they live for a portion of each year on the borderland of famine, and a very little extra scarcity brings on such want and privations that they, with their flocks, either move on to more favoured localities or die.

Egypt has always been remarkable for its extreme fertility, and is well watered everywhere (Gn 13[10]). It is not directly dependent on rainfall, the annual flooding of the river Nile inundating nearly the whole land and making the cultivation of the soil, as a general rule, a yearly certainty: a land where 'thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs' (Dt 11[10]). These inundations are caused by the rainfall over the districts where the Nile rises, and they fail at rare intervals. This exposes the land to drought, and famine ensues from want of corn, and in a minor degree the pasturage also fails.

The extraordinary fertility of the Promised Land is constantly alluded to in the Bible: 'a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven' (Dt 11[11]). 'I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain, and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil' (v.[14]). Its soil is of a very rich description, and formerly clothed the hillsides in terraces, though now, for the most part, it lies at the bottom of the valleys. Although Pal. has been dependent mainly on its rainfall, its streams have been utilized largely for irrigation purposes in the plains and in the Jordan Valley, and on the banks of the Jordan itself the rich soil is subject to inundations in the spring (Jos 3[15]).

The first famines mentioned in the Bible are those which occurred in the times of Abraham and Isaac (Gn 12[10] 26[1]). In the first case, Abraham went down into Egypt to sojourn there; in the second case, Isaac was about to do the same, but, being warned by God, went to Gerar to reside with Abimelech, king of the Philistines. It may be assumed that these famines were only partial in their extent.

The famine which took place in the time of Jacob was one of great extent, as it included Syria, Egypt, and the sources of the Nile, and was one of great severity and long duration; it is recorded that 'there was famine in all lands' (Gn 41[54]). It lasted seven years, and was remarkable as having been preceded by seven years of plenty, which being foretold by Joseph, the Egyp. Government was enabled to gather up sufficient corn, not only to buy up all the lands and cattle of the Egyptians and to supply the people, but also to sell corn to foreigners. 'And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because the famine was sore in all the earth' (Gn 41[57]). It is to be noted, however, that this is a famine restricted to want of corn, and that there is no indication that there was great want of pasturage. The sons of Jacob were able to take their asses to and from Egypt without difficulty. Waggons were sent to bring up Jacob and his households. 'And their father Israel said unto them, If it be so now, do this; take of the choice fruits of the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spicery, and myrrh, nuts and almonds' (Gn 43[11]). 'And they took their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan, and came into Egypt' (Gn 46[6]).

Famines are mentioned in the time of the judges (Ru 1[1]), and in the time of king David (2 S 21[1]), but it is not until the time of Elijah that any account is given of the failure of the pasturage and springs. 'There shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word' (1 K 17[1]). 'And Ahab said unto Obadiah, Go through the land, unto all the fountains of water, and unto all the brooks: peradventure we may find grass and save the horses and mules alive, that we lose not all the beasts' (18[5]). Amongst the signs of the end in Jesus' eschatological discourse are 'famines in divers places' (Mt 24[7], Mk 13[8], Lk 21[11]). For the famine referred to in Ac 11[28], see CLAUDIUS.

ii. A graphic description of destruction of crops by hail is given Ex 9[23. 31. 32]. 'The LORD sent thunder and hail, and fire ran down unto the earth; and the LORD rained hail upon the land of Egypt.' 'And the flax and the barley were smitten, for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled. But the wheat and the spelt were not smitten; for they were not grown up.' The unusual occurrence of thunder and rain in the time of wheat harvest is accentuated in 1 S 12[16].

iii. The effect of the destruction of crops by plagues of locusts is depicted Ex 10[15] 'For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left; and there remained not any green thing, either tree or herb of the field, through all the land of Egypt.' Again, Jl 1[4] 'That which the palmer-worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the canker-worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten.' (See Driver, *ad loc.*)

iv. The most terrible results of famine related in the Bible are due to the hand of man; and this was well recognized by king David. 'And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait; let us fall now into the hand of the LORD; for his mercies are great: and let me not fall into the hand of man' (2 S 24[14]). 'And he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy ground, until thou be destroyed: which also shall not leave thee corn, wine, or oil, the increase of thy kine, or the young of thy flock, until he have caused thee to perish' (Dt 28[51]). 'And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons, and of thy daughters, which the LORD thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall straiten thee' (v.[53]). 'And there was a great famine in Samaria: and, behold, they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver' (2 K 6[25]). 'And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we will eat my son to-morrow' (v.[28]).

Josephus, in his *Antiquities* and *Wars of the Jews*, gives several accounts of the horrible atrocities which took place during the famines in besieged cities, but in no account does he give such distressing details as in the story of the last siege of Jerus. by Titus, in which he sums up that 'neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries' (*Wars*, v. x. 5). This account of Josephus is considered to be a description of the fulfilment of the prophecy by our Lord (Mt 24[21]), 'For then shall be great tribulation, such as hath

not been since the beginning of the world until now, no, nor ever shall be,' and is the history of the last famine connected with the Bible.

In the Bible there is no allusion to horrors and privations due to famine such as occur periodically in the world at the present time in the overcrowded portions of China and India.

C. WARREN.

FAMISH. — Occurring but four times in all, 'famish' is thrice used transitively. Zeph 2^{11} 'he will famish all the gods of the earth' (רָזָה, lit. as AVm 'will make lean'); Gn 41^{55} 'And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread' (וַתִּרְעַב); Is 5^{13} 'their honourable men are famished' (כְּבוּדוֹ מֵתֵי רָעָב, lit., as AVm and RVm, 'their glory are men of famine,' but the reading is doubtful, see esp. Driver on Dt 32^{24}). This transitive use of 'famish' may be illustrated by Coverdale's tr. of Jl 1^{20} 'the shepe are fameszshed awaye,' and Shaks. *Tam. of Shrew*, IV. iii. 3—

'What, did he marry me to famish me?'

Tit. Andron. V. iii. 179—

'Set him breast-deep in earth, and famish him';

and Milton, *PL* xii. 78—

'Thin air
Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,
And famish him of breath, if not of bread.'

The intrans. occurrence is Pr 10^3 'The Lord will not suffer the soul of the righteous to famish.' The Heb., translated 'suffer to famish,' is the same (though in Hiphil) as in Gn 41^{55}, and scarcely means more than 'cause to hunger'; so that the statement loses some of its comfort under the Eng. translation, if it does not even lose all its point. J. HASTINGS.

FAN, FANNER.—Fan is used both as verb and as substantive. **1.** As verb (Heb. זָרָה in *Qal*) Is 41^{16} 'Thou shalt fan them [the mountains and hills], and the wind shall carry them away'; Jer 4^{11} for purifying; 15^7 for chastisement; and (same Heb. in *Piel*) Jer 51^2. Amer. RV has 'winnow' throughout. **2.** As subst. 'a winnowing-machine,' Is 30^{24}, Jer 15^7 (מְזֹרֶה); Mt 3^{12}, Lk 3^{17} (*πτύον*). *Fanner* occurs only in Jer 51^2 'I will send unto Babylon fanners, that shall fan her, and shall empty her land.' The Heb. of the Massoretic pointing (זָרִים) means 'strangers,' and so RV after Ewald and others. But the VSS (LXX. Pesh. Targ. Vulg.) point the Heb. differently (זֹרִים), and gain the word-play. Cheyne thinks the prophet possibly intended to suggest both meanings. The Eng. tr. may be traced from the Vulg. *ventilatores*, through Cov. 'fanners,' whom Geneva, Bishops', Douay, and AV all follow. So also Luther (*Worfler*), and Rothstein in Kautzsch; and the French translators Ostervald and Segond (*vanneurs*). See AGRICULTURE. J. HASTINGS.

FANCY is used as a verb absolutely in Sir 34^5 'And the heart fancieth, as a woman's heart in travail' (*φαντάζεται*; a verb which occurs elsewhere in LXX only Wis 6^{16}, 'showeth herself,' and in NT only He 12^{21} *τὸ φανταζόμενον*, AV 'the sight,' RV 'the appearance'). The previous Eng. Versions from Wyc. have 'fantasie' as a subst. (Douay 'phantasie'), AV is the first to use the verb, and to spell 'fancy.'* The *Oxf. Eng. Dict.* gives only one example of 'fancy' used absolutely, Locke (1698) 'we rather fancie than know.'

J. HASTINGS.

FAR.—1. 'Far' is often used in AV as an adj. qualifying 'country,' as Is 8^9 'all ye of far countries' (כֹּל קַרְקֵי־אָרֶץ); Zec 10^9 'they shall remember me in far countries' (בַּמֶּרְחַקִּים). Twice it qualifies other substantives, Dt 29^{22} 'a far land' (אֶרֶץ רְחוֹקָה); Mk 13^{34} 'a man taking a far journey' (*ἄνθρωπος ἀπόδημος*, RV 'sojourning in another country'). Modern usage would probably require 'distant,' as Aldis Wright suggests. Certainly as an adj. 'far' was once used more freely than it is now: thus, Bp. Barlowe, *Dialoge* (1531), ed. of 1897, p. 35, 'Now to compare these fruites unto the actes of these Lutheran factyons, ye shall fynde a farre difference.' In Mt 21^{33} 25^{14}, Mk 12^1, Lk 20^9, where the Greek is *ἀποδημέω* and AV has 'go into a far country,' RV more accurately translates 'go into another country.' But the same Greek is rendered by AV 'took his journey' in Mt 25^{15}, by RV 'went on his journey'; and in Lk 15^{13}, where the Greek is more fully *ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακράν*, AV renders 'took his journey unto a far country,' and RV retains.

2. Notice the phrases: (*a*) *thus far*, Jer 48^{47} 'Thus far is the judgment of Moab,' 51^{64} 'Thus far are the words of Jeremiah' (both עַד־הֵנָּה), and Lk 22^{51} 'Suffer ye thus far' (*ἕως τούτου*). (*b*) *So far forth* = 'to such an extent,' 1 Es 1^{52} (*ἕως οὗ*). (*c*) *Be it far from* or *far be it from.* This phrase, which comes from Wyclif (esp. ed. 1388) after Vulg. *absit hoc*, occurs eight times in AV of OT as the translation of *ḥălîlâh*, a substantive formed from *ḥâlal*, to profane, with locative suffix, therefore lit. *ad profanum*! to the unholy! The passages are Gn 18^{25} *bis*, 1 S 2^{30} 20^9 22^{15}, 2 S 20^{20} *bis* 23^{17}, Job 34^{10}. [Elsewhere the same Heb. expression occurs Gn $44^{7.17}$, Jos 22^{29} 24^{16}, 1 S 12^{23} 14^{45} 20^2, Job 27^5, where it is tr. 'God forbid' (AV and RV); also (combined with יהוה) 1 S 24^6 26^{11}, 1 K 21^3 'the LORD forbid'; and (combined with אֱלֹהִים) 1 Ch 11^{19} 'My God forbid.'] In Apocr. the same Eng. phrase is found, 1 Mac 13^5 'be it far from me' (*μή μοι γένοιτο*); and in NT Mt 16^{22} 'Be it far from thee, Lord' ("Ιλεώς σοι, where *θεὸς γένοιτο* is understood, as RVm 'God have mercy on thee').

The Lord is 'far from the wicked' (Pr 15^{29}), but He is 'nigh unto all them that call upon him' (Ps 145^{18}); so the Psalmists frequently cry, 'Be not far from me' ($22^{1.11.19}$ 27^9 35^{22} 38^{21} 71^{12}), for in His presence is fulness of joy (Ps 16^{11}). St. Paul taught the Athenians that He is 'not far from every one of us' (Ac 17^{27}), yet it is by the blood of Christ that we are 'made nigh' (Eph 2^{13}), so that we are encouraged and enabled to 'draw near with a true heart in fulness of faith' (He 10^{22}).

J. HASTINGS.

FARE, FAREWELL. — To 'fare,' from Anglo-Saxon *faran* (Ger. *fahren*, Gr. *πορ-εύομαι*), is to 'travel,' to 'go,' as Spenser, *FQ* I. x. 63—

'But let me here for aye in peace remaine,
Or streight way on that last long voyage fare.'

Then comes the meaning 'get on' well or ill, as 1 S 17^{18} 'look how thy brethren fare' (פָּקֹד לְשָׁלוֹם, lit. 'visit thy brethren [and inquire] as to their wellbeing' [cf. Gn 37^{14}, 2 S 11^7]; Cov. 'loke how thy brethren do,' Wyc. 'thi britheren thou shalt visite, if thei right doon'); Sir 3^{26} 'A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last' (*κακωθήσεται*, RV 'fare ill'); 32^{24} 'he that trusteth in him shall fare never the worse' (*οὐκ ἐλαττωθήσεται*, RV 'shall suffer no loss'); 2 Mac 9^{20} 'If ye and your children fare well'; 11^{28} 'If ye fare well' (both *ἔρρωσθε*). The perf. pass. of the Greek verb found in the two last-quoted passages (*ῥώννυμι*) was used in the imperative sing. (*ἔρρωσο*) or plu. (*ἔρρωσθε*) as a formula for closing a letter, lit. 'be strong, prosper.' This formula is accordingly expressed by the word **farewell** in English. In Ac 15^{29}, where the verb is plu., the older form is retained in AV and RV 'fare ye well'; but in 23^{30}, where the verb is sing., AV has 'Farewell' (RV with most edd. omits). Once 'farewell' is the tr. of *χαίρειν*, 2 Co 13^{11} 'Finally, brethren, farewell' (RVm 'rejoice' or 'be

* On the spelling Trench (*Study of Words*, 301) may be quoted: 'When "fancy" was spelt "phant'sy," as by Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas, and other scholarly writers of the 17th cent., no one could doubt of its identity with "phantasy," as no Greek scholar could miss its relation with *φαντασία*.'

perfected'). 'Fare ye well' is the tr. of most previous VSS from Tind., but Wyc. 'ioie ye,' Cov. 'reioyse,' Rheims 'reioyce' (after Vulg. *gaudete*), and it is probable that the Gr. χαίρειν is inadequately represented by the Eng. 'farewell,' since it never lost the sense of 'rejoice,' by slipping into a mere formality of speech, as the Eng. word has done. See Lightfoot on Ph 4[4].

In Lk 16[19] ('fared sumptuously every day') the Eng. word 'fared' is probably to be taken in a sense that is still common, 'feed,' 'be entertained with food.' Wyclif's tr. is 'eete euery dai schynyngli' (after Vulg. *epulabatur quotidie splendide*), Coverdale's 'fared deliciously euery daye.' Cov. was repeated by Cranmer and the Geneva of 1557; but the Gen. of 1560 gives 'fared wel and delicately,' the Bishops' 'fared very delitiously,' the Rhemish 'fared magnifically.' Now it is true that neither 'fared' nor 'sumptuously' is restricted to taking food. In More's *Utopia* (ii. 8, Lupton's ed. p. 264) we read, 'Thither they sende furth some of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, to lyue theire sumptuously lyke men of honoure and renowne'; and Sir T. Elyot (*The Governour*, 1531, ii. 192, Croft's ed.) says, 'Many mo princes and noble men of the Romanes . . . made solempne and sumptuouse playes in honour of their goddes.' But it is possible that it was a passage in the last-named work that suggested the tr. of AV, and in that passage the sense of feed or feast is unmistakable: (ii. 336) 'The noble emperour Augustus . . . fared sumptuously and delicately, the citie of Rome at that tyme beinge vexed with skarcitie of grayne.' If that is the meaning of AV, it is inadequate to express the original (εὐφραινόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς), where the verb means to 'make merry' (Lk 12[19] 15[23. 24. 29. 32] and elsewhere), and the adverb (of which this is the only occurrence in biblical Greek) means 'brilliantly' (the adj. is often applied to dress, Lk 23[11], Ac 10[30], Ja 2[2. 3], Rev 19[18]), so that the tr. is literally 'making merry every day brilliantly.' Luther's tr. is *lebte alle Tage herrlich und in Freuden*; Weizsäcker, *genoss sein Leben alle Tage im Glanze*; Ostervald, *se traitoit bien et magnifiquement*; Oltramare, *faisait brillante chère*; Segond, *menait joyeuse et brillante vie*; RVm 'living in mirth and splendour every day.' RV has given 'sumptuous fare' for AV 'delicate fare' in Sir 29[22] (Gr. ἐδέσματα λαμπρά). J. HASTINGS.

FARTHING.—See MONEY.

FASHION (*facĕre*, to make, *faction-em*, a making, It. *fazione*, Old Fr. *façon*, Old Eng. *facioun*). There are some old uses in AV, and they are all retained in RV.

1. The *make* or *shape* of a thing: Ex 26[30] 'thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the fashion thereof which was showed thee in the mount.' The Heb. (מִשְׁפָּט *mishpâṭ*) is the ordinary word for the decision of a judge, hence due or right measure, even in cases not decided by judging, right proportion (1 K 4[28] [Heb. 5[8]] 'charge'; Jer 30[18b] of a city, 'manner,' rather weak; Is 40[14], in creation—giving each part its due place and function). In Ex 26[30] it seems to be used as synonymous with תַּבְנִית (from בָּנָה to build, so 'building,' 'make'), which is employed in the parallel passages Ex 25[9. 40], and is there tr[d] 'pattern.' This Heb. word *mishpâṭ* developed much as the Eng. word 'fashion' has done. In Gn 40[13] and elsewhere it signifies manner or custom, and in 2 K 1[7] outward appearance. It is tr[d] 'fashion' also in 1 K 6[38], Ezk 42[11] (in both of parts of a building). Wyclif's word in Ex 26[30] is 'saumpler.'

In 2 K 16[10] 'king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of the altar,' the Heb. is דְּמוּת *dĕmûth* (from דָּמָה to be like), a common word in Ezk for the external appearance. Here it is probably a drawing or model. Cf. 2 Ch 4[3] 'the similitude (*i.e.* images) of oxen.'

The remaining Heb. word is תְּכוּנָה *tĕkhûnâh* (from כּוּן, כִּין to set up), Ezk 43[11] 'show them the form of the house and the fashion thereof.' The Heb. is probably here the arrangement or fittings. Wyclif has 'the figure of the hous, and makyng (1388 'bildyng') thereof.' 'Forme and fashion' come from Coverdale.

In Wis 16[25] 'even then was it altered into all fashions,' the meaning seems to be (as Deane), that the manna changed its taste according to the palate of the eater, and fire modified its nature according to its Maker's will (Gr. εἰς πάντα, RV 'into all forms').

In NT we find 'fashion' with this meaning only Ac 7[44] 'Our fathers had the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, as he had appointed, speaking unto Moses, that he should make it according to the fashion that he had seen' (τύπος, as LXX in Ex 25[40], RV 'figure').*

2. The *appearance* of a thing, as Ja 1[24] Tind. 'For assone as he hath loked on him silfe, he goeth his waye, and forgetteth immediatlie what his fassion was.' So in AV, Lk 9[29] 'as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered' (Gr. τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ). Especially outward visible appearance in contrast with inner reality, as Shaks. *Merch. of Venice*, IV. i. 18—

> 'Shylock, the world thinks, and I think so too,
> That thou but leadst this fashion of thy malice
> To the last hour of act; and then 'tis thought
> Thou'lt show thy mercy and remorse more strange
> Than is thy strange apparent cruelty.'

1 Co 7[31] 'the fashion of this world passeth away,' and Ph 2[8] 'being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself.' The Gr. is σχῆμα, whose meaning is fully discussed in the Commentaries. See also Trench, *NT Syn.* pp. 252–258; Gifford, *Incarnation*, p. 22 ff.; *Expos. Times*, viii. 391 f. The English is perhaps more emphatic (in expressing *mere* outward appearance) than the Greek. In 1 Co 7[31] Wyc. and the Rhemish have 'figure' after Vulg. *figura*; Tind. introduced 'fashion' ('fassion'), and the other VSS followed him. In Ph 2[8] 'fashion' is not found before AV. Wyc. translates Vulg. (*habitus*) literally, 'habyt' (1386 'abite'); Tind. Cov. and Cran. give 'apparel'; Gen. 1557 'appearance,' 1560 'shape,' as Tomson and Rhem. NT; Bish. 'figure.'

3. In Ja 1[11] AV has retained from Tind. 'the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth,' where the Gr. is πρόσωπον, 'face.' So in Old Eng. 'fashion' was used literally for the face, as *Pilgr. Lyf Manhode* (1430), III. xxxviii. 155, 'She shadwde hire visage and hire facioun vnder hire hood.' Cf. Lk 12[56] Tind. 'Ypocrites ye can skyll of the fassion of the erth, and of the skye' (πρόσωπον; Wyc., Rhem., AV, RV, 'face').

4. *Manner*: 2 Es 4[35] 'How long shall I hope on this fashion?' (*sic*, RV after the Syriac, 'How long are we here?'); 5[53] 'They that be born in the strength of youth are of one fashion' (*alii sunt*); Wis 2[15] 'his ways are of another fashion' (ἑξηλλαγμέναι, RV 'of strange fashion'); 14[19] 'he . . . forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best fashion' (ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλιον, RV 'toward a greater beauty'); Mk 2[12] 'We never saw it on this fashion' (οὕτως). So in Pref. to AV 'they did not cast the streets, nor proportion the houses in such comely fashion, as had been most sightly and convenient'; and Shaks. *Hamlet*, I. iii. 111—

> 'My lord, he hath importuned me with love,
> In honourable fashion.
> Ay, fashion you may call it; go to, go to.'

5. *Manners and customs*: 2 Mac 4[9] 'a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen' (the Gr. is simply ἐφηβίαν, *i.e.* youth, hence RV 'and *form* a body of youths *to be trained therein*'); 4[13] 'the height of Greek fashions' (ἀκμὴ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, RV 'an extreme of Greek fashions'); 6[8] 'that they should observe the same fashions' (ἀγωγήν, RV 'conduct').

The verb to fashion is of frequent occurrence. In OT and Apocr. it has always the sense of give shape to, form. But the word was formerly used in the sense of 'transform,' *i.e.* change the form or fashion into something else. Thus Tindale, *Obedience of a Christian Man*, 97*b*, 'When a man fealeth . . . him selfe . . . altered and fascioned lyke vnto

* In He 8[5] the same quotation is made, and adheres still more closely to the LXX of Ex 25[40], but the Eng. (AV and RV) is 'pattern,' as it has been since Tindale.

Christe'; H. Smith, *Sermons* (1592), 'Fashion thyself to Paul.' In NT there are two examples of this meaning: Ph 3[21] 'Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body' (*σύμμορφος*; RV 'that it may be conformed to the body of his glory'); 1 P 1[14] 'not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts' (*συσχηματιζόμενοι*). J. HASTINGS.

FAST.—**1.** Fast is frequently used in AV both as adj. and adv. in the sense of *firm, secure*, as Ps 38[2] 'thine arrows stick fast in me'; Ps 65[6] 'Which by his strength setteth fast the mountains'; Pr 4[13] 'Take fast hold of instruction'; 2 Es 2[15] 'Mother, embrace thy children, and bring them up with gladness, make their feet as fast as a pillar' (*confirma pedes eorum*, RV 'stablish their feet'); Ac 16[24] 'Who . . . thrust them down into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks' (*ἠσφαλίσατο*). Cf. Chaucer, *Anelida and Arcite* (Skeat's Student's ed. p. 117)—

> 'Almighty God, of trouthe sovereyn,
> Wher is the trouthe of man? who hath hit sleyn?
> Who that hem loveth shal hem fynde as fast
> As in a tempest is a roten mast.'

2. In reference to sleep, *sound*, as Jg 4[21] 'he was fast asleep and weary' (RV 'in a deep sleep'; see RVm and Moore, *in loc.*). **3.** *Close, near*, only Ru 2[8. 21. 23], as 2[8] 'abide here fast by my maidens.' Cf. Milton, *PL* ii. 725—

> 'the snaky sorceress that sat
> Fast by Hell-gate, and kept the fatal key.'

In every case 'fast' is used to bring out the force of the verb or adj. used in the original; there is never a separate word for it in the Hebrew or the Greek. J. HASTINGS.

FASTING.—Often described in OT (esp. in P, where it is practically a technical term) by phrase 'to afflict the soul,' עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ (Lv 16[29. 31] 23[27. 32], Nu 29[7] 30[13], Ps 35[13], Is 58[3. 5. 10]), tr. by LXX in the passages in Nu by *κακοῦν τὴν ψυχήν*, in the others by *ταπεινοῦν τὴν ψυχήν*, for which see also Jth 4[9], and which may be assumed to have this precise reference, and not a more general one at Sir 2[17] 7[17]. The phrase does not denote primarily spiritual humiliation, even as the proper accompaniment of fasting. It has a physical meaning. This will be perceived if the material sense in which 'soul' was in early times used be remembered (cf. for a similar expression Ps 69[11]). The more literal terms צוּם 'to fast,' צוֹם 'fasting,' are also common in OT. In NT the words are *νηστεύειν* and *νηστεία*.

(*A*) IN THE OT.—**1.** *The practice of fasting* (*a*) *in the times before the Captivity.*—The one *regular* fast, the institution of which is ascribed to this period, is that of the Day of Atonement (Lv 16[29. 31] 23[27-32], Nu 29[7], Jer 36[6]).* But there are many examples of fasts on special occasions, dictated by the sense of having transgressed, or of calamity, present or impending. Such a fast is inspired by Samuel (1 S 7[6]); enjoined by Jehoiakim and the princes (Jer 36[9]); hypocritically by Jezebel (1 K 21[9. 12]). In like manner individuals are moved to fast—David when his child is smitten with sickness (2 S 12[16. 21-23]), Ahab on hearing his doom (1 K 21[27]).

The abstinence from food or drink for forty days by Moses on the Mount (Ex 34[28]), and by Elijah (1 K 19[8]), seem to be recorded rather as extraordinary or miraculous occurrences than as fasts purposely undertaken.

(*b*) *After the Captivity.*—Additional regular fasts now appear, the memorials of the times of bitter shame and calamity through which the nation had passed. Four are enumerated in Zec 8[19], cf. 7[3. 5]. (*α*) 'The fast of the fourth month' (Tammuz). On the 9th of this month, the Chaldæans broke into the city (Jer 39[2] and 52[6. 7]). According, however, to Talm. tradition the fast in this month was observed on the 17th, on which day the breaking of the tables of the law by Moses is said to have occurred, and also the cessation of the daily offering in consequence of the famine during the siege by the Chaldæans. It was held also that later the day was further desecrated through the burning of the law by Antiochus Epiphanes (in Talm. called Apostemus), and his introduction of an idol into the Holy Place. (*β*) 'The fast of the fifth month' (Ab). The destruction of the temple took place according to 2 K 25[8] on the 7th, according to Jer 52[12] on the 10th of this month. The 9th was, however, the day which was observed, at all events according to the Talmud. The destruction of the second temple is said to have taken place on the same day; and the announcement was believed to have been made on this day also to the generation of Isr. who came out of Egypt that they should not enter Canaan. (*γ*) 'The fast of the seventh month' (Tisri), possibly held in commemoration of Atonement; the extinction of the government left in Jerusalem under Gedaliah took place in this month through his assassination (2 K 25[25]). This, acc. to tradition, happened on the 3rd of Tisri. (*δ*) 'The fast of the tenth month' (Tebet). On the 10th of this month the siege by Nebuch. began (2 K 25[1], Jer 52[4]). The reference in Ezk 24[1. 2] shows how the habit of marking it by a fast might arise.

From the Talm. we learn that, in the times for which it can be taken as evidence of the practice to which the prophet refers, the 9th of Ab was regarded as by far the most important, and that its observance was then universally binding. We should infer from Zec 7 and 8 that it always held this position of pre-eminence. The people ask only (7[3]) whether they need continue to observe this fast. In the answer of God through the prophet, first one other fast is coupled with it (7[5]), then all four of the fasts that had been instituted in consequence of their calamities are mentioned (8[19]). It is probable that the three not referred to in the people's question were not regarded as of such strict obligation, and therefore not felt to be onerous. The prophet, on the other hand, names them all, because the principles on which he insisted applied to all equally. According to the Talmud those three were, after they had ceased to be kept, reintroduced subsequently to the destruction of the second temple; and it was taught that they need be observed only at times when the Jews were oppressed or were suffering calamities (cf. Brück, *Pharisäische Volkssitten und Ritualien*, p. 45 ff.). Jewish interpreters seem to have understood Zec.'s words (8[19]) as giving a dispensation from the observance of the fasts in the interval between the restoration and the destruction of the second temple (Brück, *ib.*).

We may perhaps find a trace of the institution of one other regular fast in OT—in the Bk. of Esther. That book explains the origin of the Feast of Purim, and in Rabbinic times the celebration of that feast was accompanied by a fast in commemoration of the fasting of Esther, Mordecai, and the people (4[1-3. 15-17]). There may be an allusion to this part of the commemoration in 9[31] end.

Naturally, there is no lack in the period from the Captivity onwards of instances of fasts on special occasions. Of such as the whole people joined in we have, in addition to the one in Est just referred to, Ezr 8[21-23], Neh 9[1]; and as examples of fasts by individuals, Neh 1[4], Dn 9[3]. The references to fasting in the Apocr. are not so numerous as might have been expected, and do not throw much additional light upon the history of the practice (To 12[8], 1 Mac 3[47], 2 Mac 13[12]).

2. *The manner of observing fasts.*—There can be little doubt that, in accordance with usual Oriental practice, fasting involved complete abstinence from food. The period for the Day of Atonement was 'from even till even' (Lv 23[32]). No work was to be done (Lv 16[29. 31] 23[32], Nu 29[7]). There are allusions also to the use of sackcloth and ashes (Dn 9[3], Jon 3[6] etc.). Abstinence of another kind was also required, referred to in 1 Co 7[5] (TR): various

* For the question whether the observance of the Day of Atonement was known in pre-exilic times, see p. 199[b] of this vol.

passages of OT might be quoted in confirmation, though none very distinctly connected with fasts. It is spoken of plainly in the Talmud.

3. *The purpose of fasting.*—W. R. Smith observes (*RS*[2], p. 434), 'The usage of religious fasting is commonly taken as a sign of sorrow, the worshippers being so distressed at the alienation of their god that they cannot eat; but there are very strong reasons for believing that in the strict Oriental form, in which total abstinence from meat and drink is prescribed, fasting is primarily nothing more than a preparation for the sacramental eating of holy flesh.' It is difficult, however, to discover traces of this view in OT. There we find fasting employed simply as a sign of mourning (1 S 31[13]), or with the evident object of deprecating divine wrath, or winning divine compassion. Its suitability cannot well be explained in either of these connexions, except on the ground that it is often a natural effect of grief, and may therefore be purposely employed as a sign of it. In its religious use such a mute expression of sorrow would be an act of contrition for sin, or appeal for heavenly aid in distress. A superstitious idea of its efficacy was, no doubt, often entertained; but the particular form of error which the prophets found it necessary to condemn was the ordinary one of the formalist, who fails to perceive that his external observances can have no value when dissevered from purity and righteousness of life (Is 58[3-7], Jer 14[10-12], Zec 7, 8).

(*B*) IN THE NT.—**1.** *The Jewish practice.*—There is an allusion in Ac 27[9] to 'the Fast,' which was so *par excellence*, *i.e.* the Day of Atonement. But the chief point which we learn from NT is that by this time frequent additional fasts had become customary with those in Judaism who desired to lead a specially religious life, *e.g.* Anna (Lk 2[37]). Again, the Pharisee in the parable says, 'I fast twice in the week' (Lk 18[12]). The allusion is to the two weekly fast-days, Thursday and Monday, on the former of which days Moses was said to have gone up into the Mount, and on the latter to have come down from it. Mention is made of them frequently in the Talmud. There is also an interesting reference to them in the *Didache* 8[1], where Christians are bidden not to fast with the hypocrites on the second and fifth days of the week, but on the fourth and on Friday. Further, the question asked of Jesus by the disciples of John and of the Pharisees (Mt 9[14], Mk 2[18], Lk 5[33]), reveals the interesting fact that teachers who had gathered about them bands of scholars, used to give to their disciples special rules on the subject.

2. *The teaching of Jesus.*—There are two passages only, but those significant ones. (*a*) That in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 6[16-18]). Our Lord's whole aim here appears to be to secure perfect purity and simplicity of intention, a 'fasting unto God' (cf. Zec 7[5]) in the fullest and deepest sense. This would be the most effectual cure for every error, practical or even intellectual (comp. His teaching on almsgiving and prayer, Mt 6[1-15], and see art. on former).

(*b*) His answer to the question of the disciples of John and of the Pharisees (Mt 9[14-17], Mk 2[18-22], Lk 5[33-39]). This answer throws light on His whole method and aim. To understand it we must bear in mind the question which called it forth. There is no reason to believe that either our Lord or His disciples failed to keep any day of fasting which was generally observed by religious members of the class of artisans and small tradesmen in Galilee, such as the Day of Atonement. But He had imposed upon them no frequent additional fasts. He defends them from the stricture passed on them, and in so doing replies to the criticism of His own teaching, which was implied, by setting forth the principles on which He acted. He refrained from prescribing forms, not that He condemned them as mischievous or useless, but because it would have been the wrong end at which to begin. The course which He adopted was alone fitting, in view of the far-reaching change of character and thought which He designed to effect.

The precise force of the distinction which Jesus drew between the days while the bridegroom was present and those when he should be removed, deserves to be marked. The time of His presence on earth was a Messianic time, a foretaste of the restitution of all things. The thought that fasting would be discontinued in Messiah's days was already familiar to the Jewish mind. The language of Zec suggested it (8[19]), and thus, as it is interesting to note, Jesus added emphasis to the claim to be the Messiah, which He virtually made in referring to Himself as the bridegroom, by what He said as to the unsuitability of requiring fasts from His disciples then. We may believe also that He wished them afterwards to look back to the time that they companied with Him as one of joy. But His clear prevision that the perfect fulfilment of the promise was not yet at hand, and that a period of sadness and trial would intervene before it, is not less remarkable, and His words unquestionably imply that there would be a place for fasting in the coming dispensation. Further, the inference which has frequently been drawn from them by Protestant commentators, that in the Christian Church fasting was to be practised only when dictated by special feelings of sorrow, and hence that it was to be a matter of individual choice, confined to occasions of widespread and exceptional calamity, hardly seems to be justified; for He characterizes broadly the difference between two whole periods.

On the other hand, in the parables which follow, and in His line of conduct, to which attention had been directed, He plainly shows that He intended questions of outward observance to be judged with reference to new principles which he inculcated, and that He left them to be decided by His Church under the guidance of the Spirit Who should come in His name (but see Hort, *Jud. Chr.* p. 24).

This intention was shown alike by what He did and did not conform to in the religious usages around Him. We have noticed that the keeping of the law of Moses was not in question on the occasion under consideration. But in point of fact His attitude to that law, the respect for it which He encouraged by word and example, His silence as to its approaching abrogation, were based on the same principle as the non-imposition of new forms. He intended the rites of the Mosaic law to be set aside or changed only as the result of a new spiritual growth.

3. *The practice of the early Church.*—The chief instances are before solemn appointments (Ac 13[2. 3] 14[23]). St Paul alludes to his fasts (2 Co 6[5] 11[27]). It is somewhat difficult, however, to decide whether he is speaking of voluntary or involuntary ones. Perhaps both are included. The connexion of words seems rather to suggest voluntary fasts in the former passage, and involuntary ones in the latter. In places TR has an allusion to fasting where it is wanting according to the best evidence (Mt 17[21], Mk 9[29], Ac 10[30], 1 Co 7[5]). This corruption of the text may have been due to the increasing value which was set on fasting in the Christian Church with the lapse of time. See further, FEASTS AND FASTS.

In the Oxyrhynchus fragment discovered by Grenfell and Hunt, the 2nd Logion contains the words ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. The construction and the meaning of the saying are both difficult: Harnack (*Die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*, 8 ff.) contends for a metaphorical sense of the word 'fast.' Amongst other discussions of the sense of this Logion we may refer to Grenfell and Hunt's *editio princeps* of the ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ (10 ff.), Redpath (*Expositor*, Sept. 1897, p. 225), Heinrici in *ThL* (21st Aug. 1897), Swete (*Expos. Times*, Sept. 1897, p. 546 f.).

V. H. STANTON.

FAT.—See FOOD and SACRIFICE.

FAT.—As a verb 'fat' is now nearly displaced by 'fatten.' It occurs in Sir 26[13] 'The grace of a wife delighteth her husband, and her discretion will fat his bones' (πιανεῖ, RV 'fatten'); and the ptcp. 'fatted' in 1 K 4[23] ('fatted fowl,' Heb. בְּרֻבָּרִים, see FOWLS), Jer 46[21] ('fatted bullocks,' RV 'calves of the stall'), Lk 15[23. 27. 30]; to which RV adds 1 S 28[24] 'a fatted calf' (AV 'a fat calf').

J. HASTINGS.

FAT.—Fat, meaning a large vessel for holding liquids, has been displaced by 'vat' in literary

English. The difference between the spellings, says Skeat (*Etymol. Dict. s.v.*) is one of dialect only, 'fat' being northern and 'vat' southern. Fat occurs in AV, Jl 2[24] 'the fats shall overflow with wine and oil,' and 3[13] (both יֶקֶב); in the compound 'winefat' in Is 63[2] (גַּת), Mk 12[1] (ὑπολήνιον, AV 1611 'wine fat' as two words); and 'pressfat' (1611 'presse-fat') Hag 2[16] (יֶקֶב).

RV gives 'vats' in Jl (see Driver's note, *ad loc.*), though in Pr 3[10] it changes 'presses' of AV into 'fats' (יְקָבִ֫ים). 'Winefat' of Mk 12[1] is made 'winepress,' and 'pressfat' of Hag 2[16] 'winefat' (not by Amer. RV). Amer. RV prefers 'winevat' to winefat in Is 63[2]. See WINE. J. HASTINGS.

FATE.—See WILL.

FATHER.—See FAMILY and GOD.

FATHOM.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FATLING.—A fatling is an animal, especially a young animal, fattened for slaughter. It is the tr[n] of three Heb. and one Greek word. (1) *Mĕrî'*, plu. *mĕrî'îm*, 2 S 6[13], Is 11[6], Ezk 39[18]: which is elsewhere tr[d] 'fat cattle' (RV 'fatlings'), 1 K 1[9. 19. 25]; 'fed beasts' (so RV), Is 1[11]; 'fat beasts' (so RV), Am 5[22]. (2) *Mĕḥîm*, Ps 66[15]: which elsewhere occurs only Is 5[17] tr[d] 'fat ones,' AV and RV. (3) *Mishnîm*, 1 S 15[9], which means 'seconds,' of a second, inferior sort (as AVm). But that is plainly not the meaning here. Hence the text is generally amended into *mashmannim* (מְשֻׁמָּנִים), which is found in Neh 8[10], and means 'fat things,' 'delicacies' (EV 'the fat'). This is the reading followed by EV, and it has the support of Targ. Syr. and Arab. VSS. But Driver (*Notes on Sam.* p. 94) prefers to read *hasshĕmênîm*, which occurs (in the sing.) in Ezk 34[16] (and elsewhere), and is tr[d] 'the fat.' He then renders 'the best of the flocks and the herds, *even* the fat ones and the lambs' (הַשְּׁמֵנִים וְהַפָּרִים). (4) σιτιστά (lit. 'fed with grain'), Mt 22[4] 'my oxen and my fatlings are killed' (Tindale's tr[n]; Wyc. 'my bolis [bulls] and my volatilis [fowls],' after Vulg. *tauri mei et altilia*). To those RV adds (5) *bĕrî'âh*, Ezk 34[3] 'the fatlings' for AV 'them that are fed': the word is an adj., and is tr[d] 'fat' in v.[20] ('fat cattle' AV and RV), it is the 'fat' kine of Pharaoh's dream (Gn 41). J. HASTINGS.

FAUCHION.—Jth 13[6] 'she . . . took down his fauchion from thence,' and 16[9] 'the fauchion passed through his neck' (AV 1611 'fauchin,' RV 'scimitar'). The Greek is ἀκινάκης (in 16[9] A has ἀκινάκις, to which Hatch and Redpath give a sep. entry in their *Concord to the Sept.*, but with a query), found only here. The ἀκ., a word of Persian origin, is often used in Herodotus to describe a short sword. See SWORD. The Eng. word was originally the name of 'a broad sword more or less curved on the convex side'; but in later use and in poetry signified a sword of any kind.
J. HASTINGS.

FAULT.—A fault is properly a defect or shortcoming (*fallitus*, late Lat. ptcp. of *fallĕre*, to fail, come short, Old Fr. *faute**) either of material things, as Ld. Berners, *Froissart*, I. clix. 193, 'They had gret faut in their hoost of vitayle'; or from a recognized standard of physical beauty, workmanship, or moral rectitude. The defect expressed by 'fault' is in AV almost always moral, but the larger meaning, shortcoming in any sense, is seen in Rev 14[5] 'they are without fault before the throne of God' (ἄμωμοι, RV 'without blemish'); cf. Jude [24] 'faultless' (ἀμώμους, RV 'without blemish'). In 1 Co 6[7] the least degree of moral blame is expressed (Gr. ἥττημα, RV 'defect,' RVm 'loss').

Craik (*Eng. of Shaks.* p. 124) says, 'The word *fault* formerly, though often signifying no more than it now does, carried sometimes a much greater weight of meaning than we now attach to it.' And he gives as an example *Jul. Cæs.* I. iii. 5—

> 'Who ever knew the heavens menace so?
> Those that have known the earth so full of faults.'

To which may be added *Tit. Andron.* v. ii. 173—

> 'You killed her husband, and for that vile fault
> Two of her brothers were condemned to death.'

See also *Rom. and Jul.* III. iii. 25—

> 'O deadly sin! O rude unthankfulness!
> Thy fault our law calls death.'

And Milton, *PL* xii. 337—

> 'Whose foul idolatries, and other faults
> Heapt to the popular sum, will so incense
> God, as to leave them.'

This greater freedom in the use of 'fault' enabled AV to retain Coverdale's tr[n] of Gn 41[9] 'This daye do I remembre my fawte,' though Wyc. had 'I knowleche my synne,' and the Heb. (חֵטְא) is some thirty times translated 'sin.' Other words usually tr[d] 'sin' are occasionally rendered fault,' as חָטְאָה (vb.) Ex 5[16]; * עָוֹן 2 S 3[8], Ps 59[4]. Again, in Dt 25[2] רִשְׁעָה, which is everywhere else tr[d] 'wickedness,' is tr[d] 'fault,' although all previous VSS had either 'sin' (Wyc. Douay) or 'trespass' (Cov. Gen. Bish.): RV gives 'wickedness.' And παράπτωμα tr[d] 'trespass' Mt 6[14. 15], Mk 11[25. 26], 2 Co 5[19], Eph 2[1], Col 2[13]; 'offence' Ro 4[25] 5[15. 16. 17. 18. 20]; 'fall' Ro 11[11. 12]; and 'sin' Eph 1[7] 2[5], Col 2[13], is tr[d] 'fault' 2 Co 5[19], Ja 5[16]: RV gives 'trespass' always, except Ro 11[11] 'fall,' marg. 'trespass.'

'Make no fault,' a very rare expression, is found Sir 9[13] (μὴ πλημμελήσῃς, RV 'commit no fault').

In the trial before Pilate, St. John thrice uses *aἰτία* (18[38] 19[4. 6]), and St. Luke thrice *aἴτιον* (23[4. 14. 22]). Except in Lk 23[22] ('cause') AV renders in each case by 'fault'; but the meaning of both words is 'ground for committal,' 'legal cause for prosecution.' RV gives 'crime' in Jn, leaving Lk as in AV.

Faulty is now nearly confined to the expression of physical defects. In 2 S 14[13] (אָשֵׁם adj.), Hos 10[2] (אָשֵׁם vb. = be held guilty) it is used as the expression of moral wrong, RV 'guilty.' J. HASTINGS.

FAVOUR.—Favour is of frequent occurrence in Shakespeare and elsewhere in the sense of *personal appearance*, and then as simply meaning the *face* (cf. COUNTENANCE and CHEER). Thus Spenser, *FQ* v. vii. 39—

> 'She knew not his favour's likelynesse,
> For many scarres and many hoary heares,
> But stood long staring on him mongst uncertain fears.'

More, *Utopia* (Robinson's tr[n], Lumby's ed. p. 19), 'whom by his favoure and apparell furthwith I judged to be a mariner.' Shaks. *As You Like It*, IV. iii. 87—

> 'The boy is fair,
> Of female favour.'

Bacon, *Essays*, 'Of Beauty' (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 176, l. 17), 'In *Beauty*, that of Favour, is more then that of Colour.'

It is sometimes said that Ps 45[12] 119[58], Pr 19[6] 29[26] are examples of this meaning. But, though the Heb. (פָּנִים) there tr[d] 'favour' is literally 'face,' favour or goodwill is clearly the meaning. In the adjectives 'well-favoured' and 'ill-favoured,' however, we find this meaning, as Gn 29[17] 'Rachel was

* *Faute* is the more accurate spelling, the *l* being inserted from the influence of It. *falta* and Lat. *fallere*, although the *u* stands, of course, for the *l*. In the Psalter of 1539 the spelling is always *faute*, though modern editions of the Pr. Bk. spell *fault*. In AV of 1611 it is *fault* always.

* The correct tr. of חָטְאַת עַמְּךָ is doubtful. If the vb. be taken as 3rd sing. fem. (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*) the meaning will be 'thy people is at fault' (but עַם is nowhere else fem., not even in Jg 18[7], see Moore, *ad loc.*); if as 2nd sing. masc., 'thou wilt wrong thy people' (so Pesh. LXX, ἀδικήσεις τὸν λαόν σου). This is accepted by Siegfried-Stade, who punctuate חָטְאַת. Socin (in Kautzsch's *AT*) pronounces the MT unintelligible.

beautiful and well favoured' (יְפַת מַרְאֶה, lit. 'fair to be seen.' So **evilfavouredness**, Dt 17[1] (דָּבָר רַע, lit. 'evil thing').

In Jos 11[20] *favour* means scarcely more than *mercy*, 'for it was of the LORD to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, and that he might destroy them utterly, and they might have no favour' (תְּחִנָּה: in Ezr 9[8] the meaning is the same, but EV give 'grace'; everywhere else the Heb. word means 'intreaty'). Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 298, 'And they, which by that lawe were condemned, were put to dethe without any fauour.' J. HASTINGS.

FAVOUR.—The interest of the biblical use of this word resides chiefly in its relation to the term *grace*. It has not, like that term, obtained any doctrinal significance. While χάρις in the LXX (Vulg. *gratia*) is its prevailing equivalent, it is used only six times in NT to tr. that word (see also Lk 1[28] *κεχαριτωμένη*, 'highly favoured'; marg. 'graciously accepted' or 'much graced'). Grace, in fact, while including favour, implies much more. And it comes as a free gift ('Gratia, nisi gratis sit, non est gratia'), while favour may be won or deserved. To obtain favour is to please, to show favour is to be pleased.

In OT the distinction is, however, hardly perceptible. The instinct of the translators led them, it is true, to avoid the adjective 'favourable' as a rendering of חַנּוּן ('gracious') used only of God (with the one possible exception of Ps 112[4]. See Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms, in loc.*), but the verb חָנַן and its other derivatives are often represented by 'favour.' Thus חֵן, 38 times rendered 'grace,' is 26 times tr[d] 'favour.' Nor is the sense of *strengthening help*, so prominent in the former word, altogether absent from the latter. (See Ps 5[12] 'with *favour* wilt thou compass him as with a shield.')

Eight other Heb. roots, implying *kindness*, *goodwill*, *pity*, are represented in the AV by 'favour.' The most frequent of these is רָצוֹן=acceptance, rendered 15 times 'favour.' For חֶסֶד *loving-kindness*, 'favour' is employed only 3 times.

The LXX vary much more than the Eng. tr., the idea of *pity* pronouncing itself in ἔλεος, while that of *goodwill* comes out in *εὐδοκία*, *θέλημα*, *πρόσωπον* (פָּנִים). So in the Vulg. we find *misericordia*, *voluntas*, *vultus*. A. S. AGLEN.

FEAR.—For the theology of Fear see next article. Some obsolete or archaic uses deserve notice.

1. Following the Heb. idiom, 'my fear,' 'thy fear,' etc., stands for the 'fear of me,' 'of thee,' etc.: Ex 23[27] 'I will send my fear before thee' (אֵימָתִי, RV 'my terror'); Job 9[34] 'let not his fear terrify me' (אֵמָתוֹ, RV 'his terror'); Jer 2[19] 'my fear is not in thee' (פַּחְדָתִי). Similarly Ps 90[11] 'even according to thy fear, so is thy wrath' (כְּיִרְאָתֶךָ, RV 'according to the fear that is due unto thee,' so Perowne; Del.* Cheyne, 'the fear of thee,' with the same meaning; De Witt, 'But who has yet learned the power of Thine anger, And Thy wrath as measured by the reverence due Thee?'); Is 63[17] 'O LORD, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, *and* hardened our heart from thy fear?' (מִיִּרְאָתֶךָ, so RV; Del. 'so that we fear thee not,' evidently the genitive of the object; Orelli, 'that it fears not thee'); Mal 1[6] 'if I be a master, where is my fear?' (מוֹרָאִי). Earlier VSS contained this idiom yet oftener, as Gn 9[2] Wyc. (1382) 'youre feer and youre tremblyng be upon alle the beestis of erthe' (1388 'youre drede and tremblyng,' AV 'the fear of you and the dread of you'). **2.** After another Heb. idiom 'fear' is used for the object of fear, that which is feared: Gn 31[42] 'the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac' (פַּחַד, RV 'Fear,' as a proper name: but to personify is to miss the idiom, of which Spurrell (*Notes on the Text of Gen.*) gives examples from Pesh. Targ. etc.), so v.[53], Ps 31[11] 'I was a reproach among all mine enemies, but especially among my neighbours, and a fear to mine acquaintance' (פָּחַד); Is 24[18] 'he who fleeth from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit' (פַּחַד); Ps 53[5] 'There were they in great fear, *where* no fear* was' (שָׁם פָּחֲדוּ־פָחַד לֹא־הָיָה פָּחַד); Pr 1[26] 'I will mock when your fear cometh' (פַּחְדָּכֶם); Is 8[12. 13] 'neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself; and *let* him *be* your fear, and *let* him be your dread' (מוֹרַאֲכֶם . . . מוֹרָאוֹ); Ps 34[4] 'I sought the Lord, and he heard me, and delivered me from all my fears' (מְגוּרוֹתַי); Pr 10[24] 'The fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him' (מְגוֹרַת רָשָׁע); Is 66[4] 'I also will choose their delusions, and bring their fears upon them' (מְגוּרֹתָם). Cf. Pr 10[29] Cov. 'The waye of the LORDE geueth a corage vnto ye godly, but it is a feare for wicked doers'; Herbert, *The Temple*, 120, l. 29—

'Call in thy death's-head there, tie up thy fears.'

3. There are two kinds of fear, a 'slavish feare, and a sonlike feare' (Hieron, *Works*, i. 130). The latter is now used only of our relation to God. But it was formerly applied to the reverence due to any superior, as Ro 13[7] 'Render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear.' Cf. Knox, *Hist.* 194, 'we deny neither Toll, Tribute, nor fear, to her [the Queen Regent] nor her officers.' Ascham (*Toxophilus*, B. fol. 35, ed. 1545) says that a priest should have 'a bodye ful of manlye authoritie to fear ill men.' **4.** The article being formerly used freely with abstract nouns, we find 'a fear,' Ezk 30[13] 'I will put a fear in the land of Egypt' (יִרְאָה, RV retains); Ad. Est 15[8] 'in a fear' (ἀγωνιάσας, RV 'in an agony').

In the quotation from Ascham above, the verb to fear is used in the active sense of put fear into, terrify. This meaning, though it occurs but once in AV, is common in the earlier VSS and in Eng. writers of the time.

Thus Lv 26[36] Wyc. 'the sown of a fleynge leef shal fere hem'; Dn 4[11] Cov. 'O Balthasar, let nether the dreame ner the interpretacion thereoff feare the'; 2 Co 10[9] Gen. 1560, '*This I say* that I may not seme as *it were* to feare you with letters' (so Wyc.). Cf. Elyot, *The Governour*, i. 247, 'the good husbande, whan he hath sowen his grounde, settethe up cloughtes or thredes, which some call shailes, some blenchars, or other like showes, to feare away birdes, which he foreseeth redy to deuoure and hurte his corne.' So Foxe, *Actes and Mon.* i. 436 (ed. 1583), 'A wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell through out al England: wherupon diuers of the suffraganes being feared by the strange and wonderfull demonstration, doubting what it should meane, thought it good to leaue of from their determinate purpose'; Spenser, *FQ* II. xii. 25—

'For all that here on earth we dreadfull hold,
Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall,
Compared to the creatures in the seas enthrall.'

More, *Utopia* (Rob. tr[n], Lumby's ed. p. 145, l. 25), expresses his ideal of toleration in the words, 'They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath received it.' Tindale, *Works*, i. 7, says Scripture is 'a comfort in adversity that we despair not, and feareth us in prosperity, that we sin not'; and *Expositions*, 148, 'fearing you with the bug of excommunication.' From Shaks. take *Tam. of Shrew*, I. ii. 205—

'Have I not in a pitched battle heard
Loud 'larums, neighing steeds, and trumpet's clang?
And do you tell me of a woman's tongue,
That gives not half so great a blow to hear
As will a chestnut in a farmer's fire?
Tush! tush! fear boys with bugs.'

* The suffix, says Delitzsch, is either the genitive of the subject, *i.e.* according to Thy fearfulness (יִרְאָה, as in Ezk 11[8]); or of the object, 'acc. to the fear that is due unto thee.' The latter way of taking it is more natural in itself (cf. v.[8], Ex 20[20], Dt 2[25]), and here characterizes the knowledge that is so rarely found as a knowledge that is determined by the fear of God and truly religious.

* Earle (*Psalter of* 1539, p. 291) says that in this example 'fear' is used in the ancient sense of *FÆR*, sudden alarm, shock of danger. But that sense seems to have been dropped very early, long before the days of Coverdale, who first uses 'fear' here (Wyclif as usual having 'dread'), and the Heb. is the same as in the other passages quoted above.

Davies quotes from Bp. Andrewes (v. 8), 'Knowing that we fear honour and power, though it last but for a small time, He feareth us with One whose honour and power lasteth for ever,' where the neuter and active senses of the word are found together.

The example in AV is Wis 17[9] 'For though no terrible thing did fear them; yet being scared with beasts that passed by, and hissing of serpents, they died for fear' (*ἐφόβει*, RV 'affrighted'). A Heb. idiom is expressed in the phrase 'fear before,' which occurs 1 Ch 16[30], Ps 96[9], Ec 8[12. 13], Hag 1[12]. Thus Ps 96[9] 'O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness: fear before him, all the earth' (חִילוּ מִפָּנָיו, RV 'tremble before him'). The verb is used in a grammatical misconstruction in Is 57[11] 'And of whom hast thou been afraid or feared,' which is rectified in RV 'And of whom hast thou been afraid and in fear?'

Fearful in older Eng. meant 'greatly fearing' as well as 'greatly to be feared.' Both senses are used in AV and retained in RV. **1.** Dt 20[8] 'What man *is there that is* fearful and fainthearted?' (יְרֵא); Jg 7[3] 'fearful and afraid' (יָרֵא); Is 35[4] 'Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not' (לִנְמְהַרֵי־לֵב, lit. 'hasty of heart,' as RVm); Mt 8[26] 'Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?' (*δειλός*; so Mk 4[40], Rev 21[8] [all]); Sir 2[12] 22[18], 1 Mac 3[56], 2 Mac 8[13]. Cf. Adams, *II Peter*, 55, 'If thou lovest God, thou wilt be fearful to offend him, careful to please him'; and Chapman, *Homer's Iliads*, xxiii. 740—

'On the shore, far-off, he caus'd to raise
A ship-mast; to whose top they tied a fearful dove by th' foot,
At which all shot.'

2. Ex 15[11] 'Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?' (נוֹרָא תְהִלֹּת, lit. 'feared [in] praises'; usually understood 'to be feared even when praised'; Kalisch, 'awful *in* praises,—the qualities which are mentioned in praising Him fill the mind with awe and reverence'; in Kautzsch, *Du furchtbarer in Ruhmesthaten*, 'fearful in deeds of praise'; the last, or *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'terrible in attributes that call for praise,' being best); Dt 28[58] 'that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, THE LORD THY GOD' (נוֹרָא); Lk 21[11] 'fearful sights' (TR *φόβητρα*, edd. *φόβηθρα*, RV 'terrors'); He 10[27] 'a certain fearful looking for of judgment' (*φοβερός*; so v.[31], but in 12[21] 'terrible,' RV 'fearful': *φ.* is always used of that which *inspires* fear); 2 Es 8[22] 12[8] 15[13], 2 Mac 1[24]. Cf. Melvill, *Diary* (Wod. p. 271), 'The ministerie of Mr. Robert Bruce was verie steadable and mightie that yeir, and divers yeirs following, maist comfortable to the guid and godly, and maist feirfull to the enemies.' 'Awful' and 'dreadful' have both meanings also.

Fearfully is found only in Ps 139[14] 'I am fearfully and wonderfully made' (נוֹרָאוֹת נִפְלֵיתִי,* Del. '"I am wonderfully come into being under fearful circumstances," *i.e.* circumstances that excite a shudder, *sc.* of astonishment'; Cheyne, 'graced so fearfully and gloriously').†

Fearfulness has in the earlier VSS both the meanings of fearful, as Ezk 30[13] Cov. 'a fearfulness will I sende into the Egipcians londe'; 2 Mac 15[23] Cov. 'sende now also thy good angell before us (o LORDE of heavens) in the fearfulnesse and drede of thy mightie arme.' But in AV 'fearfulness' means always the feeling of fear, apprehension, timidity: Ps 55[5], Is 33[14] 21[4], 2 Es 5[14] 11[40] 15[37].

* See Davidson, *Syntax*, § 71, Rem. 2.

† See Cheyne's whole note (*Book of Psalms*, p. 352); it is particularly good. He says, 'Hitzig considers such a burst of admiration inappropriate to the case of human birth. But why? Take the production of a human hand. Why should not a sensitive poet thrill, like Browning's heroine (*James Lee's Wife*, viii.), at—

"The beauty in this—how free, how fine
To fear almost"?'

RV adds Wis 17[8] 'These were *themselves* sick with a ludicrous fearfulness' (*καταγέλαστον εὐλάβειαν*, AV 'fear worthy to be laughed at').

J. HASTINGS.

FEAR.—As in Eng., so in Heb. and in Gr. the same words are used to express emotions of fear which differ widely in their ethical character. At one end of the scale we have the fear of the LORD, which is the beginning of wisdom (Ps 111[10]) and the whole duty of man (Ec 12[13]); at the other end that fear of pain, shame, or death, which is craven, servile, and selfish, and which is often rebuked in Scripture. But it is impossible to draw any sharp line between the two kinds of fear, for in the imperfection of human character one motive shades off into another. Once even, by a bold anthropomorphism, God Himself is said to fear in the lower sense of the word (Dt 32[27], see Driver's note).

The fear which is merely self-regarding ought not to exist in a rational being who knows that God is his Father and understands enough to trust Him. Perfect love casteth out fear (1 Jn 4[18]). But man, as he is, fears the forces of nature, which he does not understand or cannot control, because he does not trust God's providence. And he fears his fellow-man, because he is aware that brotherly instincts have grown weak with the sense of the loss of God's Fatherhood. 'Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all.' When Adam fell, he was afraid because he was naked (Gn 3[10]), and he felt he could no longer face God: thus fear of God took its rise in the violation of peaceful fellowship with Him. Similarly, Cain violates human fellowship, and fears man because he is an outlaw and God's curse is upon him (Gn 4[12-14]). Fear is thus the natural consequence of misdoing (Pr 28[1]), and, accordingly, is sometimes expressly said to be inflicted as a punishment (Lv 26[17], Dt 28[25. 66]). The effect of selfish fear is to unman the coward, he loses spirit (Jos 2[11]; for the same phrase used in a higher sense, see 1 K 10[5]): such men are to be rejected from active service in the army, lest the infection of their timidity spread (Dt 20[8], Jg 7[3]). Courage is especially needed in a prophet (Jer 1[8], Ezk 3[9]). Fear is to be overcome by faith in God (Ps 112[7. 8]). In Rev 21[8] the fearful are numbered with the unbelieving among the most grievous sinners.

The nobler fear has no thought of danger to self, so that the fear of God is the very opposite to the fear of man (Is 8[12. 13], Mt 10[28]); but it arises from the sense of the nearness of some higher and holier being. Thus the beasts fear man (Gn 9[2]), and man fears angels and spirits, and, above all, God. To fear the LORD (the phrase occurs far more often with J" than with Elohim) means rather to feel awe of what He is, than fear of what He might do. It is fear of a Person (J" is God's personal name), of His character, dignity, and holiness, rather than of His power or works. The fear of the LORD is to hate evil (Pr 8[13]). Fear in the better sense of the word is the mainspring of religion, and 'to fear' is constantly used as signifying 'to worship,' whether the object be the true God or the gods of the heathen (*e.g.* 2 K 17[35. 36]). Thus, too, Jacob, when dealing with Laban, calls J" the Fear of his father Isaac (Gn 31[42. 53]), that is, the object of his worship and religious awe. This kind of fear is so far removed from the lower sort, that it is one of the distinguishing qualities given by God's Spirit to the Messianic King (Is 11[2. 3], the spirit of the fear of the LORD), and the prayers of the Incarnate Son were heard because of His godly fear (He 5[7]).

But men are only gradually trained to the level of this holy and disinterested fear. They often have to be taught to fear God at all, even in the lower sense; and this lesson is enforced by divine

punishments (1 S 12[18]), just as civil punishments teach men the authority of the law through fear (Dt 13[11]). It is possible to trace progress in the conception of fear taught in the Bible. Thus at Sinai the people fear the fire (Ex 20[18-20]); but at Horeb the prophet is taught to look for God in the still small voice rather than in the fire and tempest (1 K 19[12]); and Ezekiel is told not to crouch before God, but to stand upon his feet when God speaks to him (Ezk 2[1]). So in the NT boldness towards God is inculcated as much as fear, Christ having opened up the way of access for all who are united to Him: see Eph 3[12], He 4[16] 10[19], 1 Jn 2[28] 3[21] 4[17] (cf. Ro 8[15] contrast bet. spirit of bondage and of adoption). But Christ does not encourage the idea that it is as yet possible to supersede the motive even of selfish fear; He gives grave warnings of the consequences that will follow sin hereafter, and, while He tells His 'friends' not to fear men, He bids them emphatically to fear Him who hath power to cast into hell (Lk 12[4. 5]).

In Ac 'one that feareth God' is often used technically to mean a proselyte, even though uncircumcised (Ac 10[2]). This is also the meaning of the word *σεβόμενος*, one that worshippeth God, also translated 'devout.' See COURAGE, REVERENCE.

W. O. BURROWS.

FEASTS AND FASTS.—It will be convenient to divide this article * into four parts—

I. Feasts connected with the institution of the Sabbath.
II. The great Historical Festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles.
III. The Minor Festivals.
IV. The Fast of the Day of Atonement and the Minor Fasts.

I. FEASTS CONNECTED WITH THE INSTITUTION OF THE SABBATH.

(1) The Sabbath. (2) The New Moon. (3) The Feast of Trumpets on the 1st day of the Sabbatical month. (4) The Sabbatical year. (5) The Jubilee year.

The sacred number 7 dominates the cycle of religious observances. Every 7th day was a Sabbath. Every 7th month was a sacred month. Every 7th year was a Sabbatical year. After 7 times 7 was the year of Jubilee. The Feast of the Passover, with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, began 14 days (2×7) after the beginning of the month, and lasted 7 days. The Feast of Pentecost was 7 times 7 days after the Feast of the Passover. The Feast of Tabernacles began 14 days (2×7) after the beginning of the month and lasted 7 days. The 7th month was marked by (1) Feast of Trumpets on the 1st day. (2) Fast of Atonement on the 10th day. (3) Feast of Tabernacles from the 15th day to the 21st. The days of 'Holy Convocation' were 7 in number—2 at the Passover, 1 at Pentecost, 1 at the Feast of Trumpets, 1 at the Day of Atonement, 1 at the Feast of Tabernacles, and 1 on the day following, the 8th day. (Willis, *Worship of the Old Covenant*, pp. 190, 191).

(1) *The Sabbath*, שַׁבָּת, שַׁבָּתוֹן, *σάββατον*.—In Am 8[5], 2 K 4[22. 23], Is 1[13], Hos 2[11] it is connected with the *New moon*. Probably, the Sabbath was originally regulated by the phases of the moon, and thus occurred on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month, the new moon being reckoned as the first Sabbath. 'Among the Assyrians the first twenty-eight days of every month were divided into four weeks of seven days each, the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days respectively being Sabbaths, and there was a general prohibition of work on these days' (George Smith, *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, 19 f., quoted by Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 112, and Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 204, who also mentions the primitive Delphic custom of giving oracles on the 7th day as the day dedicated to Apollo). Schultz also points out that it is a mistake to derive the name Sabbath from the planet Saturn, which the Rabbis call 'Shabbti,' and thus to bring the Sabbath holiday into connexion with the Chaldee worship of the planets. 'The naming of the days after certain planet-gods can hardly be so old as the Sabbath holiday.'

For the Sabbath law see Ex 16[23-30] (P and J), 20[8] (E), 23[12] (J), 31[13-16] (P), 34[21] (JE), 35[2] (P), Lv 19[3] (H), 23[3] (P), 26[2] (H), Nu 15[32-36] (P), 28[9. 10] (P), Dt 5[12-15]. In Ex 20[8] (E) it is to commemorate God's seventh day of rest at the creation. In Dt 5[12-15] it commemorates the redemption of Israel from Egypt. On the Sabbath the daily morning and evening sacrifice—the 'continual sacrifice'—of a lamb as a burnt-offering was doubled. There is no evidence of Sabbath observance in the days of the Patriarchs. There is little evidence of Sabbath observance before the time of the Exile (Jer 17[20-27], Ezk 20[12. 13. 16. 20], Is 56[2-6] 58[13]). Greater strictness marks the post-exilic period (Neh 8[9-12] 10[31] 13[15-22]). For the 39 kinds of work prohibited by the Rabbis on the Sabbath, and for many other actions and employments which cannot be summed up under any of them which were also forbidden, see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 96–105, cf. 1 Mac 2[34-38. 39-42], 2 Mac 5[25] 8[26-28] 12[38] 15[3f.], Mt 12[9-13], Mk 3[1-5], Lk 6[6-10] 13[10-17] 14[1-6], Jn 5[1-18] 9[14-16]. Sabbath-breaking was punishable with death (Nu 15[32ff.] (P), Ex 31[14ff.] (J)), cf. Ex 16[5] (J), where the Manna ceases on the Sabbath, and Ex 35[3] (P), where no fire is to be lighted. According to the testimony of Josephus, the high priest, although legally bound to officiate only on the Day of Atonement, yet actually officiated, as a rule, every Sabbath day, and on the occasion of the New Moons or other festivals in the course of the year (Jos. *BJ* v. v. 7),

(2) *The New Moon* (1) חֹדֶשׁ, (2) אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ, (3) רֹאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ, (4) רָאשֵׁי חֳדָשִׁים, *νουμηνία*, *νεομηνία*.—Closely associated with the Sabbath (see above). 'When under the influence of the Chaldee method of dividing time, the course of the moon with its four phases was adopted as the unit of time measurement, the new moon and the 7th day were naturally regarded as the chief divisions of time, and therefore as holy days' (Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 204). From 2 K 4[23] it would appear that the prophets were in the habit of gathering the people around them, and perhaps of granting inquirers and suppliants an audience at new moons and on Sabbaths. At every new moon the number of burnt-offerings was largely increased; and in addition a kid of the goats was to be offered for a sin-offering (Ex 40[2. 17] (P), Nu 10[10] (P) 28[11-15] (P) 29[6] (P), 1 S 20[5. 6. 29], 1 Ch 23[31], 2 Ch 2[4], 2 Ch 29[17], Ps 81[3. 4], Is 1[13. 14], Hos 2[11], 1 Es 5[52. 53. 57. 8[6] 9[16. 17. 37], 1 Mac 10[34], Col 2[16]).

(3) *The Feast of Trumpets* on the 1st day of the Sabbatical month, זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה, *μνημόσυνον σαλπίγγων*.—The 7th month—Tisri—was the sacred month. On the new moon of the 7th month—the Feast of Trumpets—additional burnt-offerings were sacrificed (Nu 29[1-6] (P), Lv 23[24. 25] (P)).

(4) *The Sabbatical Year*, שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן לָאָרֶץ, *σάββατα ἀνάπαυσις τῇ γῇ* (Ex 23[10. 11] (J), Lv 25[1-7. 20. 22] (H), Lv 26[32-35] (H), Dt 15[1-11] 31[9-13]).—The Sabbatical year represented a still further consecration of time to God. The land was to keep a Sabbath. The fields were neither to be tilled nor reaped. 'Nature is to be set free, as it were, from the service which mankind exacts from her, and to be left entirely to herself. Only what she voluntarily offers is to be taken, and that not for any selfish purpose' (Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 363). Hebrew slaves were to be set free unless they wished to remain in service (Ex 21[2-6] (J)). A harvest was to

* The article is general. Fuller details will be found under the articles on the separate Feasts and Fasts. See also the article FASTING.

be given *gratis* to the poor of the people (Ex 23[10. 11] (J)). Release from debt is prescribed (Dt 15[1-6]). In Ex 23 (J) the arrangement is made for man; it is a limitation for the common good of private rights of property in land,—in fact, for the benefit of the landless, who in the 7th year are to have the usufruct of the soil; in Lv 25 (H) the arrangement is for the sake of the land,—that it may rest, if not on the 7th day, at least on the 7th year; and for the sake of the Sabbath,—that it may extend its supremacy over nature also (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 118). At the F. of Tabernacles at the commencement of the Sabbatical year, the whole law was read in the hearing of the people (Neh 8[13-18]). The 70 years' captivity and the land's desolation were regarded as making up for the unobserved Sabbaths of the land (*Camb. Comp. to the Bible*, p. 412) (2 Ch 36[21], Jer 34[14-22]). After the return from exile Nehemiah bound the Jews by a covenant to keep them (Neh 10[31]).

(5) *The Year of Jubilee* * דְּרוֹר, ἄφεσις, יוֹבֵל, ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως σημασία (Lv 25[8-55] 27[17-24]).—Peculiar to P. As the Sabbatical year corresponded with the 7th day, so the year of Jubilee corresponded with the 50th, *i.e.* Pentecost. 'As the fiftieth day after the seven Sabbath days is celebrated as a closing festival of the forty-nine days' period, so is the fiftieth year after the seven Sabbatic years, as rounding off the larger interval; the seven Sabbaths falling on harvest time, which are usually reckoned specially (Lk 6[1]), have, in the circumstance of their interrupting harvest work, a particular resemblance to the Sabbatic years which interrupt agriculture altogether. Jubilee is thus an artificial institution superimposed upon the years of fallow, regarded as harvest Sabbaths after the analogy of Pentecost' (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 119). There were two main elements in the Jubilee—the emancipation of the Hebrew slave, and the return of mortgaged property to its hereditary owner. Cf. 2 Ch 36[21], Jer 34[8. 14. 15. 17], Ezk 46[17], Is 61[1. 2] 63[4], Lk 4[18-21]. But in Jer the term דְּרוֹר used in Lv 25[10] is applied only to the 7th year. The year of Jubilee was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet on the Day of Atonement (Lv 25[9]).

II. The Great Historical Festivals.†—As the new moon and the Sabbath were lunar feasts, the Passover (with the Feast of Unleavened Bread), Pentecost, and Tabernacles were solar festivals, *i.e.* festivals which followed the seasons of the year. 'Three times in the year shalt thou hold pilgrimage unto me, three times in the year shall all thy men appear before J", the God of Israel' (Ex 23[14. 17] (J), 34[23] (JE), Dt 16[16]).

(1) *The Passover* פֶּסַח, πάσχα. *The Feast of Unleavened Bread* חַג הַמַּצּוֹת, ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων.—The Passover, though followed by the Feast of Unleavened Bread (*Mazzôth*), was distinct from it both in its origin and in its observance. In Ex 12 and 13 two narratives are combined. Ex 12[1-13] (P) refer to the Passover, 12[14-20] (P) refer to the seven days' F. of *Mazzôth*, 12[21-27] (JE) refer to the Passover, 12[43-50] (P) refer to the Passover, 13[3-10] (JE) refer to *Mazzôth* (Driver, *LOT*, 25). Josephus distinguishes the Passover from the F. of *Mazzôth* (*Ant.* III. x. 5), 'The F. of Unleavened Bread succeeds that of the Passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days' (cf. Lv 23[5. 6] (P), Nu 28[16. 17] (P)). But in Mk 14[1. 12], Lk 22[1] they are practically identified. 'The Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread form a double festival, just as the Day of Atonement and the Feast of Tabernacles do. It is undoubtedly as a direct preparation for the F. of Unleavened Bread that the Passover is celebrated on the evening before the latter feast begins' (Schultz, *OT Theol.* vol. i. p. 364) [Lv 23[5-8] (P) [10-14] (H), Nu 9[2-14] (P) 28[16-25] (P) 33[3] (P), Dt 16[1-8. 16]]. The parallelism between the feast of the first month and the feast of the seventh month should be noticed. The tenth day of the first month, for choosing the Lamb, is parallel to the tenth day of the seventh month, the Day of Atonement. The Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month and the seven days' F. of *Mazzôth* are parallel to the eight days of the F. of Tabernacles. The Passover, which was a sacrificial feast (Ex 12[27]), was observed on the fourteenth day of the first month, Abib (the month of ears, because in it the ears of wheat first appear), later Nisan (Est 3[7], Neh 2[1]). The Feast of Unleavened Bread was the opening as Pentecost was the closing festivity of the seven weeks' 'joy of harvest' (Dt 16[9], Lv 23[10] (H)). Passover and *Mazzôth* must be distinguished. Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, 87 ff.) has shown how the Passover פֶּסַח points back to the *sacrifice of the firstlings* (Ex 34[18ff.] (JE) 13[12ff.] (JE), Dt 15[19ff.] 16[1ff.]). It is because J" smote the firstborn of Egypt and spared those of Israel that the latter thenceforward are held sacred to Him. Because Pharaoh refuses to allow the Hebrews to offer to their God the firstlings of cattle that are His due, J" seizes from him the firstborn of men. On the origin of the Paschal ritual and its connexion with Arabian and other customs, see W. R. Smith, *RS*, 227, 280, 344, 345, 406, 431, 464, 465; Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. p. 364; Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ*, 138. 'In the three great festivals we can plainly discern relics of the customs which preceded their legal institution. In the first (the Passover) we can distinguish the earlier belief, out of which the offering of the firstlings of the flock sprang, from the enactments which are proper to the institution of the Passover.' Cf. also for the feasts generally W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, new ed. pp. 56, 384 ff., where he clearly, after Wellhausen,* proves that the chief occasions of worship in Israel (*Mazzôth*, Pentecost, and Tabernacles) were the agricultural feasts, just as among the Canaanites and other ancient nations. The real starting-point for a study of Jewish sacred feasts is Gn 4[2ff.] (J), 'Abel was a shepherd, and Cain was a husbandman. And in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought of *the fruit of the ground* an offering unto the LORD; and Abel also brought an offering of the *firstlings of his sheep*.' 'It is,' says Wellhausen (*Proleg.* p. 89), 'out of the simplest, most natural, and most widespread offerings, those of the first-fruits of the flock, herd, and field, the occasions for which recur regularly with the seasons of the year, that the annual festivals took their rise. The Passover corresponds with the firstlings of Abel the shepherd, the other three (*Mazzôth*, Pentecost, and Tabernacles) with the fruits presented by Cain the husbandman; apart from this difference, in essence and foundation they are all precisely alike.' Thus the Passover in its origin must be distinguished from the three agricultural feasts. It was a sacrificial feast, and had nothing to do with agriculture or harvest. The name 'sacrifice' (זֶבַח) is distinctly applied to it (Ex 12[27] (JE) 34[25] (JE), cf. 1 Co 5[7]). In Nu 9[7-13] (P) it is a *ḳorban* or offering (קָרְבָּן). Like the peace-offerings, the chief part of it was eaten by the worshippers;

* דְּרוֹר in Lv 25[10] refers to the 'liberty' of Sabbatical year, in Jer 34[8. 15. 17] to the liberty of slaves in 7th year of service, in Ezk 46[17] prob. to Jubilee. In Is 61[11] its use is figurative.

† The distinctive feature of these חַגִּים is that they are not merely religious festivals like those of the 'sacred seasons' (מוֹעֲדִים), but imply, like the Arab. *ḥaj* (same word), *a pilgrimage to a sanctuary* (see Driver, *Deut.* 188 ff.).

* 'Not only in the Jahwistic but also in the Deuteronomic legislation the festivals rest upon agriculture, the basis at once of life and of religion' (*Proleg.* p. 91).

like the sin-offerings, there was an element of atonement in it (2 Ch 30[16] 35[11] refer to the sprinkling of the blood of the Passover); like the burnt-offerings, it was whole—no bone of it was broken; it was roast with fire—anything left was burnt with fire. In the two accounts of the Passover in Ex 12, several points of importance are omitted in the first, *e.g.* the character of the lamb, and the manner in which it was to be eaten; fresh points are added in the second, *e.g.* the hyssop, the basin, and that none were to leave their houses till the morning.

On each of the seven days of the F. of *Mazzôth*, which followed the Passover, 2 young bullocks and 1 ram and 7 lambs of the first year were offered as burnt-offerings, with their meal and drink-offerings, together with a goat for a sin-offering and the continual, *i.e.* daily burnt-offering (Nu 28[19-25] (P)). On the second day of *Mazzôth*—Abîb (Nisan) 16th—a sheaf of the new corn was offered as a wave-offering, together with a lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering (Lv 23[10-14] (H)). The first and last days of the feast—the 15th and 21st days of the month—were days of 'holy convocation,' in which no servile work might be done (Lv 23[7] (P)).

There are few references to the Passover in OT (Nu 9 (P), Jos 5[10-12] (P), 2 Ch 30. 35, Ezr 6[19], 1 Es 1[1. 6. 8. 9. 12. 17. 19. 20. 21. 22] 7[10. 12]). In NT see Mt 26[2. 17. 18. 19], Mk 14[1. 12. 14. 16], Lk 2[41] 22[1. 7. 8. 11. 13. 15], Jn 2[13. 23] 6[4] 11[55] 12[1] 13[1] 18[28. 39] 19[14], Ac 12[4], 1 Co 5[7], He 11[28]. Later Jewish ordinances distinguish between the so-called 'Egyptian Passover,' that is, as it was enjoined for the first night of its celebration, and the 'permanent Passover,' as it was to be observed by Israel after their possession of the land of promise (Edersheim, *Bible History*, vol. ii.). On the later additions to the Paschal ceremonial, *e.g.* the recitation of the history of redemption, the four cups, the Hallel (Ps 113–118), the *Chagîgâh*, etc., see Edersheim, *The Temple: its Ministry and Services at the Time of Jesus Christ*, chs. xi. xii.; and for the Feast of Unleavened Bread, see ch. xiii. of the same.

(2) *The Feast of Pentecost.*—(i.) חַג שָׁבֻעוֹת, *ἑορτὴ ἑβδομάδων*, the Feast of Weeks (Ex 34[22] (JE), Dt 16[10]); (ii.) חַג הַקָּצִיר, *ἑορτὴ θερισμοῦ*, the Feast of Harvest (Ex 23[16] (J)); (iii.) יוֹם הַבִּכּוּרִים, *ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν νέων*, the Day of Firstfruits (Nu 28[26] (P); cf. Ex 22[29] (J) 23[19] (J) 34[26] (JE)). Fifty days after the offering of the Paschal wave-sheaf, the Feast of Pentecost, or Weeks, or Harvest, was kept on or about the 8th of Sivan, the third month. It lasted a single day (Dt 16[9-12]). The day was a day of 'holy convocation' (Lv 23[21] (P)). The feast marked the completion of the corn harvest, and according to the later Jews it commemorated the giving of the law (Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., ch. xiii. p. 225). It closed the New Year holiday season. The sacrifices were similar to those offered on the seven days of the F. of *Mazzôth* (Nu 28[26-31] (P)). The characteristic ritual of this feast was the offering and waving of two leavened loaves of wheaten flour, together with a sin-offering, burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings (Lv 23[15-20] (H)). As a wave-sheaf was offered at *Mazzôth*, which marked the commencement of harvest, as the consecration of the first-fruits, so two wave-loaves were offered at Pentecost, which marked the completion of the corn harvest. The feast is not referred to in OT, but see 2 Mac 12[32], Ac 2[1] 20[16], 1 Co 16[8] (cf. Edersheim, *The Temple*, pp. 225–231).

(3) *The Feast of Tabernacles.*—חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת, *ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν*, F. of Tabernacles or Booths (Lv 23[34], Dt 16[13]); חַג הָאָסִיף, *ἑορτὴ συντελείας* (Ex 23[16]), *ἑορτὴ συναγωγῆς* (Ex 34[22]), the F. of Ingathering. This feast was observed from the 15th to the 22nd of Tisri (the seventh month), following closely upon the Fast on the 10th day of the month—the Day of Atonement. It marked the completion of the harvest of fruit, oil, and wine, and historically it commemorated the wanderings in the wilderness. It was the harvest-home at the close of the year, when people came 'from the villages and towns to the fruit gardens to live in booths, and enjoy a happy autumn holiday' (Ex 23[16] (J) 34[22] (JE), Lv 23[34-36. 39-44] (PH), Nu 29[12-40] (P), Dt 16[13-15] 31[10-13]). The sacrifices at this feast were far more numerous than at any other. On each of the seven days 1 kid of the goats was offered as a sin-offering, and 2 rams and 14 lambs as a burnt-offering. Also 70 bullocks were offered on the seven days, beginning with 13 on the first day and diminishing by one each day until on the 7th day 7 were offered (Nu 29[12-34]). After the seven days a solemn day of 'holy convocation' was observed ('the last day, that great day of the feast,' Jn 7[37]), which marked the conclusion, not only of the Feast of Tabernacles, but of the whole cycle of the festal year. On this day 1 bullock, 1 ram, and 7 lambs were offered as a burnt-offering, and 1 goat for a sin-offering (Nu 29[35-38]). The feast is alluded to in 1 K 8[2] 12[32], 2 Ch 5[3] 7[8ff.], Ezr 3[4], Neh 8[14-18], Zec 14[16-19], Jn 7[1]–10[21]. On the later ceremonies connected with the feast, *e.g.* the procession to Siloam to fetch water and its solemn libation at the altar (Jn 7[37]), the singing of the Hallel (Pss 113–118), the daily processions round the altar, and the sevenfold repetition on the seventh day (Ps 118[25]), the lighting of the four great golden candelabra in the court of the women (Jn 8[12]), the singing of Pss 105. 29. 50. 94. 81. 82, and the public reading of the law on the first day of the week in the Sabbatical year, see Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., ch. xiv. pp. 232–249; Westcott on *St. John*, notes on ch. 7[37] 8[12]. [On the *daily service*, which formed the *substratum of the entire worship of the Temple*, the morning and evening sacrifices which were offered on every Sabbath and every festival day, see Schürer, *HJP* ii. 273–299.]

III. The Minor Festivals.—(1) *The Feast of Purim* (פּוּרִים, *φρουραί*).—In 2 Mac 15[36] it is called *ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα*, 'Mordecai's Day.' It is said to have been instituted by Mordecai to commemorate the overthrow of Haman and the failure of his plots against the Jews (Est 3[7] 9[15-32]). It was held on the 14th and 15th of the month Adar (the twelfth month). The 13th of Adar—'the day of Nicanor'—originally a feast to commemorate his death (1 Mac 7[49], 2 Mac 15[36]), at a later time became a fast—'the Fast of Esther'—in preparation for the Feast of Purim, which was of a very joyous character. De Lagarde (followed by Schultz, *OT Theol.* p. 431, and *Encyl. Brit.* 9th ed. vol. xx. p. 115) thinks that the feast which dates from the Persian period is itself of Persian origin, Purim being derived from the Persian Furdigan (Pōrdigān, Pārdiyān) the *φουρμαία* and *φουρδία* of one of the Greek recensions of Esther pointing to a form *φουρδαία* instead of Purim.

Edersheim identifies the F. of Purim with the unnamed feast in Jn 5[1], 'for no other feast could have intervened between December (Jn 4[35]) and the Passover (Jn 6[4]), except that of the "Dedication of the Temple," and that is specially designated as such (Jn 10[22]) and not simply as a Feast of the Jews' (*The Temple*, etc., p. 291). On the evening of the 13th of Adar the whole Book (*Megillah* or Roll) of Esther was read at the synagogue service, to keep the memory of the great deliverance by Esther alive, 'the children raising their loudest and angriest cries at every mention of the name of Haman, the congregation stamping on the floor, with Eastern demonstrativeness, and imprecating from every voice the curse, "Let his name be blotted out, the name of the wicked shall

rot." Year by year in the Nazareth synagogue Jesus must have seen and heard all this, and how the reader tried to read in one breath the verses in which Haman and his sons are jointly mentioned, to show that they were hanged together' (Geikie, *The Life and Words of Christ*, i. 226). Edersheim (*The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 229) speaks of the 'good cheer and boisterous enjoyments' of the Feast of Purim, some of its customs 'almost reminding us of our fifth of November.'

(2) *The Feast of the Dedication of the Temple* (חֲנֻכָּה, חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת, ἐγκαίνια, 1 Mac $4^{56.59}$, 2 Mac $10^{6ff.}$; φῶτα, Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 7).—It was instituted by Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 164, when the temple which had been desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes was once more purified and re-dedicated to the service of J". It commenced on the 25th of Chislev (the ninth month), and lasted for eight days. 'All through the land the people assembled in their synagogues, carrying branches of palm and other trees in their hands, and held jubilant services. No fast or mourning could commence during the feast, and a blaze of lamps, lanterns, and torches illuminated every house, within and without, each evening. In Jerusalem the temple itself was thus lighted up. The young of every household heard the stirring deeds of the Maccabees, to rouse them to noble emulation, and with these were linked the story of the heroic Judith and the Assyrian Holofernes' (Geikie, *The Life and Words of Christ*, vol. i. p. 225). It will be noticed that in four particulars the Feast of the Dedication resembled the Feast of Tabernacles, (1) in its duration of eight days; (2) in the chanting of the Hallel (Pss 113–118); (3) in the practice of carrying palm branches; (4) in the illumination of the temple. Edersheim, in *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 227 f., thinks that the first three particulars were derived from the Feast of the Tabernacles, and that the last (the temple illumination) passed from the Feast of the Dedication into the observances of the Feast of Tabernacles. The date of the Feast of the Dedication, the 25th of Chislev, some hold to have been adopted by the ancient Church as that of the birth of our blessed Lord—Christmas—the dedication of the true temple, which was the body of Jesus (Jn 2^{19}) (Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., p. 293, and 'Christmas a Festival of Jewish Origin' in *The Leisure Hour* for Dec. 1873). The F. of the Dedication is mentioned in Jn 10^{22}.

(3) *The Feast of Wood Offering* or of the *Wood-carriers*, ξυλοφορίων (Jos. *BJ*, II. xvii. 6), on the 15th of Abib—being the last of the nine occasions on which offerings of wood were brought for the use of the temple (cf. Neh 10^{34} 13^{31}).

The Feast of the Reading of the Law (1 Es 9^{50}, Neh 8^{9}); *The Feast of Nicanor* on the 13th of Adar (1 Mac 7^{49}); *The Feast of the Captured Fortress* on the 23rd of Iyyar (the second month) (1 Mac 13^{50-52}); and *The Feast of Baskets*, evidently 'never attained to any real religious significance' (see Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 431, and Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., 295 f., on the Feast of Wood Offering).

IV. FASTS.—(1) *The Day of Atonement.*—יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים, ἡμέρα ἐξιλασμοῦ, lit. Day of the Coverings or Atonements (Lv 16 (P) and 23^{27-32} (H), Ex 30^{10} (P), Nu 29^{7-11} (P)). It was the only fast day prescribed by the law (Lv 23^{27} (H)). In the Talmud it is called 'The Day' (יוֹמָא); in the NT it is called 'the fast,' ἡ νηστεία (Ac 27^{9}). The sacrifices were threefold: (1) the ordinary daily sacrifices; (2) the special expiatory sacrifices of the day; (3) the festive sacrifices (Nu 29^{7-11}). The characteristic feature of the day was the offering of the sin-offering of atonement by the high priest alone (Lv 16^{33})—not in his gorgeous official dress, but in the simple white linen robes of purity and consecration (Lv $16^{4.29.31}$ $23^{27.32}$, Nu 29^{7}).

The order of proceedings is given in Lv 16. In vv.$^{3-10}$ we have the general outline, in vv.$^{11-28}$ the details, which were as follows: (1) The killing of the bullock by the high priest as a sin-offering for himself and his house; (2) the burning of incense in the Holy of Holies by the high priest; (3) the sprinkling of the mercy-seat (ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα) with the blood of the priest's sin-offering; (4) the casting lots upon the goats of the people's sin-offering, one goat for J", one for Azazel (עֲזָאזֵל, *Philo*, 'The one goat is given to "the fugitive creature," and the lot which it received is named in the prophecy "sent away" [referring to ἀποπομπαῖον by which the LXX tr. עֲזָאזֵל], because it is persecuted, expelled, and driven far away by wisdom.' *Willis*, 'Azazel, the name of a personal being, in opposition to J", the personal name of God.' *Schultz*, 'Some powerful being to whom the animal is assigned, and to whom it is sent with the now forgiven guilt of the reconciled people. . . . This being must be conceived of as strange and unholy. . . . An Aramaic name for an unclean and ungodlike power, which has its abode in the wilderness, in the accursed land outside the sacred bounds of the camp.' *Watson* in *Camb. Comp. to the Bible*, 'Azazel, the completely separate one, the evil spirit regarded as dwelling in the desert'). See AZAZEL. (5) The killing of the goat of the people's sin-offering by the high priest; (6) the sprinkling of the mercy-seat with the blood of the people's sin-offering; (7) the sprinkling of the blood of each sin-offering on the golden altar of incense and before it seven times; (8) atonement for the court and altar of burnt-offering; (9) confession of sin over the live goat, and his dismissal into the wilderness to Azazel; (10) resumption by the high priest of the gorgeous robes of his office; (11) the offering of burnt-offerings and burning the fat of the sin-offerings; (12) the burning of the sin-offerings without the camp (He 13^{10-12}). The chief purpose of the Day of Atonement was to preserve the holiness of the sanctuary as a fit place of meeting between God and man. There were five subjects of atonement: (1) The Holy Sanctuary (*i.e.* the Holy of Holies); (2) the Tent of Meeting (*i.e.* the Holy Place); (3) the altar (*i.e.* of burnt-offering); (4) the priest; (5) all the congregation.

It is significant that there is no mention of the Day of Atonement until Sir $50^{5ff.}$. Zec 3^{9} is doubtful. In Neh 8 it might have been expected. Neh 7^{73b}–9^{38} records (1) the observance of the Feast of Trumpets on the first day of the seventh month of the year B.C. 444; (2) the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, including the reading of the books of the law day by day, from the 15th to the 22nd of the same month; (3) the observance of a day of general fasting and prayer on the 24th day of the same month. Either the 24th day was observed in place of the Day of Atonement on the 10th day, or the latter had not yet been appointed. It is difficult to avoid the latter alternative. 'This *testimonium e silentio* is enough; down to that date (B.C. 444) the great day of the Priestly code (now introduced for the first time) had not existed' (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 111). For the references in the NT see Ro 3^{25} (ἱλαστήριον, כַּפֹּרֶת), He 2^{18} 4^{14-16} 5^{1-10} $6^{19.20}$ 7^{22-28} 8^{1-6} 9^{11-15} 13^{10-12}, 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10} (ἱλασμός) (Willis, *Worship of the Old Covenant*, pp. 201–214; Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., ch. xvi. pp. 263–288). See further, ATONEMENT (DAY OF).

(2) *Other Fasts.*—The Day of Atonement was the only fast day prescribed by the law. But we read of individual and national fasts in Jg 20^{26}, 1 S 7^{6} 31^{13}, 2 S 12^{16}, 1 K $21^{9.12.27}$, Jon $3^{5.7.8}$, Jer 14^{12} $36^{6.9}$, La 2^{10}, Jl 1^{14} $2^{12.15}$, Is 58^{3-7}, Neh $9^{1ff.}$, Est 4^{16}, Dn 10^{3}, 1 Mac 3^{47}. Two passages in Zec call for comment,

SYNOPSIS OF FEASTS AND FASTS.

Group.	Feast or Fast.	Exodus.	Leviticus.	Numbers.	Deuteronomy.	References outside Pentateuch.	References in New Test.
I. *Connected with the Institution of the Sabbath.*	1. Sabbath	16$^{23-30}$ 20^{8} 23^{12} 31$^{13-16}$ 34^{21} 35^{2}	19^{3} 23^{3} 26^{2}	15$^{32-36}$ 28$^{9.10}$	5$^{12-15}$	1 S 20$^{5.6}$, 2 K 4^{23} 11$^{5-7}$, Neh 8$^{9-13}$ 10^{31} 13$^{15-22}$, Is 56$^{2-6}$ 58^{13}, Jer 17$^{20-27}$, Ezk 20$^{12-16}$, Hos 2^{13}, Am 8^{5}	Mt 12$^{9-13}$, Mk 3$^{1-5}$, Lk 6$^{6-10}$ 13$^{10-17}$, Jn 5$^{1-16}$, 9$^{14-16}$
	2. New Moon	40$^{2.17}$	..	10^{10} 28$^{11-14}$. 31 29^{6}	..	1 S 20^{5}, Ps 81$^{3.4}$, Is 1$^{13.14}$, Am 8^{5}, 1 Mac 10^{34}	Col 2^{16}.
	3. Sabbatical Month, Feast of Trumpets	..	23$^{24.25}$	29$^{1-6}$	..	Neh 8$^{9.10}$	..
	4. Sabbatical Year	23$^{10.11}$	25$^{1-7.20-22}$ 26$^{32-35}$	..	15$^{1-11}$ 31$^{9-13}$	2 Ch 36^{21}, Neh 10^{31}, Jer 34^{14}, 1 Mac 6^{53}	..
	5. Jubilee Year	..	25$^{8-55}$ 27$^{17-24}$	..	..	Is 61$^{1.2}$ 63^{4}, Jer 34$^{8.14.15.17}$ (?), Ezk 46^{17}	Lk 4$^{18-21}$, Rev 21$^{1-5}$.
II. *Three Historical Feasts.*	1. Passover and *Maẓẓôth*	12. 13$^{1-10}$ 23$^{14-17}$ 34$^{18.25}$	23$^{5-14}$	9$^{2-14}$ 28$^{16-25}$ 33^{3}	16$^{1-8.16}$	Jos 5$^{9.10}$, 2 K 23$^{21.23}$, 2 Ch 30. 35, Ezr 6^{19}, Ezk 45^{21}	Mt 26$^{1.2}$, Mk 14$^{1.12.14.16}$, Lk 2^{41} 22$^{1.7.8.11.13.15}$, Jn 2^{13} 6^{4} 11^{55} 12^{1} 13^{1} 18$^{28.39}$ 19^{14}, Acts 12^{4}, 1 Co 5$^{6-8}$.
	2. Pentecost	22^{29} 23$^{16.19}$ 34$^{22.26}$	23$^{10-21}$	28$^{26-31}$	16$^{9-12}$	2 Mac 12^{32}	Ac 2^{1} 20^{16}, 1 Co 16^{8}.
	3. Tabernacles	23^{16} 34^{22}	23$^{34-36.39-44}$	29$^{12-40}$	16$^{13-15}$ 31$^{10-13}$	1 K 8^{2} 12^{32}, 2 Ch 5^{3} 7^{8}, Ezr 3^{4} 8$^{14-17}$, Zec 14$^{16-19}$	Jn 7$^{1-10}$ 21$^{}$.
III. *Minor Feasts.*	1. Purim	..	..	..	..	Est 9$^{15-32}$, 1 Mac 7^{49}, 2 Mac 15^{36}	Jn 5^{1} (?).
	2. Dedication or Lights	..	..	..	..	1 Mac 4$^{52-59}$, 2 Mac 10$^{6.7}$	Jn 10^{22}.
IV. *Fast.*	Day of Atonement	30^{10}	16. 23$^{27-32}$	29$^{7-11}$	..	Zec 3^{9} (?), Sir 50$^{5ff.}$	Ac 27^{9}, He 2^{18} 4$^{14-16}$ 5$^{1-10}$ 6$^{19.20}$ 7$^{22-28}$ 8$^{1-5}$ 9$^{11-15}$.

7$^{3-5}$ and 8^{19}. In 7$^{3-5}$ Zechariah, in answer to an inquiry put to him by the men of Bethel about fasting, declares that J″ demands no fasts, but only observance of His moral commands. Two fasts had been in observance in the 5th and 7th months for seventy years,—the fast of the 5th month (9th Abib), in memory of the destruction of the city and temple by fire (2 K 25^{8}); and the fast of the 7th month (2nd Tisri), in memory of the murder of Gedaliah and the annihilation of all that remained of the Jewish state (Jer 41). In ch. 8 he pictures the Messianic future, when the fast days will become seasons of gladness and cheerful feasts. He adds to 7$^{3-5}$ two other fasts: the fast of the 4th month (17th Tammuz), in memory of the capture of Jerusalem (Jer 39^{2}), and the fast of the 10th month (10th Ṭebeth), in memory of the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 25^{1}). Zechariah knows nothing of '*the* Fast'—the Day of Atonement. Later fasts 'came into a position co-ordinate with the feasts, and became a stated and very important element of the ordinary worship' (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 112). Fasting degenerated into formalism and self-righteousness. In the NT cf. Mt 6$^{16ff.}$ 9^{14}, Mk 2$^{18ff.}$, Lk 5$^{33ff.}$ 18^{12}, Ac 27^{9}, 2 Co 6^{5} 11^{27}. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the system of fasts received such an impulse that it was necessary to draw up a list of the days on which fasting was forbidden. The present Jewish calendar contains twenty-two fast-days, besides the Day of Atonement, the Fast of Esther, and the four fasts of Zec 8^{19} (Edersheim, *The Temple*, etc., pp. 297–301).

LITERATURE. — Edersheim, *The Temple: its Ministry and Services*, 144–300, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*; Geikie, *The Life and Words of Christ*; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 83–120; Schultz, *OT Theology*, i. 189, 196, 202, 359–369, 372, 402. On p. 359 will be found an exhaustive list of German literature on the 'Sacred Seasons.' Vol. ii. 87–100; Willis, *The Worship of the Old Covenant*, 190–214; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, new ed. with introd. and notes by Prof. Cheyne, 38, 56, 384, *OTJC*^{2}, 240, 269, *RS*^{2}, 221, 227, 245, 280, 344 f., 396, 403 f., 416, 434, 452, 464; Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ*, 137–139; Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, 363, 372, 378, 385, 397, 401, criticism of Wellhausen; Schürer, *HJP* (*passim*); Watson, *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, 411–417; Driver, *Deuteronomy* (*passim*), *Joel and Amos*, 16, 43 f., 55; Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, 209 f., 266. E. ELMER HARDING.

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